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Johanna Lilja

# CHALLENGING THE MATTHEW EFFECT

International Exchange of Publications in Four Finnish Learned Societies until  
the Second World War



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# ABSTRACT

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The thesis addresses the international exchange of publications of Finnish learned societies from the early nineteenth century until the Second World War. Exchange of publications refers to the regular and mutual delivery of books and journals between institutions. The practice was inherited from the early eighteenth century when the scientific community was called the Republic of Letters. The idea of republic emphasised the special nature of scientific community and required certain courtesy rules, in particular reciprocity was expected in favours, letters and gift-giving. The structure of the scholarly community began to change in the nineteenth century as scientific competition intensified and success accumulated in those countries, institutions and journals which had already gained a good reputation. This phenomenon of accumulation of scientific success was later described as the “Matthew effect in science” introduced by Robert Merton.

The present study examines the extent to which the exchange of publications mitigated the accumulation of scientific advantage epitomised by the Matthew effect. The main research questions include: how the Finnish societies succeeded in their efforts to distribute their publications and to link themselves into the international networks; how political upheavals affected exchange relationships; and to what extent the periodicals received in exchange were used by the Finnish researchers. The Finnish learned societies provide an interesting case because they were geographically peripheral and did not enjoy an established position in the scholarly community. A special feature in Finland is that the government has supported academic publishing and thus freed learned societies from having to promote the sales of their publications. The material consists of four societies representing different branches of scholarship: the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (SFFF); the Finnish Literature Society (FLS); the Finnish Antiquarian Society (FAS); and the Finnish Dental Society (FDS). The methods used in the study derive both from information studies and history. The data on exchange relations and publishing activities were collected from the minutes, letters and library catalogues of the above societies and analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. A citation analysis was also conducted.

The study demonstrated that establishing exchange relations was not a sufficient means of gaining international visibility. These four societies developed different strategies to promote networking. The FLS and the FDS were passive in their exchange

policy but created large networks of corresponding members and also aimed at selling their publications. The SFFF and the FAS actively established exchange relations. The norms and reciprocal practices inherited from the eighteenth century supported the Finnish societies in their efforts to distribute their publications internationally and to acquire foreign serials for their libraries. The ideal of neutrality on political and religious questions made it possible to sustain contacts even with institutions in countries whose politics was not accepted, such as the Soviet Union. The exchange of publications raised the profile of Finnish science and scholarship and encouraged the Finnish societies to develop and internationalise their periodicals. On the other hand, a large share of exchange initiatives taken by the Finnish societies came to nothing, particularly in the field of biology, where the most important research findings were published in German commercial journals. It was easier to acquire exchange partners in small countries and countries with short scientific traditions, such as the United States. Small countries and peripheral areas, such as those populated with Finno-Ugrian peoples, often provided relevant publications, which made exchange a well-functioning system.

In light of the material of this study, the strengthening of the Matthew effect at the turn of the century is apparent. It was, however, mitigated by the traditions of the Republic, which made it possible for young and peripheral societies to find partners interested in the same topics and find their place in the international scholarly community.

**KEYWORDS:** exchange of publications, academic publishing, learned societies, scientific communication, networks, history of learning and science, Finland

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## ABSTRACT IN FINNISH

Väitöskirja käsittelee suomalaisten tieteellisten seurojen julkaisuvaihtoa 1800-luvun alusta toiseen maailmansotaan. Julkaisuvaihdolla tarkoitetaan instituutioiden välistä säännöllistä ja molemminpuolista kirjojen ja lehtien lahjoittamista vaihtokumppanille. Käytäntö periytyi varhaiselta 1700-luvulta, jolloin tiedeyhteisöä kutsuttiin ”Tiedon tasavallaksi”. Tasavallan käsitteellä painotettiin tiedeyhteisön erityistä luonnetta ja poikkeavuutta ympäröivästä sääty-yhteiskunnasta. Yhteisön jäseniltä edellytettiin tiettyjä kohteliaisuussääntöjä. Erityisesti odotettiin vastavuoroisuutta kirjeisiin vastaamisessa, palveluksissa ja lahjoituksissa. Tiedeyhteisön rakenne alkoi muuttua 1800-luvulla, kun tieteellinen kilpailu voimistui ja menestys kasautui niihin maihin, laitoksiin ja lehtiin, joilla jo ennestään oli hyvä maine. Tätä tieteellisen menestyksen kasautumista käsittelee myöhemmin Robert Merton, joka nimesi sen Matteus-vaikutukseksi.

Keskeinen tutkimuskysymys on, missä määrin julkaisuvaihto lievensi tieteellisen menestyksen kasautumista, jota Matteus-vaikutus ennustaa. Työssä tarkastellaan, kuinka suomalaiset seurat onnistuivat pyrkimyksissään linkittyä kansainvälisiin verkostoihin jakamalla julkaisujaan, kuinka poliittiset mullistukset vaikuttivat vaihtosuhteisiin ja missä määrin vaihdon kautta saatuja sarjajulkaisuja käytettiin suomalaisessa tutkimuksessa. Suomalaiset tieteelliset seurat ovat mielenkiintoinen tutkimuskohde, koska ne olivat maantieteellisesti perifeerisiä eikä niillä ollut vakiintunutta asemaa tiedeyhteisössä. Erityinen piirre Suomessa on ollut hallituksen voimakas tuki tieteelliselle julkaisutoiminnalle. Sen ansiosta seurojen ei ole tarvinnut panostaa julkaisujen myyntiin.

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu neljästä seurasta, jotka edustavat eri tutkimusaloja: Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (SFFF), Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (SKS), Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys (SMY) ja Suomen Hammaslääkäri-seura (SHLS). Tutkimus on toteutettu sekä informaatiotutkimuksen että historian tutkimuksen menetelmin. Julkaisutoimintaa ja vaihtosuhteita koskevat tiedot on koottu seurojen pöytäkirjoista, kirjeistä ja kirjastoluetteloista. Dataa on analysoitu sekä kvantitatiivisesti että kvalitatiivisesti ja lisäksi on tehty viittausanalyysi.

Tutkimus osoitti, että vaihtosuhteiden perustaminen ei ollut riittävä keino hankkia kansainvälistä näkyvyyttä. Kohteena olevat neljä seuraa kehittivät erilaisia strategioita verkostoituakseen kansainvälisesti. SKS ja SHLS olivat passiivisia vaihtotoiminnassaan mutta loivat laajat kirjeenvaihtajien verkostot ja pyrkivät myös myymään julkaisujaan. SFFF ja SMY hankkivat lukuisia vaihtokumppaneita. Tulokset osoittavat, että 1700-luvulta perityt normit ja käytännöt tukivat suomalaisia seuroja näiden tavoitteissa jakaa julkaisujaan kansainvälisesti ja hankkia omiin kirjastoihinsa ulkomaisia julkaisuja. Pyrkimys puolueettomuuteen uskonnollisissa ja poliittisissa ky-

symyksissä mahdollisti vaihtosuhteiden ylläpidon sellaistenkin maiden kanssa, joiden politiikkaa ei hyväksytty. Esimerkiksi Neuvostoliittoon solmittiin lukuisia vaihtosuhteita. Julkaisuvaihtotoiminta kohotti suomalaisen tieteen profiilia ja kannusti seuroja kehittämään ja kansainvälistämään julkaisujaan. Toisaalta suuri osa suomalaisten tekemistä vaihtoaloitteista ei johtanut vaihtosuhteeseen. Erityisesti biologian alalla keskeiset tutkimustulokset julkaistiin saksalaisissa kaupallisissa lehdissä, jotka eivät olleet halukkaita vaihtosuhteisiin. Helpointa oli luoda suhteita pieniin maihin tai sellaisiin maihin, joissa tieteellisen tutkimuksen perinne oli nuorta, kuten Yhdysvalloissa. Pienet maat ja perifeeriset alueet, esimerkiksi suomalais-ugrialaisten kansojen asuinseudut, myös usein tarjosivat relevantteja julkaisuja, mikä teki julkaisuvaihdosta hyvin toimivan järjestelmän.

Tutkimusaineiston valossa Matteus-vaikutuksen vahvistuminen vuosisadan vaihteessa on ilmeistä. Sitä kuitenkin lievensivät ”Tiedon tasavallasta” periytyvät käytännöt ja normit, jotka mahdollistivat pienten ja perifeeristen seurojen kansainväliset yhteydet. Näin löydettiin samoista tutkimusalueista kiinnostuneita vaihtokumppaneita ja saavutettiin asema tiedeyhteisössä.

ASIASANAT: julkaisuvaihto, tieteellinen julkaiseminen, tieteelliset seurat, tieteellinen kommunikaatio, verkostot, oppihistoria, Suomi

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# ABBREVIATIONS

## Abbreviations of the societies and their publications

ABF	Acta Botanica Fennica
Acta	Acta Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica
AZF	Acta Zoologica Fennica
Bulletin	Bulletin of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (Meddelanden af Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica)
Editions	Finnish Literature Society Editions (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia)
ESA	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua
FAS	Finnish Antiquarian Society (Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys)
FDS	Finnish Dental Society (Suomen Hammaslääkäriseura)
FLS	Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura)
Journal	Journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society (Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja)
Notices	Notices of Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (Notiser ur Sällskapet pro Fauna et Flora Fennica Förhandlingar)
OPPF	The Old Poems of the Finnish People (Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot)
Proceedings	Proceedings of the Finnish Dental Society (Finska Tandläkarsällskapet's Förhandlingar) (Suomen Hammaslääkäriseuran Toimituksia)
SFFF	Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica
VOKS	Vsesoúznoe Obšestvo kul'turnoj svâzi c zagranicej (The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries )

## Abbreviations in the footnotes

FNL	National Library of Finland
FÖRHANDLINGAR	Finska tandläkarsällskapet's förhandlingar (Suomen hammaslääkäriseuran toimituksia)
MEDDELANDEN	Meddelanden af Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica
MEMORANDA	Memoranda Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica
NARC	National Archive
NBA	National Board of Antiquities
SKS, KIA	Finnish Literature Society, Literary archives
SKS, Kirjasto	Finnish Literature Society, Library
SM	Suomen Museo
SUOMI	Suomi: skrifter i fosterländska ämnen (1856 – 1859); Suomi: kirjoituksia isänmaallisista aineista (1864 – 1932); Suomi: kirjoituksia isänmaallisista aiheista (1933 –)

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Missing these moments on the snowy night of February 2012  
*Johanna Lilja*

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS AS A SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

Academic publishing has been topical for some time. The biases in peer review, the usability of impact factors, mergers in the publishing industry and the Open Access movement have all aroused lively discussion in the scientific community. The history of academic publishing, for its part, has not been widely studied though it might illuminate the background of current problems. Much has been written about *Philosophical Transactions* and *Journal des sçavans* but we know relatively little about the era which followed these first scientific journals – how did the knowledge circulate at the time when more and more publishers emerged in the field?<sup>1</sup> This thesis focuses on the exchange of publications, a non-commercial way to distribute and acquire academic publications. It can be perceived as a predecessor to Open Access publishing, where papers are freely available on the Internet. For over two centuries, it was a major way to disseminate academic publications and hence forms a window through which the history of academic publishing – its structures, norms and practices – becomes visible.

The term “exchange of publications” refers to the practice where two communities agree on the regular reciprocal sending of publications. To maintain balance, exchange is often determined to be piece-for-piece, page-for-page or priced exchange. Open exchange, where the balance is not controlled, is also possible.<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedias of library and information science emphasise the role of exchange as an acquisition method of research libraries.<sup>3</sup> For academic publishers, it is a way to distribute their books and journals and to integrate into the scientific community. In the history of science, the exchange of publications has been compared with diplomatic relations because it established a regular communication channel between two institutions.<sup>4</sup> The political aspects of the exchange are twofold: voluntary sending of books and

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1 This question and the lack of research is emphasised by Secord 2004, pp. 655, 667, 672.

2 The exchange material may consist of scientific or literary monographs or serials; microfilms; official publications produced by the administration; duplicates of library collections; or sometimes even material purchased for exchange purposes. See Background and brief history of the exchange of publications. In Vanwijngarden 1978, p. 13; Background. In Ekonen, Paloposki and Vattulainen. 2006, p. 12; Virtanen 2006, pp. 13-24; Richards and Moll 1982, pp. 369-370.

3 Einhorn 1972, pp. 282-288; Allardyce, Sternberg and Christophers 1974, p. 258; Kunze and Rückl (Eds.) 1974-1975, pp. 1327-1330; Ladizesky 2003, pp. 190-192; Prytherch 2005, p. 261.

4 Gwinn 1996, pp. 5-6; McClellan 1985, p. 173.



journals promotes goodwill among nations. On the other hand, the exchange of publications has served propagandist purposes, too.<sup>5</sup>

The practice of exchange has a long history. In the sixteenth century, donating books and exchanging information in letters were much used ways of binding together individual members of the scholarly community. To guarantee regular communication, in the 1720s, the societies and academies also started to exchange their publications.<sup>6</sup> The scholarly community, which at the time was often called the “Republic of Letters” presupposed from its members openness in sharing information, objectivity with regard to political and religious questions and polite and helpful manners.<sup>7</sup> All these norms supported the practice of exchange which in the course of the eighteenth century became an important means of acquiring and distributing academic publications. According to historians, the Republic of Letters declined in the course of the nineteenth century, due to the strengthening nationalism, professionalisation and increasing competition in science.<sup>8</sup> The exchange of publications continued and even spread to new areas, but as the volume of academic publications increased and the scientific competition intensified, it began to lose ground to commercially published journals. Crises like world wars, however, strengthened its position. After the Second World War, it was promoted by international organisations like IFLA and UNESCO which first aimed at alleviating the devastation caused by the war and later at providing literature for the developing countries and at crossing political barriers such as the Iron Curtain.<sup>9</sup>

Since the 1960s, the exchange of publications has more and more been a target of criticism. It was accused of producing irrelevant material for research libraries and demanding more labour than the purchasing of the library material. Furthermore, the critics stated that it disturbed commercial distribution and hence impaired the quality of publications, for they assumed that commercial publishing guaranteed effectiveness, wide circulation and the strict supervision of the scientific quality. Libraries with restricted resources focused on the commercially published core journals and dispensed less prestigious exchange serials.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the prices of commercial journals have been continuously rising, and mergers in the field have reduced the free competition, which has encouraged librarians to continue exchanges. Even in the western countries, the libraries have faced difficulties in sustaining adequate

5 Lorkovic and Johnson 1997, pp. 73-74.

6 Goldgar 1995, pp. 15-19, 226-227; McClellan 1985, pp. 155-158, 173.

7 Goldgar 1995, pp. 2-3, 12-19; McClellan 1985, p. 5; Somsen 2008, p. 363; Daston 1991, pp. 375-379; Goodman 1994, pp. 15-18; Brockliss 2002, pp. 107-108. The concept of the Republic of Letters is discussed in detail, in Chapter 2.1.

8 Somsen 2008, pp. 364-367; Daston 1990, pp. 104-105; Crawford 1990, p. 252; McClellan 1985, pp. 253-259; McClellan 2003, pp. 105-106; Morrell 1990, pp. 51-53. Some other historians date the decline of the Republic to the eighteenth century. This is discussed in Chapter 2.1.

9 Lilja 2006, pp. 57-65.

10 Södergård 1992, pp. 10-12; Tammekann 1997, pp. 42-43; Richards and Moll 1982, p. 370; Altmann and Gorman 2000; Fjällbrandt 1984, p. 81; Hogg 2002, pp. 29-33; A report of the Academy of Finland “Tieteellisen julkaisutoiminnan nykytila ja kehittäminen” (1991), p. 31 evaluates Finnish scientific publishing. The term serial is used to describe all types of periodicals: journals, annuals, monographic series, proceedings, transactions and memoirs while the term series refers to monograph series, successive volumes of reports and bibliographies etc. See Prytherch 2005, pp. 631-632; Sutton 2010, p. 4722.

collections of periodicals.<sup>11</sup> The situation has been much more severe in eastern Europe and in the Third World.<sup>12</sup>

In the era of Internet, the tradition of non-commercial distribution has been transformed into Open Access publishing where academic peer-reviewed papers are available on the web free of charge. Unlike exchange, it is not a bilateral agreement albeit the idea is based on the wish that other publishers might offer their material similarly, free of charge. The advocates of this new channel have emphasised how it would solve the funding problems of libraries, help authors to maximize their research impact, provide scientific information for developing countries and make the results of research more widely available to the general public. Critics have stressed similar problems as in the case of exchange. The quality of the Open Access papers has been questioned because it is believed that commercial publishing houses are the best guarantee for peer review, editing and indexing. The most controversial question has been the new business model: in the traditional model, libraries pay for journals, whereas in Open Access publishing, either the author or his or her funding agency usually pays a publication fee. Open Access ideology has permeated from science to information offered by public administration and is also visible in the various Open Source systems. The practice of sharing source codes or data which can be used, distributed and modified by the user community has been the basis of many widely used products such as Wikipedia or Linux system.<sup>13</sup>

Two standpoints have iteratively emerged in the debate on the structures of academic publishing. One of them emphasises equality – free access to information for all researchers and all nations, whereas another emphasises quality and efficiency, assuming that they are most probably achieved by using professional commercial publishers. The last mentioned opinion mirrors the competitive scholarly community where a scientist or an institution has to find the surest ways to success. To survive in the endless race of science, only the best journals are worth sending one's papers to.

In the sociology of science, the competitive world is described by the term Matthew effect in science, introduced by R. Merton in 1968. The effect illustrates the accumulation of scientific success by citing the gospel of St. Matthew (25:29) *For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.*<sup>14</sup> The Matthew effect has been indicated in the success of countries, institutions, journals and authors. It is not unambiguously connected with the commercial world. The effect is visible in non-commercial phenomena as well, but the general trend to invest in the most probable winners, typical for commercial actors, tends to strengthen it. The theory of accumulation of advantage leaves

11 Enserink 1997, p. 1558; Meadows 1998, p. 129-133; Jagodzinski 2008, p. 7.

12 Romanov and Petrusenko 2006, pp. 95-96; Ladizesky and Hogg 1998, pp. 185-186; Lorkovic and Johnson 1997, pp. 67-68; Salager-Meyer 2008, p. 128; Yu 1981, pp. 336-338. In the developing countries, the exchange of publications has not always been a convenient solution in fulfilling the information needs because the universities and libraries do not have enough publications to offer to their exchange partners. See Diouf 2006, pp. 85-86, 88-89; Creppy 1995, pp. 379-380.

13 Willinsky 2006, pp. 7, 23-24, 32-34, 108-111, 125-126; Irvivieri 2009; Todd 2007, pp. 1-4; Salager-Meyer 2008, p. 128; Schweik 2004, pp. 281-284; Bachrach et al. 1998, p. 1461. Also the friends of exchange have found Open Access publishing problematic because it is not simple to convert one to one exchange relations to all to all open publishing. See Edgren 2007, pp. 57-58; Mäkinen 2011.

14 Merton (1968) 1973, pp. 440-445.

open the question of how the potential losers, i.e. the actors with minor premises, sometimes manage to gain success and to enter the group of winners. In a later paper, Merton presumed that there are some countervailing processes which limit the Matthew effect. Nevertheless, he only sketched some ideas without examining them further.<sup>15</sup> Neither have these counterforces aroused much interest among other sociologists, bibliometricians or historians. This leaves room for the central question of my study which is: *was the Matthew effect mitigated by non-commercial means of distributing academic publications, an idea and practice inherited from the Republic of Letters, in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century?* My focus is on the exchange of publications because exchange relations offer easily quantifiable material. Donating reprints to colleagues and libraries was probably even a more common way to disseminate research results but it was partly done privately and therefore would be a more difficult phenomenon to analyse.<sup>16</sup> Finland provides a particularly interesting case because it began with poor premises but has invested remarkably in research and managed to enter the group of leading scientific nations.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, a special feature of Finland is that the government has supported academic publishing from the beginning and hence freed the societies from having to promote the sales of their publications.<sup>18</sup>

Two concepts, the *Republic of Letters* and the *Matthew effect in science* constitute the theoretical framework for the present study. This is not without problems since these concepts originate from different disciplinary backgrounds. The Republic of Letters is an historical phenomenon – a mental structure or an ethos requiring an equal, open and helpful attitude among members of the scholarly community. The Matthew effect, instead, draws on general sociological theory of accumulation of advantage.<sup>19</sup> The functioning of the Matthew effect is often indicated in the light of statistical material and usually somewhat unhistorically. According to the historians, the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was a phase when scientific competition left the old Republic behind.<sup>20</sup> My intention is to study this intermediate phase quantitatively but also by means of the historical analysis of written sources, to investigate whether the exchange of publications promoted equality in the scholarly community. The counterforces of the Matthew effect in science are sought by asking how the originally peripheral Finnish learned societies managed to link themselves into the international scholarly community. The focus is placed on four societies representing different disciplines: the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (SFFF); Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (the Finnish Literature Society, FLS); Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys (the Finnish Antiquarian Society, FAS); and Suomen Ham-

15 Merton 1988, pp. 617-619.

16 Kuusi 1986, pp. 105-106.

17 Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst 1997, pp. 408-410. This position is not stable, however and recent research has indicated some signs of decreasing success. See Löppönen et al., p. 17.

18 Heikkilä 1985, pp. 99-100; Autio 1986, pp. 214-215; Martin 1974, pp. 167-168; Tieteellisten seurojen julkaisujen markkinoinnin ja jakelun kehittäminen. (1984), pp. 7-8.

19 Kiikeri and Ylikoski 2004, p. 118.

20 Somsen 2008, pp. 364-367; Daston 1990, pp. 104-105; Crawford 1990, p. 252; McClellan 1985, pp. 253-259; McClellan 2003, pp. 105-106; Morrell 1990, pp. 51-53.

maslääkäriseura (the Finnish Dental Society, FDS). The choice of these four societies is discussed in more detail, in Chapter 1.4 below.

## 1.2 RESEARCH ON THE SUBJECT – AN OVERVIEW

Bibliographies on the exchange of publications indicate that the voluminous literature on the subject focuses on the contemporary exchange activities of various countries or institutions, the methods and practices of exchange, the evaluation of library collections, the cost-effectiveness and relevance of exchange serials compared with purchased material and the future of exchange in the electronic era. Most of these articles and conference papers are written by librarians or by officials of the exchange centres.<sup>21</sup> The general history of the exchange of publications has been presented in only a few articles. S. Gibson's paper *Scientific Societies and Exchange: A Facet of the History of Scientific Communication* examines the history of learned exchanges, from the first scientific societies in the seventeenth century to the 1940s.<sup>22</sup> Various editions of the *Handbook on the International Exchange of Publications* include historical introductions to different forms of exchange, usually emphasising recent history.<sup>23</sup> My own article *History of the International Exchange of Publications*, in the 5th edition of *Handbook* (2006) presents the central stages of the history of learned and official exchanges from the seventeenth century to the 1970s.<sup>24</sup> In some countries, the history of exchanges has been examined from the national perspective. In her doctoral thesis *The Origins and Development of International Exchange of Publications in Nineteenth-Century America*, N.E. Gwinn studied how the American societies managed to join the communication networks of the European scientific institutions. Gwinn's thesis also sheds light on the activities of Alexandre Vattemare and other agents who promoted international exchanges during the nineteenth century as well as the practices of the Smithsonian Institution, which was developing into a world-famous centre of scientific exchange.<sup>25</sup> A.L. Divnogorcev's book *Meždunarodne svâzi Rossijskih bibliotek v kontekste vnešnej i vnutrennej politiki sovjetskogo gosudarstva: oktâbr 1917 – maj 1945* (The international relations of Russian libraries in the context of foreign and domestic politics of the Soviet State: from October 1917 to May 1945) examines the exchanges and purchases of foreign material to the Soviet libraries.<sup>26</sup>

The origins of exchange practices have been described in many books and articles focusing on the scientific community at the dawn of modern science. A. Goldgar's monograph *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters*

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21 Dargent 1962; Strien 2008. [http://www.tsv.fi/files/vk/g\\_strien\\_kleine\\_biblio.pdf](http://www.tsv.fi/files/vk/g_strien_kleine_biblio.pdf) (cited 5 September 2011). The problems of exchange have varied from time to time. Before the First World War most papers were written to promote exchanges, make duplicates available etc. The focus changed gradually along with the information flow during the interwar period but most papers still aimed at expanding exchange activities in Dargent's bibliography which covers the years 1817-1960.

22 Gibson 1982.

23 Dargent 1950; Busse and Werhahn 1956; Busse 1964.

24 Lilja 2006. The article is based only on literature, conference papers and reports – not on archival sources.

25 Gwinn 1996.

26 Дивногорцев 2007.

1680-1750 is an excellent guide to the early scholarly community, describing the manners and unwritten rules of communicating and networking.<sup>27</sup> Other historians, too, have written about the Republic: D. Goodman, L.W. B. Brockliss,<sup>28</sup> L. Daston and G.J. Somsen. The two last-mentioned researchers have also studied the era when the traditions of the Republic began to fade and the more competitive scientific world emerged.<sup>29</sup> The competitive scientific community has interested sociologists more than historians. The classic work on this subject is R. Merton's paper *The Matthew Effect in Science* which was originally published in the journal *Science* and later in the collection of his articles, entitled *The Sociology of Science*.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, classic works on cumulative advantage in science have been written by D.J. de Solla Price and D. Crane.<sup>31</sup> The extending body of literature commenting and discussing their ideas is described more thoroughly in Chapter 2.2.

The history of scientific publishing has settled itself somewhere between book history and the history of learning and science. Previously both disciplines focused on the early phases of scientific publishing which are thoroughly discussed in D.A. Kronick's book *A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals*,<sup>32</sup> in various articles and in textbooks. The development of academic journals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has only attracted attention in recent decades.<sup>33</sup> More recently still, scientific publishing has been examined as an essential part of scientific work, with the focus on communication networks of scientists. Instead of seeking the origins of scientific inventions in their local context, this new trend is interested in the act of communication – how scientific findings were documented, presented, justified and distributed.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, some book historians have turned the focus from individual books and authors to the quantitative and geographical aspects of publishing – how books and journals were produced, funded and disseminated all around the world.<sup>35</sup> These new perspectives are very interesting from the point of view of this study.

The history of learning and science is such a wide area that only a selection of this genre has been used in this book, the focus being on the development of scientific institutions and on the disciplines represented by four Finnish societies under study.<sup>36</sup> The *Cambridge History of Science* is an excellent introduction to the development of the various scientific institutions and the history of biology. An important contribution to the early development of the scientific societies and academies is J. McClellan's *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* which also includes a chapter on the communication networks of scientific societies.<sup>37</sup> J.-

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27 Goldgar 1995.

28 Goodman 1994; Brockliss 2002.

29 Daston 1990; Daston 1991; Somsen 2008.

30 Merton 1968 (1973); Merton 1973; Merton 1988.

31 Price 1986; Crane 1988.

32 Kronick 1976.

33 To do justice to some contributions in the 1980s, I mention two books; *Development of Science Publishing in Europe* edited by A. J. Meadows (1980) and M. F. Stieg's (1986) *Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals*.

34 Secord 2004; Csiszar 2010; Hopwood, Schaffer and Secord 2010.

35 Eliot 2002; Eliot 2010; MacDonald and Black 2000.

36 Bremner 1954; Morton (1981) 1988; Trigger 1989.

37 McClellan 1985.

P. Chaline's *Sociabilité et érudition: les sociétés savantes en France XIXe-XXe siècles* examines the activities, membership, economy and geographical distribution of the French learned societies, also considering the motives of scientists and amateurs in joining them.<sup>38</sup> C.E. McClelland's *State, society and university in Germany 1700-1914* describes the rise of modern universities in Germany, which profoundly reformed the structures of scientific networks.<sup>39</sup> Some national histories of science have proved useful, too.<sup>40</sup> The history of Finnish science and learning *Suomen tieteen historia 1-4* is a recent contribution. Its Volumes 2 and 3 offer presentations of the development of various disciplines and Volumes 1 and 4 examine the history of science in general, scientific institutions and societies, funding, international cooperation etc.<sup>41</sup> The older series on the same subject, *History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828-1918* goes deeper in the description of the development of various disciplines, also clarifying the international contacts of Finnish scientists and scholars as well as controversies in the scientific community.<sup>42</sup> The history of the University of Helsinki is a necessary work because of the close bond between the university and the learned societies.<sup>43</sup>

Most of the Finnish learned societies have published their histories, but many of these were written before the Second World War and by the officials of these societies, not professional historians. They offer an inside perspective on the activities of the societies but, on the other hand, they have difficulties in discussing the problems and conflicts of the societies in an unbiased way.<sup>44</sup> The recent histories of the Finnish Literature Society,<sup>45</sup> the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters<sup>46</sup> and the Finno-Ugrian Society<sup>47</sup> examine their objects more extensively, considering their scientific, political and ideological environment. Furthermore, interesting contributions to the activities of the Finnish learned societies are T. Salminen's thesis *Suomen tieteelliset voittomaat* (Lands of conquest: Russia and Siberia in Finnish archaeology 1870-1935) which describes the expeditions to Russia of the Finnish Antiquarian Society<sup>48</sup> and K. Huumo's thesis "*Perkeleen kieli*" ("The Devil's language")<sup>49</sup> focusing on two disputes around the use of the Finnish language in scientific papers.

The international contacts of Finnish scholars and scientists have recently aroused interest among Finnish historians. *Tutkijat ja sota* (Researchers and the War), edited by M. Hietala, examines the contacts of scientists and the role of the research during the Second World War.<sup>50</sup> A thesis by P.M. Pihlaja *Tiedettä Pohjantähden alla* (Sci-

38 Chaline 1998.

39 McClelland 1980.

40 Bartholomew 1989; Burleigh 1988; Graham 1993.

41 Tommila and Tiitta 2000a; Tommila and Tiitta 2000b; Tommila and Tiitta 2001; Tommila and Tiitta 2002. An English summary of these four volumes was published by Tommila and Korppi-Tommola (2006).

42 The following volumes of this work have been cited in this study: Collander 1965; Hautala 1969; Nordman 1968; Ringbom 1986.

43 Klinge et al. 1987; Klinge et al. 1989; Klinge et al. 1990.

44 The most important histories for my study have been Tallgren 1920; Elfving 1921; Sivén 1943.

45 Sulkunen 2004.

46 Paaskoski 2008.

47 Salminen 2008.

48 Salminen 2003.

49 Huumo 2005.

50 Hietala 2006a.

ence under the Pole Star)<sup>51</sup> sheds light on the scientific co-operation in the eighteenth century, from the perspective of Swedish-French relations. E. Garritzen's *Lähteiden lumoamat* (Enchanted by sources) describes the work of Finnish historians in Rome and in the Vatican.<sup>52</sup> The general background of foreign relations is offered by J. Paasivirta's work *Finland and Europe 1808-1914* and *1915-1939*.<sup>53</sup>

### 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

To answer the main question of the present study, i. e. to see *if the Matthew effect was mitigated by the non-commercial distribution of academic publications*, I examine the exchange of publications of four Finnish learned societies which represent different disciplines, from their foundation until the Second World War. The recently founded, geographically peripheral Finnish societies and their strategies in linking themselves into an international scholarly community, form an intriguing point of departure to examine this period and to scrutinise the change in the structure of scientific community, in general. The main question is specified into five research questions and their subquestions.

First: (1) To what extent did these societies really aim at international networking and distribution of their publications to foreign exchange partners, or did they rather work for a domestic audience?

1a) If they aimed at reaching international academic readership, how did this goal affect the development of their journals?

The second research question focuses on the origins and motives of the exchange of publications. (2) How was the idea of exchanging publications adopted and what were the main motives of the societies when they undertook initiatives for this activity? Although it is impossible to measure the importance of various motives of exchange, I asked which motives were indicated explicitly in the documents of these four societies. The question is divided into subquestions:

2a) From where did the societies get models and guidance for this activity?

2b) What were the main motives for promoting exchanges or, alternatively, adopting a passive attitude?

2c) Was exchange discussed widely or accepted without reservations?

2d) What were the alternatives of exchange in distributing the publications and acquiring foreign literature?

Because the origins of the exchange of publications strongly mirrored the ideals of the Republic, the motives and the practices of exchange will serve to illustrate how the Republican heritage lived in the Finnish scholarly community and elsewhere.

<sup>51</sup> Pihlaja 2009.

<sup>52</sup> Garritzen 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Paasivirta 1978; Paasivirta 1984. I have used the Finnish version of the book entitled "Suomi ja Eurooppa". The abridged English version "Finland and Europe: international crises in the period of autonomy 1808-1917" and "Finland and Europe: the early years of independence 1917-1939" are published in 1981 and 1989.

The above issues lead to the most important research question of the present study:

- (3) How did the Finnish societies succeed in their efforts to distribute their publications and through this activity, to link themselves into the international networks?
- 3a) How large a share of exchanges was initiated by foreign partners and what kind of institutions were interested in Finnish research?
- 3b) Did these Finnish societies reach the publishers whose serials they were interested in, in order to acquire these publications to their libraries?
- 3c) How did geographical or institutional factors affect establishing exchanges?
- 3d) To what extent were the Finnish societies willing to establish exchanges with all those foreign institutions which took initiatives?

These questions are meant to shed light on the period characterised by increasing competition and the emergence of the Matthew effect. When did the scientific competition replace the old Republican ideals – or did it happen at all, during the period under study? How did the Matthew effect manifest itself in small and peripheral Finnish societies? What kind of strategies did the Finnish societies have in establishing their position in the international scholarly community? Did the Republican heritage aid them in their efforts?

Despite the Republican ideals of neutrality and objectivity, science and scholarship were not independent of politics. Especially in the interwar period, political questions were unavoidable and they were often discussed in Finnish learned societies. Hence the question: (4) how did the political upheavals such as the Russian Revolutions or the emergence of Nazism affect existing exchange relationships or establishing new ones? This question, again, illustrates the heritage of the Republic, where neutrality was a principal norm of science. From the point of view of the Matthew effect, it is also interesting to note that in the twentieth century politics had a major impact on the formation of centres and peripheries in science.

A final research question concerns the relevance of the exchange material. (5) To what extent were the periodicals received in exchange used by Finnish researchers?

- 5a) How was the literature received in exchange made available to readers?
- 5b) What share of the exchange publications was relevant to Finnish research?
- 5c) What kind of publications were the most relevant?
- 5d) How much did the exchange contribute to the use of foreign literature among Finnish researchers?

The answers to these questions will indicate if exchange as a method of non-commercial distribution and acquisition of publications mitigated the Matthew effect by creating well-functioning links between learned bodies and by providing useful literature. Alternatively, did it lead to a twofold structure of the scholarly community, that is users of the products of commercial publishing houses and the marginal category of other actors depending on the exchange publications?

The focus is here on these four societies, which excludes some interesting questions. For instance, the system of government subsidies, peculiar to Finland, is not analysed from the point of view of the funding party. The decisions to allow the subsidies probably influenced the formation of national science policy but this question is beyond the scope of this study. Another interesting subject would be the relevance of the Finnish exchange material in foreign publications which likewise is excluded from the work at hand.



These research questions are answered in the various chapters of this study, which is partly organised chronologically and partly by the activities of the societies. Chronological order makes it possible to underline the influences of the First World War, which was a significant watershed in science and scholarship.

The first chapter introduces the research questions, methods and research materials of the study. In the second chapter, two central concepts – the Republic of Letters and the Matthew effect – are discussed, together with the network theories and the theories of scientific centres and peripheries which both offer useful concepts for describing the international scholarly community. To illustrate the historical background of the societies under study, the position of Finland in the international networks of science and scholarship is examined in Chapter 2.3.2.

Chapter Three describes how these four societies under study were founded and what kind of activities they pursued. This chapter focuses especially on their publications, which are compared with the international development in the field of academic publishing. The scope of the journals, their language policy, the development of the peer review practices and the funding of the publications are discussed.

The focus of Chapter Four is on the foundation of exchange relations before the outbreak of the First World War. The initiators of the exchanges are categorised to investigate the extent to which the exchanges were proposed by the Finnish societies and the foreign partners. To analyse the exchange relations, the exchange partners are categorised geographically and according to their age and status. The rejected exchange initiatives are analysed similarly. Finally, two alternative means of international networking are described, the commercial distribution of publications and gifts to corresponding and honorary members. The chapter endeavours to ascertain what kind of strategies these four newcomers had in establishing their position in the research front.

Chapter Five describes political upheavals and their effect on the exchange relations. The First World War, the Russian Revolutions, the new independent position and the Civil War in Finland changed the environment radically. Furthermore, the economic situation after the war caused problems to learned societies. New exchange relations are examined with regard to the political and economic factors but also considering the development of scientific publishing.

The availability and use of the publications received by exchange is the focus of Chapter Six. These four societies differed in their library policies: the FLS maintained a library of its own. The FAS deposited its library in the National Museum of Finland. The majority of the collections of the SFFF and the FDS were located in the Library of the Scientific Societies. The use of material is described with the results of citation analyses focusing on the serials of the SFFF and FAS. The aim of these analyses is to demonstrate the relevance of the exchange material and to find the most useful contacts. The proportion of exchange publications and commercial publications in the references of the Finnish papers is also discussed.

Chapter Seven summarises the results, discusses their significance and proposes some issues for further research. Chapter Eight concludes this study.

## 1.4 RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHODS

At the end of the nineteenth century there were some thirty learned societies in Finland.<sup>54</sup> To strengthen the focus of the study, I have concentrated on four of them: the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (SFFF), the Finnish Literature Society (FLS), the Finnish Antiquarian Society (FAS) and the Finnish Dental Society (FDS). Selecting these four societies was not a matter of course. In addition to scholarly criteria, many practical reasons affected my choices.

*Table 1.1. The Finnish learned societies and the volume of their exchanges, in 1948.<sup>55</sup>*

<b>Society</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Number of exchanges in 1948</b>	<b>Number of exchanges / year</b>
Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica	1821	600	4,7
Medical Society of Finland	1835	102*	0,9
Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters	1838	454	4,1
Finnish Historical Society	1875	15	0,2
Finnish Medical Society Duodecim	1881	268*	4
Finno-Ugrian Society	1883	69	1,1
Society of Swedish Literature in Finland	1885	45	0,7
Geographical Society of Finland	1888	248	4,1
Finnish Society of Church History	1891	7	0,1
Finnish Dental Society	1892	22*	0,4
Biological Society of Finland Vanamo	1896	213	4,1
Finnish Academy of Science and Letters	1908	326	8,2
Genealogical Society of Finland	1917	31	1

My research began from studying the exchange relations of the FAS of whose library I had written a history<sup>56</sup> and whose archive was deposited in my place of employment – the Library of the National Board of Antiquities. The FAS was active in its pursuit of exchanges and had ample archival material on the subject. To compare its exchange policy with another society representing the humanities, I began to research

<sup>54</sup> Korppi-Tommola and Heikkilä 2009 p. 3 mention over thirty societies; Heikkilä 2002, p. 68, twenty-two societies while Kerkkonen 1949, p. 5, estimates their number somewhat lower, probably due to a different definition of a learned society.

<sup>55</sup> The number of exchanges in 1948 is listed in Kerkkonen 1949, pp. 53-54. The value of Exchanges/year is counted by dividing the number of exchanges by the age of society in 1948. The figures are only indicative, for they do not reveal ceased exchanges. The numbers marked with an asterix \* also include some subscribed serials whose share is not remarkable, at least in light of the material of the FDS or of the Duodecim society. See Soinen 1956, p. 134.

<sup>56</sup> Lilja 1998.

the exchange policy of the FLS. To my astonishment, it proved to be quite different. This old and established society was very passive in the field of exchanges. After having written a master's thesis on the exchanges of these two societies,<sup>57</sup> I ended up with the idea of examining two more societies which would pursue the natural sciences. To select these, I used the history of the Library of Scientific Societies.<sup>58</sup> This was a publicly available library where Finnish learned societies could deposit their collections and which organised lending services for their material. The societies belonging to this library and their exchanges are presented in Table 1.1

Not many scientific or medical societies were available, for most societies in this library represented the humanities. I did not want to choose societies which covered all major disciplines such as the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters or the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters because they would not serve well to exemplify the networks of various disciplines. Besides, they were more authoritative and enjoyed better funding than specialised societies. The Finnish Medical Society would have been an interesting object but its publishing policy had just recently been studied by K. Huumo in her thesis *The Devil's Language* and I did not want to do overlapping work.<sup>59</sup> The Finnish Medical Society Duodecim and Biological Society of Finland Vanamo were founded to promote Finnish-language publishing in their respective fields and hence their original aims were similar to those of the FLS whose goal was to promote the use of the Finnish language in general. Thus, there remained the SFFF, the Geographical Society of Finland and the FDS. The SFFF seemed to be the most interesting of these because it was the oldest Finnish scientific society and had abundantly exchange partners. The Geographical Society would have offered more material than the FDS but, on the other hand, its activities were close to those of the SFFF and the same people worked actively in both societies.<sup>60</sup> I therefore ultimately chose the SFFF together with the FDS which, conveniently, offered a medical point of view.

These four societies actually formed quite an interesting combination. First of all, they represented different branches of scholarship. The SFFF pursued botanical and zoological research. The FLS began by promoting the Finnish language and belles lettres and collecting folklore but later widened its activities to folklore and literature research, ethnology and Finnish linguistics. Archaeology was the most important field for the FAS, but it pursued history of art and ethnology, too. The FDS concentrated on dentistry and stomatology. Its membership was restricted to qualified dentists or the scientists researching affiliated subjects, whereas the three other societies were open to amateurs as well.<sup>61</sup> Second, they represented old and young societies. The SFFF and the FLS were the oldest learned societies in Finland and hence pioneers in many activities. The FAS, which was founded in 1870, and the FDS (founded in 1892) represent a younger generation. They had domestic models for society work but

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57 Lilja 2007.

58 Kerkkonen 1949.

59 Huumo 2005.

60 For instance, J. A. Palmén and Alvar Palmgren worked on the boards in both societies. See Vallisaari 2006 <http://helios.uta.fi:2288/kb/artikkeli/3579/> (cited 4 September 2011); Leikola 2006 <http://helios.uta.fi:2288/kb/artikkeli/7115/> (cited 4 September 2011).

61 Elfving 1921, pp. 19-20, 166-173; Sulkunen 2004, pp. 24-29, 53-57, 189-201; Tallgren 1920, pp. 6-7, 22, 161; Sivén 1943, pp. 36-39.

they had their own new ideas and aims which, in their opinion, could not be pursued in the old and established societies.<sup>62</sup> Third, the SFFF and FAS were active in their exchanges while the FLS and FDS pursued a passive policy.<sup>63</sup> Fourth, the publishing policies of the societies varied. The special feature in the publishing of the FLS from the year 1867 was an almost exclusive use of the Finnish language. The other three societies were more favourable to the use of Swedish<sup>64</sup> and foreign languages.<sup>65</sup>

The time span was easier to settle than the selection of the societies. The foundation of the first of these societies, the SFFF, in 1821 was a natural starting point. My master's thesis on the exchanges of the FLS and FAS ended at the First World War, but it had kindled my interest to study the effect of politics on scientific co-operation, which required extending the period at least until the outbreak of the Second World War. This solution meant studying a period of over a hundred years and reading enormous piles of archival material. To finish my thesis in a reasonable time, I had to limit it to the year 1939 though the dissolution of the Library of Scientific Societies in 1979 would also have been a convenient end point. From the international perspective, the Second World War was a natural watershed: the centre of scientific excellence was transferred to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean and the Iron Curtain divided the Eastern and the Western blocs. These factors seemed sufficient reasons to end this study at the outbreak of the Second World War.

The archives of the learned societies provide fascinating source material which has not been widely used in research although the societies had a remarkable role as publishers, as discussion forums and as assemblers of scientists, students and amateurs. Their archives consist of minutes, annual reports, correspondence, library catalogues, account books, publications and miscellanea. The societies used to assemble for a meeting once a month during the academic terms. The minutes of the monthly meetings have been extensively preserved for all these four societies (except for three meetings of the FDS which are missing), hence forming a fundamental source material of this study. Usually, the information about new exchange relations was registered in them. At the end of the nineteenth century, the planning of activities – and in practice also the decision-making in crucial questions like publishing – was transferred to the boards, whose minutes are available for all societies except the FDS. The minutes and annual reports represent the standpoints of the leading and influential members and only seldom do conflicts or dissenting opinions appear in them. Attachments to the minutes include more divergent information, for instance statements justifying the proposals for corresponding members; the peer reviews of papers; and rejoinders to them. The correspondence, too, offers wider perspective on exchange relations, their motives and procedures. Unfortunately, neither attachments nor letters have been extensively preserved.

The library catalogues indicate which publications were received i. e. which exchange relations were actually functioning. The FLS kept an acquisitions catalogue

62 Lilja 2007, pp. 21, 57; Sivén 1943, pp. 6-15.

63 Until the 1950s, the FLS had established some 0.8 exchanges per year and the FAS 3.7 exchanges per year, until 1920. Nivanka 1957, p. 5; Tallgren 1920, p. 205.

64 Swedish was another domestic language and the traditional language of education in Finland.

65 Elfving 1921, pp. 57, 168-172; Sulkunen 2004, p. 92; Tallgren 1920, pp. 123-124; Sivén 1943, p. 129.

from the beginning (1831) and the catalogue of the FAS was started in 1910.<sup>66</sup> In the SFFF and the FDS, the lists of serials received were attached to the annual reports and published, albeit not for the whole period.<sup>67</sup> In the 1950s, catalogues of their serial publications were made in the Library of Scientific Societies. These catalogues were used retrospectively to cover those years which lack the contemporary serials lists. This is somewhat problematic because one cannot be sure which serials were actually received before the Second World War and which ones only later.<sup>68</sup>

The account books of the societies provide information on the costs and the sales of publications. The cash books and ledgers of the FLS and FAS are available in their archives, whereas the SFFF and FDS have only annual accounts published in their annual reports. Furthermore, the archives of the societies include constitutions, the programmes of festivities and various reports and lists which have been used as supplementary source material.

The exchange relations are examined by means of descriptive statistics. The definition of an exchange relation is somewhat complicated, for the societies did not make any formal agreements on exchanges. Usually, a proposition for an exchange relation arrived in a letter, the decision to start an exchange with a new partner was registered in the minutes and the consignment of publications began. Unfortunately, not all cases follow this formula. Sometimes, the parties agreed on exchange, but the foreign partner did not put it into practice – at least no periodicals were received. Relationships of this kind, however, are regarded as exchanges if the Finnish party kept sending its publications and hence the relationship formed a link between two institutions. Besides, it is possible, that these partners sent monographs or some other material which was difficult to trace in the catalogues of serials. Only 8% of the exchanges of the SFFF, 7% of the FLS, 6% of the FAS and 8% of the FDS were of this type. The other problematic case is the one where the serials of a foreign publisher just arrived for years although no letters survive and the minutes do not mention anything about an exchange arrangement. In these cases, the consignor was regarded as an exchange partner if its name appeared somewhere in the mailing lists of the respective Finnish society, which indicates that return presents were sent, at least occasionally. Such cases account for less than 10% in the material of the SFFF, FLS and FAS but in the FDS

66 Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran kirjaston kartuntakirjat 1 (1831-1848) – 8 (1938-1942). SKS, Kirjasto; Kirjaston aksessiokataloogi 2/1910-5/1920; KM & SMY Kirjaston päiväkirja v. 1928-1936; Kirjasto 1937-1952. NBA Library.

67 Förteckning öfver de vetenskapliga samfund, med hvilka Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica står i skriftutbyte, jemte uppgift på skrifter anlända från den 15.10.1881 till 1.12.1883. In MEDDELANDE 9(1883); L'accroissement du bibliothèque par des publications reçues à titre d'échange 1883-1892. In MEDDELANDE 11(1885) – 18(1891-92); Bulletin Bibliographique: Ouvrages reçus par la société 1892-1911. In MEDDELANDE 19(1893) – MEDDELANDE 41 (1915); Suomen Hammaslääkärisseuran vuosikertomukset, Suomen Hammaslääkärisseuran toimituksia 8(1911) – 46(1932).

68 Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica: Luettelo seuran kirjastossa olevista ulkomaisista sarjajulkaisuista. 1.4.1958. Laatinut Gunvor Hällsten. Venäläiset sarjat luetteloinut Matti Kahla. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:27. FNL; Suomen Hammaslääkärisseura – Luettelo seuran kirjastossa olevista ulkomaisista sarjajulkaisuista 1.5.1958. Laatineet Berit Boström, Eeva-Maija Tammekann. Archive of the Federation of Finnish Scientific Societies. 630:177. Kotelo (Folder) 15. NARC.

the share of indefinable exchanges is approximately one half.<sup>69</sup> Although the degree of uncertainty was so large I considered it justified to outline the exchange network of the FDS since it reveals many interesting features.

I have collected the data on exchanges in matrices which include the names of the partners and the following variables: 1) the inception year of an exchange relation; 2) the initiator to an exchange; 3) the country of an exchange partner; 4) the type of the exchange partner; 5) the age of the exchange partner. Information on journals received was also written on these matrices as well as the sources used for defining the variables. The first three variables were defined on the grounds of the minutes, letters and reports of the societies, whereas for the last two variables, various directories, encyclopaedias and websites of the respective societies and institutions have been used.<sup>70</sup> The most difficult variable to define was the geographical categorisation, for the period under study was more or less turbulent: the same city might belong to two or three countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This problem was solved by using the political borders of the interwar period in all tables and figures because this solution allowed me to compare the share of new independent countries such as Estonia in the prewar and interwar time. The types of the exchange partners were analysed to illustrate what kind of partners the Finnish societies reached. The categorisation was partly based on the typologies of societies and academies by McClellan and Chaline.<sup>71</sup> At the top of the hierarchy were academies and national societies, which usually had funding or privileges to ensure their economy. Their membership consisted of professional researchers and their work had national or international scope, whereas provincial or local societies focused their interest on their own area and amateurs constituted a considerable share of their membership. In the categorisation of this study, provincial and local societies are both in the class of local societies except for those societies which at the time of establishing the exchange relation were provincial but represented nations which formed states during the interwar period, such as the Learned Estonian Society. They were counted among national societies here. In addition to societies and academies, various other types were used. The class of libraries consists of national, official or public libraries while the university libraries were categorised as universities. Moreover, exchanges were established with museums, botanical gardens, research institutes, educational institutes, exchange centres and independent journals.

The rejected exchange offers made by the Finnish societies were similarly collected into matrices and analysed. This analysis concerns only the SFFF and the FAS, whose archive material includes lists of all exchange offers, also those declined by the foreign institutions. Such lists are available only for the pre-war period. The rejection rate was used as an indicator when examining the success of these Finnish societies in

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<sup>69</sup> These figures are based on the number of unknown initiatives but are estimated to be lower because not all the unknown initiatives represent the indefinable exchanges. Some of them were explicitly registered in the minutes as new exchanges but without mentioning the initiator.

<sup>70</sup> The most important directories used in the matrices are: *The World of Learning 1947*; *Scholarly Societies Project* <http://ssp-search.uwaterloo.ca/compound.cfm>; *Sociétés savantes de France* [par] *Le comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* <http://cths.fr/an/index.php>; *Справочник научных обществ России*. <http://www.snor.ru/index.php?an=about>; Fabian 2003. Various websites used for definitions are not mentioned in the list of references.

<sup>71</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 1-40; Chaline 1998, pp. 67-69.

establishing exchanges with various countries or various types of institutions. It was calculated by dividing the number of rejected offers by the sum of the established exchanges (including both those initiated by the respective Finnish society and by the foreign partner and unknown cases) and rejected offers.

The variables were analysed by producing charts, contingency tables and thematic maps with Excel, SPSS and Mapinfo software. Quantitative methods were used for other themes too: the costs and the sales proceeds of publications were analysed in time series and the number of corresponding members of the societies in charts.<sup>72</sup>

To examine the relevance of the exchange material, citation analyses were conducted in the serials of the SFFF and the FAS which were the most active societies in establishing exchanges. The serials they received in exchange can be listed reasonably unambiguously, unlike the serials in the library of the FDS, which were listed inconsistently. Furthermore, the papers published by the SFFF and FAS had well-defined footnotes or reference lists, unlike the journal *Suomi* of the FLS. The time span of the analysis covered the years 1919-1939. Before World War I, the share of amateur writers was larger. Amateurs living in various districts of Finland, could seldom have access to the libraries of the societies. Furthermore, their papers were often descriptive catalogues – not research, per se and therefore would not give a reliable picture of the relevance of the exchange journals. During the interwar period, more stringent peer review and editing practices were adopted and writing became more academic, which makes it possible to investigate what kind of material was used in Finnish research.

The research material of the citation analysis consisted of the serials intended for academic readership. Only research articles and monographs were analysed. Bibliographies, biographical texts, histories, descriptive catalogues and some papers, which did not include systematic reference lists or footnotes, were excluded,<sup>73</sup> as were also articles written by foreigners, for their texts cannot answer the question of the relevance of exchange material for Finnish research. The volume of published and analysed papers is presented in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2. *Material of the citation analysis.*

Journal	Number of papers published	Number of papers analysed
Acta Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica	100	68
Acta Botanica Fennica	24	23
Acta Zoologica Fennica	24	23
Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja = Journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society	53	36
Total	201	150

<sup>72</sup> The methodological guidelines were provided by Hudson 2000.

<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, one exceptionally large volume, Enzio Reuter's *Beiträge zu einer einheitlichen Auffassung gewisser Chromosomenfragen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Chromosomenverhältnisse in der Spermatogenese von Alydus calcaratus L. (Hemiptera)* (1930) is excluded although it did not belong to the above mentioned groups. Lagerspetz (2000, p. 224) characterises the book as a large summarising work which appeared so late that it was no longer current. The use of literature differed from the other studies for being so voluminous.

It should be noted that the citation analysis does not cover all Finnish research in these disciplines. In the field of biology, Vanamo (the society of Finnish-speaking biologists) founded its own scientific journals *Annales Societatis Vanamo* (published 1923-1931) and its successors *Annales Botanici* and *Annales Zoologici* in the 1930s. They absorbed the majority of articles and monographs written by Finnish-speaking researchers, leaving the Acta series of the SFFF to the Swedish-speaking naturalists and young researchers who needed publishers for their theses. Furthermore, in 1924 the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters launched *Commentationes Biologicae* to publish papers in general biological questions. Only six volumes appeared during the interwar period. Some members published in the *Acta Forestalia Fennica* of the Finnish Society of Forest Science. Publishing in foreign journals was not common.<sup>74</sup> The Journal of FAS did not have domestic competitors, except for *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (ESA), an international journal for archaeology and ethnology published from 1926. Archaeologists, however, were eager to use foreign forums.<sup>75</sup> All in all, the results of the citation analysis answer the question: how did exchange fulfill the research purposes of these societies. In regard to the Finnish biological or archaeological research in general, the results are only indicative. Yet, given that the majority of the biologists, archaeologists and ethnologists of the time, whose names were mentioned in *Suomen tieteen historia* (*The History of Finnish Science and Learning*), published at least one paper in the analysed journals, the results can be considered trustworthy enough.<sup>76</sup>

The method of the citation analysis was adapted from the Finnish textbook of bibliometrics by R. Kärki and T. Kortelainen.<sup>77</sup> Because the analysed material was only in printed form, the citations had to be registered manually. This was done in matrices including citing papers in columns and serials received by exchange, in rows. The list of the exchange serials included journals, monograph series, yearbooks and

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<sup>74</sup> In 1919-1939, the professor of botany Alvar Palmgren, and his colleague at the University of Turku, Kaarlo Linkola both published 2% of their papers in foreign forums and the professor of zoology, Kaarlo Mainio Levander only 0.4%. Collander et al. 1973, pp. 318-324, 392-397 (Palmgren 2/98, Linkola 4/166). Lindberg 1937, pp. 211-221, 319-320; Lindberg 1953, pp. 133-134, 206. (Levander 1/227).

<sup>75</sup> The professor of archaeology A.M. Tallgren published 17% of his papers outside Finland. As an editor of the ESA, he favoured this forum, which published 37% of his studies. The State Antiquarian J. A. Nordman published 33% of his papers in foreign journals or reference books. See: Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia vuoteen 1980: Bibliografi över Finlands Arkeologiska Litteratur 1918-1925, pp. 51, 55-57; Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia 1926-1935, pp. 57-58, 67-71; Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia 1936-1943 (1987), pp. 77-78, 83-84.

<sup>76</sup> Lagerspetz 2000, pp. 207-233; Herlin 2000, pp. 152-156, 169-172.

<sup>77</sup> Kärki and Kortelainen 1996, pp. 39-43.



annual reports.<sup>78</sup> (Bibliographies, abstract and index publications were excluded.) An additional matrix was created similarly for those cited serials which were not received by exchange. The third matrix listed the cited papers written by corresponding members of the societies, including monographs and articles. Furthermore, the share of foreign monographs and domestic literature was counted. Each serial was counted as many times as its various articles (or monographic volumes) appeared in a list of references or in the footnotes of a paper, i.e. if the author referred to five different articles published in one journal, this journal received five citations. Instead, multiple citations to one article produced only one citation to the respective journal per paper. To examine the importance of the exchange serials, their share in the citations was compared with four other categories: the domestic literature; texts written by corresponding members of the societies (which were often donated to the societies); other foreign journals; other foreign monographs. The last two categories indicate either the share of the literature that had to be purchased or journals which were exchange publications of other societies.

It should be noted that a citation to an exchange serial does not mean that this cited volume was actually available in the library of the society. Sometimes the authors even cited papers which they had not read, either on the grounds of their abstracts or on the grounds of citations in other publications.<sup>79</sup> In this respect, the results are only indicative. They suggest that certain exchange serials were relevant for research – some of them even before the establishment of a respective exchange relation. The concept of relevance was used quite liberally, assuming that citing a journal is an indication of its significance for the research.<sup>80</sup> Although not necessarily an indication of intellectual influence, a citation indicates a link between two journals and two research communities. Either the cited journal includes relevant information or the writer supposes that someone else (supervisor, editor, reader etc.) appreciates it being cited. Critical or even disclaiming references prove that the cited text has aroused some interest. Therefore, the character or the context of the citations is not examined in this study.

78 The lists were based in library catalogues of the societies. Förteckning öfver de vetenskapliga samfund, med hvilka SFFF står i skriftutbyte, jemte uppgift på skrifter anlända från den 15.10.1881 till 1.12.1883. In *MEDDELANDE* 9(1883), 179-186; *Lacroissement du bibliothèque par des publications reçues à titre d'échange du 1.12.1883-1.3.1885*. In *MEDDELANDE* 11(1885) – 18(1891-92); *Bulletin Bibliographique: Ouvrages reçues par la société du 13 mai 1892 au 13 mai 1893 – 13 mai 1914 au 13 mai 1915*. In *MEDDELANDE* 19(1893) – 41(1915); *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica: Luettelo seuran kirjastossa olevista ulkomaisista sarjajulkaisuista*. 1.4.1958. *Laatinut Gunvor Hällsten; venäläiset sarjat luetteloinut Matti Kahla*. 1-2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:27. FNL; *Kirjaston aksessiokataloogi 2/1910-5.1920*; *KM & SMY Kirjaston päiväkirja v. 1928-1936*; *Kirjasto 1937-1952*. NBA Library. The serials, which were not published by an exchange partner, have not been included unless letters or some other documents refer to the fact that they might have been mediated by an exchange centre such as *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* or another exchange partner which had completed its exchange material with the publications of another local institution.

79 For instance, in the reference list of AZF 8, there is a note: *Die mit einem \* bezeichneten Arbeiten waren mir nicht im Originale zugänglich*.

80 Citation analyses have often been criticised for considering the citations as an exact measure of intellectual debts, whereas, in practice, the reference lists include many publications which are cited because of established practice or as a courtesy to the reviewers or to some other non-scientific reason. See: Cronin 1984, 27-28, 63-65; Kärki and Kortelainen 1996, 96-98.

Although various statistical descriptions were widely employed in this study, they cannot embrace all interesting questions. Therefore, qualitative historical analysis – reading, interpreting and citing previously mentioned archival sources – was used as well. Via representative citations from letters, speeches and reports I aim to describe the values, conceptions and motives inherent in publishing, exchange and international co-operation – things that cannot be revealed by numbers. I have translated the texts written in Swedish and Finnish which are not understood outside Nordic countries but left intact the German and French citations. The original citations of the translated texts are to be found in the footnotes. Similarly, the Swedish, Finnish and Russian titles of journals and books are translated into English. When transliterating cyrillic names and titles in the text, I have used the ISO 9 standard. When citing Russian authors their names in the footnotes appear in Cyrillic.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The transliteration scheme is to be found in Appendix 10. It is based on ISO 9.

## 2 NETWORKS OF SCIENCE AND SCHOLARSHIP

### 2.1 THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY – A REPUBLIC OF LETTERS?

Today, the term scientific community is widely used. For instance, when speaking on a disputed topic, such as climate change, it is usual to refer to the opinion of the scientific community.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the concept is not clearly defined and often it is used only metaphorically.<sup>83</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica does not have an entry for scientific community while Wikipedia defines it as consisting of the total body of scientists, their relationships and interactions. Its membership is generally, but not exclusively, based on education, employment status and institutional affiliation. Communication among members occurs by disseminating research work and hypotheses through articles in peer reviewed journals, by attending conferences or by via various informal methods.<sup>84</sup> This chapter examines the development of the scientific community, its manners and ethical codes as well as regularities and mechanisms which affect its structure.

The origins of the scientific community could be traced to Plato's Academy or to the mediaeval universities, whose Latin name *universitas* referred to a collective of teachers and students.<sup>85</sup> Though mediaeval universities were erudite communities, it would be misleading to consider them to have formed a scientific community, for actually, they did not practise science. Only the dawn of modern science in the Renaissance academies ushered in the idea of a scientific community. It was to be called the Republic of Letters (*Respublica literaria*) – the concept embraces the humanities as well. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term Republic of Letters was used increasingly in erudite letters and as a title of books and journals. It did not refer to any specific learned institution but manifested the idea of the community of scientists and scholars, separate from the rest of society. In this realm, the scholars were neither members of their estates, nor subject to the norms and values of the wider society. The ideal was an essentially egalitarian community, where all members had equal

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<sup>82</sup> The Google search with these two terms yields over three million references.

<sup>83</sup> Caellegh 2003, p. 227.

<sup>84</sup> Scientific Community. Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific\\_community](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_community) (cited 21 December 2010).

<sup>85</sup> Academy, n. Second edition, 1989; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/891> (cited 2 September 2011); university, n. Third edition, November 2010; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/214804> (cited 2 September 2011).

rights to criticise the work of others as well as their manners and conduct. Another crucial feature was ignoring the distinctions and rivalries concerning nationality and religion – a noteworthy attitude, especially in seventeenth century Europe, torn by the religious wars.<sup>86</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the citizens of the Republic did not consist only of academics. Actually, the majority had another position in society because a salary for scientific work was seldom offered at the time. Hence, they were clerics or monks, sometimes archivists or librarians. The craftspeople, merchants or noblemen interested in science and letters were welcomed to the community as well. The membership was even open to those erudites who did not publish anything, the various collectors, for instance.<sup>87</sup> The Republic was a network tied together by correspondence and mutual favours. Being its citizen meant a willingness to inform others on scientific news and gossips, to help them in buying books and journals, to extend academic hospitality, to introduce people to each other etc. The expectation of reciprocity regarding the favours of this kind was the right of every citizen. The cohesion of the scholarly community presupposed not only willingness to help others but also an open and modest attitude.<sup>88</sup>

The Republic of Letters was a cultural construct developed by seventeenth and eighteenth century erudites. It was not restricted to a specific area, neither did it have a written constitution. The rules and manners of Republicans were expounded in letters, books, articles and obituaries, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly. Probably due to the abundant and fragmentary material, the Republic of Letters has fascinated historians. Yet no unanimity has been reached, either on the timing or on the elements of the Republic.<sup>89</sup> Even its mere existence has been impugned. W. Clark states that the whole Republic was just a plethora of provincial and other groups, the only really cosmopolitan group being the Jesuits, whose community was, nevertheless, closed and hierarchical.<sup>90</sup> S. Shapin, for his part, has challenged its cosmopolitan character by remarking that it excluded women and Jews.<sup>91</sup> Other historians have seen the Republic in a more positive light, however, emphasising different aspects of it.

A. Goldgar positions the Republic in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Europe. For her, the nodes of the Republic were people. Crucial links among its citizens were shared values which were created by the interactions among erudites.<sup>92</sup> D. Goodman sees the early history of the Republic similarly but argues that in the

86 Goldgar 1995, pp. 2-3; McClellan 1985, p. 5; Somsen 2008, p. 363; Daston 1991, pp. 375-379; Goodman 1994, pp. 14-15; Shapin 1998, pp. 6-7. [http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science\\_and\\_Prejudice\\_1998-1999.pdf](http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science_and_Prejudice_1998-1999.pdf) (cited 13 May 2011).

87 Goldgar 1995, p. 3; Brockliss 2002, pp. 10-12, 367; Res publica literaria. Wikipedia, Die freie Enzyklopädie. [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Res\\_publica\\_literaria](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Res_publica_literaria) (cited 21 December 2010).

88 Goldgar 1995, pp. 12-19, 150-153; Goodman 1994, pp. 17-18; Brockliss 2002, pp. 107-108, 367.

89 The research concerning the Republic is well described in the Wikipedia entry The Republic of Letters. Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_letters](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_letters). (cited 21 December 2010). Only the recent research and research focusing on the scientific and scholarly traditions of the Republic is discussed here.

90 Clark 2003, pp. 220, 234-235.

91 Shapin 1998, pp. 13-15. [http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science\\_and\\_Prejudice\\_1998-1999.pdf](http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science_and_Prejudice_1998-1999.pdf) (cited 13 May 2011).

92 Goldgar 1995, pp. 4, 13.

eighteenth century the citizens withdrew from the old Latin erudite traditions and formed a new, more secular, more conversational and more national culture whose language was French. The new Republic saw its justification in its service to humanity rather than in a pure concept of knowledge.<sup>93</sup> This new culture developed around the encyclopedists, their contributors and subscribers, but moved in the second half of the century to the literary salons which were to play a prominent role in the Republic. Salons, hosted by enlightened ladies, brought together nobles and intellectuals, *philosophes*, in order to educate and cultivate them and create a common medium of cultural exchange. They brought order to the Republic which, at least in France, was torn by the duelling culture of the nobles and the disputational style of erudites educated at Jesuit colleges.<sup>94</sup>

L.W.B. Brockliss, who studied the correspondence networks of an eighteenth century Avignon physician, Esprit Calvet, disagrees with Goodman and Goldgar on timing and on the connections to the Enlightenment. He states that the Republic continued its existence in its traditional erudite form along with the Parisian salon culture. Contacts between these circles existed but they were sparse and usually sporadic. However, both cultures were bearers of the Enlightenment – the *philosophes* in more radical and forward-looking way, the Republicans in their utilitarian tendencies towards the furtherance of human happiness and their belief in reason and the enlightenment. Though often religious characters and conservative supporters of the Ancien Régime, the Republicans could at least fashion an alternative society.<sup>95</sup>

The relation of the Republic to various institutions is also debatable. From the foundation of the Académie française in 1635, and the Royal Society in 1660, began a period when the academies and societies spread from Central Europe all over the world, providing organised procedures and regular communication channels for scientific work. Goodman and Goldgar see the role of the academies at least partly contradictory to the spirit of the Republic. By settling in the academies, the Republic entered into the service of the state and in so doing was forced to relinquish its independence. Autonomy, deeply appreciated by the men of letters, could not be maintained in these state-sponsored institutions.<sup>96</sup> Brockliss and J. McClellan, instead, see the role of learned societies and academies as being the institutional outposts of the Republic. Although these institutions had more or less close connections with rulers, they represented the cosmopolitan spirit of the Republic, for instance, by networking internationally via corresponding members and by exchanging their publications.<sup>97</sup> C.E. McClelland, for his part, states that in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, universities were called the Republic of Letters since they maintained a liberal atmosphere, promoting friendships and contacts over regional, class and religious

<sup>93</sup> Goodman 1994, pp. 21-24, 33. Goodman examines the Republic mainly from the French point of view.

<sup>94</sup> Goodman pp. 1994, 5-11, 32, 41, 46, 52, 91-97. Goodman argues that the role of salons as the promoters of the Enlightenment has been underestimated because, unlike the societies and academies, they were presided over by ladies.

<sup>95</sup> Brockliss 2002, pp. 392-403.

<sup>96</sup> Goldgar 1995, pp. 228, 237-240; Goodman 1994, pp. 21-27. Goodman speaks more of academies than societies.

<sup>97</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 4-8; Brockliss 2002, pp. 9-10; Daston 1990, pp. 97-98.

distinctions. He does not analyse the concept of Republic very profoundly but his material indicates that the term was widely used.<sup>98</sup>

The Republic of Letters had its material base in surplus production and urban growth. Not only did urbanisation produce the economic and physical infrastructure like postal services which enabled scholarly activities to flourish, but it also created a demand for social activities.<sup>99</sup> J.-P. Chaline and P. Clark, who have studied the history of associational life in France and in the United Kingdom, both note that the motives in joining various clubs, societies and associations lie simply in the human inclination to socialize, which needed new forums in an urban environment. Belonging to a society meant knowing important people, increasing one's reputation as an active and erudite member of a local community and perhaps even having financial aid in times of difficulty.<sup>100</sup> However, that is not all, as P. Clark points out:

*At such places, as we know, they would take part in the formal business and then sit around with friends, usually with a drink, to hear the latest news or scandal, to join in a song, to escape from the tedium of work and the family, in other words, to have a little fun.*<sup>101</sup>

Chaline gives similar motive : *ennui d'une petite ville, que l'on cherche à tromper.*<sup>102</sup>

Goldgar explains the structure and unwritten rules of the Republic with utilitarian viewpoints as well but she emphasises rather scholarly than social benefits. In the seventeenth century, research libraries and archives were rare, travelling was laborious, the supply of booksellers did not meet the demand and postal services were expensive. Some cities had excellent scholars while others had flourishing bookshops. Therefore, networking was necessary for those who needed research material and liked to know what was going on in the world of learning. Correspondence and mutual favours gradually evolved from a means to an end.<sup>103</sup> Brockliss also emphasises the practical benefits the members of the Republic expected. His subject, Esprit Calvet, soon lost interest in correspondents who could offer him nothing useful. Steady contacts were maintained with those men who could help this amateur antiquarian to develop his collections or scientists outstanding enough for their friendship to give him prestige etc. If the correspondents were expected to be of service, they, for their part, could ask similar favours.<sup>104</sup>

The Republic of Letters faded away in the course of time. Goldgar, who dated the disappearance of the Republic to the early eighteenth century, saw the reason partly in the institutionalised communication channels created by societies, academies and the learned journals, partly in the new culture of the Enlightenment where the old Republic with its purely erudite aims became outmoded and conservative in the eyes of mondial *philosophes*.<sup>105</sup> For Goodman, the grounds for its decline were in the growth

98 McClelland 1980, pp. 3, 136, 154, 292.

99 Clark P. 2000, pp. 141-144; McClelland 1985, p. 8; Chaline 1998, p. 83; Goodman 1994, pp. 12-15, 23-24.

100 Clark P. 2000, pp. 151-155; Chaline 1998, pp. 233-235.

101 Clark P. 2000, p. 491.

102 Chaline 1998, p. 233.

103 Goldgar 1995, pp. 15-19, 226-227.

104 Brockliss 2002, pp. 43, 88-89, 92-93.

105 Goldgar 1995, pp. 226-227, 239.

of a new masculine and disputative culture. At the end of the eighteenth century, the *philosophes* became increasingly engaged with public matters and with the public itself through the medium of print. The new culture meant open disputes in the printed media and the emergence of more hierarchical institutions which excluded ladies.<sup>106</sup> According to Brockliss, the Republic was reorganised in France soon after the havoc of the Revolution. The Napoleonic era meant better prospects for science as well as for antiquarian research. Even the aged physician Esprit Calvet was at the turn of the century again exchanging letters with those members of his network who had survived the Terror. The ethical norms of the Republic were still valued but the new cultural bureaucracy and growing nationalism diminished their importance. Although French scholars continued to use the language of internationalism, they tended to stress that they worked for the glory of France. Napoleon's efforts in binding scholars to the service of the nation by rewarding them with medals, aristocratic titles and other symbolic gestures were successful. Furthermore, the Paris-centred network of cultural institutions offered researchers new salaried posts. The increasing number of provincial societies began to receive funding for publishing, but simultaneously, they were brought under the control of local prefects, i. e. Napoleon's officials and their members were expected to present papers and publish them. Scholarship was no longer a private affair.<sup>107</sup>

The national tone of the French Republicans was at first disapproved of by other European scholars but in the course of the nineteenth century, internationalism faded in Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and in many other countries. A nineteenth century scientist was supposed to glorify his own nation, not the international scholarly community, albeit his success was still assessed in the international arena. The strengthening nationalism opened the gates of the Republic for politics. The dictum of Edward Jenner *The sciences are never at war* was replaced by another stated by one of the developers of chlorine gas, Fritz Haber: *In wartime, the scholar belongs to his nation, in peacetime to mankind.*<sup>108</sup>

The structure of the scholarly organisations changed in the nineteenth century. The old learned societies declined in relative importance. With a few exceptions, the national academies became more honorary organisations recognising scientific accomplishment achieved elsewhere. Discipline-oriented organisations with their specialised journals came increasingly to supplant the old umbrella societies. The distinctively professional organisations for science, such as the Deutsche Naturforscher Versammlung and the British Association for the Advancement of Science represented a new mode for organised science. The German universities were forerunners of the new academic culture with their modern laboratories and professionally qualified scientists. Paid posts for professional scientists were founded not only in universities but also in new research institutes such as geological surveys. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, gentlemen devoted to science as a lifetime's choice still had a remarkable role in science-making.<sup>109</sup>

106 Goodman 1994, pp. 183-185, 233-234, 250-251.

107 Brockliss 2002, pp. 363-376. See also Daston 1990, pp. 109-110.

108 Somsen 2008, pp. 364-367; Daston 1990, pp. 99-101; Crawford 1990, pp. 252.

109 McClellan 1985, pp. 253-259; McClellan 2003, pp. 105-106; Morrell 1990, pp. 51-53.

What then, remains of the Republic? Did it vanish or did it remain as a distant ideal of scholarly co-operation? Can it still be seen in manners and phrases? At least as a rhetorical concept, the Republic survived into the twentieth century. In the 1930s, it appeared in a series of open letters launched by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, where it was used by no less than Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud.<sup>110</sup> Republican ideas are also discernible in the norms of science defined by the sociologist R. Merton in the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>111</sup> Merton, however, considered seventeenth century Puritanism a background of his normative structure of science, having no interest in the concept of the Republic of Letters.<sup>112</sup>

The first of Merton's norms is *universalism*, which manifests the principle that scientific claims must be judged exclusively by scientific criteria. The nationality, race, family or other personal attributes of the scientist must be ignored when his or her work is judged.<sup>113</sup> A similar idea was obvious in the Republic, where Catholic and Protestant scholars dismissed religious questions in scholarly discourse. Military rivalries were ignored when the learned societies organised common projects of observation of the transit of Venus in 1761.<sup>114</sup> The second norm, *communism* or *communalism*, refers to the communal character of science and learning. According to Merton, the substantive findings of science are a product of social collaboration and, hence, assigned to the scholarly community. They constitute a common heritage where the property rights of their individual producers are severely limited. The results of research should be published and made available to all.<sup>115</sup> Again, this spirit seems to be inherited from the Republic. The virtues of a scholar included not only openness with information but also assistance in research, instructive conversation etc. Science was a common endeavour.<sup>116</sup> The third norm, *disinterestedness*, mirrors the moral attitudes which prevent a scientist from trying to gain benefit, for instance, by using fraud or stealing others' results. This norm does not have an obvious counterpart in the Republic unless the admiration of an ascetic lifestyle is considered as such. However, in his later article Merton introduced an additional norm, *humility*, which assumes the scientist will acknowledge his indebtedness to his predecessors and to admit his personal limitations.<sup>117</sup> The humble behaviour was deeply rooted in the etiquette of the Republic where pride was an unforgivable sin, no matter how talented a scholar was.<sup>118</sup> The fourth norm, *organised scepticism*, can, again, be traced to the Republic. The right to open criticism being one of the keystones of the Republic, it was obvious that the practice was adopted in scientific papers which, from the very beginning, were subjected to the scrutiny of peers.<sup>119</sup>

110 Sörlin 1994, p. 17. The concept *Gelehrtenrepublik* was also used to describe the system of international exchanges by Hans Lutz in a library meeting, in 1930. See Lutz 1932, p. 284.

111 Shapin 1998, pp. 9-10. [http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science\\_and\\_Prejudice\\_1998-1999.pdf](http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hsdept/bios/docs/shapin-Science_and_Prejudice_1998-1999.pdf) (cited 13 May 2011).

112 Merton (1938) 1973, pp. 228-253. See also the prefatory note by Norman W. Storer, p. 226.

113 Merton (1942) 1973, pp. 270-273.

114 Goldgar 1995, pp. 182-188; Crosland (2005) 2007, p. 30; Daston 1991, pp. 375-377.

115 Merton (1942) 1973, pp. 273-275.

116 Goldgar 1995, pp. 90-91, 153-154.

117 Merton (1942) 1973, pp. 275-277; Merton (1957) 1973, pp. 303-305; Goldgar 1995, p. 154; Brockliss 2002, p. 38.

118 Goldgar, 1995, pp. 158-160.

119 Merton (1942) 1973, pp. 277-278; Goldgar 1995, pp.2-3; Katzen 1980, pp. 184-185.



According to Merton, these norms, which express the values of scholars, form the ethos of science. Like the manners of the Republic, the moral consensus of scientists is not a formal written law, but is expressed in use and wont, in writing on scientific spirit and in moral indignation directed at contraventions.<sup>120</sup> Merton's student and collaborator, S. Cole, argued that for Merton, the normative structure was not stating what science actually is but the norms were ideals towards which scientists were ambivalent.<sup>121</sup> This ambivalence has subsequently been emphasised by I. Mitroff and M. Mulkay among others. J. Ziman, for his part, thought that the Mertonian system was valid in the 1950s but from the 1960s on, many features of sciences have changed and new norms have arisen.<sup>122</sup>

Although Merton's normative structure as well as the traditions of the Republic have been impugned, there are cases where the willingness to work together as equals, to give aid to others and to aim at open communication has materialised in the scientific community. The Humboldtian ideal of teaching in seminars where students and professors work together to explore the frontiers of knowledge mirrors the Republican ideal, albeit in institutional frames.<sup>123</sup> Sometimes, the willingness to aid others is intertwined with the political or practical aims of the giving party. From the Finnish point of view, a particularly important case was the ASLA aid, established after the Second World War. Then the United States decided to use the payments and interests of the Finnish debts acquired after the First World War partly as grants to Finnish students for studies or research work in the USA, and partly as donations of scientific literature to Finnish libraries. This ASLA program had a remarkable influence on Finnish science and libraries, like the contemporary Fulbright scholarship, which was available to other European countries, too.<sup>124</sup> A recent manifestation of Republican spirit is the Open Access movement, which aims at the egalitarian distribution of scholarly journals. Nevertheless, idealism at the time of Republic – as it is today – was often confronted by reality in the form of limited resources, personal ambitions and continuous competition.

## 2.2 THEORIES OF CUMULATIVE ADVANTAGE IN SCIENCE

In the Republic of Letters, anyone could pursue distinction, unlike in the surrounding society, where a man's status was defined by his estate and wealth. The prospects for success in the Republic depended not only on one's learning and scholarly accomplishments but also on one's ability to follow the manners and norms of the community. Despite the egalitarian values, hierarchies existed in the Republic, too, and often success in climbing the social ladders was cumulative. Once a man was

<sup>120</sup> Merton (1942) 1973, pp. 268-269.

<sup>121</sup> Cole 2004, p. 839.

<sup>122</sup> Kiikeri and Ylikoski 2004, pp. 124-136.

<sup>123</sup> On the development of seminars, see McClelland 1980, pp. 164, 179.

<sup>124</sup> Hietala 2002, pp. 539-541; Sörlin 1994, p. 204; Mäkinen 1998, pp. 143-148. ASLA and Fulbright funding have been criticised for political purposes i. e. propagating the models of American science and society. See Eskola 1973, pp. 288-289.

deemed of high rank, his future works were prone to be admired.<sup>125</sup> Institutions were of different value as well. At the peak of the hierarchy, there were the major national academies and societies which enjoyed royal funding or lucrative privileges. At the very bottom, there were societies in lesser towns which were just the bodies of local elites. Somewhere in between them worked regional or provincial societies and academies. Moreover, their members were divided into different categories, honorary members representing the highest rank. The status of the usual membership varied in regard to the type of the society. It was not an extraordinary position to be a member in a small local society, whereas in national academies with restricted seats, the very membership was an honour. The nomination to the Académie française signified access to the immortals.<sup>126</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the institutionalisation and professionalisation of science and scholarship brought a new element to those who aspired to scientific success – the competition for grants and paid posts in universities and research institutes. Amateurs were superseded by professional scientists in the twentieth century. The voluminous increment of the scientific research intensified the competition. Scientists competed with each other for finite resources – research grants, publishing space, citations, observing time on expensive apparatus, talented students etc. Above all, they competed for discoveries. If the traditional self-image of a scientist had been the gentlemanly collaborating researcher, the stiffening competition unveiled a new prototype of ambitious rivals in an endless race for renown and funding. The competition has affected many features of science, e. g. the style of research articles. Instead of the Republican style with polite openings acknowledging prior studies, papers have adopted introductions where authors aggressively aim at marketing their ideas by indicating shortcomings and limitations in their colleagues' papers.<sup>127</sup> The French sociologist B. Latour has compared scientific writing with Macchiavellian politics of choosing reliable allies and weakening the enemies.<sup>128</sup>

Many books and papers have been written about scientific competition and the reward system. The philosopher of science I. Niiniluoto has criticised this field of research for focusing too much on institutional measures of success – recognition, impact and visibility of research – forgetting that the aim of science is not victory in the international competition for fame and public praise. To determine the value of a scientific work, it is crucial to know what the semantic content of this work is and how it is related to the relevant problem situation, in particular to the state of knowledge that science had reached by the time of the publication of the work.<sup>129</sup> Niiniluoto's criticism is relevant and should be kept in mind, to avoid the blind belief that good

<sup>125</sup> Brockliss 2002, pp. 31-33, 71-72, 227-233; Goldgar 1995, pp. 150, 167; Daston 1991, pp. 379-381; McClellan 1985, pp. 247-251.

<sup>126</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 18-23, 34-36; Chaline 1998, pp. 33-34, 115-118; Crosland 2005, p. 27; Clark P., 2000, pp. 77-79, 85; Allen 2009, pp. 19-20; Merton (1960) 1973, pp. 434-435.

<sup>127</sup> Meadows 1998, pp. 18-21, 24-29; Edge 1990, pp. 208-213; Canagarajah 2002, pp. 111-116. The competition was not restricted to the natural sciences. For instance, the nineteenth century historians had fiery competitions for finding new archival sources. See Garritzen 2011, p. 76.

<sup>128</sup> Latour 1987, pp. 37-38, 124-125.

<sup>129</sup> Niiniluoto 1990, p. 436. In this paper, Niiniluoto examines three ways of measuring scientific success: pragmatic success; empirical success in connection with systematic power and problem solving ability; and realism and truthlikeness of a scientific theory.

work and only good work tend to be acknowledged and praised among peers. In this study, the external institutional measures are not considered as indicators of value of scientific works and theories but serve to illustrate the mechanisms how scientific community works.

In the classic work *Little Science, Big Science*, originally published in 1963, D.J. de Solla Price examined various mathematical models presenting the scientific work – the number of publications, the distribution of citations etc. Most of his figures were logistic curves. He began with A.J. Lotka's inverse-square law of productivity which stated that the number of people producing  $n$  papers is proportional to  $1/n^2$  of those making one contribution, i. e. for every 100 authors who produce but a single paper in a certain period, there are 25 who produce two, 11 producing three and so on. In other words, productivity accumulates to few authors. The cumulative advantage is remarkable in citations, too. According to Price, about 35 percent of existing papers are not cited at all, 49 percent are cited once and 1 percent receive six or more citations. Similarly, Bradford's law indicates how the citations in a certain field of study cumulate on the core journals.<sup>130</sup>

The skewed distribution is visible not only in the publishing activity and citations but also in the communication networks of scholars. Price discussed the scholarly contacts under a concept *invisible college*. They are in-groups inside the branches of science and scholarship where people can contact others representing the same specialities, circulate texts, meet in conferences and collaborate in research. When studying invisible colleges, Price found, among other things, that the most prolific authors were also usually the most collaborative. There existed a small core of active workers and a large and weak population of their collaborators.<sup>131</sup> Similar results were obtained by D. Crane, who examined collaboration in authorship and informal communication, such as the influence of colleagues upon the selection of research problems or technics. Her analysis indicated that the highly productive members had the widest networks, not only within their own specialities but also between research areas.<sup>132</sup>

Although Price's and Crane's results indicate a very uneven distribution in productivity, citations and the number of contacts, it should be noted that the skewed distribution as such does not mean that the scholarly community is unequal or unjust. Undoubtedly, the high-flyers gain from the cumulative advantage, but at least in some cases, their position is beneficial for others, too. Crane stated that those researchers who were not so much linked to others directly could receive information from a wide network via the highly influential (i. e. highly connected) members of the research community. Price and Crane called the people who published only one to three papers transients.<sup>133</sup> The transients may be victims of injustice in the distribution of scientific rewards, but they may also be people who just want to write a thesis or an article to qualify themselves for a job in industry or in administration, without the faintest intention of making a career in the scientific community. However, the statistical

<sup>130</sup> Price 1986, pp. 38-39, 105-107, 257.

<sup>131</sup> Price 1986, pp. 119-120, 126-127, 134. Originally, the term invisible college derives from a group of people in the mid-seventeenth century who met informally and communicated by letters outside the real colleges. Later they organised themselves into the Royal Society of London.

<sup>132</sup> Crane 1988, pp. 41, 49-52.

<sup>133</sup> Price 1986, p. 206; Crane 1988, p. 49.

material in Price's and Crane's studies does not give accurate answers to the questions of the character of the transients and the possible injustice they may encounter.

Merton studied the system of scientific recognition and reward mostly with qualitative methods in various articles. The question of multiple discoveries, i. e. discoveries made by two or more scientists independently, made him consider why some scientists gained a wide reputation for their findings, whereas some others, with similar results, went unrecognised.<sup>134</sup> His colleague's H. Zuckerman's research on Nobel laureates indicated that eminent scientists receive disproportionately great credit for their contributions to science while relatively unknown scientists tend to get disproportionately little credit for comparable contributions. On the basis of his previous studies, Zuckerman's interview material and some other papers Merton introduced a concept to describe the complex pattern of misallocation of credit. He called the phenomenon Matthew effect in science.<sup>135</sup> In Merton's paper, the Matthew effect consists of the accruing of greater increments of recognition for particular scientific contribution to the scientists of considerable repute and withholding of such recognition from scientists who have not yet made their mark. Merton emphasised that the method of interviewing Nobel laureates – i. e. the winners of the scientific competition – gave more convincing evidence of the functioning of the effect than if the effect had been found in the conceptions of the victims of the misallocation.<sup>136</sup>

The Matthew effect is visible in many features of science and can easily be understood in the light of human behaviour. When the volume of published papers has increased exponentially, readers tend to rely on the articles of renowned authors and ignore the work of their lesser-known colleagues. Similarly, in co-authored articles only the famous name is to be remembered. The Nobel laureates interviewed by Zuckerman recognised this problem and tried to counteract it, for instance by giving the first place in jointly authored papers to their collaborators. Despite this goodwill, the laureates were those to gain a reputation. Though dysfunctional to the careers of lesser known members of the teams, the visibility of the Nobel laureates increased the visibility of the findings of their research teams, thus promoting the work of all members of their team. Furthermore, the young researchers working with the Nobel laureates often gained from their presence. The beneficial effect is proven by the fact that the majority of the Nobel laureates are trained by other Nobel laureates.<sup>137</sup>

The Matthew effect is also visible in the success of institutions. The centres of demonstrated scientific excellence are allocated larger resources than institutions whose earlier achievements are modest. Not only is generous funding characteristic of leading institutions, but they also attract eminent scientists. The majority of Nobel laureates in physical and biological sciences are graduates of six universities (Harvard, Berkeley, Columbia, Princeton, Johns Hopkins and Chicago). The process of accu-

<sup>134</sup> Merton (1963) 1973, pp. 373-374; Merton (1968) 1973, pp. 450-451.

<sup>135</sup> Merton (1963) 1973, pp. 440-445. In his later article Merton observes that the term has been questioned on several grounds, i. e. stating that the words were previously written by Luke or Mark or that actually all the three evangelists were quoting Jesus and hence the term should be the Jesus effect. In spite of the criticisms, the term Matthew effect has been widely adopted and will be used here as well. Merton 1988, p. 609.

<sup>136</sup> Merton (1968) 1973, p. 446.

<sup>137</sup> Merton (1968) 1973, pp. 446-453.

mulation of talent and funding to few universities means difficulties in producing new centres of scientific excellence.<sup>138</sup>

Merton has been criticised for not generalising the Matthew effect to all scientific work but others have continued in this field. The analysis of this phenomenon, at a macro level was done by his friend M. Bonitz.<sup>139</sup> With E. Bruckner and A. Scharnhorst he studied the Matthew effect by examining the number of citations which a country receives in a certain period. All scientific fields were included. These numbers were compared with the numbers of expected citations which were calculated from the impact factors of the journals involved. They found a systematic deviation which they called the *Matthew Effect for Countries* (MEC) and formulated it as follows: *A minority of countries, expecting a high number of citations per scientific paper, gains more citations than expected, while the majority of countries, expecting only a low number of citations per scientific papers, achieves less citations than expected.*<sup>140</sup> The MEC was measured with the formula: (observed citation rate-expected citation rate)/expected citation rate. On the grounds of this relative national loss/win of citations, they divided the nations into the Left World – the countries which are prone to lose citations – and the Right World – the countries prone to win citations. (The Middle Status was insignificant, including only two countries.) A minority of the countries belonged to the Right World under the period of the study (1980-1994): Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, Finland, the USA and Ireland. The MEC, however, was a small effect accounting for only 5% of the citations which were redistributed from the Left World to the Right World. Interestingly, the position in the Left-Right axis did not correlate to the publication output of the respected countries.<sup>141</sup>

Bonitz and Scharnhorst continued studying the Matthew effect, introducing a new concept *Matthew citations*. Journal impact factor was regarded as an expectation value for the number of citations to a paper published in a certain journal. Matthew citations were deviations from the impact factor – the number of citations really received by a paper minus the number of citations “forecasted” by the impact factor. Like other distributions, in the “Matthew world”, the distribution of the Matthew citations was skewed so that only 144 journals out of 2712 accounted for half of all Matthew citations. Bonitz and Scharnhorst called these journals *Matthew core journals*. Even though they warned that the core journals should not be considered the sole important journals, they emphasised that these journals were the most competitive markets for scientific papers and recommended authors to publish in these journals and libraries to use Matthew citations as an additional selection tool for optimising journal acquisition.<sup>142</sup>

The theory of accumulation of advantage has aroused interest in other disciplines as well. In sociology, the concept of the Matthew effect is used to describe how those who possess power and economic or social capital can leverage those resources to

138 Merton (1968) 1973, pp. 457-458.

139 Cole 2004, p. 840; Garfield 2004, p. 849.

140 Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst 1997, pp. 407-408.

141 Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst 1997, pp. 408-410.

142 Bonitz and Scharnhorst 2001, pp. 38-40, 50-51; Bonitz 2005, pp. 377-378. The term Matthew world is introduced by Bonitz, in Bonitz 2005, p. 378.

gain more power or capital.<sup>143</sup> The physicist A.-L. Barabási has described a similar phenomenon in his theory of scale-free networks. In a scale-free network some nodes act as highly connected hubs which grab most of the links. In other words, a scale-free network obeys the power law. Barabási explained the power law with a law of preferential attachment: because new nodes prefer to link to the more connected nodes, early nodes with more links will be selected more often and will grow faster than their younger and less connected peers. In a growing network, each new node attracts new links at a rate that is proportional to the number of links it already has. In other words: *the rich get richer*. Barabási and his colleagues have perceived this mechanism in various networks from intracellular biochemical reactions to human created networks like the World Wide Web.<sup>144</sup>

The Matthew world has its critics, too. Merton's student and collaborator, S. Cole, tested the theory with the material based on citations to papers and authors, indicating that the eminence of an author had very little correlation with the reception of his or her new studies. Cole concluded that the Matthew effect did not exist. Nevertheless, according to Cole, his paper was mostly misunderstood by Merton and others. Instead of correcting their own theory, they started to cite Cole's paper as supporting evidence of the Matthew effect. Cole supposed, ironically, that for sociologists, who are constantly searching for victims to defend, the Matthew effect was too nice a theory to be wasted.<sup>145</sup>

The discussion on the Matthew effect has focused largely on two viewpoints – one stating that the effect is functional and advantageous, the other underlining the inequality it promotes and asking: how can anyone with minor premises progress or even survive in the field of research if success accumulates to those who already have the lion's share. The crucial question of injustice was already visible in the interviews with the Nobel laureates.<sup>146</sup> Merton himself mostly regarded the Matthew effect as negative although he also considered its functional features in his articles. For instance, when examining the Nobel laureates he came to the conclusion that they had the ability to recognise important problems and the courage to embark on risky research<sup>147</sup> which, according to common sense, should be regarded as worth rewarding.

The critics of the referee system are the most eager to highlight the unjust features of the Matthew effect. The first to encounter this phenomenon was the editor of Merton's book *Sociology of Science*, N.W. Storer, who in his prefatory note remarked that the Matthew effect is slightly problematic in regard to the norm of universalism. According to universalism, the quality of the paper alone should determine its review whoever the author is.<sup>148</sup> Merton himself estimated that there is insufficient evidence to indicate that the editors and referees of scientific journals are prone to treat illus-

143 Kiikeri and Ylikoski 2004, p. 118.

144 Barabási 2002, pp. 62-64, 87-88, 181-189.

145 Cole 2004, p. 840.

146 Strevens 2006, pp. 162-163.

147 Merton (1968) 1973, pp. 452-455.

148 Merton 1973, prefatory note by Norman W. Storer, p. 416.

trious authors with kid gloves.<sup>149</sup> This question has later been widely examined and bias in the peer review practices has been indicated. The more outstanding career an author has, the more willing editors and referees are to accept his or her articles. The journal space allotted to famous names entails that there is less space available for unknown authors. The philosopher D. Shatz saw functional features, too, in the bias for star authors. The scholarly community will have an interest in their works. Furthermore, a star author's paper may raise the profile of a journal, thereby benefiting all other contributors, including unknown authors.<sup>150</sup>

The philosopher of science M. Strevens argued that the Matthew effect not only makes a positive contribution to scientific enterprise but is also mandated by the reward system itself. It bestows credit in proportion to a scientist's contribution to society. For instance, Louis Pasteur's supreme standing is surely due to the many lives saved as a consequence of his discoveries. The value of a scientific contribution also depends on its epistemic standing – on the degree of trust in scientific results. The credibility of results will increase with the scientist's eminence. The name of a renowned scientist in a paper serves as an epistemic guarantee of this research.<sup>151</sup> Bonitz saw the Matthew effect in a positive light as well, but he remarked that the quotation from St. Matthew 25:29 does not help to understand the essence of the Matthew effect for countries. The impression that the rich are becoming richer because they are rich and the poor are becoming poorer because they are poor is simplistic. Instead, the whole Chapter 25 of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the parable describing the three servants shows the accumulation of scientific success more clearly. The crucial point in the parable is not the amount of money each servant received at the beginning, but the expectation that they will properly use the talents given to them. Similarly, the expectations imposed on the scientific performance of the countries cannot be equally distributed. Nonetheless, no country is doomed to lose scientific recognition – in this case citations. A small country can achieve a large number of citations if it prefers publishing in high impact factor journals or, even better, in the Matthew core journals. The crucial question is to find a “right track” to scientific success. In the search of a better publication strategy, the flourishing countries could be the models to emulate.<sup>152</sup>

Bonitz's recommendations appear optimistic in light of A.S. Canagarajah's book *Geopolitics of Academic Writing*. The Sri Lankan born linguist, Canagarajah, described the difficulties he and his colleagues encountered in their efforts to write academic research in Sri Lanka torn by civil war. Lack of current literature, ignorance of possible publishing forums in their specialities and peculiar national traditions in writing research papers were probably the least of the problems in the country where electricity was available only occasionally, buying stationery was controlled by a constantly suspicious administration, postal services were expensive and unreliable, etc. The

149 Merton (1968) 1973, p. 457. Later, Merton studied the peer review practices of the Physical Review, together with Zuckerman, and arrived at the conclusion that the peer review system was effective and reliable, despite occasional misjudgements and failures. Merton and Zuckerman (1971) 1973, pp. 494-495.

150 Shatz 2004, pp. 38-39, 56-57. See also Hojat, Gonnella and Caellegh, 2003 p. 79.

151 Strevens 2006, pp. 164-167.

152 Bonitz 1997, pp. 206-212; Bonitz 2005, p. 375; Bonitz and Scharnhorst 2001, pp. 50-51.

requirements of the international journals that papers should be sent in duplicate, using specific paper and a specific font were almost impossible to meet and the majority of Sri Lankan researchers contented themselves with publishing only in local, often vernacular journals.<sup>153</sup> The conditions disturbed by civil war are exceptional but the poverty and political pressures constantly cause similar problems for researchers in Third World countries and their opportunities to produce articles to core journals are severely restricted.

Merton returned to the consequences of the Matthew effect in an article published in 1988 where he expressed concern at the bias in favour of precocity in the schools and universities. Early manifestations in ability are usually rewarded, whereas young scientists whose work is judged ordinary are left to do their work on limited resources and on the margins of the scientific networks. Merton considered that such early prognostic judgements lead in some unknown fraction of cases to the inadvertent suppression of talent. The reward system maintains a class structure in science by providing a stratified distribution of chances for significant scientific work.<sup>154</sup>

The question of justice is a moral question. In addition to this, there is another problem concerning the functioning of the Matthew effect. If the processes of accumulating advantage and disadvantage are truly at work, why are there not even greater inequalities? For instance, there still are Nobel laureates who were not educated at Harvard or in some other outstanding university. Merton responded to this question by citing Price: exponential processes do not continue endlessly. When two systems grow at differing exponential rates, the gap between them widens swiftly and greatly. As such a gap approaches a limit, other forces come into play to constrain further concentrations. According to Merton, such countervailing processes which close off the endless accumulation of advantage in science have not yet been systematically investigated but he sketched some forms such countervailing processes might take. For instance, psychological factors may limit the accumulation of talent in universities because too many celebrities at one institute would probably make them feel uncomfortable. At the level of society, democratic values may intervene the process, for instance by directing government subsidies to minor institutions, to level out the distribution of resources.<sup>155</sup>

The ethnologist M. Schnegg offered an interesting idea of a countervailing process of the Matthew effect although he discussed the idea mainly in the light of Barabási's model of scale free networks. On the basis of empirical evidence from six ethnographic case studies on different small communities, he suggested that human networks are not scale free, i. e. they are not dominated by a few hubs with a large amount of links. The factor which diminishes the scaling exponent is reciprocity. The importance of reciprocity has been discussed in many anthropological studies as well as by evolutionary theorists. Humans are not only forward looking utility maximisers; fairness and reciprocity are also universal characteristics. Schnegg tested his hypothesis with the simulation model where nodes made exchanges with other

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<sup>153</sup> Canagarajah 2002, pp. 160-182. Canagarajah does not cite Bonitz, neither the Matthew effect papers of Merton. Instead he uses the expression the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer, in its simplistic meaning – because the rich are rich and the poor are poor. See, p. 244.

<sup>154</sup> Merton 1988, pp. 613-616.

<sup>155</sup> Merton 1988, pp. 617-619.



nodes. The test indicated that adding only small percentages of the reciprocity rule to the exchange system alters its structure from a scale free to a Gaussian typology.<sup>156</sup>

Reciprocity as a countervailing force to the Matthew effect in science seems an interesting idea to investigate, especially in this study, where the focus is on exchange practices. At the time of the Republic, reciprocity was highly valued and some traditions and practices still mirror this ideal. Could the ethos of reciprocal favours have mitigated the consequences of the Matthew effect in the international scholarly community? Before analysing this question more profoundly, one perspective on the accumulation of advantage in science has still to be considered. That is the geographical viewpoint. How did the centres and peripheries of science and scholarship develop in the course of history? What factors have influenced the accumulation of success in scientific centres and what kind of opportunities did the peripheral institutions and scholars have for succeeding?

## 2.3 CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES OF SCIENCE AND SCHOLARSHIP

### 2.3.1 Geography of science and scholarship

The concepts of centre and periphery, which have been widely employed in social sciences and economics, have also found their way into science studies. Often this approach is based on I. Wallerstein's world-systems theory, which describes the centres as the suppliers of the capital and innovations, absorbers of migration etc. while the peripheries are regarded as the producers of primary resources and consumers of new products, technologies and ideas of the centres.<sup>157</sup> In the field of science, the role of centres is described in creating new knowledge, methodologies, instruments and theories. Parallel to consumer goods and technological innovations, scientific ideas are transferred from centres to peripheries which passively adopt and reproduce science or at best pursue applied science while the basic research is done in the metropolises.<sup>158</sup>

From the point of view of science studies, the model of G. Basalla has proven to be more productive than the traditional model of Wallerstein. It has encouraged wide discussion and research on the subject.<sup>159</sup> This three-stage diffusion model describes how modern science spread from the small circle of West European nations to the rest of the world. During the phase 1, the so-called nonscientific areas provided source material for European science. These virgin areas were occupied by West European scientists who gathered specimens of local flora, fauna and minerals with instruments and theories imported from their home countries. Phase 2 is called colonial science. It was marked by the emergence of colonial institutions and scientists whose training, institutional setting and research interests were mostly shaped by the culture

<sup>156</sup> Schnegg 2006, pp. 1-8.

<sup>157</sup> Canagarajah 2002, pp. 37-39; Gavroglu et al. 2008, p. 155.

<sup>158</sup> Gavroglu et al. 2008, pp. 155-159; Connell and Wood 2002, pp. 175, 186.

<sup>159</sup> Sörlin 1994, pp. 44-48; Gavroglu et al. 2008, pp. 158-159; Chambers and Gillespie 2000, pp. 224-226.

of scientific centres. Although they had numerous contacts with these centres, they could not share their informal culture and become a part of invisible colleges. In their home countries they did not have enough colleagues to support reciprocal intellectual stimulation. Phase 3 meant a struggle to achieve an independent scientific tradition where a scientist could receive most of his training in his home country, earn his living as a scientist, find intellectual stimulation within his own scientific community, be able to communicate his ideas easily to his fellows, have an opportunity to open new fields for study and probably even look forward to the reward of national honours. By the term colonies Basalla did not mean the actual colonies of European states but rather the areas which were not involved in the West European scientific revolution, hence including eastern Europe, North and South America, India, Australia, China, Japan and Africa.<sup>160</sup>

Basalla paid special attention to the transition from phase 2 to phase 3 – from colonial to independent science. The transition happens when colonial scientists deliberately begin to strengthen their domestic institutions and end their reliance upon the external scientific culture. Partly, this development is spurred by nationalism, partly from the internal features of science. The success of transition is dependent of the surrounding society which have to fulfil certain conditions: 1) resistance to science on the basis of philosophical and religious beliefs must be overcome and replaced by the positive encouragement of scientific research; 2) the social role and place of the scientist need to be determined in order to ensure society's approval for his labours; 3) the relationship between science and government should be clarified so that science receives state financial aid and encouragement or, at minimum, government maintains the neutral position of science; 4) the teaching of science should be introduced into all levels of the education system; 5) native scientific organisations should be founded; 6) channels must be opened to facilitate formal national and international scientific communication; 7) a proper technological base should be made available.<sup>161</sup>

Basalla's model has found both implicit and explicit support in papers concerning centre-periphery structures – usually written by authors from peripheral countries. Many of them describe how forbidding conditions 1 and 6 keeps countries on the scientific periphery. Undemocratic or dictatorial governments may subdue prosperous institutions and exile talented scientists. In the socialist countries, the inability to read or write foreign languages and the unavailability of relevant international literature in research libraries exacerbated the isolation of scientists and scholars.<sup>162</sup> The peripheral position of a country is also explained by the economic situation and the attitude of government to science, i. e. Basalla's condition 3. The Venezuelan linguist F. Salager-Meyer states that in developing countries the role of technology is quite well understood by government, whereas the importance of basic research is not and therefore investments in proper research infrastructure like libraries, laboratories, specialised

<sup>160</sup> Basalla 1967, pp. 611-614, 617. By the term nonscientific Basalla means the absence of modern Western science, not lack of indigenous scientific thought. Basalla's conception of the cradle of Western science is dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth century and includes Italy, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and the Scandinavian countries.

<sup>161</sup> Basalla 1967, pp. 617-620.

<sup>162</sup> Splichal 1989, pp. 348-349; Gavroglu et al. 2008, p. 169; Canagarajah 2002, pp. 34-35; Salager-Meyer 2008, p. 124.

equipment and communication channels are inadequate.<sup>163</sup> The governmental input seems to correlate with the output, for at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the United States, the European Union and Japan collectively accounted for 78.3% of published scientific research. Furthermore, 31 out of 191 nations contributed 98% of the volume of citations to scientific research. Of these 31 nations only China, India and Iran belonged to the developing world. The appearance of China and India mirrors their increasing importance in the world economy, for in Bonitz's study, which presented the situation in the early 1990s, these countries still belonged to the left edge of the Left World, i. e. the losers of citations.<sup>164</sup>

In some features, Basalla's conditions differ from the modern conception of centres and peripheries in science. For instance, Basalla emphasised the importance of national journals and institutions more than the international contacts while today, the national focus is rather a burden than a boon for a scientist. Many east European countries have well established national institutions but their problem is more the lack of internationality.<sup>165</sup> Canagarajah for his part has highlighted the differences in the traditions of academic culture and academic writing which form a barrier to peripheral authors. On the periphery (in this case, Sri Lanka), academic work is often based more on reading and on oral traditions than in the centre, where a scientist makes his mark mostly by writing research articles for which purpose reading is subordinated. The writing style also differs. In the centre, researchers are advised to follow a certain formula in their papers, whereas on the periphery the articles are allowed to be more narrative, even emotional. Emphasising the merits of the author's own research is inevitable in the centre journals, whereas on the periphery such an attitude would probably be disapproved of by colleagues. These and other differences in academic writing styles widen the gap between the centre and the periphery.<sup>166</sup>

The notion of the periphery as a passive recipient in science and scholarship has not been taken for granted. In an article by K. Gavroglu et al., the authors stated that new ideas, theories and practices are not just imported from the centres but also adopted and appropriated within local cultural, ideological and political frameworks and often expressed through discourses containing a number of novelties.<sup>167</sup> The Australian sociologists R. W. Connell and J. Wood argued that the relation of centre and periphery is more interactive than might at first appear. Not only do people from the periphery need international sponsors and education but the eminent scientists in the metropolises are also likely to want students, supporters and colleagues. Besides, even on the periphery some researchers may develop new techniques, find inter-

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<sup>163</sup> Salager-Meyer 2008, pp. 123-124. Salager-Meyer confuses the concepts of peripheral and developing countries, not defining them accurately.

<sup>164</sup> Salager-Meyer 2008, p. 122; Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst 1997, p. 410.

<sup>165</sup> Splichal 1989, pp. 338, 348. Splichal considered that the strong domestic emphasis in publication forums and references together with writing in minor languages are central causes for the peripheral position and mediocrity of research. On quoting domestic literature, see also Arunachalam and Manamora 1988, p. 93.

<sup>166</sup> Canagarajah 2002, pp. 94-101, 120-125, 137-141. Canagarajah lists other barriers, too: the domination of the English language, technical difficulties and the lack of recent literature. On the problems caused by poor language skills, see also Salager-Meyer 2008, pp. 124-125.

<sup>167</sup> Gavroglu et al. 2008, p. 167; Splichal 1989, pp. 339-340.

esting topics or build new paradigms.<sup>168</sup> Canagarajah argued energetically that the suppression of the peripheral knowledge is harmful not only to peripheral countries but also to the centre.<sup>169</sup> The historian of science D.W. Chambers criticised Basalla's model of Eurocentrism which, although inevitable to some extent, has the effect of minimalising local contributions, trivialising distinctive aspects of local development and focusing the discussion on science and technology, which leads to the neglect of social values and cultural products. Furthermore, these models are naïve in their assumption on the linear and progressive development of science.<sup>170</sup> Some critics of the centre-periphery dichotomy argued that the structure of the scholarly community should rather be described as a network. Networks are less rigid and not so hierarchical as the traditional centre-periphery pattern. The mediation of ideas, practices and instruments happens between nodes, consisting of individuals and institutions without a predetermined course. A scientific community is a multicentral network without permanent core areas.<sup>171</sup>

Whether speaking on networks or more solid centre-periphery structures it should be noted that these structures are not stable. Centres are centres only for a certain time and for certain disciplines.<sup>172</sup> The well-known statement that nothing has promoted the progress of American science as efficiently as Adolf Hitler, aptly illustrates how political measures can relocate the scientific expertise from one continent to another with profound consequences.<sup>173</sup> The landscape may also be reformulated due to economic changes, the development of traffic, vehicles and communication, the foundation of new institutions etc. The history of scientific geography is a multidimensional phenomenon which has aroused interest among the historical geographers, historians of science and social scientists.<sup>174</sup> The changes in the scientific geography form an interesting background for examining the exchange relations.

In the fifteenth century, the first centres of science were taking shape in Italy, where the predecessors of modern scientific societies and academies were founded. These so-called Renaissance academies usually had a patron in a local court or a wealthy family who gave them protection and authority, provided funding and made his library available. When the patron died the academy was prone to collapse. The Renaissance academies were also called humanistic academies, for in addition to the wonders of nature, they pursued arts and letters, hunting etc. In the sixteenth century, some of them began to focus exclusively on sciences and develop an idea of scientific experiments, the most famous of them being the *Accademia Secretorum Naturae* in Naples, *Accademia del Cimento* in Florence and *Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome. Renaissance academies provided their attendants with something that contemporary universities with their scholastic character could not offer – an opportunity for free and informal conversation, the exchange of information and specimens and a freedom from the

168 Connell and Wood 2002, pp. 176-177, 188.

169 Canagarajah 2002, pp. 257-264. See also Gavroglu et al. 2008, p. 158.

170 Chambers 1987, pp. 315-316.

171 Gavroglu et al. 2008, pp. 161-162; Sörlin 1994, pp. 50, 164-172. See also Latour's *Principles*. Latour 1987, p. 259.

172 Sörlin 1994, p. 46; Pihlaja 2009, pp. 91-92; Chambers and Gillespie 2000, pp. 223-224.

173 Medawar and Pyke 2001, p. 156.

174 See a report of the Conference Geographies of nineteenth-century science. Gold 2008.

social hierarchies of the surrounding society. As such they were motors of the development of modern science which supported the work of such figures as Galileo Galilei.<sup>175</sup>

The central position of the Italian peninsula did not endure. Their private character and usually short lifespan distinguished the Renaissance academies from their more constant followers which had their origins in the foundation of the Royal Society (1660) and Académie royale des sciences in Paris (1666). They focused exclusively on science, created international networks of corresponding members and published scientific journals to distribute the results of their research. The model created by the Royal Society and the Paris Academy was an impulse for the founding of several national societies and academies, committed to the Baconian programme of scientific activity – the academies of Berlin, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Bologna and French provincial cities and an abundance of lesser societies.<sup>176</sup> McClellan indicated that on the eve of the French Revolution, the centres of science were located in western Europe and the British Islands. France had the densest population of institutions, followed by the United Kingdom, Prussia, Austria (the Holy Roman Empire), the Dutch Republic and the principalities in the Italian peninsula. There were scientific institutions in Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Portugal, Spain and on the east coast of the United States albeit not so densely as in the western Europe. The Balkan Peninsula, Greece and eastern Europe as well as almost all the colonies were empty areas on the map of scientific institutions.<sup>177</sup> Naturally, the mere existence of scientific societies or academies does not make a country or a region a scientific centre. However, McClellan's figures were fairly compatible with the number of scientists (with birthdates from 1660 to 1760) since 72% of them were born in three countries: France 30%, the United Kingdom 26% and the Austro-German provinces 16%.<sup>178</sup>

Academies and societies were the major promoters of the Scientific Revolution, for experimental philosophy did not have a firm foothold in the official curriculum of the institutions of higher education. Most professors were satisfied with teaching Aristotelian or Cartesian philosophy as a basis of physics, the only experimental features in the curriculum being dissections in anatomy or demonstrations in botany, zoology and chemistry.<sup>179</sup> The development into research universities began in Protestant northern Germany, in 1733 when the University of Göttingen was established. This was the first university where the faculty of philosophy was free of theological pressure. Professors were allowed to choose their own textbooks and they also enjoyed better salaries than elsewhere. Consequently, the university attracted dynamic and talented teachers. Modern curricula were adopted in Helmstedt, Leipzig and Königsberg and the development culminated in the University of Berlin, established by the Prussian minister of education, Wilhelm von Humboldt, in 1810. This was the first university where professors were statutorily expected to pursue research, being also free to teach what they liked. Humboldtian reforms also introduced seminar teaching – the system which rooted all over northern Germany with the result that scientific

<sup>175</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 2-3, 42-45; Hahn 1990, pp. 3-5; Leikola 2000, pp. 66-69. The term "Renaissance academy" is defined by McClellan.

<sup>176</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 47-58, 67-68, 109-114.

<sup>177</sup> McClellan 1985, pp. 6-7.

<sup>178</sup> Clark 2003, pp. 220-222.

<sup>179</sup> Brockliss 2003, pp. 46-51; Leikola 1991, p. 161.

research became firmly institutionalised within the university system.<sup>180</sup> The success story of the German universities turned the emphasis of the scientific world more to Germany. Active and generous government support promoted German science, especially in the Bismarckian period. The main interest of the state was in technology, but basic research also benefited from the situation.<sup>181</sup>

Although pioneering scientific discoveries were made all over Europe, Germany held its leading position until the First World War, its universities being the main producers of scientific textbooks, journals and education for foreign researchers. However, the boycott of the Allies after the war, hampered the scientific work which was seriously harmed during the Nazi period. Jewish refugees are usually considered crucial promoters of American science. Yet, their impact was made possible only by the long-time work of developing the scientific institutions, which had its origins in the national fervour generated by the American Revolution. In the nineteenth century, the number of scientific societies and institutions increased. The German model inspired the United States to develop its universities but the American system was formed to be more flexible, enabling the specialisation of universities in certain fields of study and developing new disciplines. Subsidies from the government and the private sector and the vigorous efforts to internationalise science and scholarship came to fruition in the interwar period, paving the way to the leading position achieved after the Second World War, when European scientific infrastructure was ruined and not competitive for a long time.<sup>182</sup>

The development in Germany, the USA and some other countries as Japan indicates that governmental goodwill can remarkably promote science in a country.<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, when writing the history of science, one concludes the actors are usually individual geniuses – not science-friendly governments. In this respect, it is crucial to ask: how do local scientific stars affect the centre-periphery structure of science and vice versa? Can an outstanding scientist turn a periphery to a centre? To examine this question, two cases are discussed.

### *A botanist from Uppsala*

At the end of the 1720s, a young medical student, Carl Linnaeus, arrived in the University of Uppsala in Sweden. At the time, Uppsala was a small town with an old university (founded in 1477) with its library, botanical garden, an anatomical theatre and a local scientific society. The young student, who had inherited from his father a great enthusiasm for botany, had supporters who allowed him access to their private libraries, took him on excursions and aided him in earning his living as a tutor. He became acquainted with various contemporary botanical systems and the conceptions of the reproductive systems of plants. Describing the local horticultural plants

<sup>180</sup> McClelland 1980, pp. 39-46, 56-57, 123-127; Brockliss 2003, pp. 56-59.

<sup>181</sup> McClelland 1980, pp. 233-238; Ben-David (1962) 1991, pp. 139-146, 151-152; Nachmansson 1988, pp. 13-15.

<sup>182</sup> Shaw 1980, pp. 151-152; Edelman 1994, pp. 171-172; Medawar and Pyke 2001, p. 156; Gwinn 1996, pp. 26-27; McClelland 1985, pp. 140-145; Harwood 1987, pp. 397-399; McClelland 1980, pp. 328-329; Basalla 1967, p. 620; Ben-David (1962) 1991, pp. 148-150.

<sup>183</sup> Bartholomew 1989, pp. 64-82; Price 1986, pp. 87-90.

in a manuscript entitled *Hortus Uplandicus*, he began to outline a botanical system based on the sexual organs of plants.<sup>184</sup>

In 1735, Linnaeus visited Holland, mostly to meet the outstanding scientists, Herman Boerhaave and Jan Fredrik Gronovius. They recognised the value of his work and helped him to publish his manuscripts – *Systema Naturae*, *Fundamenta Botanica*, *Genera Plantarum* and some other works. They, moreover, introduced him to all the significant Dutch botanists and also to counterparts on the other side of the Channel, such as Sir Hans Sloane. In spite of offers to stay in Holland, Linnaeus returned to Sweden, visiting Paris on his way home in 1738. Thereafter, he stayed in Sweden for the rest of his life, developing his theories.<sup>185</sup> The Linnean Sexual System based the method of classification on the fructification. Taking all seven parts of the fructification according to their number, form proportion and situation, provided many characters for classification. The sexual system, enriched with the rules of nomenclature, proved a useful tool in the organisation of floristic knowledge. It filled the gap at a time when the principles of classification were various and inadequate. The simplicity of the system made it extremely popular.<sup>186</sup>

In his home country, Linnaeus soon became an object of an intense personality cult which continued for over a century after his death. In addition to various honorary titles, he was raised to the nobility and renamed von Linné. He was a corresponding or honorary member of most European scientific societies. A special feature in his reputation was the many Linnean Societies which were founded at the end of the eighteenth century in the United Kingdom, and in the nineteenth century in France, Australia, the United States and Canada to study taxonomy and natural history. His renown brought many foreign students to Uppsala. Linné treated his foreign admirers well, to make sure that they would spread his reputation and his system in their home countries. He also sent gifted young compatriots whom he, modestly enough, called his apostles, to various parts of the world to test his classification system and collect specimens. Naturally, he had his critics and enemies, but no one can deny that his renown was constant and worldwide.<sup>187</sup>

#### *A pea researcher from Brno*

In the Augustinian abbey of Brno, an old town in the northeastern part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, lived a friar Gregor Mendel, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Brno (in German Brünn) was a centre of the Moravian region with developing industry and rail connections but without deep-seated learned traditions. The first learned society Mährische Gesellschaft der Natur und Vaterlandskunde had been established in 1799. In 1861, the members of its Natural Science Section formed

184 Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 63-65, 153-160; Morton (1981) 1988, pp. 259-261.

185 Morton (1981) 1988, pp. 260-263; Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 168-177. P.M. Pihlaja states that Linné built his reputation in the Netherlands by exaggerating his expertise in Lapland, which was a popular subject, at the time. Pihlaja 2009, 64-66.

186 Morton (1981) 1988, pp. 263, 269, 275; Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 200-204.

187 Sörlin 1994, pp. 134-136, 198; Lindroth (1978) 1997 pp. 185, 212-217; The Linnaean Societies Worldwide. <http://linnaeansociety.org/linnaeansocieties.html> (cited 3 January 2012).

a new society, the Naturforschender Verein, which adopted the modern methods of scientific research and had contacts to the University of Vienna.<sup>188</sup>

Gregor Mendel studied some years at the University of Vienna. After having returned to the abbey, he started experimenting on peas, to investigate which species could resist the damage caused by weevils. In the greenhouse of the abbey, he cross-bred 34 species of peas almost 30,000 times during the years 1856-1863. As a result, he found regularities in the heritance of various traits in the peas. The recessive traits seemed to vanish in the first generation of hybrids but they reappeared in the second generation, the proportion of the dominant and recessive traits being a ratio of 3:1.<sup>189</sup> Mendel soon realised that his findings had much more far-reaching significance than the practical benefits of pest control. Being one of the founding members of the local scientific society, he naturally chose to present his research there. He gave two lectures on the subject which obviously was difficult to understand for the other members of this society. According to the usual practice, he published them in a paper entitled *Versuche über Pflanzen-Hybriden* in the journal of the same society in 1865. This *Verhandlungen des Naturforschenden Vereins in Brünn*, volume 4, was sent to more than 130 scientific institutions in Europe and overseas and to the honorary members of the society. Furthermore, reprints of Mendel's article were given to his friends and colleagues. Despite the wide distribution, Mendel's research was ignored for decades – no discussion, no citations, no further development of his ideas. For some time he continued his experiments but his scientific work largely ended when he was elevated as abbot in 1868.<sup>190</sup>

The question of heritability had for centuries exercised the minds of scientists and it actualised especially after the publishing of Darwin's theory of evolution. Still the value of Mendel's laws was not appreciated until the turn of the twentieth century, when three men independently rediscovered these ideas: the German botanist Carl Correns, the Austrian agronomist Erich von Tschermak and the Dutch botanist Hugo de Vries. In the meantime, developments in microscopy had promoted cell research and now the new knowledge of chromosomes was connected with Mendel's theory. The priority of the discovery was acknowledged to Mendel who was posthumously proclaimed the father of genetics.<sup>191</sup> He has possibly aroused even more interest as a scientific martyr whose research was doomed to oblivion for decades and who did not receive the credit he earned.<sup>192</sup>

These two stories offer quite different perspectives. Linné's international success seems to indicate that a local genius can turn a scientific periphery to a centre, whereas the fate of Mendel's laws of inheritance asserts the opposite: an ingenious discovery made and presented on a periphery was doomed to languish in oblivion for decades.

188 Sekerák 2006, pp. 242-244. [http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/2ICESHS\\_Proceedings/Chapter\\_10/R-2\\_Sekerak.pdf](http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/2ICESHS_Proceedings/Chapter_10/R-2_Sekerak.pdf) (cited 5 September 2011); Iltis 1932 (1966), pp.101-103.

189 Leikola (1986) 1993, pp. 65-67.

190 Sekerák 2006, pp. 242-246 [http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/2ICESHS\\_Proceedings/Chapter\\_10/R-2\\_Sekerak.pdf](http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/2ICESHS_Proceedings/Chapter_10/R-2_Sekerak.pdf) (cited 5 September 2011); Iltis 1932 (1966), pp. 176-181.

191 Leikola (1986) 1993, p. 67; Burian and Zallen 2009, pp. 433-435; Correns, Carl Erich. In: Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie 2, p. 377; Tschermak-Seysenegg, Erich von. In: Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie 10, p. 105.

192 See e. g. Price 1986, p. 73; Merton (1961) 1973, p. 358.



Both scientists answered the topical questions of their time, but only one of them was acknowledged and celebrated. Geographical factors do not explain their different fates. Linné's home town was located on the northern edge of Europe, far from the scientific centres. Brno, instead, was closely connected to Vienna, neither were the distances to Berlin or Paris enormous at a time when railways connected the major cities. The language barrier cannot be blamed. Although the German language was not as fundamental as Latin in Linné's time, it was widely understood in the nineteenth century. Hence, an explanation should rather be sought in the structures of the scientific community.

Linné lived at a time when science was still "little" – to quote Price's expression. The number of scientists and their publications increased exponentially in the second half of the eighteenth century, but at the beginning of the century, it was still easy to scan extensively what was going on.<sup>193</sup> Furthermore, at the time, the scientific community still mainly followed the norms of the Republic. The warm reception Linné received in Leiden was not exceptional and Linné himself, though a very self-respecting and authoritative character was, in turn, very helpful to admiring foreign students who came to Uppsala. The scientific competition was harder at the time when Mendel published his work. The number of scientific journals had exceeded a thousand titles. Due to the abundance of information, scientists began to prefer specialised journals to the general journals of the learned societies.<sup>194</sup> M. Strevens has argued that Mendel's fate was due to his own demerits. He states that Mendel conferred almost no epistemic security on his experiments and brought his results to the attention of too few and wrong scientists.<sup>195</sup> The first part of the argument seems obscure, considering that Mendel's experiments were meticulous and controlled and the extent of his material was remarkable. The second part of the argument is partly valid. Unlike Linné, Mendel stayed in Brno and published his results in the local *Verhandlungen*, which was hardly a journal whose fresh issue was impatiently waited by scientists all around the world. On the other hand, the journal was sent to more than 130 societies and institutions and, therefore, it could reach interested readers.

Linné brought his home country into the limelight of international interest. However, one man's life's work was not enough to cause a profound and permanent development. His contemporaries had to develop strategies and special expertise if they wanted to have their papers published in central scientific journals.<sup>196</sup> The era of nationalism in the nineteenth century promoted publishing in Swedish, which, in addition to remote geographic location, small scientific community and nationalistic perspective, isolated Swedish research from the European centres. Although international scholarly contacts had been maintained through the centuries, Swedish

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193 Price 1986, pp. 7-8.

194 Price 1986, p. 8; Shaw 1980, pp. 153-157.

195 Strevens 2006, pp. 169-170. Strevens does not cite the paper by Sekerák, published in the same year as his own, neither does he give any other information on how he knows where Mendel's paper was consigned. Hence, it is possible that he has an erroneous impression of the distribution of the paper.

196 Pihlaja (2009, pp. 151-152) describes how some Swedish scientists established their foothold in the scientific community as experts on coldness for which their home country provided excellent premises.

scientists still considered their home country as a scientific periphery at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>197</sup>

The local geniuses are important in the formation of a scholarly centre but it seems that the centre-periphery structure cannot be changed by these stars alone. They can increase the renown of their countries, their personal networks may connect their home institutions to foreign ones, but when they die, most of their contacts vanish with them unless the local scientific community deliberately continues to sustain and develop these connections. To build a scientific centre, institutional, governmental and ideological support are also needed. The stories of Linné and Mendel are illustrative in another way. Linné represented the age of the Republic. For him, it was not too complicated to create contacts in scientific centres, because the Republican rules presupposed aiding newcomers. By adopting the manners of the Republic he guaranteed himself a cumulating success which he could maintain via his corresponding network in his home town, far from the scientific centres. Mendel, instead, represented the new era of increasing scientific competition. The manners of the Republic were no longer strong enough to support a modest friar without academic standing. These cases indicate that when studying the centre-periphery structures in science and scholarship, the ethos of scientific community should also be considered.

### 2.3.2 The position of Finland in the scholarly community

Like many countries in Eastern Europe, Finland was for centuries a borderland ruled by another nation – first by Sweden, until the year 1809 and then by Russia, until 1917. Geographically, the peripheral location of the country in the far north is obvious. The position of the economic hinterland is also hard to deny. In the early nineteenth century, Finland was a sparsely populated, agrarian and poor country to which industrial products and innovations were imported from the European centres.<sup>198</sup> The question of the peripheral position in science and scholarship has aroused more discussion. The Finnish historian M. Hietala has challenged the traditional view of Finland as a scientific periphery. She claims that if periphery is defined as a remote district with stagnated and passive atmosphere, there is little reason to apply that term to nineteenth century Finland. In science and scholarship, the international contacts were centuries old and the political change of 1809 did not sever them.<sup>199</sup>

The international connections of Finnish scholars are indeed centuries old – of necessity, one could say. Because the first university was established in Finland only in 1640, the studious young men had to seek learning in central Europe. They wandered in the footsteps of Swedish students first to Paris, then to Prague. In the fifteenth century, some new universities in northern Germany and the University of Uppsala began to offer education. The shorter distance and culturally more familiar environment made them more inviting and their popularity increased after the adoption of

<sup>197</sup> Crawford 1984, pp. 30-37; Sörlin 1994, pp. 54-57, 161. Crawford and Sörlin emphasise that peripheral standing did not mean isolation. See also Friedman 1990, pp. 193-194.

<sup>198</sup> Kaukiainen 1980, pp. 484-487.

<sup>199</sup> Hietala 1992, pp. 238-242. Her definition of a periphery, however, differs from the definitions presented in chapter 2.3.1. O. Mustelin (1970, pp. 146-147) likewise argues that the concept of isolation is vague and relative. An opposite opinion is represented by Knapas 2002, pp. 281-282.

the Protestant religion.<sup>200</sup> Travelling students imported education and ideas but the Finns themselves had little to offer scholarly life in Europe. Their role was to adopt the doctrines and practices learnt in the European universities. The situation did not greatly improve when the university was founded in Turku, in 1640. It was a small university of limited means and due to the strict orthodoxy of the Swedish Lutheran Church, very cautious in its education. The Cartesian philosophy arrived in the course of the seventeenth century beside Aristotle but the Copernican world view was still far too revolutionary. The import of the harmful books was prohibited in 1667. For the university library, this was hardly the worst of the problems because funds for acquisitions were meagre. Foreign books, however, were received as spoils of war from European libraries.<sup>201</sup>

Swedish science had its first period of prosperity in the eighteenth century. Kungliga Vetenskaps-societeten i Uppsala (the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala) was founded in 1719, and twenty years later Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien (the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences) was established on the model of the Royal Society, in the capital Stockholm. The Academy, like its first president, Carl von Linné, represented a new era which turned away from theological questions to examine the nature for the benefit of humanity. This trend produced many international celebrities such as Torbern Bergman, famous for his chemical affinity tables and a mineral classification scheme, Carl Wilhelm Scheele, one of the first chemists to discover oxygen and Anders Celsius, developer of the thermometer.<sup>202</sup> Finnish scientists also gained from this new flourishing era. Linné's students Johan Browallius and Carl Fredrik Menander brought his ideas to the University of Turku, together with Newtonian physics and the model of experimental science. The first internationally noted Finnish scientist was Pehr Kalm, one of the "apostles of Linné" who travelled to North America to collect seeds and specimens of new plants. Kalm's significance as a scientist was not so remarkable outside Finland, but his travelogue on the American expedition was translated into many languages. Another Finnish apostle, Petter Forsskål, participated in Carsten Niebuhr's expedition to Egypt, Jemen and Syria but he never returned his home country as he died of malaria. Niebuhr published his manuscripts which for decades were classical works on flora and fauna in Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>203</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century, new links between Finland and the Republic of Letters were created. The professor of mathematics and astronomy, Anders Johan Lexell was involved in the large international project of observing the transit of Venus in 1769. As a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, he made his observations in St. Petersburg, where he worked until his premature death. He became famous for his studies on the comet and had many connections to Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. Erik Laxman, also a member of the Russian Academy, was one of the early explorers of Siberia. His texts were published in Göttingen under the title *Sibirische Briefe*. International contacts were created in the

200 Nuorteva 1997, pp. 53-61, 90-92, 103, 121-127, 136-138; Nuorteva 2001, pp. 109-113. See also Sörlin 1994, pp. 120-123; Jokipii 1991, pp. 82-83.

201 Leikola 1991, pp. 161-164; Klinge 1987, pp. 405-427; Vallinkoski 1948, pp. 101-118, 175-178.

202 Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 48-52, 308; Lindroth (1981) 1997, pp. 68-92; Leikola 1991, p. 164.

203 Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 243-246, 255-259; Urpilainen 2001a, pp. 196-197; Leikola 1991, pp. 164-165.

field of chemistry, too. Johan Gadolin corresponded regularly with Lorenz von Crell and Antoine Lavoisier and published 37 studies in *Crells Chemische Annalen*, the first journal specialised in chemistry. He also had his name immortalised in a new element, Gadolinium.<sup>204</sup>

Three Finnish names – Kalm, Lexell and Gadolin – have their own entries in the famous *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*.<sup>205</sup> Obviously, this score is not enough to make Finland a scientific centre, but is nevertheless a sign of a briskly developing scientific life. Some progress was made in the humanities, too. The priest Anders Chydenius wrote books on economic liberalism a decade earlier than the more famous spokesman of this ideology, Adam Smith. Chydenius' ideas gave rise to a lively discussion in the Swedish political arena but his international impact was not remarkable, although some of his works were translated into German.<sup>206</sup> Of the humanities scholars, the most influential one was the linguist and historian Henrik Gabriel Porthan, who started his career as an assistant in the library of the University of Turku. In 1779, he travelled to the University of Göttingen, where the humanities were on a high level and the university library much ahead of its time. Porthan came to know the director of the university library, Christian Gottlob Heyne and the historian August Ludwig von Schlözer, both of them interested in Finland and the Finnish language, whose affinity with Estonian, Hungarian and Lappish had some decades ago been discovered by the philosopher Gottfried Leibniz. Porthan imported the new ideas on linguistics and study of history to Turku, basing his own research and teaching on the neohumanist Göttingen traditions. In Finland, he became a pioneer in the so-called national disciplines: Finno-Ugrian linguistics, Finnish history, ethnography and archaeology, which were to have a crucial role in shaping the national identity.<sup>207</sup> The contacts between Finland and Göttingen continued and Finnish books were sent to the university library of Göttingen which was becoming the European centre of the Finno-Ugric studies. Porthan's correspondence extended to Hungary, where he exchanged letters with the linguists Sámuel Gyarmathi and Ferenc Versegly.<sup>208</sup> Porthan's international role is debatable, however. The Swedish historian of science S. Lindroth states that more than original ideas or methods, Porthan's position is based on the extent of his work and his being in the right place at the right time. The German historian K. Zernack, for his part, claims that Porthan influenced the German historians Schlözer and Friedrich Rühls in their study of the history of Russia and the Nordic countries.<sup>209</sup>

The conditions for scientific research were still quite modest but some important steps were taken. In the 1760s, an anatomical theatre and a chemical laboratory were inaugurated. The old botanical garden was modernised according to Linné's model and during Pehr Kalm's professorship it was actively used in education. The library

<sup>204</sup> Urpilainen 2001a, pp. 196, 212, 252-255; Leikola 1991, pp. 165-166; Lindroth (1978) 1997, p. 102; Lindroth (1981) 1997, pp. 61-62, 102-105, 113; McClelland 1985, pp. 131, 219.

<sup>205</sup> Leikola 1991, p. 167.

<sup>206</sup> Lindroth (1978) 1997, pp. 143-145; Kemiläinen 1991, p. 92.

<sup>207</sup> Urpilainen 2001a, pp. 229-243; Kemiläinen 1991, pp. 108-110; McClelland 1980, pp. 41-46; Korhonen 1984, pp. 28-32.

<sup>208</sup> Kemiläinen 1991, pp. 109-110; Korhonen 1984, pp. 31-32; Heininen 1988, pp. 121-139.

<sup>209</sup> Lindroth (1981) 1997, pp. 208-214; Zernack 1998, pp. 33-35.

work progressed, too. New foreign books were now ordered from Swedish booksellers and the legal deposit right guaranteed – at least in principle – the acquisitions of the domestic collection. Besides books, the library also included a natural history collection consisting of minerals and a small numismatic collection.<sup>210</sup> The Finnish scientific and scholarly life was confined either to the University of Turku or to Swedish institutions, the most important of these being the Royal Academy of Sciences which offered a forum for publishing articles. Finland had no research institutions such as museums or observatories outside the university, neither did it have scientific societies or academies. Some efforts were made in this field, however. Kalm's letter to Linné, dated December 1753, mentions a newly founded scientific society in Turku but nothing was heard of this project afterwards. The next endeavour was the Aurora Society founded in 1771 around Porthan and C.F. Mennander. This was a secret society and as such it cannot be counted among scientific societies although Porthan had ambitiously outlined an idea of an academy with separate sections for sciences, humanities, belles lettres and music. However, it was a path breaker as a publisher of a weekly magazine *Tidningar utgifna af et sällskap i Åbo* (Journal published by a society in Turku) which included news, scientific and scholarly papers and moral tales. The activities of the Aurora Society died when Porthan left for Germany in 1779. In the 1790s, partly the same group of men organised an economic society *Finska Hushållnings-sällskapet* (the Economic Society of Finland) which focused its activities on the development of agriculture and other practical interests like vaccination. Although many of its members were academics, it was not a proper scientific society with regular serials and meetings with scientific presentations.<sup>211</sup>

The promising steps toward an active and mature scientific life were interrupted by war. Russian troops occupied Turku in March 1808 and in May the personnel of the University took an oath of allegiance to Czar Alexander I. The university engaged new rulers at a time when the country was still at war with Russia. This loyalty was rewarded later, after Finland had been separated from Sweden and annexed to the Russian empire, in 1809. The university was granted many new professorships, assistant professorships and other posts. Furthermore, it received the franking privilege, the right to publish almanacs and 20,000 roubles for a new building. In 1828, a grant for studies abroad was made. The reverse side of the coin was the conservative expectations of the rulers regarding the academic life. In the 1828 statutes, the role of the university was defined as an educator of the body of civil servants and clergy, not an active promoter of academic research.<sup>212</sup>

Being part of imperial Russia did not mean the closure of the Swedish borders. Connections over the Gulf of Bothnia were sustained and eight Finnish members of

210 Knapas 1987, pp. 265-268, 272-276; Leikola and Klinge 1987, pp. 645-647; Vallinkoski 1975, pp. 111-146, 189-207; Härö 1984, pp. 24-25.

211 Urpilainen 2001a, pp. 227-228; Urpilainen 2001b, pp. 302-303; Leikola 2000, pp. 75-79, 84; Knapas 2002, p. 288; Suvikumpu 2002, p. 289. McClellan distinguishes scientific societies from patriotic and economic societies. The last mentioned had goals that tended more toward economic development and increasing state wealth, whereas learned societies were more devoted to science. McClellan 1985, pp. 38-40.

212 Klinge 1989, pp. 9-31, 94-95; Tommila 2001, pp. 278-281, 299. The Finnish War between Sweden and Russia had its origins in the Napoleonic wars.

the Royal Academy of Sciences were simply nominated as foreign members. Contacts with Nordic and German scholars continued, too.<sup>213</sup> Scientific contacts did not disturb the peace of the empire but political contacts did, which became evident when the lecturer and librarian Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, inspired by the German and Swedish romantic movement, published his polemical opinions on the intellectual state of the country and its administration. He was expelled from the university and moved to Sweden, where he continued his criticism. Stockholm, the former capital of Finland, seemed to offer precarious inspiration to Finnish academic life. Nevertheless, the problems did not come to a head, for the havoc caused by the fire of Turku in 1827 provided an opportunity to transfer the university eastwards, to the new capital of Helsinki.<sup>214</sup>

Although separation from Sweden did not mean a drastic breakdown in scholarly contacts, it involved other elements which were to be crucial for the development of Finnish science and scholarship. In the Diet of Porvoo in 1809, the estates of Finland were promised that Finland could retain its religion as well as its laws and privileges and would have the status of a Grand Duchy. This has been regarded as the moment when Finland was raised as a nation among other nations.<sup>215</sup> Already under Sweden, academic life had many patriotic features but a new autonomous position, together with the ideas of Romanticism, oriented the Finnish research to focus on national questions. The famous slogan *Swedes we are no longer; Russians we cannot become; we must be Finns*<sup>216</sup> illustrates the new ideological climate. Scholars and scientists had to participate in the national project – to investigate what Finland was ethnically, historically, linguistically and geographically. The students of Porthan eagerly entered into this task.<sup>217</sup>

The national spirit was a *primus motor* in the foundation of the first permanent learned societies. The *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* was established for two reasons – love of science and love of the home country. The Finnish Literature Society was established to develop the Finnish language and to promote Finnish literature.<sup>218</sup> The government was very favourably disposed towards the new learned societies which were expected to fulfil the expectations of promoting academic publishing – something which had not happened in the university. The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, founded in 1838, soon achieved half-official status but all of the original

213 Leikola 2000, pp. 84-86; Kunze 1957, pp. 11-13.

214 Klinge 1989, pp. 65, 80-84, 90-91; Tommila 2001, pp. 283-287. Klinge disagrees with an earlier assumption that the university was transferred partly due to the fire and partly due the tendency of the administration to control education. He states that it was a common trend in Europe to close universities in small towns and develop them in capitals and big cities. Tommila agrees more with the traditional view, stating that it would have been a more economic solution to continue academic life in Turku. See also Paasivirta 1978, pp. 87-89.

215 Kirby 2006, pp. 73-76; Jussila 2009, pp. 18-23. Another question is, that the conceptions of the position of Finland and the constitution inherited from Sweden were to differ notably among Finnish and Russian jurists, historians and politicians in the course of the nineteenth century.

216 The slogan is often cited, but historians have not agreed on, who originally uttered these words. They have often been attributed to Adolf Ivar Arwidsson. Eino Jutikkala, however, states that the phrase was uttered by Johan Vilhelm Snellman, the statesman and philosopher who reformulated Hegel's philosophy as a national programme for Finland. Jutikkala and Pirinen 1962, p. 203.

217 Herlin 2000, p. 26.

218 Elfving 1921, pp. 10-11; Sulkunen 2004, pp. 17-34.

societies gradually received privileges such as government subsidies for publishing and the franking privilege.<sup>219</sup> Furthermore, the national questions arising from the new political position formed an inspiring framework. Opportunities for international networking existed for those who were energetic enough to seize them, either in the academies of Sweden or Russia or in the German universities.

If the definition of the periphery as a remote district with stagnated and passive atmosphere is applied, the concept does not describe the situation of early nineteenth century Finnish science. Nevertheless, if we use the definitions of the centre-periphery dichotomy as defined in the sociology of science, Finland was still a scholarly periphery. It was an area where new paradigms, methodologies, instruments and theories were mostly imported, the Finnish achievements of international standard being more an exception than a rule. Basalla's conditions of independent science were only partly fulfilled. The only possible career for a scientist was a professorship in the university, whose main purpose was to educate civil servants. Research findings were published mainly as academic theses except the minority accepted by Swedish or foreign journals. Simultaneously, the open and egalitarian Republic of Letters was turning into a competitive arena where scientists and scholars were tied to their nationalities. Entering the international scholarly community presupposed that one had something to offer – publications, collections, innovations or discoveries. In Finland, the scientific tradition was young and the academic publishing in its infancy. The first Finnish learned societies definitely had many problems to solve.

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219 Heikkilä 1985, pp. 99-101.

## 3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC PUBLISHING

### 3.1 FROM CORRESPONDENCE TO ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Today, academic publishing follows a certain formula. Scientific papers are sent to the editors and they have to pass a peer review to be published. Usually, editors and referees require authors to follow certain criteria: an abstract, introduction, methods, results, discussion and references.<sup>220</sup> This chapter examines the process which led to these modern practices of academic publishing. First, the international development of scientific journals is considered and then the publishing activities of four Finnish societies under study.

In the early decades of modern science, research results and discoveries reached the reading public via two channels. The author could publish work as a monograph, which usually meant distribution of a few hundred copies. The woodcut illustrations, typical of sixteenth century works, made publishing quite expensive, and printers financed only books they assumed would sell well – something usually not expected of a scientific book. Therefore, an author often needed a patron who provided funding for printing and illustrations and, in return, had his noble name immortalised in a dedication page. The Renaissance academies seldom published, but their members could increase the authority of their texts by using their names. For instance, Galileo proudly used the title *Linceo* in print.<sup>221</sup> If funding was not available, or the research findings were not extensive enough to be published in a monograph, scientists disseminated the results of their work to their colleagues by correspondence. Unlike usual letters, scientific news was not of a private nature. Letters were read, copied and sent to others, according to the rules of openness with information in the Republic of Letters.<sup>222</sup>

In the course of the seventeenth century, *commerce de lettres* increased, which led to efforts to organise and formalise the flow of scientific information. The first secretary of the Royal Society Henry Oldenburg, together with Marin Mersenne in Paris and some others, collected, copied and redistributed letters to erudites all over Europe. Oldenburg was soon to realise his task too laborious, and to ease the burden, he launched a new type of publication, a journal entitled *Philosophical Transactions*, in May 1665. It was a revolutionary step in many ways. Appearing at regular intervals,

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<sup>220</sup> Meadows 1998, pp. 11-13.

<sup>221</sup> Knight 1980, pp. 24-25, 28-30; Gibson 1982, pp. 145-146; Kusukawa 2000, p. 97.

<sup>222</sup> Kronick 1976, pp. 56-57; Mantel 1980, pp. 3-4; Gibson 1982, pp. 146-148; Broman 2000, p. 228; McClellan 1985, p. 44.



the journal encouraged scientists to publish research results in the form of a short article, instead of a slow and expensive process of printing a monograph. Published papers guaranteed scientists priority for their discoveries better than letters, whose copying and distributing could not be controlled. Of equal significance was the refereeing mechanism. At the beginning, the editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*, with the help of the members of the Royal Society, reviewed the papers but in 1752 a special committee was appointed for this purpose. Moreover, texts written in the vernacular connected academics and laymen, thus promoting discussion on scientific questions.<sup>223</sup>

*Philosophical Transactions* has often been regarded as a prototype of scientific journals, but it was not the first. Four months earlier a Frenchman, Dennis de Sallo, had published the first number of his *Journal des Sçavans*, whose ambitious aim was to describe the books printed in Europe, to present biographies, to make known scientific experiments and instruments, to record new meteorological and anatomical data and to transmit to readers all current scholarly events in Europe. Although originally founded for similar purposes, these two journals had some fundamental disparities and their development led to various types of publications. *Journal des Sçavans* was a commercial venture of a private publisher, whereas *Philosophical Transactions* was closely connected to the Royal Society. *Transactions* became a forum for scientific studies which, except for some first numbers, excluded the findings of antiquarian or philological research. De Sallo's effort to follow development in all fields of research proved impossible to fulfil, and soon his *Journal* would concentrate on humanities topics.<sup>224</sup>

*Journal des Sçavans* soon had its successors, such as *Giornale de Litterati d'Italia* (1668) and Pierre Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684), whose primary mission was to present current literature, although articles were sometimes included, too. Their readership consisted of scholars and laymen (including women), who wished to follow developments in the Republic of Letters. The growing production of books and the limited availability of many works in the European market increased the popularity of journals which summarised the contents of new books. For a publisher, a journal offered an opportunity for advertising. Although subscription fees did not always cover the costs of these journals, they were worth publishing because they increased the sales of books. The scientific journals sponsored by societies and academies were rarer in the seventeenth century. In addition to the Royal Society, a renaissance-type academy, Collegium Naturae Curiosorum in Altdorf, published the journal *Miscellanea curiosa*, which concentrated on medicine and natural sciences.<sup>225</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century, the form of the journal and its position in the scientific work was still somewhat unestablished. Unlike monographs, journal articles were not considered as a final form of a research report. Libraries restricted their acquisitions to books, whereas the economic base of journals depended on pri-

<sup>223</sup> Katzen 1980, pp. 180-185; Manten 1980, pp. 7, 11-12; Gibson 1982, p. 148; Broman 2000, pp. 228-229.

<sup>224</sup> Manten 1980, pp. 5-7; Meadows 1998, pp. 6-7; Broman 2000, p. 229; Kronick 1976, pp. 77-79. Kronick divides the scientific journals into two types: substantive journals and society proceedings.

<sup>225</sup> Manten 1980, pp. 7-8; McClellan 1985, pp. 53-55; Goldgar 1995, pp. 59-70; Broman 2000, pp. 229-233.

vate subscribers. The conservative voices criticised this new medium as superficial. Letters remained an important communication channel because the publication and distribution of journals was often too slow to satisfy the readers. As the number of journals increased, correspondence was gradually adapted to the new situation and letters became a medium for the more informal exchange of information.<sup>226</sup>

A dozen journals launched at the end of the seventeenth century formed a prelude to a vast enterprise of academic publishing. In the next century, the growth became exponential, doubling in number every 15 years. It has been estimated that up to the end of the eighteenth century, there were 755 scientific journal titles, of which 401 were published in Germany, 96 in France, 50 in the United Kingdom, 43 in the Netherlands and 37 in Switzerland.<sup>227</sup> Kronick argued that the reason for the leading position of Germany was the shorter duration of periodicals there. The growth of the reading public, the wide area where the German language was understood and the remarkable number of scientific institutions were other contributory factors.<sup>228</sup> Academic publishing spread on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean when the newly founded American Philosophical Society launched its *Transactions* in 1771. Its first volume contained the results of the American observations of the transit of Venus across the sun's face, in 1769 – something which was sure to arouse interest in Europe. Despite the success of the first volume, the stormy years of revolution delayed the publishing of the next volume for fifteen years. New titles did not appear until 1785 when the American Academy of Sciences in Boston launched its *Memoirs*.<sup>229</sup> Also, most European societies published serials after long intervals, although their activities provided abundant material for journals. Many of them could not afford journals, and of all journals published in the eighteenth century, only 25% were supported by societies or academies. Their serials were, however, usually more long-lived than the journals of the private publishers.<sup>230</sup> The idea of seriality became rooted in science as well as in the society in the late eighteenth century. It connected the scholarly journals to the conversational culture of salons, stressing the novelty and discoveries but simultaneously changing scientific findings to perishable commodities which in the next volume might be replaced by new studies.<sup>231</sup>

The Humboldtian ideal of the university emphasised that professors should also be researchers – something which was conveniently proven by the number of pub-

<sup>226</sup> Kronick 1976, pp. 64-65; Manten 1980, pp. 8-9; Goldgar 1995, pp. 57-59; Broman 2000, p. 226; Csiszar 2010, pp. 403-405.

<sup>227</sup> Manten 1980, pp. 8-10; Price 1986, pp. 5-8; Kronick 1976, p. 78. Manten's estimation of 755 titles is based on F. H. Garrison's inventory, "The Medical and Scientific Periodicals of the 17 and 18 Centuries". It is impossible to give exact figures because the field was in constant transition – new journals were launched, while others were discontinued or divided into subseries or merged to form new titles. Price's estimation is remarkably lower, and Kronick has calculated that in 1790, the total number of scientific periodicals was 1052. He included almanacs and abstract publications in this figure.

<sup>228</sup> Kronick 1976, pp. 88-94. Kronick's table on substantive serials indicates that 62% were published in Germany.

<sup>229</sup> Gwinn 1996, pp. 42-49; McClellan 1985, pp. 142-144.

<sup>230</sup> Kronick 1976, pp. 121-123; Manten 1980, pp. 9-10. See the list of the societies and their publications in McClellan 1985, pp. 261-280.

<sup>231</sup> Hopwood, Schaffer and Secord 2010, pp. 261, 278.

lished papers. The eighteenth-century professor was an erudite, who published about ten papers in various forums – even sermons were counted when he applied for a professorship – but his nineteenth-century counterpart had to demonstrate his abilities by writing constantly for scientific journals.<sup>232</sup> The competition of salaried posts increased the submitting of academic papers. The exponential growth of scientific research led to the formation of new disciplines and to new journals with a more restricted readership. The specialisation of the learned journals began in the second half of the eighteenth century. Many of the early specialised journals, such as Lorenz von Crell's *Chemische Annalen*, were published by private editors. The share of the learned societies widened in the nineteenth century when the number of specialised societies increased and they became a central forum for young and active researchers. For societies, the role of journals was twofold. On the one hand, they were a means of informing their members and, on the other hand, they afforded scientists an academic career and admission to the international scholarly community. The societies seldom had professional skills for publishing and distributing journals. The publishing had to conform to their traditions and social life. Also, funding was a constant problem. As a consequence, the time lag between two volumes or between the submission of a paper and its publishing was often many years.<sup>233</sup>

The shortages of societies meant more opportunities for private publishers, who had greater skills adapting to increasing volumes of research, the professionalising and specialising of scientific work and the changes brought about by improved construction of roads, railroads and steam ships. Unlike societies, which had to tread a fine line between establishing their reputation in the eyes of the international scientific community and keeping their members informed of developments, the commercial publishers could launch highly specialised journals directed only at professional scientists and scholars, as well as popularised magazines and textbooks for laymen. The growing branch of professional publishing gradually displaced the old system of patronage, but there was still plenty of room for the non-commercial publishers, such as societies and the governmental bodies. An increasing number of serials were launched by new research institutions such as museums, botanical gardens or geological surveys. The university presses, which for centuries had served faculties as printers of theses, programmes and academic miscellanea, entered the serial publishing branch in the nineteenth century. The traditions of publishing varied from country to country. In France, the research institutions, well funded by government were active publishers while in Germany, the most common method of producing articles was collaboration between individual scientists and commercial publishers. In the United Kingdom, the amateur tradition remained strong, which together with limited government support amplified the role of the societies. The position of university presses was remarkable in the United States where they published all kinds of scholarly literature, including peer reviewed journals.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> McClelland 1980, pp. 83-85, 122-123; Kronick 1976, p. 92; Csiszar 2010, pp. 402-403.

<sup>233</sup> Mantel 1980, pp. 9-14, 18-21; McClelland 1985, pp. 257-258; Broman 2000, pp. 234-235; Meadows 2004, pp. 87-91.

<sup>234</sup> Mantel 1980, pp. 12-13; Shaw 1980, pp. 149-152; Meyer and Phillabaum 1980, pp. 213-217; Edelman 1994, p. 172; Topham 2000, pp. 581-586; Jagodzinski 2008, p. 1-6.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the field of scholarly publishing grew continuously in size as well as in diversity. It is worth noting that the attitude of the time was quite open and tolerant. Publishers did not compete fiercely and public and commercial journals completed one another. The time of information flow had not yet really begun, rather new forums were needed and welcomed in the new specialised branches of scholarship.

### 3.2 PUBLISHING POLICY OF THE FLS – EXTENDING THE USE OF THE FINNISH LANGUAGE

The Finnish Literature Society (FLS) is not the oldest of the four societies under study. Nevertheless, it was the first learned society in Finland to publish literature and therefore it is presented first here.

The FLS was founded at an evening gathering at the home of a lecturer Karl Niklas Keckman in 1831. The party consisted of twelve men discussing the current topic – the conjugation and spelling of the Finnish language. In the background was the recently achieved autonomous position of Finland which had inspired various national activities and an interest in the Finnish language. According to the contemporary nationalistic ideology, language and literature (including folklore and mythology) formed a cornerstone of nationality. The difficulties of the Swedish-speaking educated class in understanding the Finnish language, however, hindered the efforts to create a common culture. Therefore, the FLS took as its mission to collect Finnish literature and folklore and to develop and cultivate the Finnish language so that it could be widely used in literature and in learning.<sup>235</sup>

In the first decade of the new society, its activities were quite unestablished. The majority of the membership was recruited from among the clergy, who usually understood Finnish. Academics were better represented in the so-called committee of researchers, which planned the activities and reviewed the various texts the society received. The modest funds, consisting only of membership fees, did not provide sufficient capital for publishing but the FLS managed to find private publishers for two books in the 1830s. The first of these, *Kultala*, was a Finnish translation of a Swiss novel *Das Goldmachedorf* by Heinrich Zschokke. This story, translated by one of the founding members, Keckman, formed the first volume of the series *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* (Finnish Literature Society Editions) where the monographs were to be published.<sup>236</sup> *Kultala* was enlightening literature for the common people, but the second book was to have more far-reaching consequences in the scholarly world and to put the society on the map. One of the founding members, the medical doctor Elias Lönnrot, had for some time collected Finnish folklore and found some common themes which appeared in many poems. He developed the idea of arranging and connecting separate runes and publishing them as an epic like *Edda*.

<sup>235</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 17-28; Sulkunen 2005, pp. 360-362.

<sup>236</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 29, 43-59, 302-305; Krohn 1931, pp. 15-17; Palmén 1881, pp. 37-38. On the committee of researchers and submitted papers, see minutes of the FLS 4 April 1832 § 3; 6 June 1832 § 2; 7 November 1832 § 4-5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA; *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Asetukset* 1840. 1844, pp. 6, 9-10.

The committee of researchers supported Lönnrot's idea, for they considered the folk poems as an interesting source material on the history of Finns. The Finnish national epic *Kalevala* appeared in 1835.<sup>237</sup>

*Kalevala* aroused wide interest although only a small minority of the Swedish-speaking educated class could read it. Even those who had learnt Finnish had difficulties in understanding the poems in a curious verse form. Information on the epic was disseminated in newspapers, correspondence and discussions and the majority of the educated class formed an enlightened opinion without reading the work itself. The reception of *Kalevala* in Finland was not only favourable, but despite the critics, the enthusiasts saw an opportunity to export Finnish culture. *Kalevala* appeared at a time when a lively discussion on epics was going on in Europe. The ancient runes of a small northern nation were attractive material for European researchers, inspired by romantic ideology, which smoothed the way of *Kalevala* to German universities. Jakob Grimm held lectures on it in the Academy of Berlin in 1845. The Swedish translation appeared in 1841; the French translation in prose form was made by Léouzon le Duc in 1845; and the German translation by Anton Schiefener seven years later.<sup>238</sup> The warm reception of *Kalevala* promoted the further publishing of folklore in the 1840s and 1850s. *Kanteletar*, which included separate poems, appeared in 1840 and the second enlarged edition of *Kalevala* in 1849. Furthermore, the FLS published proverbs, riddles, songs and fairytales of the Finnish people. Another field of activity was the schoolbooks and bibliographies of Finnish literature.<sup>239</sup>

In 1850, a decree of censorship prohibited all publishing in Finnish, except devotional and economic literature and folklore. In the background was the general insecurity due to the European revolutionary year of 1848 and some disturbances among Finnish students. The Crimean War of 1853-1856 increased suspicions and caution among the authorities. Yet the Finns remained loyal to Imperial Russia and the decree of censorship was moderated during the war. Soon it became insignificant and the publishing of Finnish books and journals continued even more actively than in previous decades. The position of the Finnish language gained strength in many ways. In 1851, a professorial post in Finnish language was founded at the University. The first academic theses in Finnish were published in 1858, and a few years later lectures in Finnish were allowed. The language rescript of 1863 legitimised Finnish as a language of administration and justice. The FLS enjoyed the fruits of this favourable

<sup>237</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 54-57.

<sup>238</sup> Minutes of the FLS 2 March 1836 § 2. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA; Sulkunen 2004, pp. 57-65; Karkama 2008, pp. 126, 145; Siikala 2008, p. 318; Anttonen 1999, pp. 75, 165; Hautala 1969, pp. 41-44. Much literature has been written on the reception of *Kalevala* in Finland, but it is too wide a subject to discuss here. The critics mostly concerned the way Lönnrot had combined separate poems into one epic. Some others were justly suspicious of the value of *Kalevala* as source material for the history of Finns.

<sup>239</sup> *Suomen kansan sananlaskuja* (1842); *Suomen kansan arvoituksia* (1844); *Suomen kansan laulantoja* (1849); and *Suomen kansan satuja ja tarinoita* (1852-1866). Sulkunen 2004, pp. 104, 129, 144, 302. The role of the FLS as a publisher of schoolbooks and fiction, which is not crucial from the point of view of this study, is discussed in Sulkunen 2004 and Häggman 2008.

attitude, receiving its first government subsidy of 300 roubles in 1858. The economy of the society was also improved by private donations.<sup>240</sup>

The improved financial situation and the better position of the Finnish language turned the activities of the FLS from schoolbooks and popular literature to scholarly work. In the 1860s, remarkable efforts were put into lexicography. The first and the largest undertaking was the Finnish-Swedish dictionary, the first volume of which was printed in 1865 and the last in 1880.<sup>241</sup> Other dictionaries and grammars were published, too.<sup>242</sup> Dictionaries were laborious and needed more funding than other books because their authors usually received remuneration for many years. On the other hand, they sold well and often received extra subsidies.<sup>243</sup> Not only linguistic interest inspired the publishing of dictionaries; they were also considered crucial in the efforts to export Finnish literature.<sup>244</sup> The publishing of fiction was promoted mostly by organising writing contests.<sup>245</sup> The FLS founded particular series for novels and plays. Their publishing continued actively until the end of the century, when commercial publishers began to take an interest in Finnish novelists.<sup>246</sup>

In addition to fiction and linguistics, the activities of the FLS included the emerging national disciplines – history, archaeology and ethnography.<sup>247</sup> To prevent the general meetings becoming too congested, in the 1860s the society founded special departments for history, linguistics and belles lettres.<sup>248</sup> Yet the seed of dissolution lay not only in these widening activities, but also in various opinions on research and publishing policies. The 1870s and 1880s were an era of strong leaders, first Johan Vilhelm Snellman and then Yrjö Koskinen, both of them prominent and influential characters in the University and in the politics of the Grand Duchy. They strongly emphasised the national aims, considering that the main function of the FLS was to

<sup>240</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 59, 102-105, 128; Paasivirta 1978, pp. 186-194; Mäkinen 2005, pp. 77-83. Later research has reassessed the decree of censorship, stating that its importance has been overestimated and it had hardly any practical consequences. See Häggman 2008, pp. 15-18, 25.

<sup>241</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 78-79.

<sup>242</sup> The Latin-Finnish dictionary (1864); English grammar, dictionary and reader (1867); German-Finnish dictionary (1873); French-Finnish dictionary (1877); Finnish-Latin dictionary (1883); Russian-Finnish dictionary (1895); Finnish-Russian dictionary (1902); English-Finnish dictionary (1904); and French-Finnish dictionary (1914). See Sulkunen 2004, pp. 302-305; Niinivaara 1931, pp. 48-50.

<sup>243</sup> Krohn 1931, p. 34; FLS account books 1881, 1882, 1893. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelot (Folders) 66, 68. SKS, KIA.

<sup>244</sup> Minutes of the FLS 23 January 1901 § 6. In SUOMI III:19 (1901), pp. 103-104.

<sup>245</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 144, 179-183, 206-209; Tarkiainen 1931, pp. 18-33.

<sup>246</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 154-166, 179. The *Novel Library* series had a stormy beginning because Aleksis Kivi's novel *Seven Brothers* aroused fiery polemics. The novel on seven Finnish men who escaped to the woods because of the difficulties they had in adjusting themselves to society was too much for some Fennoman idealists. The author received neither the respect he deserved, nor the proper income.

<sup>247</sup> The term national disciplines is used to describe those branches of scholarship which were crucial in shaping the Finnish identity: history, archaeology, folklore research and ethnography. Sometimes even sciences such as geography, natural history and geology were regarded as national disciplines because their focus was largely on the nature, landscape and population of Finland. See Herlin 2000, pp. 26-29.

<sup>248</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 147-148, 152-154; Krohn 1931, p. 26. Sulkunen states that personal ambitions and controversies among the leading figures of the FLS had a significant role in the founding of departments.

create and promote national literature, which restricted the opportunities to develop new disciplines. Researchers interested in archaeology, ethnography and art history were the first to found their own society, the FAS, in 1870. Then the historical department broke away from the FLS to form the Finnish Historical Society. Furthermore, a special society Kansanvalistusseura (The Society for the Enlightenment of the People) was founded for popular enlightenment in 1874. However, there were no visible conflicts between the FLS and the new societies and later on they co-operated in many projects.<sup>249</sup>

The determined efforts to support the Finnish language and to widen its use even to scientific and scholarly texts led, naturally, to the discarding of the Swedish language in the publications of the FLS. Even other languages were discriminated against. Until the 1890s, the *Editions* series included only H.G. Porthan's *Opera selecta* written in Swedish and Latin and one folklore collection in the Estonian language. The bibliographical works had Swedish or French titles and annotations, the dictionaries titles in the respective languages. The FLS was willing to sacrifice international readership on the altar of the Finnish language.<sup>250</sup> In this respect, it differed radically from other two societies founded in the 1830s. The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters and the Medical Society of Finland considered the Finnish language inappropriate for the use of science, prohibiting it in their publications. They justified this decision not only with the backwardness of the Finnish language but also with the difficulties it caused for the international distribution of the publications.<sup>251</sup>

Only seldom were discordant notes on the domination of the Finnish language heard in the FLS. In its linguistic department, some propositions were made for promoting the international distribution of Finnish research. In 1869, the linguist Oskar Blomstedt presented a work of his Hungarian colleague, Joseph Budenz, praising – in a more or less sarcastic tone – the use of the German language:

*Until now, as is well known, the Hungarian linguists have, obstinately, published their works only in their mother tongue. Now it seems that even they have realised that such a closed circle as only the Hungarian audience is not beneficial for research because thus it lacks the sufficient number of readers and the opportunity for stricter criticism which is a necessary prerequisite for the progress of research.*

He continued by welcoming the better prospects for the interaction between Finnish and Hungarian researchers and concluding:

*But to attain this interaction, there is, naturally, an inevitable condition for us, too, that we will more than has happened until now, write linguistic works in some more general civilised language, rather in German or in Latin.*<sup>252</sup>

249 Sulkunen 2004, pp. 174, 188; Tallgren 1920, pp. 13–18; Tuominen 1975, pp. 17–21.

250 See the list of the FLS publications in Sulkunen 2004, pp. 302–305.

251 Huumo 2005, pp. 65, 81, 113.

252 Minutes of the linguistic department of the FLS 24 November 1869 § 5. In SUOMI II:8 (1870), pp. 521–522. The citations in Finnish: *Tähän asti ovat näet, kuten tietty, unkarilaiset kieliniekat itsepintaisesti ulos-antaneet teoksiansa vain omalla äitinkielellänsä. Nyt näyttäivät hekin käsittäneen, että semmoinen umpinainen ala kuin yksinomaisesti maguarilainen yleisö ei ole tieteelle terveellinen, koska siltä näin puuttuu tarpeellinen määrä lukioita ja se ankaramman arvostelun mahdollisuus, joka sille on pidettävä välttämättömänä edistymisen ehtona [...] Mutta tämän vuorovaikutuksen saavuttamiseksi on tietysti meidän puoleltakin välttämätön ehto se, että ruvetaan enemmän, kuin näihin asti on tapahtunut, kielitieteellisiä teoksia yleisemmällä sivistys-kielellä kirjoittamaan, mieluisimmin saksaksi tai latinaksi.*

Although Blomstedt was an appreciated expert of the Hungarian language, his ideas on internationalising Finnish publications did not prosper. His early death in 1871 stopped his efforts. Two years later, another linguist, Otto Donner, suggested that the linguistic department could launch its own journal. The articles of this *Linguistic Archive* would include French or German summaries and the best papers could be translated.<sup>253</sup> This suggestion also died an early death. Finally, the internationally orientated linguists considered it best to found a society of their own. The Finno-Ugrian Society was established in 1883. It began to publish multilingual serials *Journal* and *Memoirs* and from 1901 it funded an international journal *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* which was officially published by a German bookseller, Harrassowitz.<sup>254</sup>

Nothing more of an open discussion on the publishing policy and international ambitions was left in the records of the FLS. When the society prepared for its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary and the question of inviting foreign guests arose, the President Koskinen clearly voiced his opinion:

*Though it is desirable that many of the foreign correspondents of the society and perhaps even some other foreign scholars would like to honour the festivities of the society with their presence, it is, however, not appropriate to arrange the programme of the festivities only for them because pursuing international research has never been the actual purpose of this society.*<sup>255</sup>

This policy was obvious in publishing as well, excluding not only internationally oriented Finnish authors, but also some foreign researchers who submitted their texts, unless they were willing to have them translated.<sup>256</sup>

After archaeology, history and Finno-Ugrian linguistics broke away from the FLS, the society focused its research activities on folklore and Finnish language. In the 1860s, it began to collect the variants of the poems of *Kalevala* which led not only to new interpretations but also to the development of a special method of studying folklore. The so-called geographic-historical method, which meant tracing the origins of runes and poems and their movements from one region to another, was in the Darwinian spirit outlined by Julius Krohn and developed further by his son Kaarle Krohn, who extended the comparative research to cover extensive international material.<sup>257</sup> The international character of the field did not affect the publishing policy of the FLS but the international activities were channelled to a new society, Folklore Fellows. This was founded by Kaarle Krohn with some Nordic and German scholars. With the funding of the recently founded Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters it launched a new serial *Folklore Fellows Communications* which was to be a leading

253 Minutes of the linguistic department of the FLS 15 April 1871 § 4. In SUOMI II:10 (1872), p. 301. On Blomstedt, see Tervonen 1984, pp. 65-68.

254 Salminen 2008, pp. 18-25, 83; Ravila 1933, pp. 4-6, 59-60; Setälä and Krohn 1901, pp. 6-14; Saarinen 2001, pp. 12-15.

255 Minutes of the FLS 7 April 1880 § 5. In SUOMI II:14 (1881), pp. 384-385. The citation in Finnish: *Vaikka toivomista on, että useat seuran ulkomaisista kirjeenvaihtojäsenistä ja kenties muutamat muutkin vieraat tiedemiehet tahtovat Seuran jublaa läsnäolollansa kunnioittaa, ei sopine kuitenkaan järjestää juhlan ohjelmaa yksinomaan heitä varten, koska kansainvälisen tieteen harjoitus ei muutoinkaan ole ollut tämän Seuran varsinaisena tarkoituksena.* See also Sulkunen 2004, pp. 188-192.

256 Minutes of the FLS 6 October 1880 § 7. In SUOMI II:14 (1881), p. 440; 3 December 1884 § 6. In SUOMI II:18 (1885), p. 274.

257 Sulkunen 2004, pp. 194-205; Haavio 1931, pp. 82-84; Hautala 1969, pp. 64-80, 113-115.



international journal in the discipline for decades to come.<sup>258</sup> The FLS, for its part, in 1900 launched a colossal project of editing the variants of *Kalevala* runes into a corpus *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (The Old Poems of the Finnish People, from now on abbreviated as OPFP) whose first volume appeared in 1908 and the last in 1948.<sup>259</sup>

In addition to folklore, the FLS published many valuable pioneering works, such as statute books and herbariums, the translations of novels and plays, some academic studies in archaeology and ethnography and some works of social literature.<sup>260</sup> In 1893, it launched a subseries of *Editions*, entitled *Suomen kielen muistomerkkejä - Monumenta linguae Fennicae* (Monuments of the Finnish Language), to introduce the old texts written in the Finnish language.<sup>261</sup> The fundamental principle of the publishing activities of the FLS was to produce books which extended the use of the Finnish language to new areas and required new vocabulary.<sup>262</sup> Considering this goal, the society was quite successful. The Finnish language remained a cornerstone of the FLS and those who wanted to write for an international readership founded their forums elsewhere. This policy also concerned the journal of the society, one of the first scholarly journals in Finland.

### *The Journal Suomi*

At its first meetings, the FLS already added to its constitution a paragraph stating that the society would publish a journal including belles lettres and studies in history and linguistics when sufficient materials and capital became available.<sup>263</sup> Obviously, this prerequisite was not to be fulfilled in the near future, but some other motions were proposed. Professor Carl Reinhold Sahlberg suggested launching a newspaper in Finnish – an enterprise which the society considered more suitable for a private publisher.<sup>264</sup> Lönnrot, for his part, suggested a journal which would include previously published texts on national subjects, such as academic theses from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The committee of researchers found the idea interesting but suspected that the material might be somewhat outdated. Then the proposal was set aside and forgotten.<sup>265</sup> These motions aptly reflect the early activities of the FLS. The members had a great deal of enthusiasm, but no clear vision of the character and role of scholarly journals.

Lönnrot moved to northern Finland, where he practised as a doctor. He did not let his medical duties subdue his scholarly activities and, among other things, he continued to outline a learned journal. Together with two friends, he launched a journal

<sup>258</sup> Paaskoski 2008, pp. 86-87; Honko 1995, p. 1; Krohn [1910/1911], pp. 1-3; Hautala 1969, p. 118. The First World War ended activities of the Folklore Fellows, but the journal is still published.

<sup>259</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 302-305; Haavio 1931, pp. 87-90.

<sup>260</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 210-212; Tarkiainen 1931, p. 33.

<sup>261</sup> Minutes of the FLS 5 March 1890 § 4. In SUOMI III:3 (1890), pp. 425-426; 7 May 1890 § 5. In SUOMI III:5 (1892), pp. 367-370; 12 October 1892 § 2. In SUOMI III:7 (1893), pp. 44-45.

<sup>262</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 175, 179-182; minutes of the FLS 16 March 1905, annual report. In SUOMI IV:3 (1905), pp. 163-164.

<sup>263</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 April 1831 § 1. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>264</sup> Sulkunen 2004, p. 92; minutes of the FLS 6 June 1832 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>265</sup> Minutes of the FLS 9 April 1834 § 3; 7 May 1834 § 4; 4 June 1834 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

called *Suomi*, in 1841. (Suomi means Finland.) The editors were recruited from among the leading members of the FLS. Thus the new journal was closely connected to the society, even though its three first volumes were published privately. In 1844, the society decided to adopt it among the publications of the FLS.<sup>266</sup> *Suomi* was more a scholarly than a literary journal, defining as its scope to publish research on the history and language of the fatherland. To control the quality of the papers, the society nominated an editorial board. If the board was not unanimous on the quality of texts, the committee of researchers of the society would solve the question.<sup>267</sup>

As a multidisciplinary journal *Suomi* represented a transitional form between the old-fashioned popular learned journals and the modern specialised journals. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, typical forums in the field of humanities were local Reviews or Magazines, which gathered texts from various disciplines, often including literary texts and political writings. They were aimed at a wide audience and their authors received honoraria which often formed a more salient incentive to write papers than the opportunity to promote one's academic career.<sup>268</sup> Few domestic predecessors of *Suomi* represented this earlier review type, whereas the contemporary newcomer, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum* followed the model of a society journal, including only scientific papers and information on the society's activities. Though the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters was multidisciplinary, it planned its *Acta* to include only papers on the natural sciences, the articles in the humanities were meant to be published in *Suomi*.<sup>269</sup> The contents of *Suomi* consisted of history, linguistics, geography, statistics, travelogues and bibliographic material. Historical papers were often just edited documents and other sources. Belles lettres were represented only occasionally, being mostly translations of classics. Folklore was published more often.<sup>270</sup>

The work of the editorial board was initially more or less haphazard. The supply of papers was not voluminous and the board undertook to secure articles when needed.<sup>271</sup> In 1856, the professor of oriental literature, Herman Kellgren, who had recently visited Germany and acquainted himself the publishing practices of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, criticised *Suomi* for not committing itself on current questions and for not informing the membership on the activities of the society. He suggested that the journal should appear twice a year and in addition to articles, include the minutes and annual reports of the society and reviews of domestic and foreign books. Furthermore, he recommended remuneration instead of reprints which the authors might sell on their own account.<sup>272</sup> Kellgren's plan was accepted in essence at the next annual meeting. On the same occasion the peer review practices were defined by stating that the new studies should be announced at the meetings of the society.

<sup>266</sup> Sulkunen 2004, p. 92.

<sup>267</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1845 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1; 16 March 1847, annual report. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

<sup>268</sup> Stieg 1986, pp. 22-23; Topham 2000, pp. 591-594; McClelland 1980, pp. 85-86.

<sup>269</sup> Elfving 1938, pp. 25-28.

<sup>270</sup> See the contents of *Suomi* 1-15 (1841-1855).

<sup>271</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1851 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

<sup>272</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 February 1856 § 10. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA. On the German contacts of Kellgren, see Karttunen 2000. <http://helios.uta.fi:2288/kb/artikkeli/3502/> (cited 4 September 2011).

Unless the name of the author guaranteed the quality of the text, the paper would be reviewed by the committee of researchers. The system resembled the publishing policy of the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* which assumed that the articles were to be reviewed if they were not written by members of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. Also the British societies had similar review practices. Established authors had their papers accepted more easily than newcomers.<sup>273</sup>

The peer review scheme did not remain a dead letter. The ambitions of raising the scholarly standard of *Suomi* mirrored the efforts to develop the national disciplines but also the international trends of scholarly publishing. M.F. Stieg states that specialised historical journals had a remarkable effect on the development of history as a discipline, for they assumed correctly marked footnotes, demanded fresh and original information, adequate material, sound reasoning, relevance, style etc.<sup>274</sup> Obviously, *Suomi* had this professionalising function, too, since its 1856 reform. The FLS rejected papers which did not contain sufficiently new information, where the use of sources was inadequate or whose texts were not scholarly enough. Articles including only edited source material were no longer accepted. The style and grammar were evaluated.<sup>275</sup> When the historical and linguistic departments were founded, they began to review their respective papers, but all the texts were still announced at general meetings.<sup>276</sup>

In the 1856 scheme, the FLS had decided on a fairly liberal language policy which allowed papers, minutes and reports to be published in the language in which they were originally written. In the background was the fact that the supply of scholarly texts in Finnish was very meagre. As the position of the Finnish language strengthened, the society began to demand the texts in Finnish and, in 1867, it decided that only the Finnish language would be allowed in *Suomi*.<sup>277</sup> Due to the ambitious peer review and the small number of academic researchers with sufficient proficiency in Finnish, *Suomi* constantly suffered from a lack of material. In 1862, the FLS decided that the journal would appear irregularly.<sup>278</sup> When the historical subjects were absorbed by a new journal *Historiallinen Arkisto* (Historical Archive), in 1866, *Suomi* became a forum for linguistic studies. To diversify the supply of papers, the President Snellman, suggested that the members of the newly founded FAS use *Suomi* as a

<sup>273</sup> Minutes of the FLS 5 March 1856 § 4; 16 March 1856 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; Huumo 2005, p. 127; Meadows 2004, pp. 90-91.

<sup>274</sup> Stieg 1986, pp. 43-46, 50-58.

<sup>275</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 November 1858 § 6; 2 February 1859 § 2. In SUOMI I:18 (1858), pp. 374-377, 385; 4 February 1863 § 10. In SUOMI II:2 (1864), p. 301; 8 February 1865 § 11. In SUOMI II:4 (1865), p. 334; 3 May 1865 § 12; 4 October 1865 § 6. In SUOMI II:5 (1866), pp. 287-288, 312; 4 April 1866 § 8. In SUOMI II:7 (1868), pp. 332-333; 11 January 1888 § 3. In SUOMI III:1 (1888), pp. 337-338. The politics had a remarkable impact on the scientific and scholarly work. Although political motives may have been embedded in the referee statements of the FLS, the publicly expressed criteria of a scholarly paper indicated the standard required. On the effect of language policy on rejecting academic theses, see Garritzen 2011, pp. 134, 138-142.

<sup>276</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 June 1865 § 4. In SUOMI II:5 (1866), p. 293.

<sup>277</sup> Sulkunen 2004, p. 92. Even before this decision some papers had been rejected because they were written in Swedish. See 4 February 1863 § 10. In SUOMI II:2 (1864), p. 301; 2 December 1863 § 14. In SUOMI II:3 (1865), p. 282.

<sup>278</sup> Minutes of the FLS 8 October 1862 § 6. In SUOMI II:2 (1864), p. 276; 2 May 1877 § 4; 6 June 1877 § 3. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), pp. 315, 319.

medium for their papers. However, the FAS wanted to found its own journal. Only in the 1880s, did the active development of folklore research bring novel material and fresh discussion to *Suomi*.<sup>279</sup> One way to obtain materials was to publish theses which doctoral students were eager to offer to save their personal expenses. The first thesis was accepted in 1890.<sup>280</sup> The usual practice was that the author had to pay half of the expenses.<sup>281</sup>

The founders of *Suomi* had been too optimistic regarding the supply of papers and they definitely overestimated the number of subscribers. In 1859, printing was reduced from 750 to 500 copies and in 1864, again to 400 copies.<sup>282</sup> The circulation was at its lowest in the 1870s, being only 150 copies. Apparently the society had abandoned efforts to sell the journal, for it decided to promote the sale of reprints of separate articles.<sup>283</sup> When the supply of material improved at the end of the century, the society began to believe in its journal, again. Editions increased first to 300 and in 1898 to 400 copies.<sup>284</sup>

All in all, the publishing of *Suomi* was quite variable. The first editors had no experience of publishing a scholarly journal, which made it difficult for them to estimate its prospects. After the review practices and language policy were fixed, the society had to face the situation that there were not enough writers, not to mention subscribers. In the course of the nineteenth century, the situation improved in many ways: the Finnish language entered the academic community and new elementary and secondary schools produced enlightened readers. The national disciplines progressed and new professorial posts were founded, which meant an increasing number of authors. On the other hand, the field disintegrated, forming new societies and new journals. *Suomi* remained loyal to the principles of the society which limited its scope to linguistic and folklore studies written in Finnish. The national focus and the language policy did not mean compromising on the scholarly requirements. On the contrary, the national ambitions motivated the developing of peer review practices as much as international ambitions did in other societies.

279 Minutes of the FLS 3 May 1871 § 5; 16 March 1872, annual report. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 7-8, 81-83; Sulkunen 2004, p. 92.

280 Minutes of the FLS 4 June 1890 § 7. In SUOMI III:5 (1892), p. 376. Already in the 1870s, the first archaeological thesis in Finland, J. R. Aspelin's *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkimuksen alkeita* was published in the *Editions* series. Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1874 § 5. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 205-206.

281 Minutes of the FLS 3 May 1893 § 5. In SUOMI III:9 (1894), p. 16; 9 May 1894 § 8. In SUOMI III:12 (1895), p. 18; 14 February 1900 § 7. In SUOMI III:19 (1901), p. 106; 3 April 1901 § 8. In SUOMI III:20 (1902), pp. 8-9; 6 October 1909 § 6-7. In SUOMI IV:8 (1910), p. 75.

282 Minutes of the FLS 4 May 1859. In SUOMI I:19 (1859), p. 298; 4 April 1864 § 7-8. In SUOMI II:4 (1865), pp. 276-277.

283 Minutes of the FLS 24 May 1875 § 7; 2 June 1875 § 3. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), pp. 178-179.

284 Minutes of the FLS 14 January 1891 § 12. In SUOMI III:5 (1892), p. 420; 11 May 1898 § 8. In SUOMI III:17 (1899), p. 29.

### 3.3 PUBLISHING POLICY OF THE SFFF – DOMESTIC NATURE AND INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE

In the spring of 1821, Carl Reinhold Sahlberg, professor of Natural History and Economy and Docent Johan Magnus af Tengström organised two excursions aimed at collecting botanical and zoological samples for the museum at the University of Turku. In spite of the terrible weather and poor findings, comradery remained high, giving them the idea to establish a society for studying nature in Finland. Its first meeting was held in Sahlberg's home in November 1821. In a spirit of patriotism, Sahlberg, two other university lecturers and seven students decided that the mission of the new society, the Society for Finnish Botany and Zoology – or *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* – would be to collect Finnish plants and animals. It would be open to all men, willing to promote the knowledge of the natural history of Finland. The first task was to acquire premises for the future collections; this proved successful when the consistorium promised to find room in the university museum.<sup>285</sup>

Sahlberg, the first president of the society, was a member of some Swedish and Russian scientific societies. The Vice President af Tengström was a widely travelled man and Count Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, who was an active member of the society, participated in many Russian societies, published his entomological papers in international journals and corresponded with the outstanding European entomologists.<sup>286</sup> Despite their international experience, the early years of the SFFF consisted mostly of homespun activities, electing new members by ballot and receiving abundant materials presented to collections. Sadly, the collection was lost in the fire of Turku in 1827.<sup>287</sup> When the SFFF restarted its activities in Helsinki, where it had moved with the university, it was so penniless that it could not even afford the printing of its own rules. The bookseller Gustaf Otto Wasenius, a member of the society, gave his support and printed the rules at his own expense. He also offered the society space for publishing information on meetings and donations in his newspaper *Helsingfors Tidningar*.<sup>288</sup> Other publishing activities were out of the question.

In the 1830s, some signs on increasing interest in scientific research emerged. The financial situation improved and in 1834 President Sahlberg suggested that the society would announce a prize for the catalogue and description of local fauna and flora in some Finnish parish. A study of this kind would not only benefit the research of natural history, but also attract young men to the service of the society. This can be regarded as the first step towards promoting scientific authorship even though the publishing of the possible prize winner was not discussed. The society announced the competition, but had to wait three years before the first anonymous study was received. A reviewing committee was established, but to its disappointment, the text included too many mistakes and obscurities to earn the prize. No further competi-

<sup>285</sup> Elfving 1921, pp. 6–11, 169; Saalas 1956, pp.188–190; Collander 1965, p. 15. The Latin name of the SFFF became official only in the 1870s.

<sup>286</sup> Saalas 1956, pp. 65, 90; Leikola 2000, pp. 165–166. Nowadays, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim is better known as the grandfather of Marshal and the President of Finland, C. G. E. Mannerheim.

<sup>287</sup> Elfving 1921, pp. 11–17.

<sup>288</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 9 October 1835 § 2; 25 May 1838 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 2. FNL.

tions were organised in the 1830s, but a grant was given for the entomological expedition to Lapland, instead.<sup>289</sup>

The activities of the society mirrored the research in the university which, similarly, consisted more of collecting, systematising and cataloguing within the framework of the Linnean system, than theoretical or experimental studies, which were already gaining ground in European centres of science. In 1828, the professorship had been redefined by excluding economy, but it took almost thirty years until botany and zoology had separate chairs.<sup>290</sup> In the 1840s, zoology and botany progressed remarkably, due to some talented researchers who made their careers mostly outside Finland. Alexander von Nordmann was a distinguished zoologist who had studied in Berlin and was appointed professor at Richelieu College in Odessa. His discoveries of species on Russian expeditions, made him an international celebrity. Also, William Nylander and his brother Fredrik studied abroad, made expeditions, found new species and modernised the study of botany in Finland. William gained an international reputation for his expertise in lichens.<sup>291</sup> Although capable of publishing his findings in foreign journals, he seized an opportunity to publish in the new Finnish serials, *Suomi* and the *Acta* of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.<sup>292</sup> However, they were not sufficient for this active scientist who soon began to outline a special forum for Finnish natural history. The funds of the SFFF were still far too modest to support its own journal, but Nylander and the other intendants<sup>293</sup> suggested that the society should ask the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters to establish a subseries of *Acta*. The request was sent, albeit not unanimously because the Vice President, Reinhold Ferdinand Sahlberg, resisted the idea. After having received assent the SFFF set up an editorial staff consisting of the intendants and the president. The scientific requirements of the new journal were not too demanding. Its purpose was *to include such observations made by the members of the Society, which enlighten understanding of Finnish Fauna and Flora*.<sup>294</sup> Hence, the journal existed for domestic observations, and not for research results. Restricting authors to those who had membership of the society was not a means of guaranteeing scientific quality because many of these were laymen. The texts offered to the first number were, however, mostly papers of academically qualified authors and they were all accepted. The first volume of *Notiser ur Sällskapetets pro Fauna et Flora Fennica förhandlingar* (Notices of the Proceedings of the SFFF) appeared in 1848.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>289</sup> Elfving 1921, pp. 35-45, 207-216. Collecting and cataloguing local flora or fauna was regarded as an introduction to further studies in natural history even elsewhere in Europe. See Withers and Finnegan 2003, p. 345.

<sup>290</sup> Leikola (1986) 1993, pp. 41-45; Tommila 2001, pp. 383-388; Collander 1965, p. 17.

<sup>291</sup> Collander 1965, pp. 20-28.

<sup>292</sup> Sahlberg and Mannerheim used these forums, too. See Elfving 1938, pp. 20-22; *Suomi* 7 (1847), 8 (1848), 9 (1849), 10 (1851).

<sup>293</sup> The intendants were the officials of the society, responsible for its botanical and zoological collections.

<sup>294</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 April 1846 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL. Citation in Swedish: *få införa sådana af Sällskapetets medlemmar gjorda iakttagelser, som befunnes vara för Finlands Fauna och Flora upplysande*.

<sup>295</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 9 April 1847 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL; Elfving 1921, pp. 55-57.

After having lost the battle on the journal, Vice President Sahlberg withdrew from the society. This controversy was only one among many in the 1840s and 1850s, when increasing interest in promoting research activities collided with traditional objectives of collecting, conserving and cataloguing material. Problems culminated after the society finally succeeded in gathering some funds from membership fees and donations. The new president, von Nordmann, wanted to change the statutes so that the purpose of the society would extend to include promoting natural history, in general. Furthermore, he wanted to invest money in expeditions to the White Sea and Arkhangelsk region, which would endorse Finnish research and increase the renown of the society. The majority of the members vigorously resisted spending the funds on such risky enterprises. This controversy ended with the resignation of von Nordmann and his allies, and was followed by a decade of stagnation, which was deepened further by the absence of William Nylander, who left for Paris, and the difficulties arising from the Crimean war. Not until 1858 was a more conciliatory atmosphere achieved. The new rules were aimed at satisfying both parties, stating that the mission of the society was still to collect materials relating to the natural history of Finland, but also to research it and publish the findings.<sup>296</sup>

Even during the period of stagnation, the society received manuscripts which were read out at the meetings to decide whether they were worth publishing. Few papers were rejected and some were offered to the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters if the subject was better suited to its *Acta*. The driving force of the journal was Nylander, who kept sending papers from Paris, but also medical doctors, clergymen, graduates and students from different parts of Finland submitted material. Supply was not abundant, however, and the second volume of the *Notices* appeared only in 1852 and the third in 1858, this time more modestly as a third volume of a new periodical of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters – *Bidrag till Finlands naturkännedom, etnografi och statistik*. (Contributions to the Natural History, Ethnography and Statistics of Finland).<sup>297</sup>

In addition to the *Notices*, the society began to prepare a catalogue of its botanical collections. *Herbarium musei Fennici*, edited by Nylander and Thiodolf Saelan, appeared in 1859. It was an important work, gathering the previous knowledge on Finnish botany and indicating those areas which needed further study. For the first time, Finland was divided into the so-called natural history provinces, and the frontiers of its floral region were defined. As the first publication funded by the SFFF, it clarified the joys and sorrows of scientific publishing. The following year, the president admitted that no money was left for excursions because all available funds had been spent on the *Herbarium*, while its sales had added only one rouble to the accounts.<sup>298</sup> At the same meeting, the SFFF decided to apply for a government subsidy of 200 roubles.

<sup>296</sup> The period of schism is described in detail by Elfving 1921, pp. 57-58, 67-97.

<sup>297</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 23 November 1849 § 5; 15 January 1850 § 3; 26 April 1850 § 7; 24 May 1850 § 3; 25 October 1850 § 5; 8 November 1850 § 1; 26 September 1851 § 3-4; 20 March 1855 § 2; 18 February 1856 § 4; 13 December 1856 § 3-4; 7 April 1857 § 4; 7 May 1857 § 3; 31 May 1857 § 8; 8 December 1857 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL; Elfving 1921, p. 110.

<sup>298</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 16 April 1852 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 19 May 1860 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. On the scientific importance of the book, see Elfving 1921, pp. 107-109 and Collander 1965, pp. 58-60.

Possibly, the subsidy the Czar recently admitted to the FLS encouraged the society. The petition emphasised the role of the society as a builder of the natural history collections of the university, and underlined that society paid the costs of excursions, which produced abundant material for the university museum.<sup>299</sup> At the April meeting 1861, the president could announce the good news that the Czar had given them a subsidy of 200 roubles for the next five years.<sup>300</sup>

The subsidy made possible the more frequent publishing of the *Notices*, although economic difficulties still caused delays from time to time. The journal now received enough material, partly from the leading members of the society, like Nylander who published his magnum opus *Lichenes Scandinaviae* in it, and partly from students and amateurs.<sup>301</sup> The scientific criteria were not set too high and the descriptive catalogues of local fauna and flora were still welcomed.<sup>302</sup> In addition to articles, the *Notices* was meant to include current information such as obituaries and book reviews. In 1868, a student, John Sahlberg, suggested that also the minutes and annual reports should be published in it.<sup>303</sup> His idea was accepted, but the decision was followed by a request that the president make enquiries about further funding opportunities. Increased government subsidy was given in 1871.<sup>304</sup> Also, the scope of papers was enlarged gradually. In 1874, the president announced that science should not be restricted to the political borders of Finland, but include the whole of northern Europe.<sup>305</sup>

In 1861, the society founded a review committee consisting of the president, secretary and the intendants, but it left no remarks on its work for many years.<sup>306</sup> According to Elfving, President Nylander had almost absolute power rejecting or accepting papers. His own polemical texts, however, caused difficulties for the society. In 1867, the society adopted the practice of nominating referees to review the papers.<sup>307</sup> The statements were read at general meetings, which could be quite humiliating for the authors of rejected papers. On the other hand, this guaranteed openness and instructed writers on the criteria for scientific publishing. The reasons for rejecting papers, or suggesting additions, were factual errors, copying some other author's text or format

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299 Minutes of the SFFF 19 May 1860 § 4; 27 October 1860 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

300 Minutes of the SFFF 6 April 1861 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. Elfving (1921, p. 111) assumes that the personal efforts of W. Nylander had an influence on the favourable outcome. Subsidies were, however, generously granted the other societies as well. See e. g. Krogius 1935, p. 60.

301 Elfving 1921, pp. 111-117.

302 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1863, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

303 Minutes of the SFFF 3 October 1868 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

304 Minutes of the SFFF 12 May 1869 § 12, 14; 6 May 1871 § 2; 13 May 1871 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

305 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1874, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

306 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1861 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

307 Elfving 1921, pp. 116-117; minutes of the SFFF 6 April 1867 § 3; 4 May 1867 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.



of presentation without citing him, citing outdated literature and poor style.<sup>308</sup> In 1868, the society resurrected the old review committee to which the responsibility of reviewing papers was transmitted. The committee was enlarged to include three botanists and three zoologists, among them *ex officio*, the president and intendants. It had the right to decide whether to publish or reject a paper. In the case of disagreement, the author could turn to the society.<sup>309</sup> One particular controversy emerged, and after the quarrel had continued for several years, the society decided that an enlarged committee should be nominated to resolve further dissent.<sup>310</sup>

The editorial policy of the *Notices* fluctuated due to the fact that there were many, partly controversial, expectations which the society tried to realise in the face of financial hardship. The title *Notices* referred to a regular journal informing members of the society's activities, whereas in reality, large articles, the printing of illustrations and disputes about reviews often delayed publishing.<sup>311</sup> At the beginning of the 1870s, the SFFF received in exchange almost 100 European and American periodicals which, obviously, provided the basis for the *Notices*. Many exchange journals represented two main types of serials: Bulletins, which included minutes, reports, summaries of presentations, obituaries and other current writings; and Mémoires, which were forums for reviewed studies of good scientific quality.<sup>312</sup> A similar division was clearly visible in the plan of the review committee presented to the society in February 1872. The committee suggested that the old *Notices* should be concluded and two new serials launched. *Acta* would include large scientific papers whose printing usually took a long time, whereas *Meddelanden* (*Bulletin*) would incorporate all other papers and current information on the activities of the society. The subject of the paper, its language and the number of pages were important when defining its forum. Although some suspicions were manifested concerning the expenses of the two serials and the possible prolongation in publication, the majority of the SFFF seconded the motion. The previous proposal to divide the *Notices* into zoological and botanical volumes was rejected.<sup>313</sup>

Two last volumes of the *Notices* were not yet published when the printing of the first volume of *Acta Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* began.<sup>314</sup> The first volume of

308 Minutes of the SFFF 2 November 1867 § 8; 7 December 1867 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. The Professor of Zoology, F.W. Mäklin, who reviewed the most papers, was not a member of the review committee. He had made study tours in Central Europe, Sweden and Denmark and probably learnt in these countries the principles of scientific publishing. He was quite merciless towards those he held as his enemies, which may have affected his reviews. See Kallinen 2005. <http://artikkelihaku.kansallisbiografia.fi/artikkeli/3564/> (cited 4 September 2011).

309 Minutes of the SFFF 7 November 1868 § 3; 6 March 1869 § 4; 12 May 1869 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

310 Elfving 1921, pp. 148-149. John Sahlberg complained about the requirements of the review committee concerning his paper.

311 Elfving 1921, pp. 168-169.

312 The division with its French titles is based on Chaline 1998, pp. 290-292.

313 Minutes of the SFFF 6 February 1875 § 5; 6 March 1875 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. The secretary and some other members disagreed with the review committee, suggesting that the *Notices* should be continued alongside the new *Acta*.

314 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1875, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL; 4 May 1878 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 4 April 1882 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

*Meddelanden af Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* (the *Bulletin of the SFFF*) appeared in 1877, including eight short articles and the minutes of the society for the period 1873–1875.<sup>315</sup> The division seemed to fulfil the expectations; the *Bulletin* appeared quite regularly, whereas *Acta* published long and illustrated papers whose printing was a time-consuming process. Scientific division was more blurred and sometimes *Acta* included local descriptions which did not show any notable research ambitions.<sup>316</sup> The authors were uncertain where they should submit their studies. Usually, the papers were announced at the meetings and the forum was decided later in the review committee.<sup>317</sup> The international character of *Acta* was often emphasised, although even the *Bulletin* was seen as a link to foreign institutions. The German summaries of its contents were published from 1893.<sup>318</sup> The idea of dividing *Acta* into botanical and zoological serials was not forgotten, but the efforts of separate publishing led to significant delays in printing and the plan was forgotten.<sup>319</sup>

The printing of both serials was 450 copies until 1904 when the printing of the *Bulletin* was increased to 600 and *Acta* to 550 copies per issue.<sup>320</sup> Publishing two journals was very expensive.<sup>321</sup> However, government subsidies grew gradually, first to 2,500 marks, then to 3,000 marks in 1884 and, finally, to 6,000 marks in 1902. Furthermore, occasional relief came in the form of grants from the Längman funds, based on interest income of a private bequest aimed at promoting Finnish research.<sup>322</sup> Sometimes, the wealthier authors offered to pay for their illustrations so to relieve the burden of the society.<sup>323</sup>

The sphere of authority of the review committee was enlarged in 1893, when it was renamed to board and it became responsible for the preparation of all important decisions, publishing, grants, expeditions, etc.<sup>324</sup> In its new and authoritative status, the board activated and tightened the review policy. In 1896, two papers were discarded, Edvard Vainio's and Magnus Brenner's. Probably, the decision of rejecting Vainio's paper was political because he had recently been appointed as a censor in the widely hated Board of Press Service – a step which made him a *persona non grata* for many

315 Minutes of the SFFF 3 March 1877 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL; Reuter 1944, pp. 11–14.

316 Elfving 1921, pp. 168–169.

317 See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 7 October 1876 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

318 Minutes of the SFFF 7 November 1891 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; 2 December 1893 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

319 Minutes of the SFFF 19 May 1894 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 November 1899 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19. FNL.

320 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1878, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; minutes of the board of the SFFF 8 April 1904; 4 November 1904 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19. FNL.

321 Minutes of the SFFF 1 February 1879 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

322 Minutes of the SFFF 18 October 1879 § 3; 13 May 1885, annual report; 2 December 1882 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6; 13 May 1902, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

323 Minutes of the SFFF 4 May 1895 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

324 Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1894 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL. Elfving 1921, pp. 148–152.

years in the Finnish scientific community.<sup>325</sup> The decision to reject the paper of Brenner, a school headmaster, was the beginning of a long and onerous discussions on the quality of acceptable papers. The older members of the board were willing to publish Brenner's papers because the previous parts of the same study had already gone into print, whereas the younger members insisted that his methods were not scientific enough and that the previous works had not been properly reviewed. In the course of the dispute, both parties appealed to foreign authorities.<sup>326</sup>

Brenner was not the only person whose papers were rejected.<sup>327</sup> However, a more usual solution was to require corrections or additions. Sometimes, the papers were accepted though authors refused to make the necessary corrections; but at the beginning of the twentieth century, the board became stricter. The case of Brenner probably clarified the criteria for scientific publishing. Two preserved review statements indicate that accepted texts were not only expected to be original studies with exact and justifiable facts, they were also expected to conform to the structure of a scientific paper with introduction, bibliographical information and explanation of terminology.<sup>328</sup> The stricter criteria were partly a consequence of the modern conception of biology which was personified by three men: the president of the society, Johan Axel Palmén, Professor of Zoology and one of the first Finnish spokesmen of Darwinism; Fredrik Elfving, Professor of Botany and a path breaker in plant physiology and experimental microscopical studies in Finland; and Johan Petter Norrlin, the father of Finnish plant sociology and botanic geography. They were all inspiring teachers, leaving behind the old Linnean tradition and introducing new, more theoretical and experimental biological research.<sup>329</sup> The contemplations of Palmén, in the annual report of 1912, illuminate the efforts to entrench the principles of modern biology in the activities and publications of the society, whose older members still insisted on focusing on domestic material:

*A report which is principally rooted in domestic fauna or flora can grow so that it answers deep theoretical enquiries. For my part, I heartily welcome studies considering such general questions in the papers of our society.*<sup>330</sup>

325 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1896, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL; Collander 1965, p. 32.

326 Magnus Brenner had received his master's degree in botany. In his youth he had participated in A. E. Nordenskiöld's expeditions to Siberia, but he did not turn to an academic career. Haapasaari 1994, p. 36; minutes of the board of the SFFF 26 October 1900 § 5; 1 February 1901 § 2; 15 March 1901 § 6; 31 October 1901 § 4; 30 October 1902 § 1; 6 March 1903 § 5; 2 April 1903 § [3]. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19; 5 November 1910 § 2; 4 March 1911 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

327 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 4 March 1911 § 5; 18 October 1911 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

328 See e. g. minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 October 1897 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19; 29 November 1910 § 3; 6 May 1911 § 1; 3 February 1912 § 1, 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

329 Lagerspetz 2000, pp. 198-203; Collander 1965, pp. 42-49, 64-66, 72-77.

330 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1912, annual report. In MEDDELANDEN 38 (1912), III. The citation in Swedish: *En utredning, som har sin första rot uti inhemska fauna eller flora, kan sålunda växa ut därhän, att den bär mogen frukt långt in på teorins område. För min del hälsar jag med glädje att dylika allmänna frågor behandlats uti vårt Sällskaps Förhandlingar.*

The conflict between traditional and modern members of the society was sometimes visible in the review statements, but gradually, the theoretical and experimental trend became dominant, which led, once again, to personal conflicts and the resignation of John Sahlberg, one of the outstanding members of the traditional fraction.<sup>331</sup>

Not only the scope and methodology, but also the language of the papers caused controversies. In the *Notices*, most studies were written in Swedish or in Latin, and some, by Nylander, even in French.<sup>332</sup> The first paper in the Finnish language was submitted in 1876. *Tietoja Wiipurin seudun jäkälä-kaswistosta* (Facts on the lichen flora in the Viipuri district) was written by Vainio.<sup>333</sup> The Swedish-born president, Sextus Otto Lindberg, made his opinion quite clear. Trying to avoid interfering in the fiery language dispute of the time, he justified his attitude with the cosmopolitan and neutral character of science – or to put it more widely, with Republican manners:

*Science should be a neutral field where everyone relinquishes his nationality in front of the undeniable demand of the whole of humankind.*<sup>334</sup>

The scientific paper should be written in a language which made possible the fast and clear understanding of the text, anywhere in the world. Little-known languages brought just obscurity and, therefore, they should be used only when popularising science for the uneducated classes.<sup>335</sup> Similar arguments had been presented in the discussion which had raged in the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters and in the Medical Society of Finland some decades earlier. Swedish, however, preserved its position as a language of science despite the restricted readership of Scandinavian languages.<sup>336</sup> As a compromise, Vainio's paper was announced again with a Latin title and finally published in Finnish, with a Latin catalogue of lichens.<sup>337</sup> Vainio offered some more papers in Finnish and it was difficult to reject them, for he was a very talented botanist.<sup>338</sup> Nevertheless, he changed the language of his papers soon to French and Latin, probably because he was gaining an international reputation as a lichenologist.<sup>339</sup> Similar politics were adopted by Aulis Westerlund and Karl Emil Stenroos, who began by publishing papers in Finnish but then continued their authorship in Latin, French or German. Papers in Finnish did not arouse irritation

331 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 April 1914 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; minutes of the SFFF 4 April 1914 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; Elfving 1921, pp. 156-157.

332 Reuter 1944, pp. 1-11.

333 Minutes of the SFFF 6 May 1876 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. In 1876, his family name was still in its Swedish form, Lang.

334 Minutes of the SFFF 20 May 1876, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. The citation in Swedish: *Vetenskapen bör vara ett neutralt område, der alla nedlägga sin nationalitet inför hela mensklighetens oafviseliga fordringar.*

335 Minutes of the SFFF 20 May 1876, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. Two years later the interests of Lindberg and Lang collided again, this time because Lang defended a thesis based on a theory of evolution – something which neither Lindberg nor many others were ready to accept, at the time. See Collander 1965, pp. 29-30.

336 Huumo 2005, pp. 78-82, 113, 127-131.

337 See MEDDELANDEN 2 (1878).

338 Minutes of the SFFF 2 February 1878 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

339 Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1882, annual report; 13 May 1887, annual report; 6 December 1890 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL. On the career of Vainio, see Collander 1965, pp. 29-33.

any more.<sup>340</sup> In 1903, President Palmén suggested that the society would publish all notices in the *Bulletin* in the language the speaker had used at the meeting, and the text of the respective minutes in the same language. The unanimous decision meant, practically, the full approval of the use of the Finnish language.<sup>341</sup> In *Acta*, the Finnish articles were in the minority because the German language turned to be the most popular at the turn of the century. Writing in foreign languages, however, was not easy and in 1909, the society decided to cover the costs of the language proofing, for the German texts included too many mistakes.<sup>342</sup>

The liberal standing of the SFFF towards domestic and foreign languages was possible due to the scientists' own desire to reach an international readership. Besides, a separate society, Vanamo, was founded in 1896 to promote the use of the Finnish language in biological sciences and, hence, the SFFF did not have to take responsibility for developing Finnish terminology.<sup>343</sup> The language dispute was only a momentary phase in the history of the society. Instead, the subjects of papers aroused more trouble and, in particular, controversy existed between members who wanted to develop research of an international standard, and those who remained faithful to the original idea of the society – to restrict its activities to fauna and flora fennica.

### 3.4 PUBLISHING POLICY OF THE FAS – POPULAR OR INTERNATIONAL?

Like the origins of the FLS, the foundation of the Finnish Antiquarian Society (FAS) stems from a 'get-together', this time in the popular restaurant Kaisaniemi. At the same table sat Johan Reinhold Aspelin, who had recently conducted archaeological excavations in Ostrobothnia, Emil Nervander who, inspired by his Italian tour, was devoted to the history of art and three other young men. They discussed Aspelin's wish to continue his archaeological research and Nervander's ideas on charting the art treasures in Finnish churches and manors. The conversation continued at other gatherings, leading finally, in October 1870, to the foundation of a new society which would protect the artistic and ancient monuments of Finland and inspire people to appreciate their cultural heritage. This new society represented three branches of study: archaeology, ethnography and history of art, which, at the time, were often considered, as a whole, antiquarian disciplines. None of these young men had a chair in the University of Helsinki so that they decided to ask the Professor of History, Zachris Topelius, to be the president of the society.<sup>344</sup>

At the time when the FAS was founded, there were no governmental institutions to protect the monuments of antiquity, which were lost all the time under building sites and widening agriculture. Neither did Finland have a national museum; the

<sup>340</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 7 October 1893 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>341</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 April 1903 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>342</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 18 October 1909 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>343</sup> Saalas 1946, pp. 31-46.

<sup>344</sup> Tallgren 1920, pp. 15-18, 23-27; Selkokari 2008, pp. 69-70.

museum of university had some modest archaeological, ethnographical and numismatic collections.<sup>345</sup> Archaeological research had been, on a minor scale, pursued in the FLS, which had collected antiquities and funded Aspelin's first excavations. In 1867, however, it had decided to donate its archaeological collections to the museum of the university.<sup>346</sup> The sources are quiet on the development leading to the withdrawal of archaeological research from the FLS. The papers of the FAS often underline the youth of the founders, which refers to the fact that other institutions like the FLS and the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters were regarded as the strongholds of the older and more established generation.<sup>347</sup> The biographer of Aspelin mentions that his master's thesis had in 1869 led to a fiery polemic with Yrjö Koskinen, who was a rising star in the FLS.<sup>348</sup> On the other hand, contacts with the FLS were at least formally good and co-operation between these two societies continued throughout the whole period. For instance, Aspelin published his thesis *Suomalaisugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (The Basics of Finno-Ugrian Archaeology) in the *Editions* of the FLS in 1876.

The idea of publishing a journal was expressed at the first meeting of the FAS, although admitting that the project had to be postponed.<sup>349</sup> Soon, however, the FLS proposed that the FAS should use *Suomi* as a forum of its studies. A lively discussion followed and, finally, the members were agreed that the society would lose its independence if it published in the journal of another society. The decision was to apply a government subsidy of 1,000 marks for founding a journal which, like the journal of the Estonian Literary Society, would include the articles, minutes and reports of the society.<sup>350</sup> This plan was confused by Nervander, who suggested that the society should publish a popular monthly magazine like *Kongl. Vitterhets historie-och antikvitetsakademiens Månadsblad* (The Monthly Magazine of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities). Nervander surmised that the Finnish antiquarian disciplines were not mature enough to provide material for a scholarly journal, whereas a popular magazine, including news and short papers, was not so demanding and would encourage people to protect monuments of antiquity.<sup>351</sup> Nervander's idea, though responding to the commonly accepted objective of the popular enlightenment, was criticised and he was reminded that there were many qualified

345 Härö 1984, pp. 60-63; Tallgren 1920, pp. 46-47.

346 Minutes of the FLS 3 April 1867 § 12. In *SUOMI* II:8 (1870), pp. 413-414; Tallgren 1920, pp. 12-15.

347 The youth of the founders is mentioned, for instance: in minutes of the first meeting 1 October 1870 § 2; in the speech of the fifth annual meeting 20 November 1875 § 1. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat* I, pp. 9, 343-344; and in Tallgren 1920, pp. 17, 21. Tallgren worked actively in the FAS as an archivist, a secretary and a president.

348 Hackman 1920, p. [1].

349 Minutes of the FAS 1 October 1870 § 2. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat* I. 1870-1875, p. 12.

350 Minutes of the FAS 8 May 1871; 6 November 1871 § 2; 11 December 1871 § 3; 12 February 1872 § 3. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat* I. 1870-1875, pp. 83-84, 103, 105-106, 127-128; Tallgren 1920, p. 125.

351 Minutes of the FAS 6 May 1872 § 12. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat* I. 1870-1875, pp. 153-154; Emil Nervander's *Förslag...* Archive of the FAS. Fa I, p. 321. NBA Archives.

papers ready for publishing. A competing idea of a scholarly journal for an international audience gained strength and was announced in the annual report of 1872:

*Without a journal, the society can neither contact the many foreign societies representing antiquarian studies and acquire their works here, nor follow the rapid progress of comparative research and, for its own part, contribute its results.*<sup>352</sup>

The petition for a government subsidy left open both alternatives.<sup>353</sup> An interesting feature of this discussion was that instead of taking *Suomi* or some other Finnish learned journal as a model, the FAS turned to Estonian and Swedish journals. This mirrored the cosmopolitan attitude of the leading members of the society. Though very patriotic, they, obviously, wanted to break away from the traditions of older Finnish societies and build their own practices on international models.

In 1873, a government subsidy of 1,000 marks per year was granted to the FAS, for three years time. When planning the publishing policy, Nervander's idea of a monthly magazine was rejected. The society decided to publish a journal which would include articles on antiquarian disciplines, descriptions of Finnish monuments, the summaries of presentations at the meetings of the society, book reviews, travelogues, etc. The articles would be published in the language they were originally written, allowing well-known European languages. The domestic language question was resolved by publishing two versions of the journal, one with the minutes of the society in Finnish and the other in Swedish. The international readership was taken into account by the obligation to write captions in French or in German. The editorial board consisted of young researchers of whom only two were doctors, the historian Karl Emil Ferdinand Ignatius and the philologist Axel Olof Freudenthal. The board was to review the papers offered to the journal – not only in the light of scholarly criteria, but also considering how well they were understood by the common reader.<sup>354</sup> The plan reflected the ambiguity between the ideas of an international scholarly journal and a popular enlightening journal. The society was not capable of dividing these aims into different forums, neither was it willing to reject any one aim for the sake of another.

The first volume of *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja* (The Journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society) appeared in July 1874, and consisted of 700 Swedish and 500 Finnish copies. Considering that at the time the printing of *Suomi* was at its lowest (150 copies) and that of SFFF serials was 450 copies, the optimism of the FAS seems astonishing. President Topelius was an experienced newspaper editor, which probably led him to overestimate the number of possible subscribers.<sup>355</sup> The sale of the

352 Minutes of the FAS 30 September 1872, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat I. 1870-1875, p. 169. The report was written by Otto Donner, who aimed at promoting international contacts even in the FLS and in the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. The citation in Swedish: *Utan en tidskrift kan föreningen icke såsom annars genom förbindelsen med ett större flertal af sällskaper för fornforskning i utlandet förskaffa sig hithörande arbeten, följa med den rastlöst pågående komparativa forskningen och äfven för sin del bidra till dess resultat.*

353 The sketch for the petition is archived among the letters of the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa I, p. 469. NBA Archives.

354 Minutes of the FAS 20 January 1873 § 4; 10 February 1873 § 3; 17 March 1873 § 5. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat I. 1870-1875, pp. 187-188, 194-195; Tallgren 1920, p. 126.

355 Minutes of the FAS 17 March 1873 § 5. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat I. 1870-1875, pp. 194-195; 11 July 1874 Z. Topelius to J. R. Aspelin. Archive of the FAS. Fa I, pp. 781-784. NBA Archives.

first number was very small – only some ten copies were sold in three years. Hence, a government subsidy was necessary to continue the journal. In 1876, 2,000 marks were promised and the planning of the new volume began. Due to the modest sales, two language versions were abolished and the number of copies reduced to 400. Yet, in order to promote archaeological research, the society decided to pay honoraria for scholarly papers.<sup>356</sup>

Despite the lack of academic education and research in antiquarian disciplines, the various activities of the FAS provided material for publication. In the nineteenth century, the society organised eight art history expeditions in different parts of Finland. These groups, which consisted of researchers, artists and architects, documented the churches, manors and other monumental buildings and their interiors and brought back items to the museum collections.<sup>357</sup> Topelius suggested that the society should publish an album, including coloured pictures of the most remarkable monuments, with captions in Finnish, Swedish and French. The plan was seconded but postponed.<sup>358</sup> Publishing the material collected by the art history expeditions was discussed intermittently, but the lack of money always hindered the realisation of these plans. Some of the results, however, were published in the *Journal*, but the art history material remained quite small in comparison with archaeology.<sup>359</sup>

The national cataloguing of ancient monuments was organised by granting scholarships to students and amateurs, who listed and described historical and prehistorical monuments, usually in their home parishes. Before the First World War, the society gave about 70 grants and received about 50 reports, half of which were printed in the *Journal*, forming a significant part of its contents.<sup>360</sup> In practice, this meant that the majority of the papers were written by amateurs. Although some scholarship holders were students who through this cataloguing work adopted the correct methodology and, later in their studies specialised in archaeological research, most of the report writers were local clergymen, teachers and officials.<sup>361</sup> The society was well aware that these reports could not have the status of scholarly papers, but it emphasised other values. The printed lists would promote the protection of the national heritage, partly by inspiring people to respect their local monuments, and partly by providing a means to control their preservation. Furthermore, they produced important material for comparative archaeological research.<sup>362</sup> In 1884, the responsibility of the protection of archaeological monuments and sites was transferred to a governmental institution,

356 Minutes of the FAS 10 October 1876 § 3; 7 May 1877, annual report; 5 June 1877 § 4. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 2. 1876-1885, pp. 25, 68, 71; 22 March 1877 J. R. Aspelin to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 2, p. 511. NBA Archives.

357 Tallgren 1920, pp. 72-81; Ringbom 1986, pp. 33-34.

358 Minutes of the FAS 27 January 1874 § 5; 29 October 1874, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, pp. 238, 274.

359 Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 February 1904 § 2; 3 March 1904 § 2; 3 March 1910 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8; Valtionapuanomus Keisarilliselle Suomen Senaatin kirkollisasiain toimistuskunnalle. Archive of the FAS. Fa 17, p. 139-141. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 80-81.

360 Tallgren 1920, pp. 55-70; Nordman 1968, pp. 22-23.

361 Tallgren 1920, pp. 57-68, 126-127. The reports formed a subseries of *Journal: Luetteloja Suomen muinaisjäännöksistä* (Catalogues of the Ancient Monuments in Finland).

362 Minutes of the FAS 8 October 1878, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 2. 1876-1885, pp. 115-116.



when the Archaeological Commission was founded. The Commission consisted of representatives of the university, the learned societies and the state antiquarian, who was the only hired official. Aspelin was nominated to this post. The Ethnographical and Historical Museum of University was also placed under his supervision. In 1893, the State Historical Museum was founded with two curator posts under the management of the Commission, and the archaeological and ethnographical items collected by the FAS were deposited in this museum, which in 1917, became the Finnish National Museum.<sup>363</sup>

The foundation of these institutions did not mean an end to the collecting and cataloguing activities of the FAS, but the society could, better than before, devote its time to research and publishing. In the field of archaeology, its most remarkable achievements were the expeditions to Russia. Aspelin had for his doctoral thesis gathered material from the museums, archives and excavations in Russia. He argued that in the Bronze Age the same Finno-Ugrian culture had existed both in the regions of Volga and Kama and in Siberia, hence giving support to the theory Matthias Alexander Castrén had sketched some decades earlier. Aspelin outlined an ambitious programme to research the whole Russian area. The plan was never realised, but various journeys and expeditions were made to Russia, which, in the mind of Aspelin, was becoming an important focus of Finnish archaeology – a sort of a scholarly dominion. At the beginning, they received university funding. Between 1887 and 1889, the FAS organised three Siberian expeditions, whose work in documenting the stone inscriptions of the River Yenisei region was published as a monograph *Inscriptions de l'énissei*. This folio appeared just in time to be presented at the congress of orientalists in Stockholm in 1889. It aroused wide international interest, so much so, that in a few years it was almost out of print. Aspelin, however, did not take effective measures for a new revised edition, possibly due to his disappointment with the results of a Danish linguist, Wilhelm Thomsen, which indicated that the text of these inscriptions was written in a Turkic language, not in a Finno-Ugrian language as he had presumed.<sup>364</sup> Still, in 1909, the FAS financed the journey of the young archaeologist, Aarne Michaël Tallgren, to the Volga-Kama region. The thesis, written on the material gathered there, disproved the Ural-Altai theory of Aspelin – the Bronze Age material found in the Volga region did not belong to the same culture as the material from Siberia.<sup>365</sup>

Due to its various activities, the FAS seldom had a shortage of material to publish in its *Journal*, but in order to promote archaeological research it declared a prize of 300 marks for the best research in comparative archaeology in 1890. However, no papers were sent – the students of the new discipline were still too cautious to enter a competition.<sup>366</sup> The lack of scholarly competition delayed developing the rules of refereeing. The peer review procedure was not openly discussed. The papers of the

<sup>363</sup> Härö 1984, pp. 76-84, 163, 174-176; Tallgren 1920, pp. 30-38, 47-48; Nordman 1968, pp. 26-31; Salminen 2003, p. 91.

<sup>364</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 91-95; Tallgren 1920, pp. 112-115. Salminen states that the second edition was first buried in the internal disputes of the officials of the Archaeological Commission and later in the new interpretations of the Siberian cultures.

<sup>365</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 48-56, 63-64, 67-96, 117-127; Tallgren 1920, pp. 105-117.

<sup>366</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1890, speech; 10 October 1890 § 11; 21 May 1891 § 4; 7 April 1892 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

authoritative members of the society were often accepted without review, and the reports of the scholarship holders were most easily rejected. Sometimes, the editorial board required corrections before publishing.<sup>367</sup>

The majority of the papers in the *Journal* were written in Finnish, while the share of Swedish texts declined after the first volume. German and French papers were published in the *Journal* only at the turn of the century. In 1888, the society ordered the editor to translate the annual reports into French or German, but the plan was not realised.<sup>368</sup> Although the *Journal* consisted mostly of local descriptions written in Finnish by amateurs, its international character and importance was often emphasised in the petitions for government subsidies. Nevertheless, its domestic contribution as the only forum for antiquarian disciplines was also highlighted.<sup>369</sup> The lack of money was a constant problem. The printing was expensive because the antiquarian disciplines required many illustrations and, at times, the society had to choose between publishing the journal or funding the scholarships or expeditions.<sup>370</sup> The government subsidy was raised to 3,000 marks in 1879, which meant a temporary relief. Supplementary resources were sometimes received from the Längman funds.<sup>371</sup>

The FAS constantly had to tread a fine line between maintaining scholarly standards and publishing material suitable for a popular readership. Nevertheless, it rejected Kaarle Krohn's suggestion that the FLS and the FAS should together publish a popular magazine on questions concerning folklore, ethnology and prehistory.<sup>372</sup> Instead, the secretary of the FAS, Hjalmar Appelgren, returned to Nervander's original idea, suggesting the society launch its own popular monthly magazines. A forum was needed to inspire people to protect ancient monuments – a task where the *Journal* had not proven successful. The monthly magazines, which would be published in Finnish and Swedish versions, aimed to enlighten people and to clarify the objectives of the society and the State Historical Museum. They would include only one illustrated sheet per volume. The focus on popular material in a particular serial would enable the *Journal* to further develop and to meet international standards, and to include more papers written in common European languages or with German summaries.<sup>373</sup> Appelgren's idea aroused a lively discussion. Krohn repeated his call for a joint magazine of the FAS and the FLS. Although this was an economically reasonable proposal, it was rejected and the FAS decided to launch its own popular magazines.<sup>374</sup> In the an-

<sup>367</sup> Statements of the editorial board 9 March 1877. Archive of the FAS. Fa 2, p. 438; Undated [1878]. Archive of the FAS. Fa 3, pp. 45, 47. NBA Archives.

<sup>368</sup> Minutes of the FAS 20 November 1888 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca2. NBA Archives. Languages in the papers of the Journal are analysed in Lilja 2007, p. 63.

<sup>369</sup> 1 February 1876 Petition for government subsidy. Archive of the FAS. Fa 2, pp. 43-44; Undated [1888] Petition for government subsidy. Archive of the FAS. Fa 7, pp. 777-784. NBA Archives.

<sup>370</sup> Minutes of the FAS 3 March 1883 § 6; 29 May 1883, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 2. 1876-1885, pp. 318-319, 333.

<sup>371</sup> Minutes of the FAS 15 November 1879 § 2. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 2. 1876-1885, pp. 148-149, 183; 5 February 1889 § 2; 17 October 1891 § 2; 7 May 1892, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>372</sup> Minutes of the FAS 24 April 1888 § 12. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>373</sup> Minutes of the FAS 15 November 1893 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2; Hj. Appelgren's memorandum. Archive of the FAS. Fa 10, pp. 892-928. NBA Archives.

<sup>374</sup> Minutes of the FAS 13 December 1893 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 130-131.

nual report of 1893 – 1894, this new project was presented enthusiastically, irrespective of the fact that it would probably lead to financial loss for the society. An additional government subsidy was necessary,<sup>375</sup> but this was not forthcoming, and the new monthly magazines *Suomen Museo* and *Finskt Museum* (both meaning the Museum of Finland) had to be reduced so that they appeared every other month. Their price was low and the members of the society received the magazines by paying the postage.<sup>376</sup>

The monthly magazines suffered from low sales and, furthermore, a shortage of texts. According to Tallgren, they soon lost their popular character.<sup>377</sup> Neither did the development of the *Journal* into an international forum of antiquarian disciplines make significant progress. In 1898, the society decided to modernise its layout and to add a German title, *Zeitschrift der Finnischen Alterthumsgesellschaft*.<sup>378</sup> The following year, the secretary of the society, Julius Ailio, an archaeologist, restarted discussion on publishing policy. He argued that the society should have an international journal, *whereby a closer connection with archaeologists from around the world, or at least with those of the Nordic countries, would be created and, in pursuance of this, the scholarly prestige of the society would be remarkably increased*.<sup>379</sup>

He added that the monthly magazines did not meet their objectives because their circulation was so small. Hence, the society should cease publishing them and, instead, invest money in an international, scholarly journal. The old *Journal* could absorb the popular material and concentrate on domestic subjects. A lively discussion followed Ailio's suggestion. Appelgren defended his own creations, and stressed the fact that they developed Finnish terminology in the antiquarian disciplines. His view was supported by the art historians Emil Nervander and Johan Jakob Tikkanen. President Aspelin optimistically considered that the society should apply for more funding so that all the serials could be continued. The society vote ended in a compromise; the monthly magazines would be maintained, but published only quarterly. The solution was considered temporary and the *European perspective* was not forgotten.<sup>380</sup>

Ailio reminded the society on international objectives, in the next annual report and in his review of the publishing activities, presented in the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society,<sup>381</sup> but no motions on establishing an international journal were taken, although the financial position improved when the government subsidy increased to 5,000 marks and the Längman fund granted a further 3,000 marks.<sup>382</sup> Instead, the

<sup>375</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1894, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>376</sup> Minutes of the FAS 1 December 1894 § 6; 2 February 1895 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>377</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1895 § 5; 10 November 1898 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, p. 131.

<sup>378</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 15 December 1898 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>379</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 19 October 1899 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives. The citation in Finnish: *jonka kautta lähempää yhteyttä saataisiin aikaan muun arkeologisen maailman ja ainakin Pohjoismaiden kanssa ja samalla yhd:n tieteellistä arvokkuutta tuntuvasti kohotettaisiin*.

<sup>380</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 November 1899 § 2; minutes of the FAS 6 December 1899 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 132–133.

<sup>381</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1900, annual report; 1 October 1900 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>382</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1901, annual report. Ca 5. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 140–141.

society began to outline a new monograph series, which would include studies based not only on Siberian material, but also on Turkic and Mongolian prehistory. Titles such as *Turania Prisca* or *Origines Fennorum* were proposed. An illustrated work on Karelian buildings by architects Yrjö Blomstedt and Victor Sucksdorff, planned to be the first part of this series, was almost ready for printing.<sup>383</sup> In 1900–1902, *Karjalaisia koristemuotoja* (Karelian Ornaments) appeared in Finnish, Swedish and German versions, but the title of the new series was not included in the publication.<sup>384</sup> In 1905, the society published another monograph, Alfred Hackman's *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland*, which was mentioned appearing in the *Free series of the Society*. Actually, Hackman funded this publication himself and the society was publisher in name alone.<sup>385</sup> Also, the thesis of Julius Ailio, *Die steinzeitlichen Wohnplatzfunde in Finnland* (1906), was considered for the same *Free series* which still had no proper title.<sup>386</sup> So the society had a new serial without a title, programme, budget or marketing! Despite these shortages, these three monographs of the *Free series* realised effectively the international objectives of the society. They were good and richly illustrated publications written in German.

The *Journal* was also developed to meet the interests of foreign readers. The French captions had already been substituted for German summaries in volume 12 (1891). The thirtieth anniversary jubilee issue 21 (1901) was multilingual. The annual report announced that this number was the beginning of a new series of the *Journal*.<sup>387</sup> These reforms were neither definitive, nor radical, but gradually, the *Journal* began to include more extensive and more scholarly papers and theses. The review of the papers also became stricter, though the editorial board was still more interested in the number and cost of illustrations than in the quality of the text.<sup>388</sup> German summaries were attached even to papers published in the *Monthly Magazines*.<sup>389</sup>

The FAS launched two projects to produce reference books, but both proved to be unsuccessful. *Sukukirja* (The Book of Families) presented Finnish families of common birth. It was published in small volumes and became very expensive because honoraria had to be paid to its editor. In 1892, the FAS managed to transfer the responsibility

383 Minutes of the board of the FAS 15 December 1898 § 6; 28 March 1899 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives. The memorandum of E.A. Ekman (Tunkelo) gives an impression that a new series had been discussed earlier, although no mentions of the subject were registered in the minutes.

384 Salminen 2003, p. 145.

385 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1905, annual report; 5 October 1905 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6. NBA Archives. The citation in Finnish: *yhdistyksen vapaassa julkaisusarjassa*.

386 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1906, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6. NBA Archives. Probably, the confusion was caused by financial difficulties in the society. In 1902, after the death of the treasurer, A. G. Hahl, it became apparent that there was a cash deficit of over 40,000 marks. Minutes of the board of the FAS 13 December 1902 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1921, p. 145.

387 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1902, annual report. The same utterance is made by Tallgren 1920, p. 127.

388 Minutes of the board of the FAS 19 April 1910 § 4; 25 April 1913 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

389 Minutes of the board of the FAS 20 January 1909 § 2; minutes of the FAS 7 May 1909, annual report; minutes of the board of the FAS 23 December 1909 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7. NBA Archives.

of publishing and distribution to a Finnish commercial publisher, Otava.<sup>390</sup> Another project, *Paikkainnimesanakirja* (Dictionary of Place Names), was too burdensome both for the editor, Oskar Anders Ferdinand Lönnbohm and for the society. After the project had continued for a number of years, the editor ceased answering the letters of the society. The book was never published.<sup>391</sup> Some monographs of the members of the FAS were printed by other publishers, for instance Aspelin's magnum opus, *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumusaloilta – Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien* (1877–1884) by a private publisher, Gustaf Wilhelm Edlund.<sup>392</sup>

The development of the journals of the FAS vacillated much like the other societies under study. It was difficult for a young society of limited means, trying to pursue national and practical as well as international and scholarly aims. Furthermore, in the small circles of the antiquarian disciplines tough decisions easily led to fiery controversies. Hence, the publishing policy which tried to please all parties was more than understandable.

### 3.5 PUBLISHING POLICY OF THE FDS – PRACTICAL DENTISTRY FOR PRACTITIONERS

The Finnish Dental Society FDS was founded in 1892. It was not only a scientific society, but also a professional association which assembled dentists working in Finland. There were only thirty practitioners, half of whom did not have any formal qualifications. Those qualified were educated abroad because odontological education was not available at the time. The efforts to organise the dental profession and education succeeded in 1891, when the emperor decreed that the medical faculty of the university would nominate a professor of odontology.<sup>393</sup> After this, eleven dentists gathered in the hotel Kleinh in order to form a society. Various objectives were presented. Odontological science had developed so much that it was impossible for one dentist to follow all the fields of the discipline. Therefore, general presentations, demonstrations and discussions were needed. The dentists, furthermore, regarded themselves as providing a social need. Finally, a brotherhood of practitioners was emphasised, particularly at a long and cheerful dinner. The doctor of medicine, Matti Äyräpää, who had been an active promoter of odontology as an academic discipline, and a convener of the meeting, was appointed a president of the new society. The professional character of the society meant that, in addition to qualified dentists, only other medical doctors or scientists who worked in the field of odontology could become members. In this respect, the rules were similar to the Medical Society,

<sup>390</sup> Minutes of the FAS 11 February 1892 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 100–101.

<sup>391</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 9 March 1897 § 3. Ca 3; 2 October 1913 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, pp. 96–98.

<sup>392</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 62–63; Hackman 1920, pp. 12–13.

<sup>393</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 5–11; Ignatius 2000, pp. 536–537; Krogius 1935, pp. 181, 183, 224, 365.

whose activities many dentists had participated in. They diverged from the other three societies under study, which opened their doors to amateurs as well.<sup>394</sup>

Due to the small number of members and the short academic tradition of odontology, the publishing of a journal was not discussed in the FDS in its first years. Dentists could publish papers in *Skandinaviska Tandläkareföreningens Tidskrift* (The Journal of Scandinavian Dentists' Association), which was founded in 1892, in the same year as the FDS. Also, the summaries of the meetings and the annual reports of the FDS were published in this journal, so that it did not need its own organ to inform its members. In 1894, Äyräpää was nominated editor-in-chief, which meant that publishing responsibility was transferred to Helsinki. There were questions raised about the abilities of such a small society to edit an international journal. Nevertheless, the majority of the FDS accepted this task with "bravos".<sup>395</sup> The members proved to be active writers. Their papers were mostly summaries of their presentations at the meetings on foreign equipments and techniques. Some of them summarised the studies already published in other journals, such as *Dental Cosmos*, which was the leading dental journal of the time.<sup>396</sup> Äyräpää retired from the editorship in 1900. The journal ceased and in its place, *Nordisk Tandläkaretidskrift* (Nordic Dental Journal), published by the Scandinavian Dentists Association, Svenska Tandläkaresällskap (The Swedish Dental Association) and the FDS, was launched. Although the new journal was formally the organ of the FDS, and Äyräpää was still a member of its editorial board, Finnish dentists seldom submitted their papers to it. In 1903, *Nordisk Tandläkaretidskrift* became solely the publication of the Swedish Dental Association and the question of an own journal of the FDS actualised.<sup>397</sup>

At the September meeting of 1903, Axel Aspelund, a young dentist and active author, suggested that the FDS should establish its own journal.<sup>398</sup> The discussion continued at the next meeting, in which Aspelund outlined the plan further, suggesting that the new journal would mostly consist of the minutes and presentations of the meetings of the FDS. The volumes would be published irregularly when enough material and necessary funds were available. Aspelund's idea was accepted and the editorial committee nominated. It consisted of an editor-in-chief, Äyräpää, the new president of the society, Gösta Hahl, and Aspelund himself as a subeditor.<sup>399</sup> The first volume of the *Finska Tandläkaresällskapets Förhandlingar* (the Proceedings of

394 Sivén 1943, 13-17; Säännöt Suomen Hammaslääkäri-seuralle (korjausvedos) 1892. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 36. NARC; Krogius 1935, pp. 40-41, 237. The Medical Society accepted as members all medical doctors, as well as scientists, pharmacists, surgeons, dentists and veterinarians, if they were suggested by two members of the society.

395 Minutes of the FDS 24 March 1894 § 3, annual report. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC; Sivén 1943, p. 62.

396 Minutes of the FDS 13 April 1895 § 2, annual report; 28 May 1897 § 2; 28 February 1898 § 4; 23 May 1898 § 4; 26 September 1898 § 6; 31 October 1898 § 6-7. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC. On *Dental Cosmos*, see Bremner 1954, p. 142.

397 Sivén 1943, pp. 62-63; minutes of the FDS 12 February 1900 § 1-2; 30 September 1901 § 2-3; annual report of the FDS 1901. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

398 Minutes of the FDS 28 September 1903 § 7. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC. On Aspelund, see Sivén 1943, pp. 90-93.

399 Minutes of the FDS 12 October 1903 § 5; 24 October 1903 § 5. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

the Finnish Dental Society) appeared at the end of 1904.<sup>400</sup> Its policy was defined in the foreword inviting papers on odontological and odonto-technical subjects, as well as scientific and medical studies on the questions of the progressing odontological research. Both Finnish and Swedish were accepted as the languages of the papers, but no mention was made of other foreign languages.<sup>401</sup> The first paper in German, announced at the meeting of May 1912, was accepted without discussion.<sup>402</sup> The language policy was quite liberal in comparison with two other medical societies which were torn by language dispute.<sup>403</sup>

The minutes of the FDS include only scattered mention of the editing of *Proceedings*. The editorial board was regularly selected at the annual meetings, but the procedure of editing the journal was not properly defined. A common practice was to discuss the presentations at the meetings and then announce that they would be published in the journal. The majority of the content related to demonstrations of various cases or new technology.<sup>404</sup> Scientific results were, for the first time, published in Volume 3 in 1907 – the year that the first public defence of an odontological thesis took place in the university.<sup>405</sup> Äyräpää was the editor-in-chief during the years 1904–1908 and 1910–1912. His autocratic *modus operandi* sometimes aroused irritation. In 1911, the other two members of the editorial board protested that two volumes had been published without their participation. In the background of the dispute, were partly some misunderstanding, and partly the language politics – the other Swedish-speaking member of the editorial board had announced that he was not willing to read the papers written in Finnish.<sup>406</sup> The dispute indicates that the procedure of editing the *Proceedings* was still undefined, and the practices of reviewing the papers were not yet settled. One of the participants in this controversy, Per Gadd, suggested, in 1913, that only one editor should be responsible for the contents of the journal, but he would have the assistance of the committee for reading papers. He did not explain accurately how this committee would work, only that it would solve the principal questions. He probably had in mind something similar to refereeing practices. The society supported this reform, but no measures were taken before the war.<sup>407</sup>

The financial aspect of publishing was discussed only after the first bill was received from the printing house. The sum of almost 700 marks slightly exceeded the annual income of membership fees, and the society had not applied for a government sub-

400 Minutes of the FDS 3 – 4 December 1904 § 8. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

401 Sivén 1943, p. 129.

402 Minutes of the FDS 24 May 1912 § 4. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC. The German article was a translation of a Finnish text published in the medical journal *Duodecim*.

403 Twelve Finnish-speaking members had resigned from the Medical Society of Finland and formed their own society, *Duodecim*. One of them was Matti Äyräpää who, in the FDS, was willing to accept the bilinguality. See Soininen 1956, pp. 12–23, 61–65.

404 See e. g. minutes of the FDS 25 January 1904 § 10, 12; 27 February 1905 § 5; 26 March 1906 § 8. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

405 Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1907, annual report. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

406 Minutes of the FDS 30 January 1911 § 7, 12; 27 February 1911, attachment; 2 December 1911, attachment G. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; Sivén 1943, p. 131.

407 Minutes of the FDS 29 September 1913 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; Sivén 1943, pp. 129–130.

sidy. Despite the wishes to produce two volumes each year, the next volume of the *Proceedings* appeared only after two years.<sup>408</sup> Unlike other societies, the FDS relied on its membership to fund its journal. When the exceptionally expensive volume 9 appeared in 1912, the society decided to charge an extra 10 marks for membership in order to cover its costs.<sup>409</sup> When this proved to be inadequate, the society borrowed 3,000 marks and strengthened its efforts to find advertisers.<sup>410</sup> In the following year, the situation was still as bad, and the society decided to apply for a government subsidy of 1,000 marks to continue its journal.<sup>411</sup> It was not granted, but a businessman, Amos Andersson, promised to help find advertisers, on the condition that the *Proceedings* would be printed in his firm for three years.<sup>412</sup>

In addition to the *Proceedings*, the FDS did not publish many other works. In 1910, Äyräpää and some other members of the society published a book in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of the Swedish Dental Association.<sup>413</sup> In the same year, Aspelund suggested that the society should launch a new, more popular journal for Finnish dentists like the *Tandlaegeblad* in Denmark. It would include short notices and current issues. The proposition, however, did not receive support from the society.<sup>414</sup> An idea of a Nordic odontological journal appeared in the discussions every now and then. In 1906, it was presented by Aspelund and Simon Bensow but the opinions were divided. Äyräpää announced that such a journal would be welcomed, but its funding would certainly cause problems. Moreover, the Finnish-speaking dentists' right to publish their findings in their mother tongue would be endangered. This brought about a fiery polemic, for the Swedish-speaking members Aspelund and Simon Bensow considered that nationalistic aims should be subdued for practical reasons.<sup>415</sup> This idea was buried. In 1913, the society, however, decided to publish the summaries of its meetings in a Swedish journal, *Odontologisk tidskrift* (Odontological Journal).<sup>416</sup>

The publishing activities of the FDS began with the editing of an international journal, which resulted in valuable experience and international contacts. Despite this experience, the editorial work of its own *Proceedings* was inconsistent. As in many other Finnish societies, personal friction and language dispute caused problems because no

<sup>408</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 January 1905 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC; Sivén 1943, pp. 111, 129.

<sup>409</sup> Minutes of the FDS 29 April 1912 § 9. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

<sup>410</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 September 1912 § 13. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; Sivén 1943, p. 110.

<sup>411</sup> Minutes of the FDS 24 February 1913 § 10. At the end of the year, the sum was raised to 2,000 marks. See minutes of the FDS 24 November 1913 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>412</sup> Minutes of the FDS 31 March 1913 § 10. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; Sivén 1943, p. 110.

<sup>413</sup> Sivén 1943, p. 155.

<sup>414</sup> Minutes of the FDS 29 March 1910 § 5; 25 April 1910 § 4. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>415</sup> Minutes of the FDS 16 April 1906 § 10. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>416</sup> Minutes of the FDS 24 February 1913 § 8. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.



review procedures of papers were agreed upon. In the FDS, the most important guarantee of the quality of papers seemed to be the qualification of the writers, for amateur members were not accepted. The papers were not expected to include the recent results of scientific research. The descriptions of various treatments and techniques were not exceptional in medical publishing at the time. In the Finnish Medical Society, the discussion about the scientific criteria of papers had only begun in the 1880s. In the Anglo-American world, the leading journals, like *The Lancet*, published case reports written by general practitioners. In Germany, journals that included the results of experimental medical research had recently started to gain ground, and these models were adopted in the USA at the turn of the century.<sup>417</sup> In dentistry, which was a new field of study, the journals were mostly published for the use of practitioners. Their financing was often dependent upon advertisers who presumed that they had a wide readership and many readers were more interested in practical descriptions than in theoretical scientific problems.<sup>418</sup> Despite the controversies and volatility at this early phase, the FDS considered some important questions. The acceptance of papers written in German, the suggestion for another journal for shorter papers and professional questions and the rethinking of the editorial process were signs that at least some members of the society were interested in features becoming more common in scientific journals.

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417 Ignatius 2000, pp. 518-519; Booth 1990, pp. 400-401.

418 Bremner 1954, pp. 138-147.

## 4 EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

### 4.1 FORMATION OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PRACTICES

The origins of exchange practices were briefly described in Chapters 1 and 2. This chapter goes into more detail in examining how the growth of this new activity was organised and how it spread in new areas. The core question is how it mirrored the structure of the scholarly community. Did it mitigate scientific competition and aid small societies in the peripheral countries in entering the international networks? Before examining Finnish societies, the history of international exchange is summarised. Also, the alternative methods of networking and distributing publications are discussed.

Although the medieval libraries sometimes exchanged manuscripts,<sup>419</sup> the origins of this practice should rather be sought at the dawn of modern science. The regular exchange developed from reciprocal favours, typical in the Republic of Letters. The material conditions of the seventeenth century Europe supported exchange practices. Even booksellers acquired their stocks through exchange, since mercantilist politics, import restrictions, customs duties and the many available currencies made foreign purchases quite challenging. The international book fairs offered publishers and booksellers an opportunity to exchange their domestic stocks with foreign representatives. The exchange value was based on the number of sheets, while the contents of the books did not affect their worth. This practice often led to the import of books of little interest to customers.<sup>420</sup> The private networks supplemented the supply of booksellers. The citizens of the Republic felt free to ask travellers to buy books from other towns. Besides, it was common practice for authors to send copies of their works as gifts to friends and colleagues, which led to a remarkable volume of donations. The Republicans also opened their private libraries for their fellow researchers.<sup>421</sup> The societies and academies entered this system when they began to publish their research findings. For instance, Accademia dei Lincei appointed a librarian, whose primary duty was the distribution of copies of publications and manuscripts as gifts. This act was reciprocal in nature and may thus be considered a forerunner of the exchange

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419 Gwinn 1996, p. 32.

420 Wittmann 1991, pp. 88-92.

421 Goldgar 1995, pp. 15-17; Brockliss 2002, pp. 308-315.

of publications. However, in spite of its efforts, the Accademia was not successful in assembling a library.<sup>422</sup>

At the beginning, donations between learned institutions were occasional. Not until the eighteenth century, when the number of societies and academies had increased and many of them had launched their own journals, could the regular exchange of publications begin. The initiator was the newly founded Imperial Academy in Saint Petersburg, which was completely dependent on foreign scholars and foreign literature because, at the time, the country did not have any other scientific institutions or universities. One of its first measures was to write letters proposing correspondence, exchange of publications and co-operation in astronomical, geographical and other projects. These offers were sent to the Royal Society in London, the Academy of Sciences in Paris, the Societas Regia Scientiarum in Berlin and the University of Uppsala in Sweden. The first to accept the proposition was the Royal Society, which started an exchange of publications with the Russian Academy in 1729. From 1737, the *Acta Literaria Sveciae* was sent from Uppsala to Saint Petersburg.<sup>423</sup> Yet, the regular exchange of publications was a rare phenomenon in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Royal Society started a reciprocal exchange with the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala in 1742, and about ten years later with the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. The Paris Academy of Sciences maintained more or less regular contacts with the provincial French academies. In this early phase, the exchange of publications was not defined as a special activity, but regarded as part of wider co-operation between societies. These new relations were known by various names, for example, *philosophical correspondence* or *commerci epistolici* which, rather than being merely the exchange of publications, referred to writing letters or to co-operation in general. Not only books and journals, but also instruments and natural specimens were donated. Often the contacts were originated and maintained by individual scientists and it is hard to determine how much the societies were actually involved in these arrangements.<sup>424</sup>

From the 1740s, contacts between academies and societies increased and many new exchange relations were created. The Paris Academy started to send its *Mémoires* to London and Saint Petersburg. The Royal Society enlarged the list of the recipients of the *Philosophical Transactions* to societies and academies in Berlin, Göttingen, Madrid, Bologna, Nuremberg and Wittenberg. The Swedish Academy established exchanges with the academies of Saint Petersburg and Bologna, the newly founded Dutch Society of Sciences with the Royal Society and Paris Academy, etc. As regards the large national scientific institutions, only the Berlin Academy, which was under the tight control of Frederick II, remained isolated. The first American society entered the scene in 1770, when Benjamin Franklin exported eleven copies of the first volume of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* for distribution to the most important societies and scientists in Europe. Gradually, exchange relations became routine for most academies and societies. Exchange agreements, like diplomatic relations, connected societies, creating regular channels for the distribution of scientific

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422 Gibson 1982, p. 146.

423 McClellan 1985, pp. 155-158; Graham 1993, pp. 17-20.

424 McClellan 1985, pp. 159-167.

news. It generated a new type of library – the society library, which was available for the members of the societies, and sometimes even for a wider audience.<sup>425</sup>

Also, the university libraries needed new acquisition methods. In the seventeenth century, they were often depositories of old and valuable books and various curiosities, but the Enlightenment libraries aimed at systematically selected and catalogued book collections which could aid researchers to base their studies on current and valid information. The University of Göttingen was at the forefront of this development, but it differed from other institutions because it had exceptionally good funding. In other libraries, acquisitions budgets were dependent upon student fines or fees, and the collections were mostly accumulated *en bloc* by donations, bequests and spoils of war.<sup>426</sup> Swedish universities were the forerunners in organising the exchange of publications. In 1745, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Uppsala, Jacob Benzelius, suggested that thirty copies of each academic publication should be reserved for exchange. This exchange circle, called *commercium literarium*, started between the universities of Uppsala, Lund, Turku and Greifswald. At the beginning, the publications were to be distributed to the professors, not to the libraries. Gradually, however, the university libraries became the depositories of the exchange material and the distribution of the publications was transferred to the library staff.<sup>427</sup> The Swedish example was soon followed and in 1817, German universities organised an association called Akademischer Tauschverein. Initially, it was meant to include only German universities, but when the word spread, universities from Russia, Poland, Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia joined, and the number of copies to deliver rose to 50. It is no wonder that the entry of eighteen French universities caused disbandment of the Tauschverein. The number of exchange copies required was too high for small universities, not to mention the doctoral candidates who paid for the printing. Nevertheless, many individual exchange relations between universities continued into the twentieth century.<sup>428</sup>

The exchange networks were still far from extensive. In the first half of the nineteenth century, much of the effort to develop the exchange of publications was due to one man – Alexandre Vattemare, a famous French actor and ventriloquist. On his tours around Europe, he established a wide range of contacts. Visiting libraries and museums, he observed that many held valuable copies of local literature, whereas their foreign collections were modest. At first, he helped private collectors to exchange items abroad, but as his reputation spread, he began to receive exchange lists from the directors of museums all over Europe. Encouraged by the support he had from many scientists, artists and government officials, Vattemare planned to establish an exchange office in Paris and turned to the French government for support. It was not interested, but he did not give up. In 1839, he travelled to New York and organised public meetings there to propagate the idea of exchange, emphasising that the Americans, who

425 McClellan 1985, pp. 169-178; Gwinn 1996, pp. 23-24; Wyatt 1997, pp. 191-194.

426 Clark W. 2000, pp. 190-193, 196-200; Harris 1984, pp. 130-137; Vallinkoski 1948, pp. 178-181, 185-204.

427 Bring 1929, pp. 130-131; Vallinkoski 1975, pp. 146-148.

428 Zur Geschichte des akademischen Tauschvereins, pp. 471-473; Jörgensen (1930) 1980, pp. 114-115; Bring 1929, pp. 131-132; Vanwijngarden 1978, pp. 16-17.

had a shorter history of publishing, could also use natural specimens, fossils or patents as exchange material. He succeeded in convincing the United States Government. In July 1840, a bill was signed into law authorising the Librarian of Congress to exchange duplicates. Fifty additional copies of Congressional documents were to be printed for the purpose of foreign exchange. Furthermore, Vattemare established exchanges with several states, city corporations, educational institutions and learned societies, even in Canada and Cuba. In his home country, his reputation as a cultural ambassador did not arouse admiration. In 1847, he travelled to America, again. This time he managed to persuade the Congress to grant duty-free imports for his European materials and the Joint Committee of the Library appointed him as its international exchange agent. However, his success was on the wane. During his visit, there was revolution in France, followed by the new regime of the Second Empire. The new French government approached the Librarian of Congress, insisting that the official publications should be exchanged through diplomatic channels. Congress repealed the authorising act for Vattemare's agency in 1852. As a result, he had difficulties finding enough material and gradually even lost the exchange agreements with other American institutions. The American Civil War was the final blow to his activities.<sup>429</sup>

Vattemare was a fascinating character, connecting, on the one hand, the old virtues of the Republic and, on the other hand, contemporary efforts to make international agreements. However, even before his death in 1864, a new phase in the history of exchange had begun. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed increasing publishing and the establishment of a variety of scientific institutions. The public administrators and legislators in various countries were in need of information, such as statutes, statistics and reports, at a time when the old European system of hierarchy was losing its stability.<sup>430</sup> A solution for the information needs was founding the national exchange centres. The first of these, the Smithsonian Institution, was established in Washington in 1846, with the capital bequeathed by an Englishman, James Smithson. Its programme was to publish works, award grants and disseminate knowledge by exchanging publications with other institutions. It began with its own *Contributions*, but soon, it forwarded publications from other American learned institutions and the official publications of the Congress. The right to ship publications duty-free, the effective procedures of packing, lucrative contracts with shipping companies and the network of agencies in various countries made it a model for an efficiently functioning exchange organisation. It became apparent that similar agencies were needed in other countries, too. In 1875, the International Congress of Geographical Sciences in Paris considered these problems and, as a result, exchange services were established in France, Portugal, Switzerland, Russia and Belgium. In the United Kingdom, Her Majesty's Stationary Office was given responsibility for the distribution of British official publications and the British Museum was to collect and catalogue publications received through exchange.<sup>431</sup>

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429 Gibson 1982, pp. 153-154; Armbruster 1997, pp. 132-134, 137-147; Gwinn 1996, pp. 97-149.

430 Lilja 2006, p. 55; Gwinn 1996, pp. 162-163. The contemporaries described Vattemare as a consolidator of the Republic of Letters. See Gwinn 2010, p. 110.

431 Gwinn 1996, pp. 194-198, 208-209, 221, 227-232, 242-249; Gibson 1982, p. 155; Lilja 2006, pp. 55-56; Harris 1998, pp. 348-353.

The idea behind the exchange centres was to avoid the weakness of Vattemare's one-man scheme by decentralising the responsibility to national agencies. Nevertheless, the need for international agreements was still obvious. The first international conventions regulating the exchange of publications were established in Brussels in 1886. *Convention A for the International Exchange of Official Documents, Scientific and Literary Publications* declared that each contracting state should establish an exchange bureau. The exchange arrangements and shipments should be made between the bureaux, and each state should assume the expenses of packing and transportation. They could also serve in a non-official capacity as intermediaries between learned bodies and literary and scientific societies, but in such cases, their duty would be confined to the free transmission of the exchange material. The bureaux did not have permission to take initiative to create new exchange relations, so not to infringe the freedom and independence of science. *Convention B for the Immediate Exchange of Official Journals, Public Parliamentary Annals and Documents* declared that the respective governments should undertake to transmit to the legislative chambers of each contracting state a copy of the official journal and of parliamentary annals and documents. Both conventions were signed by Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, the United States of America, Argentina and Paraguay. Switzerland signed only Convention A.<sup>432</sup> The Conventions indicated an international willingness to co-operate in exchange. Yet, this did not create a worldwide arrangement because important countries like France, Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom never adhered to them. In fact, most of the signatories had difficulty abiding by the provisions of the Conventions. International exchange was also developed in countries which had not signed the Conventions. For instance, many Latin American countries founded exchange centres in connection with their national libraries. New conventions were signed before World War I, and most were based upon bilateral cultural agreements between governments with an exchange programme of official publications. The first regional multilateral convention was the Inter-American Convention signed in Mexico in 1902, in order to further mutual understanding and closer ties between Latin countries.<sup>433</sup>

The Brussels conventions were established at a time when progress was being made in the international organisation of science and scholarship. The need to coordinate a more unified methodology, terminology and documentation promoted the organising of congresses and the founding of international associations. Whereas, in the 1850s, there were one or two international science congresses; in the 1870s, there were a dozen, and in the 1890s, there were about thirty.<sup>434</sup> Besides the centralised international systems, the number of individual exchanges between learned bodies increased. These were still usually based on informal correspondence between institutions and societies. Various indices and catalogues aided in finding new exchange partners. According to the old ideals of science, the Brussels conventions left the freedom of exchange initiative to scientific institutions, which meant that the individual scientific societies could respond to their own position in these markets.<sup>435</sup>

<sup>432</sup> Lilja 2006, pp. 56-57. The text of the Brussels Conventions is published in Busse 1964, pp. 61-62.

<sup>433</sup> Lilja 2006, pp. 57-58.

<sup>434</sup> Schröder 1966, pp. 168-175; Rasmussen 1990, pp. 120-126; Somsen 2008, pp. 365-366.

<sup>435</sup> Lilja 2006, pp. 57-58; Gibson 1982, pp. 153, 155-156; MacDonald 2005, p. 280.

## 4.2 THE FLS – CAUTIOUSLY WITH NEIGHBOURS AND RELATIVES

### 4.2.1 Development of exchange practices

The exchange activities of the FLS began even before its first publications had appeared, when a Danish society, Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab (the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries), unexpectedly donated 18 books in 1833. The FLS could only write a letter of thanks, for it had nothing to offer in return. On the same occasion, it invited the secretary of the Oldskrift Selskab, Karl Kristian Rafn, to be its first corresponding member, together with his compatriot Christian Molbech. The Oldskrift Selskab continued to send publications occasionally even though they received nothing in return until six years after their first donation.<sup>436</sup> The sporadic gift-giving turned gradually into a regular exchange of learned journals which continued until the end of the period under study.

Irregular donations of this kind were typical in the first half of the nineteenth century. The concept of *exchange of publications* was not used, at least in the documents of the FLS. Either the consignments were written into the minutes as occasional gifts<sup>437</sup> or if the relationship between two societies was considered regular it was usually defined more widely than just a reciprocal sending of publications. The next initiative for the exchange of publications arrived from the Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft which declared its wish *to enter into a closer scholarly connection with you*.<sup>438</sup> The FLS used the same expression in its minutes.<sup>439</sup> The term *utbyte (exchange)* appears for the first time in the annual report of 1842 but, in 1845, it was, again, replaced by a more general utterance *Literary Communication*.<sup>440</sup> N.E. Gwinn states that the vague terminology was partly caused by the courtesy rules of the scholarly community. The terms *gift*, *donation* and *communication* were more appropriate to diplomatic parlance than the word *exchange*, which implicitly carried a demand for *quid-pro-quo*. In the minutes of the American Philosophical Society, the term exchange was first used in 1795 but

<sup>436</sup> Minutes of the FLS 9 October 1833 § 3; 13 November 1833 § 2; 6 February 1839 § 2. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1; 9 October 1833 the FLS to Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskabet. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 61. Mf 1984:1. SKS, KIA. Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab was founded in 1825 and like the FLS, it promoted the research of old texts and sagas and archaeology. Its secretary, Rafn, was the actual leader of the society, for its president was King Frederick VI. See Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab. <http://www.oldskriftselskabet.dk/> (cited 6 September 2011); Kunze 1957, p. 11 mentions that a member of the FLS, Frans Knorring, was also a member of Oldskrift Selskab.

<sup>437</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1839 § 4-5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>438</sup> 11 June 1840 Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 61. Mf 1984:1. SKS, KIA. Citation in German: *in eine nähere wissenschaftliche Verbindung mit ihr zu treten*.

<sup>439</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 May 1840 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA. The text in the minutes: *att träda i närmare litterär gemenskap*.

<sup>440</sup> In Swedish: *Literära Communication*. Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1842, annual report; 16 March 1845, annual report. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

it did not replace these older terms.<sup>441</sup> The FLS began to consider sending books and journals as a permanent reciprocal activity after gift-giving had continued for over a decade. In 1847, it took a decision in principle to send its publications regularly to those societies which had sent the FLS their books and journals.<sup>442</sup> In 1854, it decided to demand the missing items of their serials, which indicated that it expected regularity in its partners.<sup>443</sup> The term *exchange* became common only in the 1860s and 1870s. Interestingly, even then the terms *exchange of books* and *exchange of letters* were mixed but this was probably due to confusion between a new Finnish word *kirje* (meaning *letter*) and the old word *kirja* referring to both a *book* and a *letter*.<sup>444</sup>

The idea of exchanging publications came from Denmark and Estonia. Being the first publishing learned society in Finland, the FLS did not have domestic forerunners, but through its secretary, Sven Gabriel Elmgren, who worked in the University Library, it could have absorbed ideas and useful practices concerning exchanges. The university belonged to the *Commercium Litterarium* and *Akademischer Tauschverein* and furthermore, received publications from some Russian institutions.<sup>445</sup> The documents of the FLS, however, are very laconic on these questions and there are no mentions of how the exchange practices were adopted. Probably this was due to the general passivity of the FLS in this area, which becomes apparent in Table 4.1 examining the initiatives of exchanges of the FLS.

The majority of the 39 exchanges of the FLS was established at the proposal of a foreign partner, the initiatives of the FLS being more an exception than a rule. After receiving the first offers from Denmark and Estonia, the society was encouraged enough to send its first publications *Kalevala*, *Kultala* and *Kanteletar* to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. The polite covering letter did not propose exchange but included a subtle hint that the publications of the Academy included volumes concerning the history of Finland.<sup>446</sup> After two years, the FLS sent its new book *Suomen kansan sananlaskuja* (*The Proverbs of the Finnish People*)<sup>447</sup> but nothing was heard from the Academy. Slightly more successful was the next attempt with Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet (The Society for Old Swedish Literature) whose publications were introduced to the FLS by its corresponding member, a Finnish-born historian and journalist, Adolf Ivar Arwidsson.<sup>448</sup> The Journal of Fornskriftsällskapet

441 Gwinn 1996, pp. 53, 72.

442 Minutes of the FLS 6 October 1847 § 6. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

443 Minutes of the FLS 6 December 1854 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

444 Minutes of the FLS 4 December 1867 § 11. In SUOMI II:8 (1870), pp. 444-445; 13 January 1869 § 4. In SUOMI II:9 (1871), p. 431; 4 January 1871 § 5. In SUOMI II:11 (1876), pp. 313-314; 5 April 1871 § 10; 16 March 1873, annual report. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 4, 163. On the history of the Finnish words *kirja* and *kirje*, see Häkkinen 2004, pp. 434-436.

445 Jørgensen (1930) 1980, pp. 108-112, 114-115.

446 Minutes of the FLS 3 November 1841 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1; 1 July 1842 the FLS to Kungliga Vitterhets-, Historie- och Antikvitetsakademi. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 61. Mf 1984:1. SKS, KIA.

447 Minutes of the FLS 10 May 1843 § 3; 16 March 1844, annual report. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

448 Minutes of the FLS 6 October 1847 § 2. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.



was received, until 1859, but then the consignments ceased. In the 1850s, the FLS made two more initiatives, one to the Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab (Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters), which was suggested by a corresponding member Molbech<sup>449</sup> and another to the University of Uppsala. The Danish Academy never sent return presents and in Uppsala the proposition was probably buried under the piles of paper on the librarian's desk, for publications from there were received only in the 1880s.<sup>450</sup> It is possible that the silence following the consignments of the FLS was due to the loss in transit, which was not unusual at the time. The other and even more likely explanation is that the consignments were understood to be gifts.<sup>451</sup> However, the poor results were not encouraging and it took over a decade for the FLS to be encouraged to take new initiatives.

*Table 4.1. Initiators of the exchange relations of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1914.*<sup>452</sup>

Period	Initiator				Total
	FLS	Exchange Partner	Both	Unknown	
1833-1839	0	1	0	0	1
1840-1849	1	3	0	0	4
1850-1859	1	3	0	0	4
1860-1869	0	1	1	0	2
1870-1879	1	6	0	0	7
1880-1889	0	4	0	1	5
1890-1899	0	4	0	1	5
1900-1909	1	4	0	1	6
1910-1914	0	5	0	0	5
Total	4	31	1	3	39

New moves in the field of exchange were made in the 1860s when a young, internationally orientated linguist, Otto Donner, aimed at opening contacts with the Hungarians, suggesting that the society would offer an exchange of publications to

<sup>449</sup> Minutes of the FLS 1 October 1851 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

<sup>450</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 December 1853 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 4 May 1887 § 3. In SUOMI III:1 (1888), p. 281.

<sup>451</sup> The same institutions established exchanges with other Finnish societies; The Danish Academy with the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities with the Finnish Antiquarian Society, which indicates that they did not consider the Finnish publications irrelevant or inferior. See Elfving 1938, p. 238.

<sup>452</sup> Usually new exchange relations were announced at the meetings and registered into the minutes which often included information on the initiators. Some exchanges, however, appear only in various lists of exchange partners. In these cases, their initiator is unknown. Occasional donations are not included in this table, neither the rejected offers.

the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the literary Kisfaludy Society. The leading members of the FLS were not too enthusiastic about his idea, supposing that Hungarians would publish many more books and journals and therefore the exchange would be uneven. This was an astonishingly cautious standpoint, considering that the librarian of the Hungarian Academy, Pál Hunfalvy, had privately informed Yrjö Koskinen of his wish to promote exchanges between Finnish and Hungarian societies. The Kisfaludy Society proved its willingness to enter an exchange relation by sending its exchange proposition almost at the same time as the FLS was writing its own offer. With the Hungarian Academy of Science, Donner had to persuade the society many times before it finally agreed to send an exchange proposition.<sup>453</sup> The exchange relation with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was well grounded, for it was developing into one of the leading research centres of Finno-Ugrian studies. Even the timing was convenient. When the political conditions in Hungary had settled at the end of the 1860s, the Academy was actively widening its international relations.<sup>454</sup> It became a loyal long-term partner which sent many serials to the FLS, whereas the consignments of the Kisfaludy Society ceased at the end of the 1870s.

Donner, with his international efforts, was a lone wolf in the FLS, and in the 1880s he turned his energy more to the use of the newly founded Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>455</sup> In the FLS, the chairmanship of Koskinen strengthened the nationalistic attitude. The use of the Finnish language was not a favourable factor from the point of view of international exchange. Besides, the officials of the society were well aware that the exchange items would diminish stocks which, otherwise, could be sold. In the early twentieth century, during the chairmanship of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, the FLS made one more overture to Sweden, to the new journal *Le Monde Oriental*. This time it succeeded in creating a well functioning exchange.<sup>456</sup> Furthermore, it joined the proposition of the University of Helsinki and other learned societies to create a common exchange with the British Museum. Despite the numerous publications which the Finnish societies and the university were willing to send to London, the British Museum rejected the offer.<sup>457</sup> Although the FLS did not make many overtures, itself, the opportunity to spread information on Finnish culture was considered valuable and it usually accepted all the exchange offers it received,<sup>458</sup> not considering the relevance

453 Minutes of the FLS 4 December 1867 § 11. In SUOMI II:8 (1870), pp. 444-445; 14 October 1868 § 3; 13 January 1869 § 4. In SUOMI II:9 (1871), pp. 419, 431; 3 May 1871 § 7. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), 9. On the contacts of Finnish and Hungarian scholars in the 1850s and the 1860s, see Korhonen 1984, p. 36; Wichman 1923, p. 394.

454 Hungarian Academy of Science: a Brief History (cited 16 February 2012); Korhonen 1984, p. 45.

455 Donner promoted exchanges in the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, too. See Elfving 1938, p. 239.

456 Minutes of the FLS 3 December 1908 § 12. In SUOMI IV:7 (1909), p. 120.

457 Minutes of the FLS 5 April 1911 § 5; 6 March 1912 § 4. In SUOMI IV:12 (1911/1913), p. 5-6, 114.

458 Only once is a refusal of an exchange offer mentioned in the minutes. The FLS rejected a proposal from the National Library in Montevideo, Uruguay. Minutes of the board of the FLS 25 October 1905 § 12. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:2. SKS, KIA.

of the material too rigorously.<sup>459</sup> For instance, it entered into an exchange relation with the American Philosophical Society without having a clear idea of its focus.<sup>460</sup>

The FLS published prolifically but not all its publications were sent to the exchange partners. The journal *Suomi* was the most regular consignment. Furthermore, the society sent its partners folklore, bibliographies, dictionaries and a few books including French or German texts. Duplicates were changed only occasionally. Even coins and *crania* were once suggested as exchange material, but there are no mentions of consigned skulls in the documents.<sup>461</sup> The librarian and sometimes the secretary of the society attended to the exchange practices which included selecting and consigning the publications of the FLS for partners, receiving the foreign books and journals and writing acknowledgements or notes on missing items.<sup>462</sup> Sending publications abroad was not a simple thing to do. Some partners, like the Smithsonian Institution, used agents in various parts of Europe, whereas some others advised the FLS to consign packages to a local consulate.<sup>463</sup> The most common way of sending publications was to use the services of the booksellers, who usually had wide international networks and travelled regularly to European book centres.<sup>464</sup>

As a mode of scholarly co-operation, the exchange of publications was quite formal and impersonal in character, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, when printed letters and receipts became common. Exchange offers were often handwritten and courteous, sometimes even flattering, but when a relation was established, both parties used to change to printed forms. The letters and notes were usually written in French or in German though more unusual languages were sometimes found

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<sup>459</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1896, account of the book stock. In SUOMI III:13 (1897), pp. 145-147.

<sup>460</sup> This ignorance became evident some years later, when the FLS had to write a letter of congratulation on the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American Philosophical Society. The secretary of the FLS wrote to the philosopher Arvi Grotenfelt to ask what kind of studies this American partner represented. Minutes of the FLS 8 September 1886 § 3. In SUOMI II:20 (1887), pp. 362-363; 12 January 1893 Arvi Grotenfelt to F.V. Rothsten. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 61. Mf 1984:13. SKS, KIA.

<sup>461</sup> See e.g. minutes of the FLS 5 May 1841 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1; 2 May 1849 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; 1 May 1878 § 4. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), pp. 379-380; 8 September 1886 § 3. In SUOMI II:20 (1887), pp. 362-363; 3 February 1897 § 4. In SUOMI III:14 (1897), pp. 103-104; 1 October 1902 § 11. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), pp. 57-58; 4 October 1905 § 14. In SUOMI IV:4 (1906), p. 53; 6 February 1908 § 14. In SUOMI IV:6 (1909), p. 136; 7 April 1909 § 18. In SUOMI IV:8 (1910), pp. 13-14.

<sup>462</sup> Minutes of the FLS 22 May 1878 § 11. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), p. 387; 5 November 1890 § 11. In SUOMI III:5 (1892), p. 402; 9 October 1895 § 3. In SUOMI III:13 (1897), p. 46. The society decided to send acknowledgements in 1874 because their partners used them. Minutes of the FLS 4 September 1872 § 4. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), p. 115.

<sup>463</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1874 § 2. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 204-205; 4 October 1905 § 14. In SUOMI IV:4 (1906), pp. 53-54; 10 June 1870 Smithsonian Institution to the FLS. Correspondence 64. Mf 1984:2. SKS, KIA.

<sup>464</sup> 12 January 1880 Magyar Tudományos Akademia to the FLS; the receipts of the FLS 1868-1886. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelot (Folders) 70, 71, 72, 73. SKS, KIA. On the networks of booksellers, see Hakapää 2008, pp. 88-89.

in the messages from kindred nations.<sup>465</sup> The formal character of the correspondence was necessary, otherwise the activity would have become too laborious. The idea of exchange in its wider form of *literary communication* prevailed, however, materialising in various newsletters which informed the changes and replacements in the partner institution and in invitations to anniversaries and festivities, sometimes even to annual meetings – something which only in exceptional cases was possible for distant Finns. The FLS responded to these invitations by sending congratulatory letters or telegrams.<sup>466</sup>

Thirty-nine exchange relations was a small number in comparison with many other Finnish societies. Considering that at the turn of the century, there were about 5000 learned societies in Europe and in overseas<sup>467</sup> and furthermore, hundreds of universities, museums and research institutes, it is obvious that the distribution of the publications of the FLS was very narrow. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the extensive international network was not the actual aim of the FLS. After Finno-Ugrian linguistics was transferred to the Finno-Ugrian Society and the international activities of folklore research to the Folklore Fellows, the FLS was completely satisfied with its co-operation with Estonians, Hungarians and a handful of other partners whose publications helped it to promote the research of the Finnish language, folklore and literature. The motives of those societies and institutions which suggested the exchange of publications to FLS is another matter. How did they find this Finnish Society and what did they expect to receive?

#### 4.2.2 Exchange partners of the FLS

At the time when the FLS was founded, the knowledge of Finland outside the Nordic countries and Russia was based mostly on the travelogues which described it as a fairly backward but a beautiful country. From time to time, political news such as the Crimean War, the February manifesto, which turned the legislative power from Finnish authorities to the emperor and his advisors, or the Parliament Act of 1906 which established a single-chamber legislature and universal suffrage, raised Finland to the European consciousness. The nineteenth century was a period when Finland actively aimed at presenting itself as a nation. The political development set the frames in this image building, but mostly the work was done in the fields of economy, culture and science.<sup>468</sup> In the first half of the nineteenth century, scholarly contacts were often created with previously known institutions. As the number of learned institutions increased, various directories and catalogues listing the societies

<sup>465</sup> See e. g. 17 January 1853 Ehstländische Literarische Gesellschaft to the FLS. Correspondence 62. Mf 1984:1; 4 January 1874 Eesti Kirjameeste Selts to the FLS. Mf 1984; 25 April 1878 Germanisches Nationalmuseum to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 65. Mf 1984:3. SKS, KIA.

<sup>466</sup> See e.g. minutes of the FLS 7 May 1902 § 4: invitation to the 50th anniversary of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), p. 12; 14 May 1878 Smithsonian Institution to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 65. Mf 1984:3. SKS, KIA.

<sup>467</sup> Chaline 1998, pp. XIV, 51.

<sup>468</sup> Paasivirta 1978, pp. 131-132, 175-179, 216-219, 234-238, 316-317, 334-339, 368-373; Kirby 2006, pp. 129-147; Meinander 2006, pp. 143-146.

and institutions became necessary devices in finding companions.<sup>469</sup> The FLS spread information on its activities via German and American directories: regularly in *Minerva: Handbuch der Gelehrten Welt* and occasionally in the *Handbook to Learned Societies* of the Carnegie Institution.<sup>470</sup> The map in Figure 4.1 indicates that, in one way or another, the existence of the society became known in Europe, and in the United States.

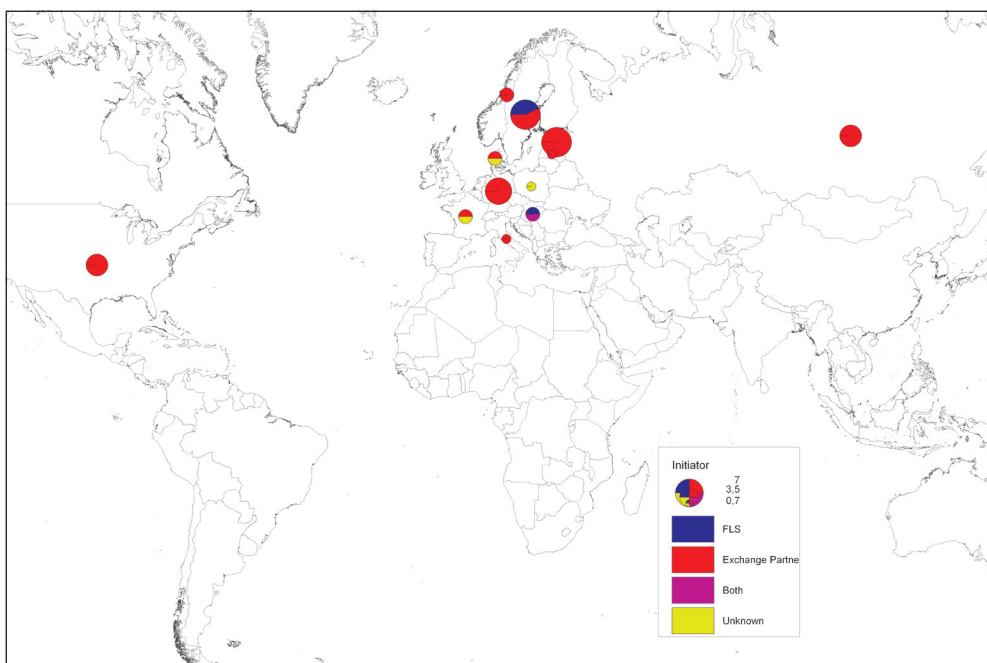


Figure 4.1. Exchange partners of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1914 (total 39).<sup>471</sup>

### *The Nordic countries*

The long history of Finland as a part of Sweden had created close contacts across the Gulf of Bothnia. Family connections, friendships and business contacts all facilitated the scholarly communication, as did also Finnish emigrants such as Arwidsson. At the beginning, even the language was common, but a barrier was formed when

<sup>469</sup> On French directories, see Chaline 1998, pp. 17-27.

<sup>470</sup> 25 May 1898 Karl J. Trübner Verlagsbuchhandlung to the FLS. Correspondence 99. Mf 2003:16, 14 July 1903 Deutsche Geschichtsblätter to the FLS; 20 July 1903 Library of Congress, Carnegie Institution, Handbook to Learned Societies to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 95. Mf 2003:14. SKS, KIA.

<sup>471</sup> To be able to compare the development before and after World War I, the countries are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period. Therefore Estonia and Latvia are presented as countries here though in reality they were part of Russia. Consequently, Lviv (Lemberg) is categorised into Poland, where it belonged since 1919 though at the moment of establishing the exchange relation it belonged to Austria-Hungary. Unfortunately, no maps presenting the interwar political borders were compatible with the Mapinfo software and therefore, this map represents the political borders of the 21st century. The exact figures on exchanges are to be found in Appendix 1.

the policy of publishing in Finnish tightened, for the Finnish and Swedish languages are not mutually intelligible. The initiatives of the FLS were directed mostly at the institutions practising linguistics for whom even the journal *Suomi* with its Finnish papers could be expected to arouse some interest. Nevertheless, some half of the Swedish partners had not much to do with the linguistics. Rather they were institutions with a wide exchange programme such as the Royal Library of Sweden.

Danes and Norwegians were slightly more distant than Swedes, and as speakers of Scandinavian languages they were sure to have problems in understanding the publications of the FLS. Having information on the Finnic ethnic minorities in Norway, such as the Sami or Kvens, might have been a reason for establishing exchange for the University of Kristiania but it also wanted to sustain contacts extensively, with the Nordic institutions.<sup>472</sup> Another Norwegian partner, Selskabet for folkeoplysningens fremme (The Society for the Friends of the Popular Enlightenment), for its part, was mediated by a corresponding member Eilert Sundt who worked actively with the Finnish minorities in Norway.<sup>473</sup> The common history and cultural heritage promoted goodwill and inspired libraries to acquire material from Finland even though it would be intelligible to only a handful of readers.

### *The Baltic countries*

Estonian societies became the most important partners for the FLS. In the wave of nationalism, various musical, literary, linguistic and historical societies were founded in Estonia which at the time was a province of the Russian Empire. The first societies were founded by the German-speaking educated class, but in the second half of the century when the Estonian people activated to promote their own language and culture, many new societies emerged.<sup>474</sup> The Estonians were eager to create contacts with the FLS, especially after it had established its reputation in the field of folklore by publishing *Kalevala* and other collections. Similar activities were ongoing on both sides of the Gulf of Finland. The Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* was published in 1857-1861, followed by extensive collections of folklore. Exchange of publications was only one part of the extensive co-operation between Finns and Estonians, which included common projects in publishing and collecting folklore, bibliographical work, hosting visitors and participating in great song festivals, the most significant project being the depositing and cataloguing the folklore collections of Jakob Hurt in the FLS.<sup>475</sup> The publications of the FLS had more relevance in Estonia than in any other country because Finnish and Estonian are closely related languages and therefore

472 The University of Kristiania offered exchange for the SFFF and FDS, too and with the FAS it established an exchange via mediator.

473 Minutes of the FLS 6 September 1865 § 3. In SUOMI II:5 (1866), p. 306; 22 May 1878 § 11. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), p. 387. Sundt donated regularly the journal *Folkevennen* published by the respective society.

474 Zetterberg 1995, pp. 71-83.

475 See e.g. minutes of the FLS 14 January 1891 § 9. In SUOMI III:5 (1892), p. 419; 5 September 1883 § 6. In SUOMI II:17 (1885), p. 237; 9 October 1901 § 4. In SUOMI III:20 (1902), p. 59; 2 June 1902 § 1, 5. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), p. 27; 3 October 1906 § 5. In SUOMI IV:5 (1907), p. 81; 1 February 1905 § 8. In SUOMI IV:3 (1905), pp. 114-115; 4 March 1908 § 19. In SUOMI IV:6 (1909), p. 179.

Estonians learn Finnish quite easily and vice versa. The letters and notes between exchange partners were usually written in Estonian or in Finnish and their tone was often more cordial than in normal exchange correspondence, as this opening of Eesti Kirjameeste Selts (Estonian Literary Society) indicates:

*Eesti Kirjameeste Selts [...] respectfully greets the esteemed Finnish Literature Society, as its brother and fellow worker in the field of the Finnish languages, and requests it to exchange all its books and papers, which both these societies will publish, with the young Estonian Society.*<sup>476</sup>

The other Baltic Provinces of the Russian empire were not as important. Their only representative was the Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands (The Society of the Baltic Provinces of Russia) in Riga which made an initiative to the FLS in 1841.<sup>477</sup>

### *Germany*

Many Finnish historians of science have argued that Germany dominated the international contacts of Finnish scholars until the Second World War. German universities had been popular from the Middle Ages on and German was the first foreign modern language for most Finnish secondary school pupils.<sup>478</sup> In light of this tradition, it seems odd that the FLS did not initiate any exchanges with German institutions. It was aware of the success of *Kalevala* in Berlin and nominated corresponding members among the German researchers and translators of Finnish folklore.<sup>479</sup> A possible reason for the reluctance to promote exchanges was the opportunity to sell publications to Germany.<sup>480</sup> On the other hand, the FLS, which was cautious even with Hungarians, probably considered itself too insignificant for renowned German societies and universities. The German institutions which proposed the exchange of publications to the FLS were a miscellaneous group, consisting of the official library in Dresden, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bayerisches Akademie der Wissenschaften and three local societies. The rallying point was more their extensive exchange programme than a particular interest in the publications of the FLS. The universities which were forerunners in Finno-Ugrian studies, like Göttingen

<sup>476</sup> The citation in Finnish: *Eesti Kirjameeste Selts [...] tervehtii arvoisaa "Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuraa" kunnioituksella niin kuin veljeänsä ja työkumppania Suomen kielen vainiolla, ja pyytää tätä nuoren Virolaisen Seuran kanssa vastedes vaihtamaan kaikkia kirjoja ja kirjoituksia, joita molemmat Seurat tulevat toimittamaan.* 2 October 1872, Eesti Kirjameeste Selts to the FLS. Correspondence 74. Mf 1984:7. SKS, KIA.

<sup>477</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 May 1841 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>478</sup> Hietala 2002, pp. 528-531; Hietala 2006b, pp. 30-33; Michelsen 2002, p. 183; Paaskoski 2008, p. 115; Paasivirta 1984, pp. 285, 295-297.

<sup>479</sup> Hermann Kellgren, who visited Berlin in the 1840s, informed the FLS, that Professor Schott lectured on the Finnish language and many booksellers were interested to stock *Kalevala*. Minutes of the FLS 3 February 1847 § 6. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA. See also Haavio 1931, pp. 21-22; Parry 1998, pp. 97-98; Kunze 1957, p. 17.

<sup>480</sup> On German trade relations, see Chapter 4.6.1.

or Berlin, were not on the list.<sup>481</sup> Considering the number of the exchange partners, Germany was the third important country for the FLS, but these relations were not the most prolific ones.

### *Russia*

Although it was the mother country of Finland, Russia did not hold a special position in the field of exchange. Due to the cyrillic alphabet, the language barrier was even higher than in regard to other European publications. The authorities tried to foster the Russian-speaking generations but, at first, the lack of school teachers and teaching tools hindered the development and later the reluctance to learn the language of the Empire strengthened.<sup>482</sup> Nevertheless, the Finno-Ugrian peoples living in Russia were becoming an important focus of research and the FLS funded study tours to Karelia, Tver and Ingria to collect folklore and linguistic material.<sup>483</sup> The interest in kindred peoples created two exchange relations with the societies in Petrozavodsk and in Kazan. Two other Russian partners represented big organisations with extensive exchange programmes: the University of St. Petersburg and the Rumâncev Museum, which after the Revolution developed into the national library of Russia. For them, an exchange relationship did not mean any special contact, only books and journals for their extensive collections.<sup>484</sup> Interestingly, all these scholarly contacts were created, at the turn of the century, when the political friction between Finns and Russians was mounting.

### *The Anglo-American world*

No exchanges were made with British institutions. Although there were individual scholars who were very interested in Finnish culture, the institutions remained as passive as the FLS itself. In this period, its only effort was to join the common initiative organised by the University of Helsinki which, however, was rejected by the British Museum.

The primus motor in the contacts across the Atlantic Ocean was the Smithsonian Institution which actively established exchanges with European institutions. It published two serials. The expensive and well illustrated *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* was sent to 173 prominent and prestigious institutions, whereas the *Annual Report* was consigned to all exchange partners – in 1857 there were 700 of them.<sup>485</sup> The FLS was not among the outstanding ones, hence receiving only the *Annual Report*, and furthermore, as a separate exchange, the publications of the Bureau

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<sup>481</sup> According to their websites, today the Bayerisches Akademie der Wissenschaften has about 750 exchange relations and Germanisches Nationalmuseum about 1,000 partners. The local societies of Ulm and Heidelberg offered exchange for the Finnish Antiquarian Society, too, using printed letters, which indicates that they made many proposals. 24 March 1872 Der Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 1, p. 395; 11 February 1891 Historisch-Philosophischer Verein in Heidelberg to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 463-471. NBA Archives.

<sup>482</sup> Janhunen 2008, pp. 86-88.

<sup>483</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 198-199.

<sup>484</sup> Davis and Kasinec 2001, p. 678.

<sup>485</sup> Gwinn 1996, pp. 210-212, 221.



of Ethnography, which was founded in 1879. The Smithsonian exchange was formal and efficient while a more friendly relationship was established with the New York Public Library, which suggested exchange in 1905, when it was planning particular collections for various countries of Europe.<sup>486</sup> In the USA – a melting pot of various nations – the idea of furnishing nationally organised rooms in the big city library was well founded and it is probable that even the Finnish texts of the FLS might have found readers.<sup>487</sup> The FLS considered it important to provide literature for the Finnish immigrants and it also helped the Finnish libraries in the USA with donations.<sup>488</sup>

### *France and Italy*

The Mediterranean institutions were not especially interested in the publications of the FLS – and vice versa. The interest in the work of the FLS peaked in two world expositions held in Paris. In 1878, the FLS was awarded a gold medal of its department and in 1900, the common department of several Finnish learned societies received much sympathy due to the contemporary political pressure but not as much attention as did the art and the architecture exhibited at the fair.<sup>489</sup>

Two French exchanges of the FLS were short-lived. One of them, with the Société d'ethnographie, was probably initiated by a correspondent of the FLS, the linguist Léon de Rosny.<sup>490</sup> The only Italian institution on the list, the famous Accademia dei Lincei, was a steady and reliable partner. It is possible that even this relationship was initiated by a correspondent of the society, Emilio Teza. On the other hand, the Accademia had a wide exchange network and it is possible that it was merely interested in having a complete set of the publications of Finnish learned societies.

### *Eastern Europe*

Except for an important kindred nation Hungary, whose exchanges were described in the previous chapter, the FLS did not extend its exchange network in eastern Europe. Only in Lemberg (present day Lviv), did it have a relationship with the local scientific society although there were many literary societies of the same kind in the Russian and Austrian provinces in eastern Europe.

The geographical examination reveals the core areas of the exchange. Another question is, what kind of institutions did the FLS reach – the outstanding learned bodies or more marginal ones? Figure 4.2 sheds light on this question by presenting the types of exchange partners.

486 Minutes of the FLS 4 October 1905 § 14. In SUOMI IV:4 (1906), pp. 53-54.

487 According to the library catalogue, the journal *Suomi* is still in the collections of the library.

488 Minutes of the FLS 11 May 1898 § 10. In SUOMI III:17 (1899), p. 30.

489 Minutes of the FLS 17 March 1879, annual report. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), p. 453; Krohn 1931, p. 50; Sulkunen 2004, p. 187. On world expositions, see Fredrikson 2001, pp. 10, 74-79.

490 The proposal for exchange has not remained in the archive of FLS but in a letter dated 13 July 1903 de Rosny tried to organise the consignments of missing items. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 45. SKS, KIA.

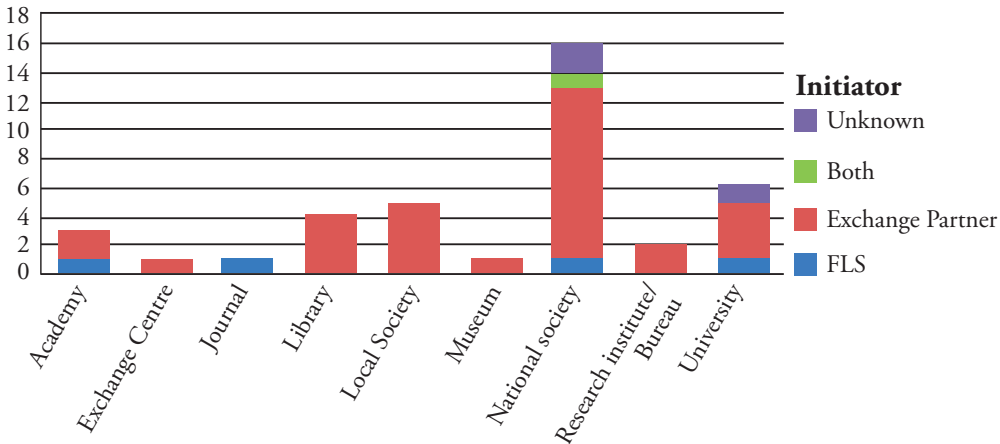


Figure 4.2. Types of the exchange partners of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1914.<sup>491</sup>

The academies and national societies were at the top of the scholarly hierarchy, at least at the beginning of the period 1833-1914. Among the exchange partners of the FLS, there were three academies and 16 national societies, which means that a remarkable part of its partners were prestigious institutions. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that most of them were not the outstanding centres of learning, but rather institutions in small countries. The small share of local societies is surprising, for, in the course of the nineteenth century, they outnumbered the national institutions, and usually they were quite active in establishing exchanges. The learned status of universities and museums varied individually. The only museum among the exchange partners of the FLS was a remarkable national institution, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Research institutes / bureaus were publicly funded organisations, like the Statistical Bureau of Sweden. Exchange centres were represented only by the Smithsonian Institution. Though many new centres were founded after the Brussels Conventions, they usually did not make their own exchange offers, for their purpose was only to act as mediators. Sometimes, even privately published journals established exchange relations, like the Swedish periodical *Le Monde Oriental*, which accepted the offer of the FLS in 1908.

The ages of exchange partners are specified in Figure 4.3. Although it is not an explicit indicator of the authority of an institution, the age gives some idea of its status. At least the newly founded societies and institutions had yet to establish their position in the international scholarly community and therefore they were more prone to accept and make exchange offers than the older institutions, which more often had a sufficient number of exchange partners. Besides, as the new societies and institutions were increasingly founded in the nineteenth century, the majority of the existing institutions were young.

<sup>491</sup> On the categorisation, see Chapter 1.4.

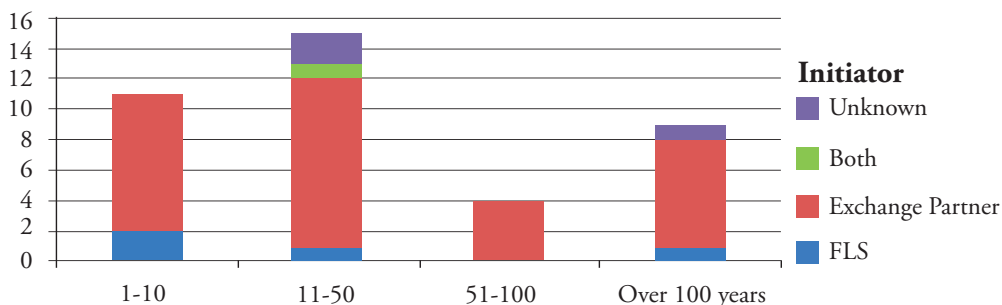


Figure 4.3. Ages of the exchange partners of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1914.<sup>492</sup>

Among the exchange partners of the FLS, the biggest share belonged to the institutions which were from eleven to fifty years old, i. e. they had already established their activities and founded journals, but they still had enough room in their libraries to widen their international relations. Some very old institutions, like the Accademia dei Lincei were willing to initiate exchanges but only a third of the partners were older than fifty years.

Ending an exchange relation is a sign that it did not function well enough. Of the 39 exchange relations of the FLS, seven broke down before the First World War and one during the interwar period. Two of them ended due to the fact that the exchange partner discontinued its activities, but the rest of them probably meant that the partner no longer considered the publications of the FLS relevant. However, no explanations are extant for these discontinued exchanges, so that the reasons for the end of these partnerships are left open.

The material of the FLS indicates that even the most nationally oriented society could establish international contacts. Some of them were directed at societies and institutions with similar interests but some to the institutions which aimed at wide and extensive exchange networks. Another interesting observation is that even the small network of the FLS did not consist of equal members though in the letters and minutes the inequality was usually covered with diplomatic parlance inherited from the time of the Republic of Letters. The FLS was not on the core list of the Smithsonian Institution and it was quite soon dropped from the exchange lists of the French national societies but on the other hand its own partners also held different positions, some of them being closer and more informal, the others more remote and formal. The intimacy of an exchange relationship did not, however, depend on the mere authority of the exchange partner, nor even on the number of publications it provided. Rather it was based mostly on the common research interests or common traditions and previous acquaintance with the partner. The increasing competition in the world of learning is visible in the exchange network of the FLS but the results found in its material cannot be generalised to concern all learned societies as the

<sup>492</sup> The age is counted from the founding year of an institution until the year when the respective exchange was established.

volume of its exchanges was so small. The next society under study, the *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica*, will shed more light on these questions.

### 4.3 THE SFFF – BUILDING A WORLDWIDE NETWORK

#### 4.3.1 From the specimens to the flow of serials

In 1832, the SFFF began its international exchange activities – not with publications but by changing specimens of fauna with the Russian Academy of Sciences – two European minks for a platypus.<sup>493</sup> This mutual agreement, though exceptional in the society, was familiar to its members from their private activities as collectors. For instance, C.G. Mannerheim and C.R. Sahlberg had wide networks for exchanging insects. Mostly, they enriched their own collections, but also the university museum received foreign specimens from Sahlberg's correspondents and, after the fire of Turku, their generosity helped in the rebuilding of the natural history collections. Plant specimens and seeds were exchanged as well.<sup>494</sup>

In the first two decades of its existence, the SFFF did not have any publications to exchange. Some members, like Count Mannerheim, had remarkable private libraries, but many had to rely on the modest collection of the university library. In 1829, the SFFF established a library and received occasionally foreign books and journals as gifts from its members and correspondents. The president and the intendants suggested that the society should buy some handbooks because the lack of current literature prevented the cataloguing of the natural history collections. Furthermore, the SFFF began to subscribe to three journals: in 1833, *Tidskrift för Jägare och naturvänner* (Journal for Hunters and the Friends of Nature), and in 1844, *Zeitschrift des entomologischen Verbundes in Stettin* and *Botaniska Notiser* (Botanical Notices).<sup>495</sup>

The first volume of the *Notices* of the SFFF appeared in 1848. It was published by the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, which had quite recently made its own – not very successful – efforts to promote international exchange.<sup>496</sup> The SFFF received 150 copies of the *Notices*, so that it could plan its own distribution policy independently. Although its members were not even unanimous on the importance of scientific work and publishing, the society started its exchange activities briskly, deciding to send the first volume of its journal to the corresponding members and to

<sup>493</sup> Elfving 1921, p. 38; minutes of the SFFF 29 April 1831 § 5; 20 January 1832 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1, konceptprotokoller. FNL. The platypus was sold to the zoological collections of the university. This curious creature was a hot topic in zoological discussion at the time, for scientists had difficulties in fitting an egg-laying mammal in European taxonomy. See Dugan 1987, p. 87-95.

<sup>494</sup> Saalas 1956, pp. 58-64, 83-84, 159-164, 220-221, 343; Leikola 2000, pp. 165.

<sup>495</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 27 November 1829 § 14. On gifts, see e. g. 16 April 1830 § 13; 8 October 1830 § 12, 17; 19 May 1831 § 6-7; 8 February 1833 § 3, 6; 25 April 1834 § 5; 27 May 1836 § 11; 2 December 1836 § 5; 8 June 1838 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1, konceptprotokoller; 1 March 1844 § 22. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL; Saalas 1956, p. 292-293.

<sup>496</sup> Elfving 1938, pp. 237-240. The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters sent its *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* to 36 European learned bodies, but only some of them had understood the consignment as an offer of reciprocal co-operation, which led to a cautious exchange policy for many years in this society.

the Entomologischer Verein zu Stettin and the Imperatorskoe moskovskoe obšestvo ispytatelej prirody (The Imperial Society of Naturalists of Moscow). These German and Russian societies were previously known because the society had received their publications – the *Zeitschrift* from Stettin as a subscription and some volumes of the *Bulletin* from Moscow as gifts from Count Mannerheim. Besides, Sahlberg was a member of the Stettin society.<sup>497</sup> A few months later, the *Notices* was sent even to Naturforschender Verein zu Riga. Of these three offers, only the last led immediately to an exchange relation, whereas the Moscow society announced only in 1861, that it was *charmée d'entrer en échange de publications avec la Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica*. The answer from the Entomological Society of Stettin came even later, in 1868, when they thanked the SFFF for the ninth volume of the *Notices*, announcing that they had no idea an exchange relation between them existed. Nevertheless, the exchange offer was finally accepted, although the Stettin society wished to have only the volumes including entomological papers.<sup>498</sup>

In the meantime, information on a new Finnish journal found its way to Germany. In the 1850s, the natural historical societies in Bamberg and Bonn suggested an exchange with the SFFF. The society was willing to accept these offers, but, otherwise, it took no further steps during this period of stagnation and internal disputes.<sup>499</sup> However, interest in exchange revived when, in the 1860s, the SFFF received a government subsidy and, henceforth, became an independent publisher. The various activities of Professor Nylander extended to exchanges, too. He spent most of his time in Paris, but kept organising contacts for his Finnish society there.<sup>500</sup> Also, other members promoted exchanges. For instance, Thiodolf Saelan, after returning from a study tour in Central Europe, mediated the offer from the Naturforschenden Verein in Brünn – actually, quite recently after the publishing of Gregor Mendel's study in *Verhandlungen* of the same society.<sup>501</sup> A remarkable share of the exchanges in the 1860s just appeared in the lists of donations without mentioning who had initiated their exchange.

The character of exchange of publications was in the 1860s more or less undefined. It was still seen as a part of more general scientific communication between two institutions and the volumes received in exchange were often called gifts.<sup>502</sup> The exchange procedures were allowed plenty of time, at the meetings. The received books and

<sup>497</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 31 May 1848 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL; Saalas 1956, p. 335.

<sup>498</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 15 December 1848 § 3; 19 October 1849 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 6 February 1869 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4; 3 January 1863 Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou to the SFFF; 18 December 1868 Entomologischer Verein in Stettin to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL.

<sup>499</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 25 March 1851 § 2; 18 February 1856 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 27 October 1860 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>500</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 24 October 1862 § 5; 14 March 1863 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4; 6 April 1872 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>501</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 May 1868 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. Mendel's *Versuche über Pflanzen-Hybriden* was published in 1866. Saelan's study tour did not relate to his botanical interests, but rather to his duties as a doctor in Lapinlahti mental hospital. See Harjula 2000. <http://artikkelihaku.kansallisbiografia.fi/artikkeli/3615/> (cited 2 September 2011).

<sup>502</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1863, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

journals as well as the letters of thanks for the SFFF's consignments were announced and sometimes the new material was presented and discussed.<sup>503</sup> According to the letter of thanks of Zoologisches-Botanisches Gesellschaft in Wien, the publications of the SFFF had similar treatment abroad:

*Diese Gabe wird in der nächsten Plenar-Versammlung vorgelegt, respective besprochen, und in den Gesellschafts-Schriften abgedruckte Verzeichniss der eingelangten Gegenstände aufgenommen.*<sup>504</sup>

Gradually, clearer procedures were developed, including stricter rules on reciprocity. In 1867, the SFFF wrote a list of the recipients of its publications so to reduce the uncertainty.<sup>505</sup> The following year, it decided to print French forms for use in the consignments.<sup>506</sup> It also began to demand the missing items.<sup>507</sup> The term exchange became prominent in the minutes and annual reports. The old utterance *is in communication with* emerged in the report of the librarian as late as 1890, but the secretary struck out this expression and wrote the correct phrase: *maintains the exchange of publications.*<sup>508</sup>

The first decades were a time of slow development when the SFFF could prepare itself for international scientific communication. As Table 4.2 indicates, a more active period began in the 1870s.

Table 4.2. Initiators of the exchange relations of the *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* 1848-1914.

Period	Initiator					Total
	SFFF	Exchange Partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
1840-1849	3	0	0	0	0	3
1850-1859	0	2	0	0	0	2
1860-1869	4	8	0	1	8	21
1870-1879	80	21	8	0	2	111
1880-1889	6	13	1	0	40	60
1890-1899	23	42	8	0	4	77
1900-1909	4	56	0	0	2	62
1910-1914	0	26	1	0	0	27
Total	120	168	18	1	56	363

<sup>503</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 14 March 1863 § 2; 4 December 1869 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4; 5 April 1873 § 3; 1 May 1875 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>504</sup> Febr. 1869 K. K. zoologisch-botanische Gesellschaft Wien to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:II. FNL.

<sup>505</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1867 § 11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. The list included 23 partners and was updated in following years.

<sup>506</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 December 1868 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>507</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 March 1869 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>508</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1890, librarian's report. The citations in Swedish: *står i förbindelse* and *underhåller utbyte af publikationer*.

After having launched its new serials, *Acta* and the *Bulletin*, the SFFF re-examined its exchange relations. This process was started by an anonymous letter, which complained that the number of exchange partners was insignificant. It was read at the March meeting of 1877. There was agreement and the making of a list of possible new exchange partners was delegated to the review committee.<sup>509</sup> The list was ready in May, and included a proposal for exchange with 105 new European and North American societies and academies. Furthermore, the committee suggested that the publications of the SFFF should be donated to the Royal Society of London, the scientific academies in Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and Vienna, as well as the editors of *Nuovo Giornale Botanico*. The committee gave no reasons why these six bodies should receive the publications as gifts, but it seems probable that they considered their small society too modest a partner for these outstanding European institutions. All offers were sent during the summer,<sup>510</sup> resulting in 77 affirmative answers. The Académie des sciences et lettres in Montpellier and the Linnean Society of London requested, however, to receive some publications of the SFFF for inspection, before making their decisions.<sup>511</sup> The publications of the SFFF went through this inspection, which, along with other new exchanges, was a mark of its achievement. Even the academies of Brussels, Amsterdam, Vienna and the Royal Society began to exchange publications with the SFFF, despite its own guarded attitude. When the project was assessed in the annual report the following year, the high number of available copies of the publications was given as a reason for it.<sup>512</sup> Nevertheless, the rapidly increased number of exchange partners made the SFFF more critical of its older partners, and it ceased to send its publications to societies and institutions, which did not send anything in exchange.<sup>513</sup>

The next decade was not an active period and the share of unknown initiatives was remarkable, especially at the beginning of the 1880s. The exchange practices previously attended to by a secretary became partly a duty of a new officer, the librarian.<sup>514</sup> Probably, the transfer of responsibilities, together with the increasing number of exchange partners caused confusion because in the period of Ernst Evald Bergroth's librarianship, the new exchanges and their initiators were not registered in the minutes. It seems likely that the majority were made by foreign partners because the SFFF had

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<sup>509</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 March 1877 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. The historian of the society, F. Elfving, had discussed this letter with Saelan, but at the time of the interview, Saelan was too old to remember who its writer was. Elfving mentioned the conjectural name of Professor Jakob Estlander, who had recently come home from abroad. Elfving 1921, p. 198. It seems probable that the writer was familiar with foreign societies because in a contemporary Finnish scale, the number of exchange partners of the SFFF was not so small.

<sup>510</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1877 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>511</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1877 § 2; 1 December 1877 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>512</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1878, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>513</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 March 1878 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>514</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1878, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL; Elfving 1921, pp. 198-199.

quite recently updated its list.<sup>515</sup> The society began to publish in the *Bulletin* the lists of acquisitions under the title *L'accroissement du bibliothèque par des publications reçues à titre d'échange*. In 1892, the title was changed to *Bulletin Bibliographique*.<sup>516</sup> The list was a useful tool in controlling the exchanges, but it was also an indicator of the society's international activities – a showcase for Finnish and foreign readers.

At the April meeting of 1892, a young entomologist, Enzo Reuter, suggested that the SFFF needed to enlarge its exchange activities. He emphasised that the members of the society should have the opportunity to browse current scientific literature. The increase in the number of the contacts, achieved in 1877, was encouraging, but since then, new relationships had become occasional and mostly initiated by foreign partners. According to Reuter, this material was not so valuable. He had already acquainted himself with recent bibliographical literature and made a list of the zoological journals which should be acquired. He suggested that the botanists complete the list.<sup>517</sup> His idea was accepted, and the review committee, again, had the task of consulting other experts to find new partners.<sup>518</sup> Reuter's proposal included about eighty institutions.<sup>519</sup> Compared with the list of 1877, the selection had slightly altered. The 1877 list included mostly national and local societies and academies in Europe and the USA. The new list was extended to cover other areas like Australia, Asia and South America, and incorporated museums, botanical gardens, other institutions and privately published journals. Obviously, the need to update the list was based upon new biological theories and methods which were gaining ground in the society, at the time.<sup>520</sup> Local societies that focused on collecting, cataloguing and describing fauna or flora were not sufficient any more.

The letter that was sent by the SFFF to these eighty institutions was a typical exchange offer of its time. At the beginning, it emphasised the common aim of promoting sciences. Although it was printed, which informed on a wide distribution, it included flattering utterances directed at the reader. The high volume of existing exchanges was mentioned too, so that the reader understood that the SFFF was an established society with a good reputation. Finally, it offered an opportunity to exchange the previous volumes of its serials.

*Autant que ses faibles moyens l'ont permis la Société zoologique et botanique de Finlande (Societas pro fauna et flora fennica) s'est efforcée de contribuer au progrès des sciences naturelles, notamment par la publication de ses Mémoires et par la fondation d'une bibliothèque, qu'elle a eu le contentement de voir agrandir assez rapidement grâce aux relations scientifiques, qu'elle entretient avec plusieurs Académies et Sociétés savantes. Cependant*

<sup>515</sup> Also Enzo Reuter's memorandum, written in 1892, refers to the passivity of the SFFF in initiating new exchanges at the time. Nevertheless, one cannot be sure of all cases, for in the second half of the decade, the society made six new propositions. Enzo Reuter's memorandum 2 April 1892. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:50. FNL.

<sup>516</sup> MEDDELANDEN 11 (1885) – 41 (1915). These catalogues were preceded by a list of exchange partners and their series published in the volume 9 (1883). The catalogues were published until 1915.

<sup>517</sup> Enzo Reuter's memorandum 2 April 1892. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:50. FNL.

<sup>518</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1892 § 5; 13 May 1892 § 16. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>519</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1893. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>520</sup> See chapter 3.3.2. Reuter himself based his studies on the theory of evolution. See Autio 2006. <http://helios.uta.fi:2379/artikkeli/6353/> (cited 2 September 2011).



*elle a pu constater des lacunes très-considérables dans la liste de ses acquisitions littéraires et elle regrette en particulier de ne pas posséder les importantes publications de la savante Compagnie, que vous présidez. Elle ne fait donc qu'exprimer son désir bien naturel, en sollicitant la faveur d'être admise au nombre des institutions correspondantes de votre honorable Compagnie. Au cas d'une réponse favorable notre Société s'empressera de vous envoyer ses publications à mesure qu'elle vont paraître. Aussi elle vous fera parvenir les tomes de ses Mémoires déjà publiés, dont il reste encore assez d'exemplaires à sa disposition; elle espère que vous voudrez bien user de réciprocité à son égard. Dans l'espoir d'obtenir une réponse à cette communication j'ai l'honneur de me dire avec la considération la plus distinguée.*<sup>521</sup>

The letter was politely worded, but its purpose was made obvious. It suggested an exchange and could not be confused with a covering letter of a donation.

The degree of rejected offers was high, this time when only twenty affirmative answers were received.<sup>522</sup> The poor results of Reuter's project led to mistrust concerning the competitiveness of the publications of the SFFF. The exchange activity abated and the society made only occasional offers, before the outbreak of the First World War. Young and active members, however, suggested new exchange partners. For instance, in 1902, Alexander Luther, a hydrobiologist, wanted to enrich the list with malacological journals.<sup>523</sup> Botanist Alfred Oswald Kihlman, for his part, proposed that the society make common exchange initiatives with other Finnish societies and institutions – this, it was believed, could open important doors for the society. The publications received via such common exchange might end at the collection of the co-operative society, but this was not a problem because the Library of Scientific Societies made all serials available. The society unanimously agreed on the usefulness of this plan.<sup>524</sup> A similar idea of co-exchange was presented some years later by the librarian of scientific societies, and the board was, again, willing to give its support,<sup>525</sup> but no practical measures were mentioned in the minutes or reports. Over 100 new exchanges were still created until the end of the period, for the SFFF received almost annually several offers from foreign societies and institutions.

In 5% of cases in the prewar period, both parties made an exchange offer to each other. Letters and consignments might have been lost on their way to the recipient or they might have been understood as gifts, or simply forgotten. Some years later, another party could make its own proposition. The confusion of this kind occurred

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<sup>521</sup> Printed letter, dated 15 May 1892. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:50. FNL. The SFFF received the letters of the same kind. See e.g. 3 August 1900 Museum Francisco-Carolinum in Linz. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL.

<sup>522</sup> The reasons for refusals are discussed in Chapter 4.3.3 in detail. Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1893, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; E. Bergroth's note and a list dated 5 April 1892; the list of institutions [1892]. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:50. FNL.

<sup>523</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 April 1902 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>524</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 April 1902 § 16. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>525</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 18 October 1911 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

even with the closest neighbour who spoke the same language.<sup>526</sup> One exchange was founded by a mediator; the Finnish Medical Society turned forward an offer from the Boston Natural History Society to the SFFF because it did not consider it useful.<sup>527</sup>

The mailing costs could sometimes be a burden on the society,<sup>528</sup> but the expenses of the exchange copies did not arouse discussion. The society even promised 100 reprints of its papers to be used in the exchanges of the zoological museum of the university.<sup>529</sup> However, as the number of the exchange partners increased, the society became more parsimonious and began to send only the *Bulletin* to those partners which were not considered important.<sup>530</sup> Some specialised institutions were sent the *Bulletin* and reprints of papers concerning their area of study from *Acta*.<sup>531</sup>

Despite the tendency to consider exchange as a learned communication in general, other forms of co-operation among exchange partners were occasional. Naturforscherverein zu Riga was interested in Finnish fishing, while the Smithsonian institution requested samples of the Nordic gastropods – both requests were fulfilled.<sup>532</sup> Société vaudoise des sciences naturelles mediated private offers of exchanging plants.<sup>533</sup> Circulars concerning fund-raising for various purposes, like sepulchral monuments, were received from exchange partners, but they were usually neglected or transferred to members.<sup>534</sup> As in the case of the FLS, the invitations to anniversaries and other festivities were the most common means to strengthen the solidarity between learned bodies.<sup>535</sup> Material support was given in critical situations. For instance, in 1882 the Linnean Society of New South Wales sent a printed letter to its exchange partners, informing them of the fire which had burnt its library, archives, collections and

<sup>526</sup> For instance, the SFFF made an offer to the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala in 1871, and after three years the same society offered exchange to the SFFF. Minutes of the SFFF 1 April 1871 § 6; 7 February 1874 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>527</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 November 1867 § 11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>528</sup> See e. g. minutes of the board of the SFFF 28 April 1897 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19. FNL.

<sup>529</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 12 February 1898. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19. FNL.

<sup>530</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 5 December 1903 § 13 (Sociedad Aragonesa de Ciencias Naturales); 5 November 1904 § 19 (Société des Sciences naturelles de la Haute-Marne); 3 March 1906 § 18 (Station viticole in Villefranche); 7 April 1906 § 2 (Caucasian museum); 2 May 1908 § 16 (Föreningen för skogsvård i Sverige). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8; 7 February 1914 § 23 (Naturwissenschaftliches Museums der Stadt Krefeld). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>531</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 February 1904 § 15; 9 April 1904 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>532</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 March 1869 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4; 9 October 1875 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>533</sup> 1 August 1877 Société vaudoise des sciences naturelles to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:11. FNL.

<sup>534</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 March 1892 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; 23 May 1875 Imperatorskoe Moskovskoe Obšestvo Ispytatelej prirody to the SFFF; Febr. 1892 K. k. Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft in Wien to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL.

<sup>535</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 5 March 1870 § 3 (25th anniversary of Naturforscherverin zu Riga); 4 November 1876 § 4 (25th anniversary of the Société nationale des sciences naturelles à Cherbourg). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:1. Book 5; 1 November 1884 § 14 (centenary of Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prague); 1 February 1890 § 7 (centenary of Physikalisch-Ekonomische Gesellschaft in Königsberg). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6; 3 December 1892 (150th anniversary of the American Philosophical Society). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

instruments. Although this message was only to excuse the future delays in consignments, the SFFF decided to send all available volumes of its publications to aid in rebuilding the collections.<sup>536</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Exchange partners of the SFFF

From the 1860s, the SFFF spread information on its activities and publications via various channels. It participated in an index – *Annuaire des Sociétés Savantes de la France et de l'étranger*, published by Count Achmet d'Hericourt.<sup>537</sup> The botanical papers were committed to a German abstract publication *Botanische Jahresberichte* and the minutes to the *Botanisches Centralblatt*.<sup>538</sup> Also, its own *Bulletin Bibliographique* was an advertising channel. The maps in this chapter indicate that the SFFF succeeded in spreading information on its activities worldwide. The European exchange network was the most important, and so it is examined first.

##### *Germany*

The map in Figure 4.4 confirms the often stated fact that Germany was the most important country for Finnish science. In the field of botany, Germany had the leading role at the time. Many members of the society had studied in German universities or research institutes.<sup>539</sup> Hence, it is not surprising that Germany was the most intended country, from the viewpoint of the SFFF. It is worth noting, however, that the Germans also made offers to the SFFF almost equalling the Finnish initiatives (27 offers from the SFFF, 26 from German institutions). It would be tempting to argue that the increasing number of papers in German in *Acta* and the *Bulletin* encouraged Germans to initiate exchanges but, actually, most of their offers came in the 1870s and 1880s when Swedish and Latin still dominated the journals of the SFFF.

In 70% of cases, the German partners were local societies. New scientific societies had been established in the numerous towns and cities of the country so that there was a voluminous supply of this category of learned bodies. Their publications were often written by amateurs and reported with the pride of local findings. Nevertheless, their efforts formed part of national and, consequently, international, scientific mapping.<sup>540</sup> Therefore, it is understandable that the SFFF was interested in establishing exchanges with them, at least until the 1890s, when modern biological research began to set new demands. At the turn of the century, a new type of partner emerged – the societies promoting nature conservation, such as Deutsche Dendrologische Gesellschaft, Ornithologische Gesellschaft in Bayern and Deutscher Verein zum Schutze der Vogelwelt.

<sup>536</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 December 1882 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

<sup>537</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 12 March 1864 § 2; 9 December 1865 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>538</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 March 1877 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4; 1 February 1890 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6; 5 October 1895 § 20. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>539</sup> For instance Elfving studied in Jena and Palmén in Heidelberg. Autio 2003. <http://helios.uta.fi:2288/kb/artikkeli/3184/> (cited 2 September 2011); Vallisaari 2006. <http://artikkelihaku.kansallisbiografia.fi/artikkeli/3579/> (cited 4 September 2011). On the development of German botany, see Morton (1981) 1988, p. 364.

<sup>540</sup> Withers and Finnegan 2003, p. 342.

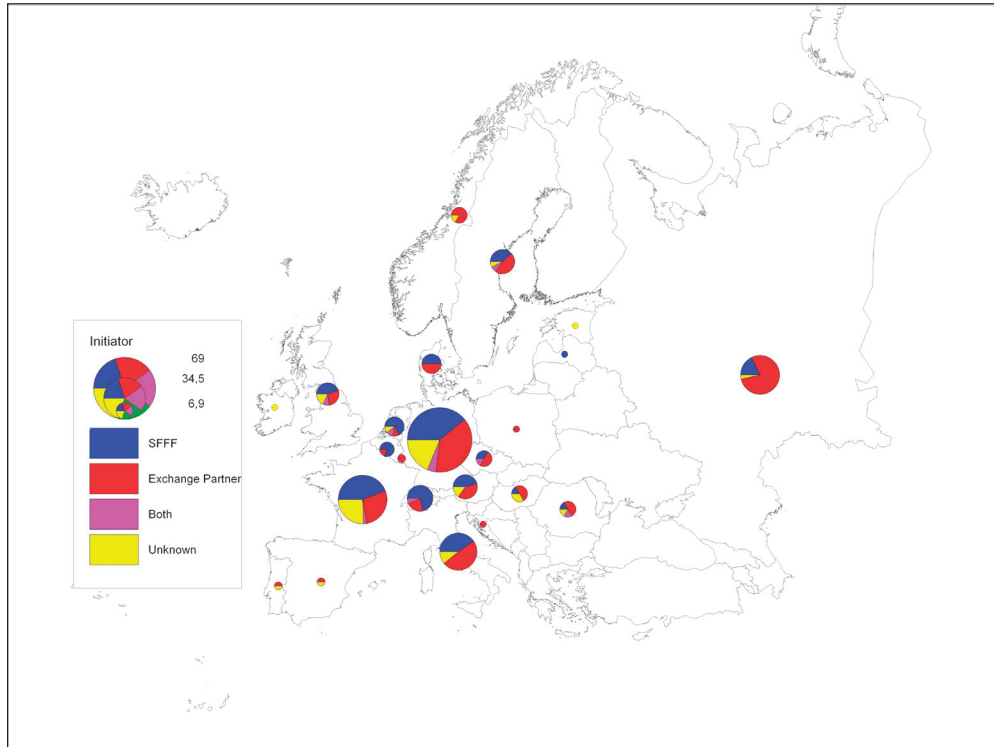


Figure 4.4. European exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914 (total 275).<sup>541</sup>

This subject was becoming topical in Finland. In 1885, Palmén attended an International Ornithological Congress in Vienna, where an international committee was founded to organise the gathering of information on the routes of migratory birds.<sup>542</sup> It seems probable that these exchanges were connected with this international project. In addition to the local societies, there were some outstanding institutions like Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, other academies and specialised national societies and journals. Yet, it is worth emphasising that among

<sup>541</sup> The division of countries is based on the political situation of the interwar period. Consequently, the towns Sibiu (Hermannstadt; Nagyszeben), Bistrița (Bistritz, Beszterce) and Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg, Koloszvár) are categorised into Romania though before the First World War, they belonged to Austria-Hungary, as is also, Kishinev (Chișinău) which was part of Russia when the exchange was established. Exchanges in Strasbourg (Strassburg), Colmar and Moselle (Metz) are in France, though three of four exchanges were established during the German period. An exchange with a museum in Trieste is categorised into Italy. Because this map represents current political borders which do not exactly match the interwar countries, the Czechoslovakian partners are located in the Czech Republic and the Yugoslavian partner (Societas Historico-Naturalis Croatica) is located in Croatia. The exact figures on exchanges are to be found in Appendix 2.

<sup>542</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 7 February 1885 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL; Elfving 1921, pp. 156-157; Vallisaari 2006. <http://artikkelihaku.kansallisbiografia.fi/artikkeli/3579/> (cited 4 September 2011).

German partners, there were only three research institutes and no universities or agricultural colleges in whose laboratories the modern branches of biology, like cytology and physiology, were being practised. Of three research institutes, two represented marine research, an area which was briskly progressing in Finland, at the turn of the century.<sup>543</sup>

### *France*

France was the second most important country in Europe and third in the world among the exchange partners. It provided 43 exchanges, most of them initiated by the SFFF. The reputation of the French scientific museums and institutes was high. In the nineteenth century, together with the Germans, French scientists were leaders in cytology and biochemistry.<sup>544</sup> The earliest contacts with French institutions were promoted by Nylander, but from the 1870s, they were mostly created through usual channels – by sending exchange offers in formal letters. Although the German language dominated science in Finland, the position of French was not insignificant. It was still considered an international language of science and, therefore, widely used in the foreign correspondence of the SFFF. In *Acta* some papers were published in French, but they formed a minority.

As in the case of Germany, the majority of the French partners (56%) were local societies. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were 630 French societies outside the capital, offering numerous opportunities to exchange.<sup>545</sup> High-ranked institutions were represented by some national societies, provincial academies and museums, among them the famous Musée d'histoire naturelle of Paris, which offered exchange for SFFF in 1890. It is probable that the lichenologist Vainio, who lived in Paris at the time and had just published his famous works in French, had endorsed his home society. The SFFF's reaction to this offer of the museum and garden where the great naturalists like Buffon, Cuvier and Lamarck had worked, was subdued. The secretary simply wrote in the minutes: *the request was accepted*.<sup>546</sup> The exchange relation was not long-lasting, but it was reestablished in 1926.<sup>547</sup>

The exchange letters seldom included current news or comments, but the French societies were less demure than others in political matters. When Germany occupied Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War, the exchange partners of the Société des sciences naturelles de Strasbourg were soon informed of the new situation. The SFFF did not want to involve itself in politics, but politely declared its willingness to continue exchange.<sup>548</sup> Another unusual message came from the Société d'étude des sciences naturelles in Beziers, which sent a letter of condolence for the death of the Emperor Alexander III. Probably, the members of the SFFF were slightly confused

<sup>543</sup> See Leikola (1986) 1993, 41; Morton (1981) 1988, 363-364. The promoter of the development of Finnish marine biology was Tvärminne research station, founded by Palmén at his own expense, in 1902, and bequeathed to the University of Helsinki after his death. See Lagerspetz 2000, 215-218.

<sup>544</sup> Leikola (1986) 1993, pp. 43-53; Morton (1981) 1988, p. 364.

<sup>545</sup> Chaline 1998, p. 77.

<sup>546</sup> The exchange offer was read at the April meeting while Vainio wrote to the SFFF from Paris in May 1890. The citation in Swedish: *Denna anhållan bifölles*. Minutes of the SFFF 12 April 1890 § 6; 3 May 1890 § 11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

<sup>547</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 8 May 1926 § 22. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>548</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 May 1874 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

because messages of this kind were quite rare, and unlike his predecessor, this czar was not especially popular in Finland.<sup>549</sup>

### *Russia*

The large share of Russian exchange partners was mostly based on the activity of Russian institutions. The SFFF only seldom showed interest in finding partners in the mother country but its five initiatives were directed at no less than the Russian Academy of Sciences and the most remarkable national scientific societies in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. In addition, it sent offers to the local societies in Harkov and Odessa. The share of the local societies among Russian exchange partners was 36%, but the major national societies, museums and botanical gardens were well represented on the exchange list of the SFFF.

The efforts to define the natural geo-ecological borders of Finland inspired the SFFF to organise many expeditions to the Russian Carelia and Russian Lapland, but some researchers went even further. A. von Nordmann collected plants in Caucasus in the 1830s and 1840s, and Viktor Ferdinand Brotherus some decades later.<sup>550</sup> Journeys and expeditions as well as Finns working in the Russian administration promoted exchanges. For instance, one of the first partners, the Imperial Society of Naturalists of Moscow, was certainly introduced by Mannerheim, who published his own papers in the journal of this society. In the 1890s, Brotherus mediated the wish of the director of the museum in Minusinsk to establish an exchange relation, emphasising the hospitality Director Nikolaj Mihailovič Mart'ánov had shown the Finnish researchers during their Russian expedition.<sup>551</sup> Unfortunately, the neighbourhood did not make the language easier and the letters written in Russian constantly caused trouble for the members of the SFFF.<sup>552</sup>

The period of russification, at the end of the nineteenth century, hardened the attitudes of Finns towards the Russians, which led to questions about the impartiality of science. In the annual report of 1899 – soon after the February Manifesto – President Palmén admitted that though science was cosmopolitan in character, a scientist was always nurtured by his fatherland. Then he turned to a nameless threat which might be directed at a home country of a scientist and concluded:

*for even under repressed conditions, scientific research must be free for as long as there is ability and energy available.*<sup>553</sup> This attitude meant that national suspicions did not turn to reluctance to exchange. In the difficult years of 1900–1914, sixteen new contacts with Russians were established.

<sup>549</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 December 1894 § 17. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL. On Alexander III, see Meinander 2006, pp. 127–128.

<sup>550</sup> The expeditions of the SFFF are listed in Elfving 1921, pp. 207–216. See Collander 1965, pp. 21, 30–32, 38–39.

<sup>551</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 April 1891 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>552</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 May 1873 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 5 March 1892 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>553</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1899, annual report. In MEDDELANDEN 25 (1900), 88. The citation in Swedish: *ty under äfven ofria förhållanden måste den vetenskapliga forskningen ständigt förbli fri, blott förmåga och kraft finnes.*

*Italy and the other Mediterranean countries*

Apart from France, only Italy aroused the interest of the SFFF in the Mediterranean region. It offered fascinating opportunities to establish contacts with institutions that had fostered such celebrities as Francesco Redi and Marcello Malpighi. Furthermore, the country was rich even in the number of new scientific institutions. With its 27 partners, it was the fifth most important country on the exchange list of the SFFF, the Italians being slightly more active in initiating exchanges. The majority of their propositions were made from the end of the 1880s, which corresponded to the period when the SFFF was modernising its research and establishing its position as a scientific publisher. Italy was one of the first signatories of the Brussels Conventions, which indicates that the exchange of publications was considered an important means of distributing and acquiring publications.<sup>554</sup> In Italy, the various types of exchange partners were represented more evenly than in Germany and France. Local and national societies and journals accounted for 19% and academies and museums 15% of partners. The precious few exchanges with other Mediterranean institutions – in Spain and Portugal – were mostly established with academies and national societies.

*The United Kingdom and Ireland*

The United Kingdom was one of the leading countries in science, but it did not hold any particular position in the exchange network of the SFFF. The British institutions were very passive in initiating exchanges – only four offers to the SFFF were made during this period. Scientific activities and publishing were mainly practised in various societies, which is clearly visible in the exchange relations of the SFFF: 82% of its British partners were societies – 46% local and 36% national.<sup>555</sup> One of the few British initiators was an old and appreciated botanical institution, Kew Gardens. Its offer seemed to be based on the effort – typical of libraries at all times – to fill gaps in the serials. At least in the letter proposing the exchange, its director, William Thiselton-Dyer, announced that the library of Kew Gardens already included some volumes of *Acta* and the *Bulletin*, which they now would like to complete. He did not mention how these volumes were received, but a plausible explanation is that they were donated by the previous director of the gardens, Joseph Dalton Hooker, who was an honorary member of the SFFF.<sup>556</sup>

The connections to Ireland were insignificant. In 1860, The Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Association appeared in the list of donations and exchanges, without mentioning who made the offer. From 1862, the activities of this society faded, and in the 1870s, the SFFF decided to stop sending its publications.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>554</sup> Lilja 2006, p. 56.

<sup>555</sup> On the British science and societies, see e. g. Withers and Finnegan 2003, p. 346; Shaw 1980, p. 151; Allen 2009, p. 19–20.

<sup>556</sup> 3 February 1891 Royal Gardens Kew (W. Thiselton-Dyer) to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL.

<sup>557</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 March 1878 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. On the history of Association, see Reid 1974, p. 105.

*Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg*

The role of Belgium and the Netherlands was quite similar to the United Kingdom. Their own initiative was low in comparison with the activity of the SFFF. Nevertheless, they were quite open to the offers of the Finnish society and exchanges were established with important institutions. Almost all partners were scientific bodies of a national level. Luxembourg provided only two exchange partners, both of them national societies.

*Austria and Switzerland*

Austria and Switzerland represented approximately the mean value in the number of exchange partners per country (13 and 14 partners respectively).<sup>558</sup> The initiative of Austrians in promoting exchanges almost equalled the offers of the SFFF, whereas with regard to Switzerland, the SFFF was more active. In its enlargement project of 1877, it established relationships with eight societies, both in German and in French speaking areas. These contacts may have spread information on the publications of the SFFF, for at the turn of the century, it began to receive exchange offers from Swiss societies and institutions. Among the Swiss partners, the local societies had, again, a major share 64%, while Austrian partners represented more high-ranking institutions, local and national societies having an equal share.

*Nordic countries*

The share of Nordic countries is surprisingly modest, compared with their importance in the exchange network of the FLS. Scientific contacts with Swedes were centuries old, and the common language and culture made communication easy, but in the field of exchange, Sweden was not the most attractive country. The Swedish institutions entered the scene only at the beginning of the 1870s. Swedish-born President Lindberg was not the driving force behind these contacts; the initiator was Secretary Magnus Brenner, who corresponded with Swedish botanists.<sup>559</sup> The co-operation strengthened at the turn of the century because the Nordic meeting of scientists and physicians was organised in Helsinki, in 1902. The SFFF prepared for this event by publishing the first volumes of Finnish zoological and botanical bibliographies, which were distributed to the participants.<sup>560</sup> The Nordic partners represented quite high-ranking institutions – academies, universities and national societies. Only one local society was included. The initiatives of both Swedes and Danes equalled the activity of the SFFF, whereas Norwegian institutions sent more offers than the SFFF.

*Baltics and Eastern Europe*

Naturforscherverein zu Riga was the first successfully functioning exchange relation of the SFFF, but otherwise, the Baltic area did not play any special role in its

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<sup>558</sup> It should be noted that the areas that belonged to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania in the interwar period are not included in Austrian figures.

<sup>559</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 11 February 1871 § 12; 1 April 1871 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>560</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1903, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.



exchange network. The Finno-Ugrian language was not such a connecting factor in science as it was in the humanities, and even the Estonian partners were restricted to one society, Naturforscher-Gesellschaft (Loodusuurijate Selts) in Tartu.

At the time, the scientific institutions in Eastern Europe belonged to Russia, Austria and Germany. The shared destiny of political suppression did not, however, promote scientific contacts. Czechoslovakia, Romania and Hungary provided six exchange relations, and Poland and Yugoslavia only one partner. The share of high-ranking institutions in these countries was larger than in Western Europe.

The exchanges of the SFFF were not restricted to Europe. Figure 4.5 illustrates the exchange relations of the SFFF worldwide.

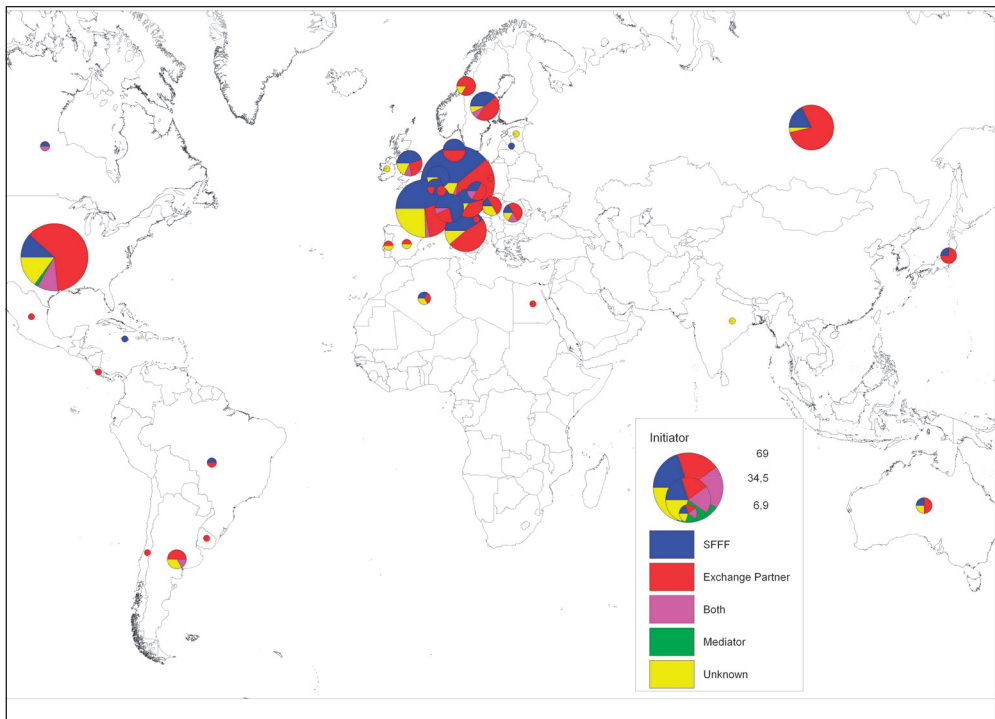


Figure 4.5. Exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914 worldwide (total 363).<sup>561</sup>

### *The United States of America*

The most eye-catching detail in the map is the remarkable role of the United States, which had the second largest share of all countries, in all 60 partners. Mostly, the volume was based on the activity of Americans. According to Gwinn, in the 1870s,

<sup>561</sup> In this map, the countries of exchange partners are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period, except for the colonies which are located in the political states of the twenty-first century. To locate them in their mother countries would have led to a remarkable loss of information on the extension of the exchange activities. The exact figures on exchanges are to be found in Appendix 3.

they still felt that their country was behind Europe and therefore were anxious to find partners. The Smithsonian Institution actively promoted the exchanges for itself, and also mediated on behalf of societies and institutions from various parts of the country. It provided the model of an effective and self-confident scientific institution. The Smithsonian letters, which the SFFF began to receive from the 1870s, included directions on how to send the consignments most economically and effectively. The other American letters were also fairly straightforward. Without overflowing compliments, typical of European correspondence, they briskly informed *being desirous of entering into correspondence and relationship of exchange with all other organizations, public or private*<sup>562</sup> and then turned to the details of consignments.

Despite the geographical distance, there were some personal contacts with Americans. The former librarian of the society, Bergroth, while living in the United States between 1905 and 1910, created many contacts with local entomologists. He was an active author and became acquainted with American scientific journals. Bergroth's name is not mentioned in connection with the American exchanges of this period, but it is probable that he had an influence on some exchanges, at least in the case of the New York Entomological Society.<sup>563</sup>

The American partners differed to a certain degree from their European counterparts. The share of academies, universities, museums and research institutes was higher than the average. They sent valuable material, as described in the annual report of the SFFF in 1870:

*The most splendid and valuable gifts have now, as previously, arrived from the Geological Survey of the Territories in Washington.*<sup>564</sup>

#### *Canada and Latin America*

Exchange relations with Canada and Latin America were not so numerous. The South American countries began to make initiatives to the SFFF in the 1880s. It seems that these offers were a part of general activity in the field of international exchanges. At the turn of the century, many Latin American countries adhered to the Brussels Conventions or founded national exchange centres.<sup>565</sup> Even some personal contacts existed. The lichenologist Vainio visited Brasil in 1885,<sup>566</sup> which probably led to the offer of the SFFF to the National museum in Rio de Janeiro in the same year. Although the contacts with these distant partners were rather tentative in character, they were a source of information about these seemingly exotic countries and created opportunities for new areas of research.

<sup>562</sup> See e. g. letters: 10 June 1870 Smithsonian Institution to the SFFF; 13 May 1872 Exchanges of Publications Department of Agriculture of the United States of America to the SFFF; 1872 Office U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL. On American science and Smithsonian Institution, see Gwinn 1996, pp. 278-281.

<sup>563</sup> Lindberg 1928, pp. 298-301.

<sup>564</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1879 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. The citation in Swedish: *De splendidaste och dyrbaraste gåfvor ha nu såsom förut influtit från U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories i Washington.*

<sup>565</sup> Lilja 2006, pp. 56-57.

<sup>566</sup> Lang, Stenroos and Alava 2007. <http://helios.uta.fi:2339/kb/artikkeli/3676/> (cited 12 April 2011).

*Asia and the colonies of European countries*

At the end of the nineteenth century, the research infrastructure in Japan was being built almost from scratch. The University of Tokyo was established in 1877, followed by many research institutes and experiment stations and the first scientific society, which was founded by physicists and mathematicians. This development did not, however, mean rapid scientific triumph. New institutions suffered from the lack of laboratories, equipment and literature, and the old traditions collided with the norms and practices of Western science.<sup>567</sup> The Japanese partners were mostly universities searching for Western contacts and literature. The interest of the SFFF in creating contacts with Asian societies and institutions was unremarkable. In 1892, it made one offer to Japan, to the College of Science in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and to a number of colonies in South-Eastern Asia, which did not lead to an exchange relationship. The only Indian exchange was established with the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

African contacts were restricted to Algeria, where, from the 1840s, scientific work began in various societies,<sup>568</sup> and to Egypt where an exchange relationship was created with Société Khediviale de Géographie au Caire. Not much was received from this partner.

*Australia*

The exploration of Australia by European scientists was comparatively late. The new discoveries like marsupials and monotremes were not easy to fit into existing zoological taxonomies, but they provided fascinating material for the theory of evolution. The local scientists were not very enthusiastic on these interpretations because they were mostly amateurs and often clergymen. Australian biology, therefore, was left on the margin in the international scientific community, partly because of the differences in the theoretical base, and partly because of the poor position of science in local society. Furthermore, the enormous distance from the European centres increased the isolation of Australians. A more active phase began in the 1880s.<sup>569</sup> Also, the contacts of the SFFF were created in this late period. The partners consisted of three museums and one society – the Linnean Society of New South Wales, which actively kept in touch with its partners not only by publications but also by sending various fact sheets.<sup>570</sup>

The exchange activities of the SFFF were heavily concentrated in Europe, but it created a much wider network than the FLS. The explanation lay, mostly, in the character of the disciplines they represented. The interests of the FLS were focused on Finno-Ugric cultures, whereas the interests of botany and zoology had no such limits. The species from around the world were interesting to observe wherever they came from. Scientists were seldom keen to learn minor languages, but the Latin names of species and the structured form of the articles made the texts at least partly understandable.

<sup>567</sup> Bartholomew 1989, pp. 86-87, 92-94, 108-109, 112, 162.

<sup>568</sup> Chaline 1998, pp. 69-70.

<sup>569</sup> Dugan 1987, pp. 79-81, 95-96; Schedvin 1987, pp. 101-109.

<sup>570</sup> 22 September 1882 Linnean Society of New South Wales to the SFFF; [undated] Linnean Society of New South Wales to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL.

Scientific activity was scattered between different institutions and societies whose number and importance varied from country to country. Figure 4.6 shows the share of the various types of exchange partners.

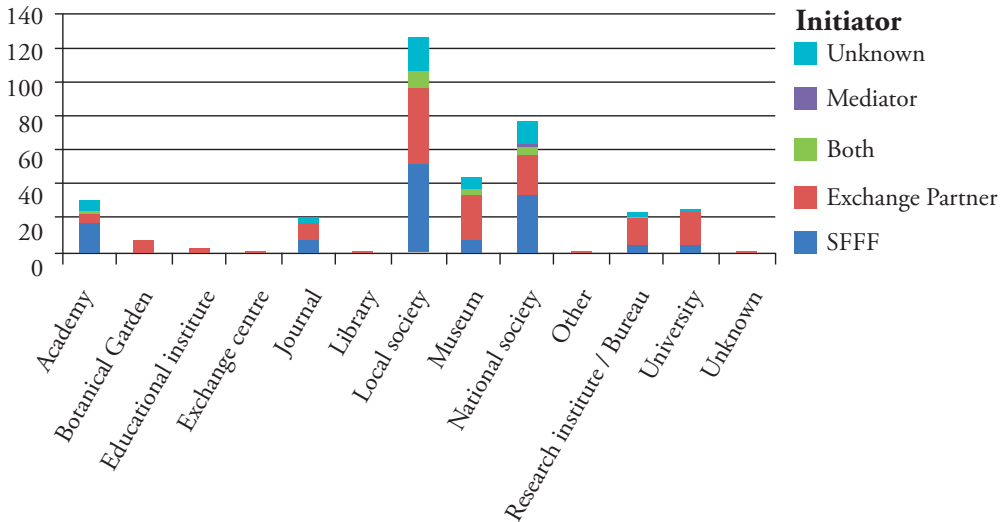


Figure 4.6. Types of the exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914.

The largest group among the exchange partners were the local societies, whose role in various countries has already been discussed. The local and national societies together constituted over 80% of the successful initiatives of the SFFF. In the 1877 list, the society appeared uninterested in any other types of learned bodies other than societies and academies.<sup>571</sup> When, in 1892, Reuter criticised the quality of the exchange partners, he was right in his statement that much important research was done in the institutions of the other kind.<sup>572</sup>

Museums, which were the third most important type of SFFF partner, formed an essential link to publicly funded and organised scientific research. In the course of the eighteenth century, scientific museums had developed from curiosity cabinets to promoters of modern science with systematically gathered and catalogued collections. Musée d'histoire naturelle in Paris became the model foreign visitors imported to their home countries, and similar institutions were founded in many cities. Smaller museums in provincial towns were mostly built and funded by local amateurs. In the colonies and the South American countries, the natural history museums emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were not only the keepers of local specimens, but also aimed to display worldwide collections and promote the theory of evolution. The exchange of publications, as well as the exchange of specimens, was

<sup>571</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1877. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

<sup>572</sup> Enzo Reuter's memorandum 2 April 1892. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:50. FNL.

an important means of acquisitions. The report series of other museums provided not only botanical and zoological facts, but also ideas and practice guidelines.<sup>573</sup> Their activity is visible even in the exchanges of the SFFF – the majority of the museums became partners on their own initiative.

Modern biological practices were increasingly adopted in botanical gardens and research institutes, which often enjoyed public funding. Geological surveys, sometimes also employing botanists, were from the eighteenth century founded in Europe as well as in the colonies, with the aim of producing valuable information. They were followed by oceanographic surveys which studied fish populations, planktonic organisms, etc. At the end of the nineteenth century, terrestrial field stations concentrating on agricultural research and pests also emerged. Many of them specialised in genetics. The number of partners of this type increased in the turn of the century. In the field of hydrology, the SFFF established contacts with the most outstanding institutions. Among its partners was the International Council for the Exploration of the Seas, which was an international coordinator of oceanographic surveys that expanded the focus of research from fisheries to pure research concerning the oceans of the earth.<sup>574</sup>

Universities accounted for 7% of the exchange partners, but they were mostly located in scientifically peripheral countries. In terms of academies, the SFFF was more successful, and with the exception of l'Académie française, it established relations with all the major academies in Europe. Journals were a slightly surprising type of exchange partner because many were published by private persons or commercial publishing houses. Of the twenty exchanges with journals, five ended during this period. This suggests that for journals an exchange relation was only a marketing device, a temporary mode of distribution. Moreover, it is possible that the samples sent by publishers were sometimes misunderstood as exchange offers by the SFFF. Other types of exchange partners were insignificant in number.

The age of the exchange partners is illustrated in Figure 4.7.

The SFFF had over forty old and well-established exchange partners, among them Accademia dei Lincei, the Royal Society and many universities founded in the Middle Ages. However, the majority of its partners were young. The initiatives of the SFFF were mostly directed at the 11–50 years of age group, whereas among the foreign offers, the share of the two youngest groups was equal. It is obvious that they were more willing to create contacts. They needed material for their libraries, readership for their serials and an international networking reputation.

At first glance, it seems that the SFFF managed to create a worldwide network, including many outstanding institutions. This, however, is partly misleading; closer statistical examination reveals that many of the high-rank exchange partners were located in peripheral countries, whereas in the scientific centres – Germany, France and the United Kingdom – the majority of partners were local societies. The SFFF managed to create contacts with important institutions such as the Royal Society, but others which were rising in importance were hard to attain. This leads to the question of how open the scientific community actually was. An answer may be found in an examination of the rejected offers.

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<sup>573</sup> Winsor 2009, pp. 60–68; Withers and Finnegan 2003, p. 337; Kohlstedt 1987, pp. 168–169.

<sup>574</sup> Benson 2009, pp. 79, 84–89; Allen 2009, p. 16.

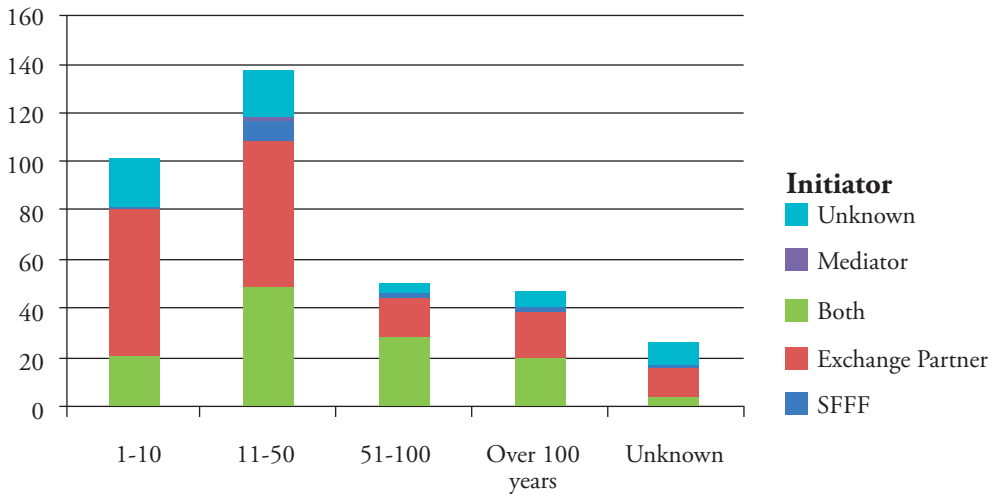


Figure 4.7. Ages of the exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914.

#### 4.3.3 Rejected exchange offers

Before the First World War, the SFFF made 238 exchange offers, of which 100 did not lead to an exchange relationship. Hence, a remarkable 42% of its propositions were rejected. Furthermore, some 10% of the established exchanges ceased during this period. Usually, no excuses for declining an offer or ending an exchange were given, at least no such letters have been preserved in the archives. Obviously, some SFFF letters proposing exchange were lost,<sup>575</sup> but the number of rejected offers was so high that this alone cannot be a sufficient explanation. The figures in this chapter specify the factors related to declining exchange offers.

Interestingly, the American institutions, which were active initiators of exchanges, also made frequent rejections. When established exchanges are compared with those rejected, the latter rate is 23% (60 established exchanges / 18 rejected offers).<sup>576</sup> Importantly, however, in four of these 18 cases, the exchange relation was established later in this period and in one case after the First World War. Eight rejected offers were directed at local societies, which possibly did not have their own publications at the time. Even though the number of declined offers was the highest in the United States, the rejection rate was the highest in the United Kingdom (48% – 11 established / 10 rejected exchanges). As regards France, it was 22% (43/12), Germany 20% (69/17) and Italy 18% (27/6). Russia had the lowest ratio because no offers were rejected. In the

<sup>575</sup> For instance, the Geological Survey of Minnesota did not respond to the offer of the SFFF in 1892, but after five years, sent its own offer. Similarly, the SFFF sent an offer to the Society of Natural History in Cincinnati, without results, but after seven years, this American society offered exchange to the SFFF. It is obvious that they either did not receive the letters of the SFFF or the letters were forgotten and lost due to the changes of personnel.

<sup>576</sup> The rejection rate is calculated by dividing the number of rejected offers by the sum of the established exchanges and rejected offers. The established exchanges include both those initiated by the SFFF and by the foreign partner and unknown cases.

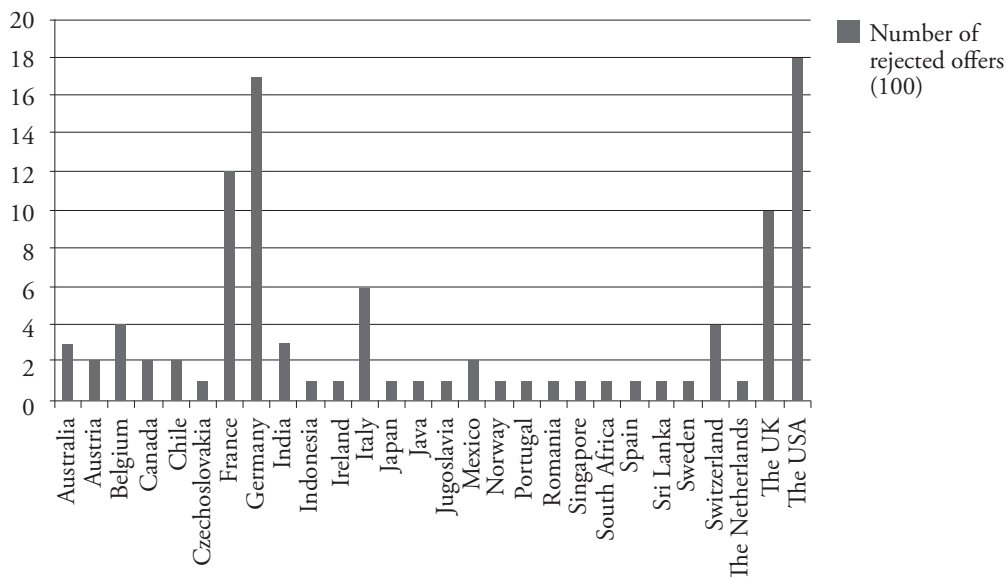


Figure 4.8. Rejected offers of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914, by country.

light of this evidence, it is obvious that the most scientifically developed countries had the highest rejection rates, though there were some regional differences.

The rejection rate is an interesting indicator for the countries which had several established and rejected exchanges, but not much can be deduced about countries which had only one or two rejected offers, and whose share among the exchange partners was small. The refusals may have been by institutions that could not afford publishing, as was the case with the only declining Swedish society, *Biologiska föreningen* (Biological Association).<sup>577</sup>

A further hypothesis is that certain types of learned bodies were less willing to enter into an exchange relationship.

The highest number of rejections belonged to those institutions which had received the most offers of the SFFF: local and national societies. Nevertheless, the rejection rate of local societies was low (19% – 127 established / 30 rejected). In terms of national societies, it was 28% (78 established / 30 rejected). In the category of national societies, there were two special groups which were not reachable via exchange. In 1877, the SFFF sent three offers to microscopical clubs and societies in the United Kingdom and Belgium and, in 1892, one to the *Journal of Microscopy and Natural Science*. Considering that among the functioning exchanges there were no microscopical societies or journals, it becomes evident that institutions of this kind were not interested in forging ties with a small and distant society publishing Linnean style research. Other societies which declined were the national associations promoting science like, for

<sup>577</sup> *Biologiska föreningen*. Nordisk familjebok. 1800-talsutgåvan. 19. Supplement. A-Böttiger, pp. 862-863. <http://runeberg.org/nfas/0437.html> (cited 2 September 2011).

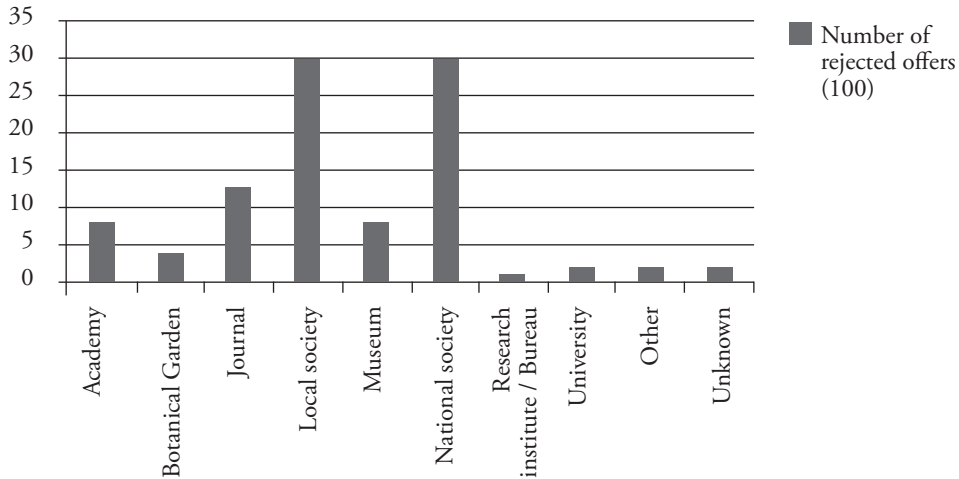


Figure 4.9. Rejected offers of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1914, by type of institution.

example, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and l'Association Française pour l'Avancement des sciences.

In the 1892 list, the exchange offers were extended to journals, but many were not willing to be exchanged, among them some important journals such as *Deutsche Botanische Monatschrift* and *Hedwigia*, both of which, certainly, had excellent prospects for commercial distribution. The rejection rate of journals was the highest (39% – 20 established /13 rejected).

No special features are immediately evident in the age structure of declining institutions. Most of the exchange initiatives of the SFFF were directed at the institutions which were 11 – 50 years old and, therefore, it is understandable that they had the largest share (50%) of the rejections.

The SFFF rejected or neglected only 10 offers. One was probably due to the language barrier. The exchange proposition written in Russian by the Ural'skoe obšestvo lûbitelej estestvoznaniâ (The Uralian Society of the Friends of Natural Science), in Ekaterinburg, was not mentioned in the minutes at all.<sup>578</sup> Furthermore, the group of rejected offers included two French local societies whose offers were probably just left on the table of the librarian because similar societies were represented abundantly among the partners of the SFFF. The remaining six offers, all made at the turn of the century, represented institutions which were considered inappropriate: the Tourism society in Odessa, the Musée municipale in Paris, Manchester Museum, Facultad de Agronomía y Veterinaria, Universidad Nacional de La Plata and the journals *El primer problema de la agricultura nacional: agricultor peruano* and *Revista Argentina de historia natural*. With respect to the Peruvian journal, the SFFF mentioned that

<sup>578</sup> 10 August 1871 Ural'skoe Obšestvo Lûbitelej estestvoznaniâ v Ekaterinburg to the SFFF. SLSA 1162:11. FNL. Considering the difficulties the members of the SFFF had understanding the Russian language, it is evident that this letter was not read and translated.



it did not include any biological information. The others were rejected without any reasons being given.<sup>579</sup>

The development of the exchange relations of the SFFF before the First World War indicates that the international scientific community was turning more competitive. This is visible in the increasingly critical attitude of the SFFF, both in rejecting offers and considering some partners less important and only worth having the *Bulletin*. The rejections of the offers made by the SFFF clarify that certain institutions were difficult to attract, and that in some fields of study or in some countries, the best research was published by journals which were not willing to offer their volumes for exchange because there was the prospect of selling this information.

#### 4.4 THE FAS – ACQUIRING LITERATURE FOR THE MUSEUM LIBRARY

##### 4.4.1 Development of exchange practices

In the FAS, the exchange of publications began with the initiatives of foreign societies, even before it had publications of its own. The first donation was made in 1871, by the recently founded Svenska Fornminnesförening (Swedish Antiquarian Society).<sup>580</sup> J. R. Aspelin had some months earlier, in his visit to Stockholm, made acquaintance with its secretary, Oskar Montelius, and, possibly, brought this volume as a present with him.<sup>581</sup> The next consignments came from the societies with whom, as far as it is known, no personal contacts existed. Der Historische Verein für Schwaben und Neuburg sent the FAS its annual report and Der Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Ober-Schwaben the fourth volume of its journal and proposal to continuous exchange of publication. The letter from Ulm was printed, which indicates that this society was offering exchanges to many learned bodies simultaneously.<sup>582</sup> The initiatives increased optimism as regards the prospects of the society, which had an effect on the planned publishing policy at the time.<sup>583</sup>

A remarkable motive in creating an exchange network was the need for foreign literature. In his study tour to Sweden and Denmark, Aspelin had acquainted himself with Nordic museum libraries and even made a catalogue of their archaeological

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<sup>579</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 April 1891 § 11; 3 December 1891 § 9; 13 May 1892 § 11; 3 February 1894 § 14; 1 February 1896 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; 3 October 1908 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>580</sup> Minutes of the FAS 25 September 1871 § 1. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, p. 91.

<sup>581</sup> Hackman 1920, p. 9.

<sup>582</sup> Minutes of the FAS 17 September 1872 § 1. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, p. 156; 24 March 1872 Der Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 1, p. 395. NBA Archives.

<sup>583</sup> Minutes of the FAS 30 September 1872, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, p. 169.

literature, with remarks on the possibilities of acquiring these books and journals.<sup>584</sup> As he was certain that the modest book collection of the FAS was not sufficient for a decent library and that no funds existed for buying books and journals, he turned to the FLS and suggested that the society's archaeological books and journals should be deposited in the museum of the university. His letter to the FLS illustrates the motives of exchange:

*The collections of the Historical and Ethnographical Museum of the University lack scholarly description. I consider that the main reason for this deficiency is that the above-mentioned museum does not have an antiquarian library available to every keeper of the collections. It is impossible to organise the material scholarly and according to periods without a library and research. Therefore the museums in Stockholm and Copenhagen offer significant sums of money for appropriate additions to their library collections.*<sup>585</sup>

The FLS, however, was not willing to deposit its archaeological literature in the museum, so an alternative solution was needed.<sup>586</sup> The first volume of the *Journal* appeared a few months after this discussion, offering a possible answer. At the time, the exchange of publications was already an established practice in many societies and institutions. The FAS was optimistic and decided to print French forms for future exchange correspondence. Its *Journal* was sent to all those societies which had already donated their books to the FAS and, furthermore, to other suitable learned bodies. In practice, these new partners were the same publishers whose books and journals Aspelin cited in the thesis he was writing at the time. Obviously, the material was found in his visits to Nordic and Russian museum libraries.<sup>587</sup>

Before the First World War, the FAS established 174 exchange relations whose initiators are shown in Table 4.3.

Almost all institutions to whom the FAS sent an exchange proposal in 1874 accepted the offer, though three of them began only in the 1890s or at the beginning of the twentieth century to send their publications. After this promising start, the activities faded in the 1880s, when only seven new relations were established. In the early phase, the exchange partners were mostly from neighbouring areas – Nordic

<sup>584</sup> Minutes of the FAS 11 March 1872 § 1. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, p. 130; Förteckning öfver arkeologisk litteratur dels vid Oldnordisk museet i Kjöbenhavn, dels vid Riksmuseet i Stockholm 1871. Archive of the FAS. Fa 1, pp. 241-262. NBA Archives. Also, the brother of J. R. Aspelin, Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, used the library collections in the National museum of Sweden, but he was not very impressed by them. See Selkokari 2008, p. 75.

<sup>585</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 October 1874 § 9. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 250-251. The citation in Finnish: *Yliopiston historiallis-kansatieteellisen museon kokoilemat puuttuvat suurimmaksi osakseen tieteellistä kertomusta. Tärkeänä syynä tuohon puutteeseen pidän sen, että mainittu museo puuttuu muinaistieteellistä kirjastoa, joka paikallansa olisi jokaiselle kaluston tarkastajalle alttiina. Ise kaluston tieteellinen ja aikakaudellinen järjestäminen on mahdotoin kirjastotta ja tutkimuksetta. Siitä syystä uh-rataankin esim. Tukholman ja Kyöpenhaminan museoissa vuosittain melkoisia rahasummia museokirjasto-ten tarpeenmukaiseen täydentämiseen.*

<sup>586</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 October 1874 § 9. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), pp. 250-251.

<sup>587</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 December 1874 § 2. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870-1875, pp. 294-296; Aspelin 1875. New exchange partners whose series Aspelin cited in his thesis were: Forening til Norske Fortidsmindesmaerker bevaring; Kongl. vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitetsakademien; Imperial archaeological societies in Moscow and Saint Petersburg; Rumancev museum in Moscow; Archaeological Commission of Russia; and Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft. See Utländska Sällskapen Addresslist. Archive of the FAS. Fa 1, p. 821. NBA Archives.

Table 4.3. Initiators of the exchange relations of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1914.

Period	Initiator					Total
	FAS	Exchange partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
1870-1879	10	6	0	3	0	19
1880-1889	3	3	0	0	1	7
1890-1899	18	18	0	0	3	39
1900-1909	74	16	3	0	3	96
1910-1914	3	10	0	0	0	13
Total	108	53	3	3	7	174

and Baltic countries, Germany and Russia. A new phase began when the monograph *Inscriptions de l'Éniseï* appeared. This book, which described the findings of the Siberian expeditions of the FAS, was sent as a gift to the exchange partners, but also to many other institutions and private persons. Donating an expensive book was not economically wise, but certainly, this brought publicity to the expeditions.<sup>588</sup> In 1891, the society sent 16 new exchange offers. The list of recipients was written by Aspelin, and this time the area covered was from the Baltic region to France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and the nations in Eastern Europe. Nine affirmative answers were received. In his history of the FAS, Tallgren stated that the success in establishing new exchange relations was due to the reputation of the *Inscriptions*. The letters of thanks, however, did not mention this book, but only the consignment of the *Journal XII*, which included Hjalmar Appelgren archaeological thesis. It was the first volume which had a German summary.<sup>589</sup> Hence, the effect of *Inscriptions* was indirect, but it was visible also in the foreign offers, which reached the highest number in the 1890s. Some institutions, like the Historical Society in Heidelberg and the Library of the University of Saint Petersburg, mentioned in particular *Inscriptions* in their exchange offers.<sup>590</sup> It may have also affected other propositions. The number of foreign offers remained high for the rest of this period.

In 1899, Arthur Hjelt, a curator of the numismatic collections, suggested three numismatic societies as possible new partners. The society decided to send them copies of *Suomen Museo* and *Finskt Museum*, which included papers on ancient Finnish coins.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>588</sup> An undated note: *Inscriptions de l'Éniseï*, utdelade åt ... Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 829-845. NBA Archives.

<sup>589</sup> Minutes of the FAS 14 March 1891 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2; 10 December 1891 Alterthums-Gesellschaft Prussia, Königsberg to the FAS; 15 December 1891 Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles to the FAS; 8 December 1891 Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 801, 805, 807. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, p. 204.

<sup>590</sup> 11 February 1891 Grossh. Badische Universitätsbibliothek / Historisch-Philosophischer Verein in Heidelberg to the FAS; 20 November 1891 Public Library of Toronto to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 463-471, 799; 28 October 1897 Biblioteka Imperatorskago S. Peterburgskago Universiteta to the FAS. Fa 12, p. 266; Minutes of the FAS 21 December 1891 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives. The consignment to the public library of Toronto was understood as a donation and did not lead to an exchange relationship.

<sup>591</sup> Minutes of the FAS 20 April 1899 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

None of these numismatic societies accepted the offer, which is not surprising, given that these monthly magazines did not yet include German summaries. This setback did not affect the society. It was planning to internationalise its *Journal*, and extensive work began on widening the exchanges. In February 1902, the society appointed a committee to find new partners. It consisted of Aspelin, a young archaeologist, Alfred Hackman and an art historian, Juhani Rinne.<sup>592</sup> The committee prepared a list that incorporated 99 societies and institutions – mostly German antiquarian societies, but also including societies and museums in Central and Eastern Europe and the United Kingdom. Museums of applied arts represented a new type of desired exchange partner. The only academy on the list was the Reale Accademia dei Lincei. The twenty-first volume of the *Journal* which included only papers in Swedish and German, was sent to these institutions. Sixty of them accepted the offer, so that the project almost doubled the number of exchange partners.<sup>593</sup>

The FAS seemed confident of its publications. Unlike the SFFF, it did not favour the suggestion on collective exchanges made by the Library of Scientific Societies in 1911. It wanted to keep the exchanges in its own hands and, above all, to receive publications in its own library at the museum.<sup>594</sup> After the three enlargement phases of 1874, 1891 and 1902, the FAS remained quite passive. Offers made between and after these three lists were mostly based on the personal interests of the members or the acquaintances made during study tours or expeditions. The monographs of the so-called *Free series*, published in 1900, 1905 and 1906, seemed to raise the share of the foreign offers at the end of the period.

The *Journal* was the fundamental exchange publication of the FAS. Slightly surprisingly, the monthly magazines which originally were intended for domestic enlightening purposes, were used in the international exchange as well. Furthermore, the monographs were generously distributed to exchange partners though they were quite expensive publications.<sup>595</sup> In addition to the publications of the FAS, Aspelin's *Antiquités finno-ougriennes* was sent to partners when requested. Apparently, he had delivered the society exchange copies of this privately published book.<sup>596</sup> The value of the publications, received in exchange, fluctuated remarkably. Some societies, such as Deutsche Anthropologische Gesellschaft, did not send anything regularly, just oc-

<sup>592</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 February 1902 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5. NBA Archives; Tallgren 1920, p. 204.

<sup>593</sup> Minutes of the FAS 6 March 1902 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5; a list of proposed institutions. Archive of the FAS. Ba 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>594</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 7 December 1911 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

<sup>595</sup> Inscriptions de l'Ienisei, utdelade åt ... Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 829-832; Jaettua kirjallisuutta 1899-1906. Archive of the FAS. Be 1; Minutes of the board of the FAS 28 March 1899 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>596</sup> 10 December 1884 Society of Antiquaries of London to the FAS; 29 November 1884 Musée Royal des Antiquités du Nord to the FAS; 18 December 1884 Die Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte zu Berlin to the FAS; 9 February 1885 Imperatorskoe obšestvo ljubitelej estestvoznaniâ, antropologii i ètnografii to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 6, pp. 583, 585, 615, 707. NBA Archives. The Society of Antiquaries of London was not an exchange partner of FAS when receiving the *Antiquités*.

casional gifts.<sup>597</sup> In 1899, the FAS considered that it should more thoroughly estimate the value of the books and journals received in exchange.<sup>598</sup> In the early twentieth century, some partners which had suggested an exchange to the FAS were given only the monthly magazines.<sup>599</sup> A frugal attitude was, however, rather an exception than a rule and illustrated monographs were still sent to many partners.<sup>600</sup>

The exchange of publications became an important aspect of the everyday business of the society. At the beginning, when the number of publications was small, new books and journals were presented at the meetings and their descriptions were written into the minutes.<sup>601</sup> When the volume of acquisitions rose, the secretary ceased registering the titles into the minutes, but all new publications were still available for browsing at the meetings. From 1899, the statistics concerning the countries of exchange publications were attached to annual reports.<sup>602</sup> The secretary of the society attended to the exchange until 1896, when the post of archivist – in practice a librarian – was established.<sup>603</sup> In the twentieth century, the Library of Scientific Societies took over the responsibility of the consignments.<sup>604</sup> The demand notes for missing items were often sent and received, but they were polite and respectful.<sup>605</sup> As with other societies, the FAS also received from its partners various newsletters and invitations to meetings and festivities.<sup>606</sup> It even received a medal from the Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Society and a memorial coin from the archaeological society in Saint Petersburg.<sup>607</sup> Hence, exchange did not mean simply book consignments, it also created a sense of belonging to the international scholarly community.

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<sup>597</sup> 17 April 1886 Berliner Anthropologischer Gesellschaft to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 7; 15 March 1910 the FAS to Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Da 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>598</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 April 1899 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>599</sup> The partners which received only the monthly magazines were the city library of Winterthur in Switzerland and the antiquarian society of Waidhof an der Ybbs in Austria. Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 May 1907 § 7. Ca 7; 3 November 1910 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

<sup>600</sup> In 1910, many partners sent letters of thanks for Ailio's *Steinzeitliche Wohnplatzfunde*. Archive of the FAS. Fa 17, pp. 182–196. NBA Archives.

<sup>601</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FAS 17 March 1873 § 4. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1. 1870–1875, p. 193; 4 April 1876 § 8; 16 April 1878 § 7. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 2. 1876–1885, pp. 12–13, 107.

<sup>602</sup> Minutes of the FAS 6 May 1899, librarian's report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>603</sup> Tallgren 1920, p. 158.

<sup>604</sup> Kerkkonen 1949, p. 42; 21 January 1901 A. H. Bergholm to the FAS. Ga 7, p. 423; 26 January 1902 A.H. Bergholm to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, p. 297. NBA Archives.

<sup>605</sup> See e. g. 31 August 1890 the FAS to Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft. Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, p. 193; Nobr. 1893 Physikalisch-Ökonomische Gesellschaft zu Königsberg im Ostpreussen to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 9, p. 331; 10 April 1894 Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 10, pp. 564, 722; 14 February 1907 Bergens Museums Bibliotek to the FAS. Ea 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>606</sup> See e. g. 14 December 1881 Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskabet to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 4, p. 834; Sept. 1884 Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands to the FAS. Ea 1, 445; 1895 Bosnisch-Hercegovinische Landesmuseum in Sarajevo to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 11, p. 357; 20 March 1904 Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 15, p. 300. NBA Archives.

<sup>607</sup> Minutes of the FAS 16 February 1897 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3; 7 May 1898 Société numismatique et d'archéologique de Montréal to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 12, p. 541. NBA Archives.

Furthermore, the number of partners was an indicator of the prestige of a society,<sup>608</sup> and, for this reason, exchange was often mentioned in the petitions for government subsidies. Sometimes, its significance in developing the collections of the library of the State Historical Museum was emphasised, sometimes the society advertised the work done for distributing the results of Finnish research internationally.<sup>609</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Exchange partners of the FAS

At a time when European archaeologists were becoming interested in Asian research, the expertise of their Finnish colleagues in the Ural-Altaic area was recognised by the international scholarly community.<sup>610</sup> Nevertheless, all the exchange relations of the FAS cannot be accounted for by the success in Russian archaeology. Many partners were reached more arbitrarily, by announcing the activities and publications of the FAS in the international reference books and indices.<sup>611</sup> As the map below indicates (Figure 4.10), the majority of the initiatives were made by the FAS, but regional differences were significant.

##### *Germany*

The most important country was Germany which provided in total 48 exchanges, most of them initiated by the FAS. The German museums were widely admired in Finland and their model was adopted when the Finns planned their own national museum.<sup>612</sup> In the field of archaeology, Germany was not as progressive as the Scandinavian countries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, German research focused on classic sites or prehistoric art. This trend was attacked, at the turn of the century, by Gustaf Kossinna, who introduced the concept of archaeological culture, which was grounded in the belief that similarities and differences in material culture correlate with similarities and differences in ethnicity. Despite its nationalist and even racist undertones, the concept became prominent in future research, replacing the previous evolutionary approach to prehistory.<sup>613</sup>

The majority (70%) of German partners were local societies, which were active initiators, too, as the first offers from Ulm and Neuburg indicated. The second largest group (20%) were museums, which the FAS was interested in. However, the

<sup>608</sup> When Aspelin compared the progress of the Finnish archaeological research to the situation in Sweden, he mentioned that the Swedish historical museum had over 260 foreign exchange partners. Minutes of the FAS 7 February 1891 § 13. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>609</sup> 12 April 1902 Petition for state subsidy. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, pp. 366-368; 7 February 1907 Petition for state subsidy. Fa 16, p. 551; 28 December 1909 Petition for state subsidy. Archive of the FAS. Fa 17, pp. 121-124. NBA Archives.

<sup>610</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 31-33.

<sup>611</sup> According to the letters, the information was sent to: Karl J. Trübner Verlagsbuchhandlung. Archive of the FAS. Fa 12, p. 563; Deutsche Geschichtsblätter: Monatsschrift zur Förderung der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, p. 255; Institut Carnegie Handbook to Learned Societies and Institutions. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, p. 79. NBA Archives.

<sup>612</sup> Selkokari 2008, pp. 138-139.

<sup>613</sup> Salminen 2003, p. 31; Trigger 1989, pp. 163-167.

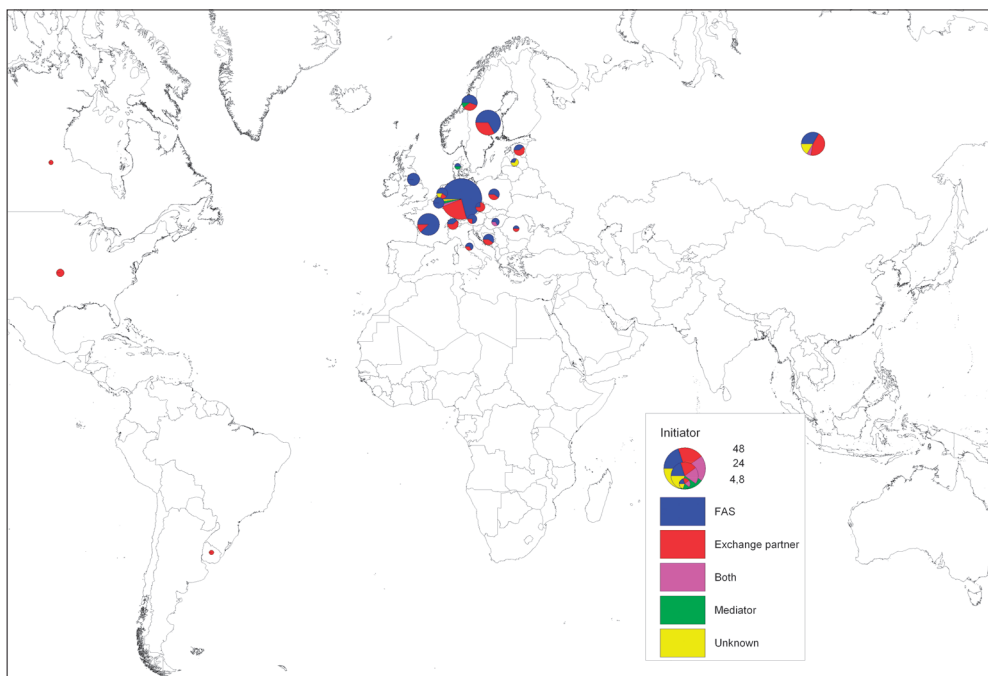


Figure 4.10. Exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1914 (total 174).<sup>614</sup>

most important, Germanisches Museum in Nuremberg, made an offer to the FAS in 1878. In the same year, it also proposed an exchange with the FLS. Possibly, this was following the recommendation of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, who had visited the museum some years earlier and personally met its director.<sup>615</sup>

The reputation of German institutions meant that they they could – and sometimes did – set conditions of exchange. Museum für heimatliche Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Provinz Sachsen required the FAS to publish the sequel to Ailio's research on the Finnish Stone Age in German.<sup>616</sup> Verein für Geschichte des Bodensee und seiner Umgebung, one of the first German societies offering exchanges to FAS, ceased its relation in 1909, for the reason that it did not want any more publications in foreign languages.<sup>617</sup> The issue of language arose at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the number of scholarly journals was rapidly increasing.

<sup>614</sup> The countries of exchange partners are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period and, accordingly, exchanges in Metz (Moselle) are located in France, Poznań (Posen) and Lviv (Lemberg) in Poland, Opava (Troppau) in Czechoslovakia, Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg, Koloszvár) in Romania. As this map represents current political borders, Czechoslovakian partners are located in the Czech Republic and Yugoslavian partners in Bosnia and Herzegovina (two of five partners were from Sarajevo). The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 4.

<sup>615</sup> Selkokari 2008, p. 139.

<sup>616</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 March 1910 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

<sup>617</sup> Minutes of the FAS 4 November 1909 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7; 21 October 1909 Verein für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 17, p. 99. NBA Archives.

*Nordic countries*

Sweden held the second position among the exchange countries, providing 21 partners. The strong link with this neighbour is not explained by geography, but rather by the progress in archaeological research in the Nordic countries. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Danish archaeologists had compared various types of ancient remains, providing evidence for the division into three periods, Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. In the second half of the century, archaeology increasingly used scientific methods. The Swedish archaeologists Bror Emil Hildebrand, Oskar Montelius and Hans Hildebrand and the Dane Sophus Müller developed a typological method, which based the outlining of prehistory on categorising and comparing the archaeological objects. The approach was adopted in Finland by Aspelin who, in his study tours, had befriended these gentlemen. He described this as a comparative method. As Finnish archaeology, Nordic research also had its roots in nationalism and it focused on the cultures which were spread across Scandinavia. Therefore, the method was more easily adopted in Finland than classical archaeology, which was widely pursued in Central Europe.<sup>618</sup>

In the Nordic countries the interest in exchanges was mutual. The FAS, however, was more of an initiator. The majority of national institutions, like Nordiska museum (the Nordic Museum), the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries were contacted through exchanges. Local societies had a notable share (57%) in Sweden because there were about 100 antiquarian or museum societies in the country.<sup>619</sup> The Nordic co-operation was not only scholarly in character. The ties of personal friendship connected many archaeologists, and Aspelin even met his wife, Anna Nielsen, in Copenhagen.<sup>620</sup>

*Russia*

The third most important country was Russia, where the FAS had 18 partners. The significance of the Russian expeditions to Finnish archaeology explains the interest of the FAS in the mother country, but it should be noted that the Russian institutions were even more active in initiating exchanges. The professionalisation of Russian archaeology had begun in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Imperial Archaeological Commission and many archaeological societies were founded. Institutionalisation led to the nationalisation of the discipline and the focus of research was transferred from the Stone Age material to the Slavic past. Scandinavian archaeology with its typological method was introduced in the 1890s, which was an advantage to the Finnish experience in this field. Moreover, the material the Finnish archaeologists had collected in their expeditions interested the Russians, although the national interpretation of the Finns was somewhat problematic.<sup>621</sup>

The Russian exchange partners represented various institutions. Local societies were, again, the largest group (39% of the partners), but also central national institutions, such as the Imperial Archaeological Commission and the societies in Moscow

618 Salminen 2003, pp. 30-31; Nordman 1968, p. 21; Trigger 1989, pp. 73-82, 156-161.

619 Fornminnesföreningar. Nordisk Familjebok. Ugglepplagan. 35. Supplement. Cambrai-Glis, 962-964. <http://runeberg.org/nfco/0504.html> (cited 2 September 2011).

620 Hackman 1920, p. 9.

621 Salminen 2003, pp. 30-32, 63.



and Saint Petersburg, were included. Many institutions were connected not only through the exchange of publications, but also through the corresponding members. For instance, correspondent Prasková Uvarova was the president of the Archaeological Society in Moscow and apothecary Mart'ánov was a director of the museum in Minusinsk.

Political controversies between Finland and Russia, which culminated at the turn of the century, did not have a significant effect on the exchange of publications. The most active phases in opening new contacts were the 1870s, when the exchange of the FAS began, and the 1890s, after the appearance of *Inscriptions*, but some new relations were established at the beginning of the twentieth century. A decision made by the FAS in 1902, to use only French in correspondence with the Russian partners suggests, however, that the relationship was not too cordial any more. Most archaeologists had sufficient language skills in Russian so that declining to use this language was, obviously, a political decision.<sup>622</sup> Political friction was also visible in the reluctance to send representatives in general Russian archaeological meetings which were held in a panslavistic atmosphere.<sup>623</sup>

### *France*

According to B.G. Trigger, French archaeology was more concerned with the Palaeolithic period and with ascertaining the antiquity of humanity rather than typologising more modest remains of material culture in a Montelian spirit.<sup>624</sup> Despite differences in research traditions, Finnish archaeology managed to gain some ground in France. In the seventh world exposition held in Paris in 1878, Aspelin received a silver medal for his book *Antiquités finno-ougriennes*, which made the results of Finnish archaeology known in France.<sup>625</sup> The FAS established 15 exchange relationships with French institutions on its own initiative mostly. Only two of them – the Société d'Anthropologie de Lyon and the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France – were established in the aftermath of the *Inscriptions*. The majority (80%) of partners were local societies which were emerging in various parts of the country. French museums had not made an impression on Finns and they cannot be found among the exchange partners, neither among the rejected offers.<sup>626</sup>

<sup>622</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 19 December 1902 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5. NBA Archives.

<sup>623</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 30–32, 63. The representatives of the FAS attended the meetings in Moscow 1890 and in Riga 1896. Minutes of the FAS 16 January 1890 § 4; 7 February 1891 § 3; 31 January 1894 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2; Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 April 1896 § 4; 22 April 1896 § 5; 17 December 1896 § 3; 23 May 1898 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3; 3 April 1902 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5; 17 December 1908 § 5; 2 March 1909 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7; 5 May 1911 § 6; 1 February 1912 § 4; 20 May 1914. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

<sup>624</sup> Trigger 1989, p. 87.

<sup>625</sup> Minutes of the FLS 17 March 1879, annual report. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), p. 453; Krohn 1931, p. 50; Sulkunen 2004, p. 187; minutes of the FAS 8 October 1878, annual report. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat II. Helsinki 1915, p. 117. Salminen 2003, p. 62 states that Aspelin was not satisfied with this second position.

<sup>626</sup> For opinions on French museums, see Selkokari 2008, p. 138.

The local French societies were often nationalistic, which led some to comment on the lack of French summaries in the *Journal* of FAS.<sup>627</sup> Probably, what they most objected to was not the Finnish or Swedish language of the papers, but rather the German summaries at a time when political tension between France and Germany was growing.

### *The Baltics*

As in the case of the FLS, the contacts with Estonian societies were close and cordial. Common interests in the Finno-Ugrian past made it necessary to follow developments on the other side of the Gulf of Finland and both parties were active in initiating exchange. Nevertheless, for the FAS, Estonia was not such an important area as it was for the FLS because its main interests lay elsewhere. The Estonian partners were societies, both national and local. The general Russian archaeological meetings brought Finns together with the Letts as well, and three exchanges were established with Latvian societies.

### *Eastern Europe*

With the exception of the Hungarian National Museum, which was on the first list in 1874, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Romanian partners, as well as the institutions in the Balkan area, entered the scene relatively late, at the turn of the century. They often represented high-rank institutions – museums, academies and national societies. Both parties made initiatives, but the share of the FAS was slightly bigger than the share of the foreign partners.

### *The United Kingdom*

In the United Kingdom, archaeological research was in the nineteenth century closer to science than to history and more focused on Palaeolithic than on the later phases. Archaeology enjoyed great prestige due to its close ties with geology and palaeontology, sciences which were making important discoveries about the history of the world. Scandinavian archaeology was largely ignored until the end of the nineteenth century when Montelius' ideas reached the British Islands.<sup>628</sup> If Danish or Swedish archaeology was too peripheral for British archaeologists, it is understandable that they were not particularly interested in exchanges with a recently established Finnish society. All British exchanges were initiated by the FAS. All the partners were societies – half of them local and half national.

### *Other countries in Central and Western Europe*

Neither were the institutions in the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria very interested in the publications of the FAS. Only one offer came from the Netherlands, and one from Austria – all other exchanges were suggested by the FAS. From Switzerland, the society received three offers, but two of them were made by public libraries – i. e. not by scholarly institutions. Contacts were established, however, with central

<sup>627</sup> 23 May 1902 Société de l'histoire, d'archéologie et de littérature de Beaune to the FAS; 3 June 1902 Société archéologique du Finistère to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, pp. 440, 452. NBA Archives.

<sup>628</sup> Trigger 1989, pp. 87-102, 167-168.

institutions like Rijks ethnographisch Museum te Leiden, Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts of Belgium and Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Vienna.

### *Mediterranean area*

Apart from France, Italy was the only country in the Mediterranean region offering exchange partners. From the archaeological point of view, Italian research, focusing on classical archaeology, was not so interesting as archaeology in northern Europe. However, for art historians, Italy was a place of pilgrimage. Emil Nervander visited there in 1864, and came back his mind filled with plans which led to the establishment of the FAS and the start of art history expeditions. Aspelin-Haapkylä and Johan Jakob Tikkanen followed in his footsteps and Tikkanen even published his studies in Italian journals.<sup>629</sup> As inspiring as Italy was for art historians, the interest did not materialise in the exchange relations. Probably, the Finns were cautious because Italian institutions were not only widely appreciated but also difficult to contact – even admission to museums, archives and libraries often required personal contacts and persuasion. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters funded a Finnish expedition of historians which, though without an institutional base, became a focal point for Finnish visitors in Rome.<sup>630</sup> Nevertheless, the measures of this kind did not have an effect on the exchanges of the FAS before World War I.

Exchange relationships were established with three Italian learned bodies, all of them at the beginning of the twentieth century. These institutions had contacts with other Finnish societies, too: Accademia dei Lincei with the FLS and SFFF and the Museo civico di Verona with the SFFF. The only Italian offer to the FAS came from Biblioteca comunale in Bologna, which published an archaeological journal *Archiginnasio*.

### *The American continents*

The interests of the FAS were restricted to Europe, while all the transatlantic contacts were suggested by the foreign partners. The Smithsonian Institution was, again, a pioneer. It sent circulars to the FAS, already in the 1880s, but the regular exchange did not begin until the 1890s. The Smithsonian exchange included two sets of *Finskt Museum* – the other was deposited in the library of the U. S. National Museum. The monograph *Inscriptions* was also sent to Washington, but it was not enough to raise the FAS in the distribution list of *Contributions*, i. e. to the group of the most appreciated partners.<sup>631</sup> The other American partners were familiar from the exchange lists of the FLS and the SFFF. They were the Free Museum of Science and Art in Philadelphia and the New York Public Library. Furthermore, the FAS received one proposition from the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal and one from the Museo nacional de Montevideo in Uruguay.

<sup>629</sup> Selkokari 2008, pp. 69–78; Sciolla 2009.

<sup>630</sup> Garritzen 2011, pp. 191–199.

<sup>631</sup> 1 July 1884 the Smithsonian Institution to the FAS. Fa 6, p. 553; 20 March 1895 the Smithsonian Institution to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 11, p. 105; 18 April 1905 the Smithsonian Institution to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, pp. 431–432. NBA Archives.

The geographical distribution of the exchange network of the FAS was not as extensive as the worldwide network of the SFFF, but much wider than the small group of partners of the FLS. The majority of relations were established on the initiative of the FAS – only in some countries such as the United States and Russia were the foreign institutions more active. The share of foreign offers can be regarded as an indicator of the value of a society in the exchange market of publications. It is obvious that before the First World War, the FAS was still a newcomer in the scholarly community. Its position is further highlighted in Figure 4.II, which illustrates the different types of partners.

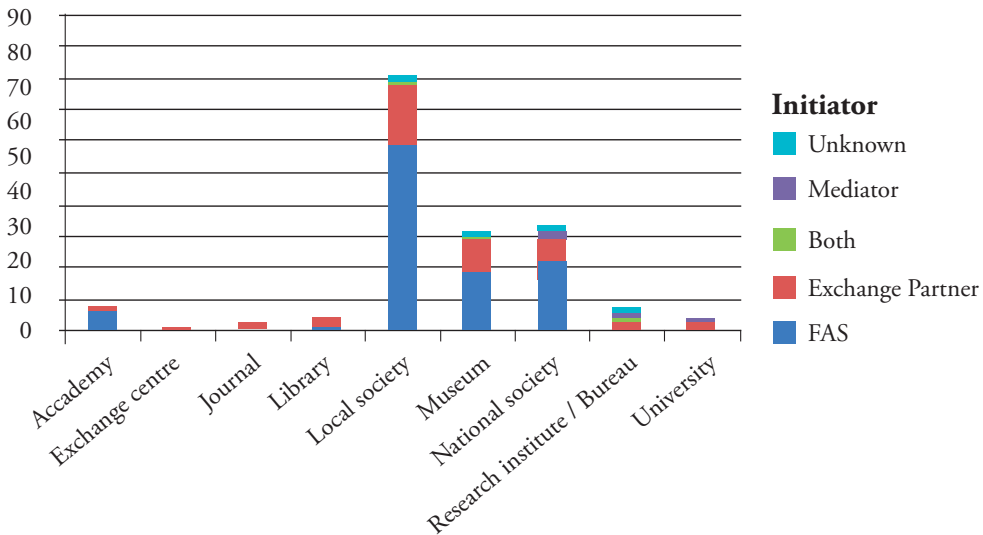


Figure 4.II. Types of the exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1914.

The offers of the FAS were directed at a narrow group of institutions: societies, academies and museums. The only library among the offers of the FAS was the Rumâncev museum in Moscow, which was a national library of Russia, and the only bureau was Orenburgskaâ Učenaâ Arhivnaâ Komissiâ (The Learned Archival Commission in Orenburg). Hence, the high number of local societies among the partners was based on the interest of the FAS to establish exchanges with them. This may seem slightly surprising bearing in mind that these journals included mostly local material,<sup>632</sup> but from the point of view of comparative research, it was considered useful. The group of national societies, though not so numerous as their local counterparts, seemed to be quite open to a young Finnish society. In general, many important societies from various countries of Europe were included. Academies, however, were not so well represented.

As in the case of the SFFF, museums were quite active in initiating exchanges. The tradition of international co-operation between natural history museums, as described

<sup>632</sup> Chaline 1998, p. 327.

by Kohlstedt, seems also to be valid with regard to historical museums.<sup>633</sup> The FAS received 10 offers from museums, which held the second position among the types of exchange partners. The group includes both national and local museums, such as, respectively, Königliche Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and Stavanger Museum in Norway. Most were cultural history museums while art galleries or museums of applied arts were more difficult to attract. The activity of the cultural history museums in initiating exchanges is explicable. In this period, archaeology and ethnology were dominated by comparative research, which needed material from wide areas. Therefore, the descriptive material collected by amateurs was also valuable, especially if the articles had illustrations and captions in some widely used language. The motives of this kind were clearly evident in the correspondence. The German national museum announced at the beginning of its exchange offer:

*Das germanische Nationalmuseum ist betreibt mit allen Vereinen, Gesellschaften und Anstalten, welche ähnliche Bestrebungen verfolgen, in Schriftenaustausch zu treten.*<sup>634</sup>

Altertums-Gesellschaft Prussia, which had its own museum, stressed in its polite demand note the purpose of missing items:

*Unsere Bibliothek würde durch die uns fehlenden Bände eine sehr erfreuliche Bereicherung erfahren, da in demselben ein vorzügliches Vergleichsmaterial für unsere Museumssammlungen enthalten sind.*<sup>635</sup>

The group of research institutes and bureaus consisted mostly of Russian archival commissions, which were established throughout the country in the nineteenth century. They were provincial learned bodies that combined the functions of both a society and an institution – they were funded by local administration, but offered even the amateur volunteers an opportunity to pursue their interest in the field of local historical research.<sup>636</sup>

The ages of exchange partners, presented in Figure 4.12, do not differ much from those of the SFFF.

The majority of the exchange partners belonged to the 11 to 50 years age group. The youngest institutions were the most active in initiating exchanges, whereas the established institutions only seldom suggested exchange themselves. If an established institution sent an exchange offer, it often happened in a period of transition. For instance, Société Archéologique du Midi de la France had recently moved to new premises.<sup>637</sup> Kongelige Norske Videnskabernes Selskab (Royal Norwegian Society of

<sup>633</sup> Kohlstedt 1987, pp. 180-181.

<sup>634</sup> 5 April 1878 Germanisches Nationalmuseum to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 3, p. 101. NBA Archives.

<sup>635</sup> 18 August 1893 Altertums-Gesellschaft Prussia to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 10, p. 271. NBA Archives.

<sup>636</sup> Архивные ученые комиссии губернская. Энциклопедический словарь. 3. С Петербург 1890, 253.

<sup>637</sup> Minutes of the FAS 18 October 1900 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4; 7 February 1901 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5. NBA Archives; La Société Archéologique du Midi de la France en bref. <http://www.societes-savantes-toulouse.asso.fr/samf/cadpres.htm> (cited 17 February 2012).

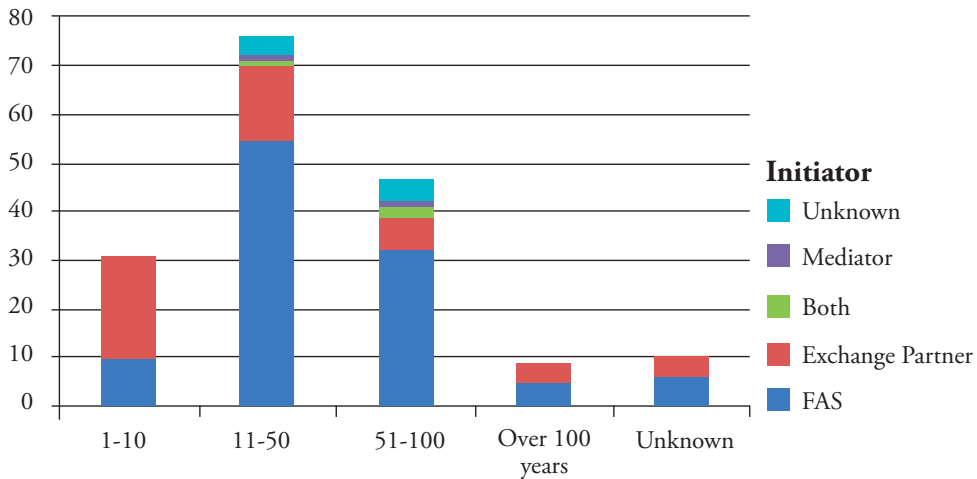


Figure 4.12. Ages of the exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1914.

Sciences and Letters) made an offer, after renewing its statutes, in 1902.<sup>638</sup> The Zürich city library suggested an exchange when they were planning a new scientific library by combining the city library and the library of the canton.<sup>639</sup>

The material of the FAS indicates that access to the international scholarly community was not readily granted. A young society had to produce interesting publications and find the right path to the exchange market. Museums and societies aided the FAS in establishing its position in the scholarly community. The next chapter examines the doors that remained closed – the rejected offers.

#### 4.4.3 Rejected exchange offers

Approximately a third of the offers of the FAS did not lead to exchange relations, the total number of rejected offers being 57. Besides, five exchanges ceased before the First World War. The reasons for refusals were seldom given – the most common way to decline an exchange proposal was to do nothing. Some decisions to decline refer to the fact that the volume of exchange was increasing too much. As the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne put it: *the list is already too full*.<sup>640</sup> Museo Preistorico-etnografico e Kircheriano considered the offer politely but rather ambiguously and stated that the *Journal* of the FAS was inappropriate for its library:

<sup>638</sup> Minutes of the FAS 6 February 1902 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5. NBA Archives; Det Kgl. Norske Videnskaberne Selskab. History. <http://www.dknvs.no/english/history/> (cited 17 February 2012).

<sup>639</sup> 18 November 1910 Stadtbibliothek Zürich to the FAS. Fa 17, 349. NBA Archives; Ursprünge und Geschichte der Zentralbibliothek. <http://www.zb.uzh.ch/profil/historischer-bestand/index.html.de> (cited 4 January 2012).

<sup>640</sup> 29 May 1902 Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 15, p. 447. Similarly, Verein für Hessische Landeskunde pleaded the lack of space in its library. 13 June 1902 Verein für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, p. 461. NBA Archives.

*En admirant l'excellente Revue, je regrette que l'échange ne m'est pas possible, parce que je les accepte seulement avec les publications périodiques qui s'occupent particulièrement d'archéologie préhistorique.*<sup>641</sup>

In some cases, the propositions were buried in the piles on the desks of officials, as happened with Société Normande d'Études Préhistorique.<sup>642</sup> Sometimes, the exchange consignments were understood to be gifts and only a letter of thanks followed them.<sup>643</sup> These cases give clues to the position of the FAS in the scholarly world, which is further illustrated in the Figures representing rejections. The geographical division is presented first, in Figure 4.13.

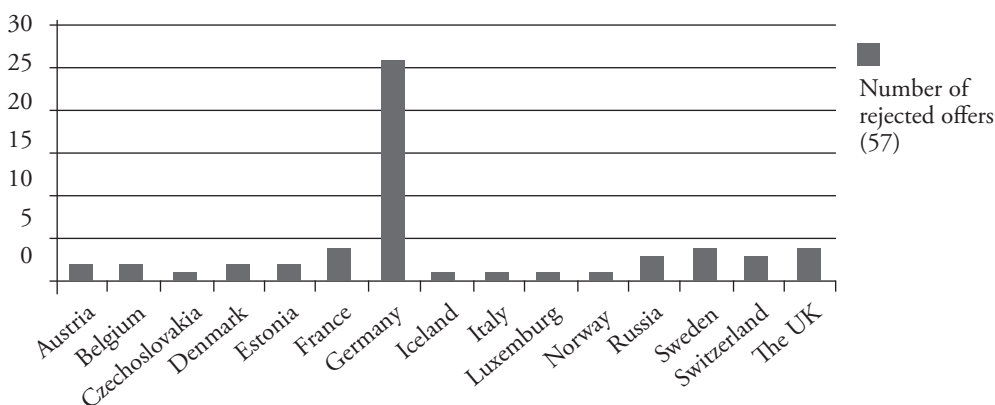


Figure 4.13. Rejected offers of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872–1914, by country.

The number of rejected offers was the highest in Germany because the FAS made so many proposals. The institutions which declined were miscellaneous, including only one specific feature: the German archaeological institutes in Rome and Athens (here classified as German) were unwilling to exchange publications with the FAS. These German institutes were highly regarded in the scholarly community, whereas the FAS was a newcomer.<sup>644</sup> In Germany, the rejection rate was 35% (49 established / 26 rejected), while in the United Kingdom and in Switzerland it was higher – 40% (6 established / 4 rejected exchanges) and 38% (5 established / 3 rejected) respectively. In France, the rejection rate was 21% (15 established / 4 rejected), in Sweden 16% (21 established / 4 rejected) and in Russia, 14% (18 established / 3 rejected). As in the case

<sup>641</sup> 20 May 1902 Museo Preistorico-etnografico e kircheriano to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, pp. 474-475. NBA Archives.

<sup>642</sup> 24 May 1902 Société Normande d'Études Préhistorique to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, p. 442. NBA Archives.

<sup>643</sup> 17 June 1902 Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 14, 469-470. NBA Archives.

<sup>644</sup> There were many national institutes in Rome, which concentrated on their national histories in the light of the documents in Italian archives. They are categorised in their respective countries, not in Italy. On these Roman institutes, see Garritzen 2011, pp. 193, 209-212.

of the SFFF, the institutions in the countries with a high standard of scholarship were the most difficult to attract for minor societies.

Figure 4.14 shows the rejected offers in terms of the type of declining institution.

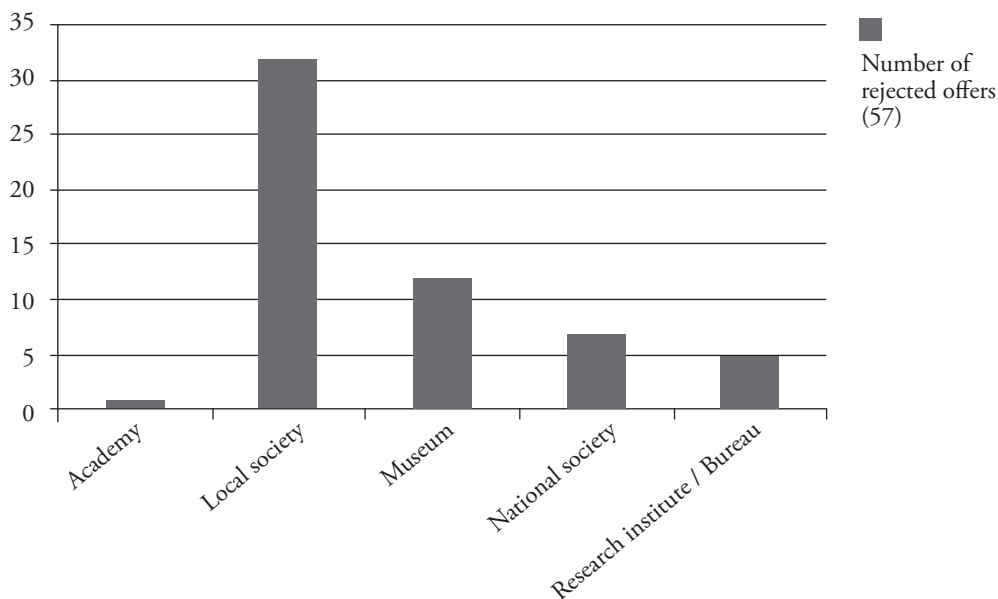


Figure 4.14. Rejected offers of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1914, by type of institution.

Figure 4.14 does not support the theory that the high-ranked institutions were more inclined to reject offers than the local societies. The rejection rate was, actually, higher in local societies than in national societies – 28% (81 established / 32 rejected) as opposed to 18% (33 established / 7 rejected). Moreover, only one academy can be found among the declining institutions. The research institutes are the only group where the ratio of functioning exchanges and rejected offers is remarkably high. Of this group, three offers went to German archaeological institutes. A closer look at the rejected offers reveals, however, some interesting features. Of the twelve declining museums, five were art galleries or museums of applied arts. Four declining societies represented numismatics. Both these groups had reasonable commercial prospects of distributing their publications because there were many wealthy collectors in their fields.

The age structure of declining institutions does not reveal significant features, only that the share of the 1 to 10-year-old institutions was small (5%) in comparison with established exchanges (18%). This suggests that young institutions were more open to exchange arrangements than those who were more firmly established.

Eleven exchange offers, which were rejected by the FAS, form such a small group that their quantitative analysis would be pointless. Declining an exchange offer was more an exception than a rule in the FAS. These cases were mentioned only briefly, if at all, in the minutes, giving no reasons for the decisions.<sup>645</sup> Most of the rejected

<sup>645</sup> Minutes of the FAS 2 February 1895 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives.



offers were printed letters.<sup>646</sup> It is probable that some were misunderstood to be advertisements from commercial publishers, which were abundantly received. However, among these printed offers there were some which would have suited the partners of the FAS, like Société d'histoire de Léopol (Lviv), the museum of Tobolsk or Permskaâ učenaâ arhivnaâ Komissiâ (the Learned Archival Commission in Perm). Ignoring these letters, therefore, appears careless. Political reasons could be given as regards the Russian offers, but this is unlikely because exchanges with similar Russian partners were established. Some of the rejected offers came from institutions which could not offer anything relevant to the society: the National Museum in Santiago, which was a natural history museum, a Russian publishing house, specialising in translation of fiction, and a satirical Russian magazine.

The results from the analysis of FAS material are quite similar to those of the SFFF. They indicate that in the nineteenth century even a young and small society could create a wide international network by simply being active in making exchange offers. The first exchange proposals from foreign institutions encouraged the society to find new relations. The traditions of the Republic were still visible in the polite manner in which exchanges were established with outstanding European societies and museums, and in the forms of co-operation between various institutions. On the other hand, at the end of the period, there were also strong signs of the decline of the Republic. The remarks on the language of publication point to the fact that the open community was becoming more restrictive and that political attitudes left their mark on scholarly communication. The increasing competition in science and scholarship meant that renowned institutions, especially those in Germany and the United Kingdom, were not easily reachable. A society publishing in Finnish and focusing on national subjects was likely to be marginalised by the international community in the early twentieth century. In order to maintain a position in the scholarly world, strong efforts in publishing were needed. Particularly, the national focus had to be reconsidered.

#### 4.5 THE FDS – TOASTS TO COLLEGIALLY

There is not much to say about the exchange activities of the FDS before the First World War. Its own journal, which was a prerequisite for permanent exchange relations, did not appear until 1904. This meant only a decade to organise exchanges before the war divided the international scientific community.

The members of the FDS established personal contacts with Scandinavian colleagues – they participated actively in the meetings of the Scandinavian Dentists Association.<sup>647</sup> The formal communication channels with Nordic dental societies were created soon after the founding of the FDS. In 1893, it decided to inform the dental

<sup>646</sup> 1895 Société d'histoire de Léopol to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 11, p. 5; 18 December 1897 Redakciâ ežegodnika Tobolskago Gubernskago Muzeâ to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 12, pp. 114, 315; 18 December 1910 Museo Nacional, Santiago to the FAS; May 1911 Obšestva Tolstovskago Muzeâ to the FAS; 27 October 1912 Desevyj satiričeskyj narodnyj Žurnal” Ostrâk” to the FAS. Fa 17, pp. 309, 419, 526; [Undated] Redakciâ Žurnala Mir” to the FAS; 6 December 1913 Tajny Žižni to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>647</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 79–80.

societies in Sweden, Norway and Denmark of the elections of its officials in its annual meetings.<sup>648</sup> The Swedish Dental Association responded by sending greetings and sometimes it donated its publications as well. In their festivities, they used to toast their Finnish colleagues and inform the FDS of this honour by sending a telegram.<sup>649</sup> Telegram greetings and occasional publications were received also from the Norsk tannlægeforening (the Norwegian Dental Association) and Dansk tandlægeforening (Danish Dental Association).<sup>650</sup> At the jubilee meeting of the tenth anniversary of the FDS, some new societies, such as Odontologiska Sällskapet i Stockholm (Odontological Society in Stockholm) and Göteborgs tandläkaresällskapet (Dental Society of Gothenburg), entered this telegram circle by sending congratulations.<sup>651</sup> The idea of exchange was for the first time presented in 1900, when recently founded Christiania Tandlaegeselskab (Dental Association in Kristiania) sent its rules and requested the proceedings of the FDS – obviously not knowing that such a publication did not yet exist.<sup>652</sup>

The publication of the *Proceedings* did not lead to any exchange initiatives in the FDS. The journal was meant more for the use of the members of the society than for international distribution. From 1896, the society had subscribed to some central foreign journals in its library.<sup>653</sup> In addition, it received book donations from its members and sometimes from publishers.<sup>654</sup> These acquisitions may have been considered sufficient because no one in the society was advocating exchange. The first offers of exchange came from Norway and Sweden. Doctor Johan Brun wrote the FDS in January 1910, suggesting exchange with the Odontological department in the University library of Kristiania (Oslo). At the same meeting, a letter proposing an exchange between the *Proceedings* and *Odontologisk tidskrift* was read. The society decided to respond that the *Proceedings* was not a periodical publication. They supposed, in all probability, that an irregularly appearing journal could not be exchanged for a regular one.<sup>655</sup> However, after considering the question of exchanges over a year, the FDS decided to accept Brun's proposal and in the future send the *Proceedings* to the University library of Kristiania.<sup>656</sup>

The distribution list of the *Proceedings* was settled after another year, at the April meeting of 1912. The society decided to send its journal to honorary and correspond-

648 Minutes of the FDS 29 May 1893 § 4. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

649 Minutes of the FDS 12 February 1894 § 2; 30 April 1894 § 2; 25 November 1895 § 3; 28 September 1896 § 5; 30 November 1896 § 2; 27 September 1897 § 4. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

650 Minutes of the FDS 29 October 1900 § 5; 28 January 1901 § 4; 30 September 1901 § 11. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

651 Minutes of the FDS 16 April 1902 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

652 6 January 1900 Christiania Tandlaegeselskab to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 27. NARC.

653 Annual report of 1910 mentions nine periodicals, mostly from Germany, Austria and Nordic countries. Minutes of the FDS 30 March 1896 § 3; 5 February 1900 § 7; 2 December 1905 § 18; 3 December 1910 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

654 Sivén 1943, pp. 47, 108-111.

655 Minutes of the FDS 31 January 1910 § 5, 7. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

656 Minutes of the FDS 27 February 1911 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

ing members, the central medical libraries in Finland, Scandinavian dental societies and the *central dental societies in the big civilised countries*.<sup>657</sup> This list was not very accurate, but other mentions on exchanges indicate that the distribution was not very wide. In 1913, the FDS announced that it would send the *Proceedings* to the journal *Danske Tandlaegebladet*,<sup>658</sup> and a few months later, it accepted the exchange proposal of the Odontological Society in St. Petersburg.<sup>659</sup> In 1914, an exchange with *Norske Tandlægeforening* (the Norwegian Dental Association) was announced.<sup>660</sup> In the description of the library, written in 1917, the beginning of the exchange activities is dated 1914, and the following journals are mentioned as exchange:

*Svensk tandläkaretidskrift* / published by Svenska Tandläkaresällskapet  
*Odontologisk tidskrift*  
*Norske tandlaegeforenings tidende*  
*Tandlaegebladet* / published by Dansk tandlægeforening<sup>661</sup>

Svenska Tandläkaresällskapet (Swedish Dental Association) had not previously been mentioned as an exchange partner, but probably the exchange relation was a continuation of a long term relationship and gift-giving. The other three exchanges were announced at the meetings. However, the first partner, the Library of the University of Kristiania, was no longer in the list, neither was the Odontological Society of St. Petersburg which had, in the meantime sent the journal *Zubovračebnyj věstnik* (Dental Bulletin).<sup>662</sup>

Four functioning exchange relations in ten years are not very much. Obviously, the exchange was not especially appreciated as a means of international networking or as an acquisition method for library. Unlike the other societies under study, the FDS did not discuss promoting exchange activities, neither did it proudly introduce new exchange partners in the annual reports. The general passivity in this field cannot be explained by ignorance since the exchange practices were well known to those older members who had participated the work of the Medical Society.<sup>663</sup> In 1910, the library of the FDS was moved to the Library of the Scientific Societies, where information on exchange practices was certainly available.<sup>664</sup> Neither can it be explained by a

<sup>657</sup> Minutes of the FDS 29 April 1912 § 9. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC. The citation in Swedish: *centralföreningar af tandläkare i de större kulturländerna*.

<sup>658</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 January 1913 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>659</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 October 1913 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>660</sup> Minutes of the FDS 29 September 1914 § 2. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>661</sup> Koncept till en uppslagsbok beträffande FTLs verksamhet under åren 1892-1917. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

<sup>662</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1913. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 13 (1914), p. 110; annual report of the FDS 1914. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 15 (1915), p. 76.

<sup>663</sup> In the 1880s, the Medical Society of Finland had about 20 exchange partners. See Krogius 1935, p. 126. European and American medical libraries had established international exchange programmes since the 1840s. See Richards and Moll 1982, p. 369.

<sup>664</sup> Minutes of the FDS 31 January 1910 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

strictly nationalistic attitude, considering that the society participated actively not only in Scandinavian but also international organisations. It sent representatives to the meetings of Fédération dentaire internationale which was founded in 1900, to represent the dental profession and to facilitate the exchange of information among dentists worldwide. In 1914, it was admitted to the membership of this organisation.<sup>665</sup>

It is obvious that the members of the FDS did not consider the exchange of publications necessary. As most members were practitioners without interest in academic research, they were satisfied with the journals subscribed to the society library and presentations of foreign literature and technical innovations published in their own *Proceedings*. In comparison with archaeologists, botanists and zoologists, who needed comparative material from a wide area – or typical humanities scholars who appeared to have a voracious appetite for books – the information needs of dental practitioners were different – at least more practical. Another reason for the passivity was that the FDS was in close co-operation with Scandinavian dental societies. They held congresses regularly, edited journals together and formed personal friendships. Although this fraternity was restricted to Scandinavian dentists, it widened the field as much so that the members of the FDS did not feel isolated. Toasting colleagues overseas and informing them of this distinction by telegram was, presumably, a more entertaining way of networking than the laborious task of sending of books and journals.

#### 4.6 OTHER CHANNELS FOR DISSEMINATING PUBLICATIONS

Exchange of publications was not the only means of international networking for Finnish scholars and scientists. The turn of the century was a period of active internationalisation when the professors of the University of Helsinki travelled abroad almost annually, and study tours were usual among the doctoral students. The congress visits and study tours were mostly funded privately or by the university<sup>666</sup> while the societies could seldom send their own representatives abroad. They were well informed of the congresses in their disciplines, however,<sup>667</sup> and if their members had private opportunities to attend these occasions, they often summarised the presentations at the meetings.<sup>668</sup> For the societies, the distribution of publications was a major way of networking. In addition to exchanges, this was done by selling and donating books and journals. The following chapters examine these two modes of distribution.

<sup>665</sup> Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1902 § 7. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2; minutes of the FDS 29 May 1911 § 3; 30 September 1912 § 12. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; Sivén 1943, p. 155; FDI World Dental Federation. <http://www.fdiworldental.org/about-us;sessionid=6B5BE051FAB015BC08AEC71DEBDB9539> (cited 4 January 2012).

<sup>666</sup> Hietala 2002, p. 528-530; Mustelin 1970, p. 154.

<sup>667</sup> The invitations to conferences were archived among the letters of the societies or attached to the minutes. See e.g. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence pp. 84-85, 90-91. Mf 1984:12, 1984:14. SKS, KIA; Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4-7. FNL; Archive of the FAS. Fa 3, pp. 635-640, Fa 15, pp. 284-289, Fa 17, pp. 395-396. NBA Archives.

<sup>668</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FAS 7 May 1890 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2; 4 November 1909 § 9. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7. NBA Archives.

#### 4.6.1 Commercial distribution

In the nineteenth century, the book trade was undergoing profound changes. The output of printed material rose rapidly and the new technologies of paper making, printing and binding cheapened the production of books and journals, while widening literacy increased demand. Publishing developed from the sale on commission of privately funded books to efficient distribution and advertising of big publishing houses. The principal reason for widening markets was the growing demand for fiction but also popular science books gained from the situation.<sup>669</sup> The academic publications, in comparison, did not have similar commercial prospects because their readers were scattered around the world.

At the time when the first Finnish scientific societies were founded, the sale on commission was a typical form of book trade. It meant that the profits of a bookseller were quite modest (10 to 15%), but a publisher took the risk because a seller could return the material, even decades after ordering them. The biggest bookstores were more interested in fixed orders, which for the publishers meant diminishing, but riskless distribution. The trade was international and major Finnish booksellers had contacts in Leipzig and Paris, not to mention Sweden where they visited regularly. Compared with Germany, the French and British markets were minor because their publishers did not usually allow sale on commission.<sup>670</sup>

#### *The FLS*

The FLS was the first society to sell its publications. Quittances of 1840 and 1843, indicate that books were delivered to Frenckell and Wasenius, the major bookstores in Helsinki. Since the end of the 1840s, new distributors had emerged in bigger towns in various parts of Finland and the members of the society worked as agents as well. Some books found their way even to Saint Petersburg where, in fact, more Finnish-speaking inhabitants lived than in Helsinki.<sup>671</sup> Some members travelling to Europe introduced the publications to German bookstores and succeeded in finding interested buyers. The first orders from Berlin and Leipzig were for Matthias Alexander Castréns' work *Elementa grammatices syrjaenae*, which was not actually published by the FLS, but whose print copies it had bought to support the author. *Kalevala* also interested the German booksellers. Yet, the society was too cautious to create direct contacts with the Germans and turned to the local bookseller, Wasenius.<sup>672</sup> Even the corresponding member, Jacob Grimm, remarked on the difficulties in buying Finnish literature, but the society did not take any measures to widen the distribution.<sup>673</sup> Neither was it interested in an offer made by a Leipzgian bookseller, Carl

669 Topham 2000, pp. 575-576, 581-586; Wittmann 1991, pp. 201-205, 210-213, 230-235.

670 Hakapää 2008, pp. 49-51, 88-89, 115-116; Häggman 2008, pp. 99-103. See also Autero 1993, pp. 112-113.

671 The account books and quittances (verifikaatit) of the FLS 1831-1850. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 69. SKS, KIA. On Finnish bookstores in Saint Petersburg, see Häggman 2008, pp. 108-110.

672 Minutes of the FLS 7 May 1845 § 11; 4 June 1845 § 8. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA. On Castréns *Elementa*, see Palmén 1881, p. 42.

673 9 December 1845 J. Grimm to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 61. Mf 1984:1; minutes of the FLS 4 November 1846 § 2; 3 February 1847 § 6. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

Lorck, who had previously ordered its books via Frenckell's bookstore, but was now eager to create direct contacts with the FLS.<sup>674</sup> In the Empire, the books were sold in Saint Petersburg and in Estonia, but the foreign orders were transmitted to the Finnish booksellers.<sup>675</sup> The wariness of the FLS was understandable, for it certainly had enough problems with domestic booksellers, whose accounting was often negligent and whose stores were lost due to fires or bankruptcies.<sup>676</sup> In order to control the risks better, the FLS joined in 1848 the Finnish Book Foundation, which defined the terms of bookselling.<sup>677</sup>

For over five decades, selling and accounting was a duty of the librarian. As this task was a part-time job, it was obvious that the time available for sales was more than limited.<sup>678</sup> In 1886, a separate post of keeper of the publishing warehouse was created. It was a part-time job as well, but in addition to the annual pay, the keeper was granted 3% of the sales. The first occupant, Aksel August Granfelt, actively developed the business and succeeded in increasing the sales, before moving to other duties.<sup>679</sup> His successor was more negligent, which led to a decision to hire a professional bookkeeper in 1903.<sup>680</sup> On Granfelt's initiative, the FLS, together with three other Finnish societies, prepared a catalogue in German, presenting those publications which were considered of international interest.<sup>681</sup> Some contacts with German booksellers were established. Furthermore, the society asked its corresponding member, librarian Edward Dundas Butler, to aid in finding suitable distributors in London. He sent some names but only one of them contacted the society – no results of this contact are visible in the account books.<sup>682</sup> In the United States the society found some regular customers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the FLS had 15 foreign distributors.<sup>683</sup>

674 Minutes of the FLS 7 September 1853 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2; Carl Lorck to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 62. Mf 1984:1. SKS, KIA.

675 The account books of the FLS 1856-1870. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 69; minutes of the FLS 4 April 1858 § 7. In SUOMI I:16 (1856), p. 294; 5 June 1872 § 5. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), p. 108.

676 See e. g. minutes of the FLS 16 March 1853, annual report; 16 March 1857, annual report. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 16 March 1862, annual report. In SUOMI II:2 (1864), p. 236; 12 January 1874 § 4. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), p. 202. The delayed accounts of the small country bookstores were a widespread problem in publishing and led to the foundation of The Finnish Book Foundation. See Häggman 2008, pp. 97-100, 142-143.

677 Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1858, annual report. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 3. SKS, KIA.

678 Minutes of the FLS 8 November 1878 § 13. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), pp. 418-420.

679 Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1886 § 5-6. In SUOMI II:19 (1886), p. 301; 16 March 1896. In SUOMI III:13 (1897), pp. 145-147.

680 Minutes of the FLS 4 March 1903 § 2. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), pp. 116-117; 7 December 1904 § 11. In SUOMI IV:3 (1905), pp. 105-110; 1 February 1905 § 10. In SUOMI IV:3 (1905), pp. 116-117.

681 Minutes of the FLS 2 November 1892 § 3. In SUOMI III:7 (1893), pp. 57-58. The catalogue was entitled *Verlagswerke der Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft in Helsingfors sowie einiger anderen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Finnlands. Zu beziehen durch diejenige Buchhandlung, welche diesen Katalog verteilt*. An updated edition appeared in 1896. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 118. SKS, KIA.

682 17 December 1896 the FLS to E.D. Butler; 22 December 1896 E.D. Butler to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 91. Mf 1984:14; 21 December 1896 Th. Wohlleben to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 118. SKS, KIA.

683 The cash books of the FLS 1901-1914. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 64. SKS KIA. The number of foreigners also includes Russian and Baltic booksellers and the Finnish booksellers in the USA.

Any extensive documents of sold titles are not available, but a stock count, preserved from the years 1905–1908, sheds light on the interests of various distributors. The most regular foreign customer was the Harrassowitz bookstore in Leipzig, which ordered dictionaries, bibliographies and almost all folklore publications. Folklore research seemed to sell, despite being written in Finnish but the journal *Suomi* was never mentioned in consignments. Harrassowitz was quite cautious, ordering usually only one or two copies per title at a time, but often he renewed his orders after some years. Another German distributor, Breitkopf & Härtel, specialised in music and ordered the series *Suomen kansan sävelmiä* (The Melodies of the Finnish People) and dictionaries.<sup>684</sup> Estonian booksellers, for their part, were mostly interested in Estonian literature published in the serials of the FLS and, to a lesser extent, dictionaries, school books and scholarly literature.<sup>685</sup> Obviously, the German and Estonian booksellers served local scholars, whereas the American sales were directed at Finnish immigrants who wanted to read books in their mother tongue. Booksellers on the other side of the Atlantic ordered folklore, dictionaries and grammars, school books, novels and social literature. American businessmen were either certain of the wide demand or more willing to take risks, and so ordered many copies at a time, at best 400 copies of Topelius' famous school book *Luonnon kirja* (The Book of Nature).<sup>686</sup> Interestingly, the precious few books with French and German texts did not have better sales on the international market than the books written in Finnish. This was probably because most of the foreigners who bought the publications of the FLS were either Finnish-born or linguists and folklore researchers who had learnt Finnish.<sup>687</sup>

Although the FLS worked harder than any other Finnish society to promote the commercial distribution of its publications, its sales only seldom equalled the costs. The figures on the sales, costs and government subsidies are uncertain because accounting was undeveloped in all the societies under study. The expenses used to include printing, binding, illustrations and royalties. Mailing and storage costs were not always registered and when they were, they also covered sending gift and exchange copies and the rent of the library rooms. Neither were advertising, insurance and other forms of expenditure mentioned regularly. The sales of publications were usually registered in the accounts, but accountants were not always conscientious bookkeepers. The regular government subsidies were registered annually, but not, it seems, the extra subsidies for particular works. Despite the deficiencies and occasional breaks in the timelines, the expenses and sales of publishing figures are presented here because they serve to illustrate the general trends of publication funding, as well as the differences, especially concerning the gap between sales and expenses, in the societies under study.

684 Warasto-Kirja (The stock count) of the FLS 1905-1908, pp. 9-15, 37-41, 55-56, 81-82, 113, 115-118, 120-121, 123-128, 140, 142, 149, 151-152, 227-229, 234, 238, 253-254, 330, 355, 413-414, 422, 425-428, 439, 500, 555-556, 587-588, 606, 662. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 120; 11 December 1900 Breitkopf and Härtel to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 93a. Mf 2003:13. SKS, KIA.

685 Warasto-Kirja (The stock count) of the FLS 1905-1908, pp. 107-108, 303-304, 359, 562, 564, 597-599, 652. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 120. SKS, KIA

686 Warasto-Kirja (The stock count) of the FLS 1905-1908, pp. 5-7, 13-15, 28, 85-86, 109-110, 119-128, 140, 142, 153, 155-179, 187-212, 234, 250, 253-254, 349-350, 400, 419-420, 465, 476, 487-492, 525-526, 557-560, 562, 564, 606, 662. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 120. SKS, KIA.

687 Warasto-Kirja (The stock count) of the FLS 1905-1908, pp. 45, 326, 359. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 120. SKS, KIA.

Until the 1880s, both publishing and selling were moderate and the subsidy consisted only of the so-called Czar's allowance of 1,200 marks. The government subsidies increased at the end of the 1870s, whereas in terms of sales, the real growth curve was reached after the post of the keeper of the publishing warehouse was created. For a learned society, the sales of the FLS were very high, but also its publishing policy differed from the others. It published products which had regular demand like school books, law books, dictionaries and fiction. Scholarly publications, especially the journal *Suomi*, were more unprofitable.<sup>688</sup> Unlike other societies, the FLS invested money and labour in commercial distribution. It was, however, fully conscious of the prospects of its publications, considering its fundamental duty to publish expensive works of national importance. National and scholarly objectives also justified the generosity of the society in distributing gift copies.<sup>689</sup> The crucial goal was to disseminate information on Finnish language and literature as wide as possible.<sup>690</sup>

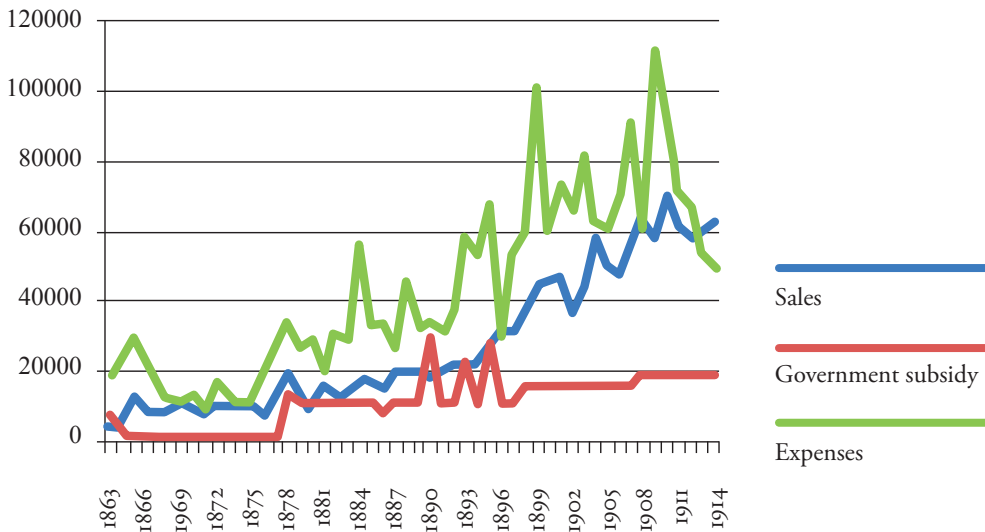


Figure 4.15. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Finnish Literature Society 1863–1914. (Currency: FIM)<sup>691</sup>

<sup>688</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 May 1871 § 5. In *SUOMI* II:12 (1878), pp. 7-8; 16 March 1905, annual report. In *SUOMI* IV:3 (1905), pp. 166-167; 16 March 1910, speech and annual report. In *SUOMI* IV:8 (1910), pp. 180-182.

<sup>689</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1905, annual report. In *SUOMI* IV:3 (1905), pp. 163-164.

<sup>690</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1896, the account of the book storage. In *SUOMI* III:13 (1897), pp. 145-147.

<sup>691</sup> The data are collected from the account books or from annual reports of the FLS. The timeline begins in 1863, the year when the society started to use Finnish marks in its bookkeeping. The fluctuations in rates are not considered because the idea is to describe the relation between sales and costs rather than the actual value of the business.



*The SFFF*

The information on selling publications is fragmented in the documents of the SFFF, which is indicative of the fact that not much effort was put into this activity. The exchange relations were discussed regularly at the meetings while new ideas concerning bookselling were rather the exception than the rule. Even the accounting was unsystematic, probably due to the fact that most of the treasurers were scientists who had little interest in meticulous bookkeeping.<sup>692</sup> The results of this are clearly visible in Figure 4.16. The timelines are discontinuous because the accounts are missing for many years. Furthermore, different bookkeepers registered different data. Nevertheless, although the sums are not trustworthy, a general trend becomes obvious: the income from sales was totally insufficient to cover expenses. Only once did these two lines meet – in 1897, soon after the appearance of the second edition of *Herbarium Musei Fennici*.

The first mentions of the sales of publications of the SFFF date back to the early 1860s. They concerned *Herbarium Musei Fennici*, which was sold by the members of the society.<sup>693</sup> The selling of the *Notices* began some years later. Its ninth volume was priced in Finnish, Swedish and German currencies, an indication that the society had at least

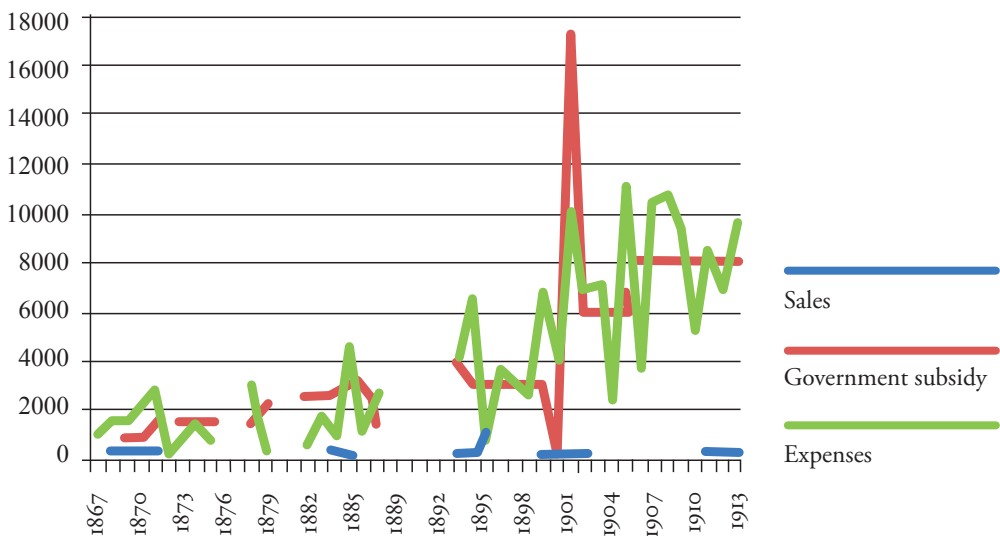


Figure 4.16. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1867-1914. (Currency: FIM)<sup>694</sup>

vague expectations that the journal would be sold abroad.<sup>695</sup> The first foreign order was registered in the minutes in 1868, when Professor Carl Eduard Adolph Gerstäck-

<sup>692</sup> The treasurers are listed in Elfving 1921, p. 203.

<sup>693</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 14 May 1860 § 3; 27 October 1860 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>694</sup> The information is gathered from the accounts attached to the annual reports of the society. The fluctuations in rates are not considered.

<sup>695</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 October 1868 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

er, in Berlin, wanted to buy the second volume of the *Notices*. The society decided to give it to him as a gift – quite a typical attitude for a Finnish scientific society at the time.<sup>696</sup> In 1871, the society joined the Finnish Book Foundation for the reasons that it had difficulties with the accounting of booksellers and because its publishing activities were increasing.<sup>697</sup> This measure did not have any effect on the sales. Publications were still sold by the members.<sup>698</sup> At the turn of the century, some ideas on promoting international distribution emerged. In 1890, the previous librarian, Bergroth, suggested that the society make its publications easily available for foreign readers by sending some copies of each volume to bookseller Friedländer in Berlin. The society accepted the proposition, but with meagre results – at least, there are no documents referring to German orders.<sup>699</sup> Also, the previous secretary Brenner, paid attention to the low sales of the publications. He suggested that *Acta* should be published in smaller and, consequently, cheaper volumes and include only botanical or zoological material.<sup>700</sup> Brenner's idea materialized, but only after the war. The next endeavour to promote sales was made by the newly founded Library of the Scientific Societies, which recommended in 1905, that it should print uniform invoices and sales catalogues for Finnish learned societies, in order to standardise the various practices of the societies. The SFFF accepted these propositions,<sup>701</sup> but their impact on the sales or on the regularity of accounting are not visible.

Altogether, it seems that the commercial distribution was not sufficient in reaching foreign readers. It required much more activity and expertise than the society had.

### *The FAS*

When the first number of the *Journal* appeared, Topelius and Aspelin considered its price. The low price was insufficient for covering the costs of illustrations, but if it was set too high, Finnish-speaking readers could not afford to buy it.<sup>702</sup> They favoured the cheaper alternative. However, despite only costing 2,50 marks, the sales of the *Journal* did not meet expectations. The Wasenius bookstore ordered 25 copies of both language versions, but the accounts for the following year only showed 34 marks.<sup>703</sup> Neither were the forthcoming issues sold out and the sales of monthly magazines were also modest.<sup>704</sup> The publications of the FAS were, however, sent to

696 Minutes of the SFFF 7 November 1868 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

697 Minutes of the SFFF 2 December 1871 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

698 Minutes of the SFFF 14 May 1877 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.

699 Minutes of the SFFF 4 October 1890 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

700 Minutes of the SFFF 19 May 1894 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

701 [Undated 1905] George Schauman to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:20; minutes of the SFFF 2 December 1905. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

702 11 July 1874 Z. Topelius to J. R. Aspelin. Archive of the FAS. Fa 1, pp. 781-784. NBA Archives.

703 31 December 1874 Waseniuska Bokhandeln to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ga 1; Cash book of the FAS 1870-1894. The account possibly also included the sales of reprints and the sales of the prospect *Viittausksia*. Archive of the FAS. Ge 1. NBA Archives.

704 Tallgren 1920, p. 131.

many bookstores in various parts of the country to be sold with the commission from 10–33%.<sup>705</sup>

The bookkeeping in the FAS was almost as careless as it was in the SFFF. Hence, the figures 4.16 and 4.17 are much alike.

On the whole, the publications of the FAS were funded by government subsidies. Also, private donations were sometimes given but, before the First World War, the private funds were mostly used for expeditions.<sup>706</sup> The minutes do not include many mentions on the sales of publications. Obviously, the society considered the exchanges and donations as the best way to distribute publications. Consequently, when its most valuable book *Inscriptions de l'Eniseï* appeared, the society decided that it would not submit it for commercial distribution at all.<sup>707</sup>

In 1902, the FAS decided to concentrate the sale of publications to Yrjö Weilin's bookstore. The choice was slightly surprising since Weilin did not specialise in learned journals or in historical literature, but was known rather as a publisher of Arthur Conan Doyle and cheap paperbacks. The contract was not favourable for the FAS. It had to promise Weilin a commission of 35%, which was more than booksellers used

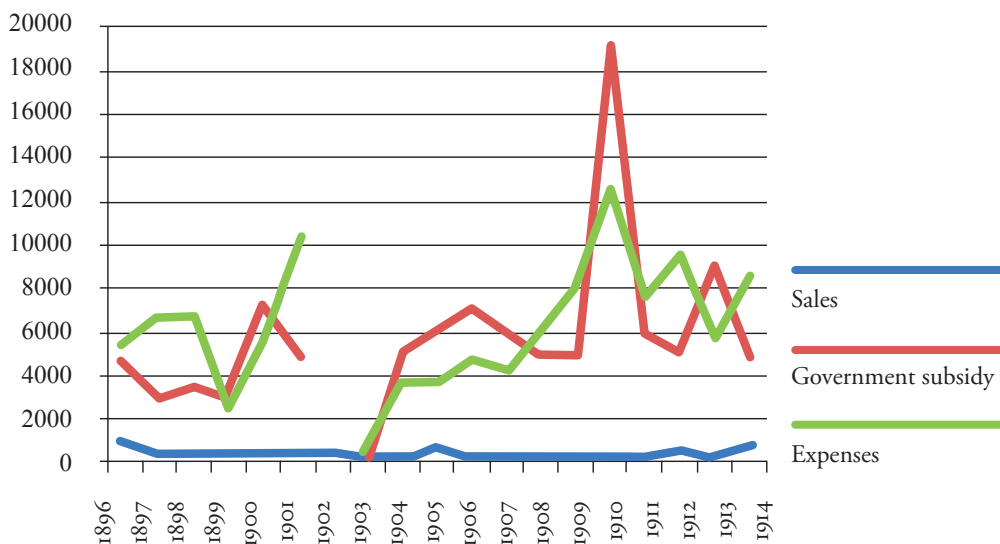


Figure 4.17. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1896-1914. (Currency: FIM).<sup>708</sup>

<sup>705</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 16 November 1897 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3; Concept book of FAS, pp. 20, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 36, 40. Archive of the FAS. Da 3; 2 October 1875 P. Stolpes Bokhandel. Archive of the FAS. Ga 1; 1894 Anton Lindebergs bokhandel. Archive of the FAS. Ga 4, p. 580. NBA Archives.

<sup>706</sup> Tallgren 1920, pp. 140-144.

<sup>707</sup> Minutes of the FAS 8 November 1889 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. Apparently, the decision was not binding, for at least four copies of the book were sold by Edlund's bookstore and the book was sent also to the N. Kymmell's bookstore in Riga. 31 December 1895 the FAS to G.W. Edlunds bokhandel. Archive of the FAS. Fa 11, 419; *Inscriptions de l'Eniseï*, utdelade åt ... Archive of the FAS. Fa 8, pp. 829-832. NBA Archives.

<sup>708</sup> The information is gathered from the accounts attached to annual reports of the society, which are available only from 1896. The fluctuations in rates are not considered.

to take. Neither did it solve any problems. The sales decreased and the accounts were delayed. After four years, Weilin dissolved the contract and his business ended in bankruptcy in 1911.<sup>709</sup>

The foreign sales were, naturally, even more exiguous than the domestic ones. Yet, some items were sold each year. Regular distributors were Lindeberg's bookstore in Saint Petersburg and Gleerup's bookstore in Lund. Both ordered the monthly magazines. Furthermore, Lehmann & Stern in Copenhagen subscribed to the *Journal*. Occasionally, the publications of the FAS were mediated by Edlund to Hiersemann bookstore in Leipzig.<sup>710</sup> The society also offered Hiersemann the reprints of its *Journal* but he was not willing to accept this material, which would probably be hard to sell. Instead, he agreed to take 20 reprints on commission.<sup>711</sup> Also, some foreign bookstores occasionally ordered the publications of the FAS.<sup>712</sup>

Compared with the efforts in developing the exchange of publications, the work for selling was fragmentary and amateurish.<sup>713</sup> This was partly due to the instability of the bookselling trade, which made commercial distribution a challenge, especially for a society too inexperienced to run the business properly.

### *The FDS*

The sale of the *Proceedings* was only seldom discussed in the FDS, and when it was, the question always concerned the members' price.<sup>714</sup> Obviously, there were no plans to distribute the journal via booksellers, neither domestically, nor internationally. The account books of the FDS have not been preserved in its archive, so it is impossible to determine to whom the *Proceedings* was actually sold. The historian of the society, G. Sivén, who calculated the revenues and outgoings of the *Proceedings*, had some figures, but these were too fragmentary to form a timeline. However, they indicated that the sales did not cover the expenses, and extra support was requested from members and advertisers in critical situations.<sup>715</sup> In spite of this fact, the economy of

<sup>709</sup> Minutes of the FAS 19 December 1902 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5; 7 May 1904. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6; 1 November 1906 § 3; 7 May 1908. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7; 3 September 1906 Yrjö Weilin to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, p. 393; Sopimusluonnos. Archive of the FAS. Bb 1. NBA Archives. On the business of Weilin, see Häggman 2008, pp. 239, 299-301.

<sup>710</sup> Concept book of the FAS, pp. 33, 39. Da 3; Gleerup's subscription 26 July 1911. Archive of the FAS. Ea 3; Undated receipt of Edlund. Archive of the FAS. Fa 11, p. 42 a; Lehmann & Stern's postcard 23 February 1904. Archive of the FAS. Fa 15, p. 291b; 3 February 1899 Lehmann & Stern to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Bb 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>711</sup> 3 April 1905 Karl W. Hiersemann Buchhändler und Antiquar to the FAS; 15 April 1905 the FAS to Hiersemann. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, pp. 226-227, 247. NBA Archives.

<sup>712</sup> 25 June 1885 Samson & Wallin, Bokhandlare to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 6, p. 908; 12/23 January 1909 Robert Edgrens bokhandel, St. Petersburg to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>713</sup> For instance, the Gleerup bookstore sent a letter complaining that it only seldom received invoices. 19 April 1907 Gleerupska Universitets-Bokhandel to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, p. 572. NBA Archives.

<sup>714</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FDS 29 April 1907 § 9. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>715</sup> Sivén 1943, p. 111; minutes of the FDS 29 April 1912 § 9; 31 March 1910 § 10. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

the journal was astonishing, in comparison with the other three societies whose publishing activities relied on regular government subsidy. Until the difficult year of 1912, the expenses of the *Proceedings* were covered mostly by members' fees – membership consisted of only 77 dentists! The print run of the *Proceedings* was small, however, under 250 copies.<sup>716</sup> Probably, the members considered the journal useful for their professional development and, therefore, worth its price, unlike the members of the other three societies, who were often amateurs and members of many societies.

The fragmentary evidence indicates that in the nineteenth century, selling was not the best way to distribute academic publications. Other societies had similar experiences. Their attempts to enter into contracts with German booksellers restricted rather than promoted sales.<sup>717</sup> The officials of the societies were seldom interested in or capable of selling, marketing and accounting. Only the FLS, which since its early years had published material with wider appeal, could hire personnel for this purpose. Besides, it was considered more honourable to give the publications as gifts, at least when foreigners requested them. This policy was possible due to government support, which meant that societies were not compelled to sell their books and journals.

#### 4.6.2 Donations and corresponding members

In the nineteenth century, the heritage of the Republic of Letters was still visible in an uninhibited way individual scholars requested books from societies. Learned institutions were more cautious and usually asked for gifts only after various disasters.<sup>718</sup> Interestingly, although the donations required copies of publications and sometimes mailing was an extra financial burden, no protests were written into the minutes of the societies.<sup>719</sup> The willingness to send free publications to institutions or to private persons was partly founded on the old traditions of the scholarly community. There was also pride in the fact that foreigners were showing interest in Finnish publications. The book donations are not as easily measurable a phenomenon as the exchange of publications between learned bodies. Among them, there is, however, one group which offers comparative material. It consists of the corresponding and honorary members of the societies.

The practice of nominating foreign members originated in the Royal Society and the Académie des Sciences, which recruited correspondents from various countries. Appointment as a correspondent – or even better as an honorary member – was a recognition for scientific merits but it did not include any entitlement to participate in the decision-making of the nominating society. Foreign members created an international network through which observations, news and publications were transmit-

<sup>716</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 99, 130.

<sup>717</sup> Garritzen 2011, p. 254.

<sup>718</sup> The FLS donated its publications to the library of Strassburg, damaged by the war, and the library of Torino, destroyed by fire. See minutes of the FLS 2 February 1876 § 9. In SUOMI II:13 (1879), p. 199; 1 June 1904 § 13. In SUOMI IV:3 (1905), pp. 53-54.

<sup>719</sup> For instance, a book consignment to an Italian gentleman, Finzi, disappeared on its way, and the FLS had to employ a bookseller to investigate the fate of the lost packet. Minutes of the FLS 2 February 1870 § 6. In SUOMI II:10 (1872), p. 229; 4 May 1870 § 13; 5 October 1870 § 4. In SUOMI II:11 (1876), pp. 274, 280, 290, 297.

ted.<sup>720</sup> The system of corresponding members underlined the unity of the scholarly community, but the existing hierarchies were easily noticeable. For instance, many French scientists, who were nominated as corresponding members of the Academy of Sweden in the eighteenth century, did not bother even to write a letter of thanks, let alone contemplate active collaboration with an institution they considered peripheral. For scientists, correspondence was necessary, but also time-consuming and expensive and therefore they chose their regular correspondents with care.<sup>721</sup>

The FLS was the first of the four societies under study to nominate corresponding members, which happened in 1833.<sup>722</sup> Its first rules defined this practice: *Let the foreign man of letters enamoured of the Society's experiments be invited to be a corresponding member.*<sup>723</sup> In 1858, the practice was tightened and the new rules required recommendations for corresponding members to be made in writing to the general meeting, and the nomination was to be decided by voting at the following meeting.<sup>724</sup> This kind of procedure was adopted in many other societies.<sup>725</sup> In the exchange relationships, both parties could make initiatives to each other, whereas the corresponding members were always selected by the societies. Sometimes, private individuals started writing letters to a society, sending their publications as a gift or requesting publications or information.<sup>726</sup> The interest in Finnish societies or in their collections, especially when manifested in gifts or in aid, was readily rewarded by granting status of correspondent.<sup>727</sup> However, a direct request to be nominated as a corresponding member was considered arrogant behaviour. Rosalind Travers, an English suffragette, socialist and author of travel books, wrote in 1913 to the FLS, volunteering to be a new English correspondent, after her compatriot, William Kirby had died. The answer of the FLS was

720 McClellan 1985, pp. 19-22, 178-182; Chaline 1998, pp. 115-122; Clark P. 2000, p. 210.

721 Pihlaja 2009, pp. 31-32. On correspondence, in general, see Secord 1994, p. 388.

722 Sulkunen 2004, pp. 184-185. See Chapter 4.2.1.

723 Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Asetukset 1840. 1844, 5. The citation in Finnish: *Ulko-maallinen, Seuran kokeita rakastawa kirjemies pyydetäkään Tiedustusjäseneksi.*

724 Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Helsingissä Asetukset 1858. 1858, 5-6. See also Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Helsingissä asetukset 1894, 5.

725 Tallgren 1920, pp. 18, 161, 222; Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Säännöt. Vahvistetut Heinäkuun 18. p. 1895. The rules of the FAS were slightly stricter, stating that only the board was allowed to suggest new members, although the decision of nominating them was made at general meetings. In the FDS, the corresponding and honorary members could be voted only at annual meetings. Säännöt Suomen Hammaslääkäri-seuralle (korjausvedos) 1892. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 36. NARC.

726 For instance, Professor P.A.F.K. Possart sent the FLS his publications and was nominated as a corresponding member at the same meeting when the donation was received. Minutes of the FLS 4 December 1839 § 2. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA. In 1830, Professor Sven Nilsson, Commercial Counsellor Carl Johan Schönher, Major Gyllenhal and Professor Zetterstedt from Sweden sent their publications as gifts. They were all, subsequently, nominated as correspondents in 1836. Minutes of the SFFF 16 April 1830 § 13; 21 September 1830 § 8; 8 October 1830 § 12; 22 October 1830 § 14; 19 November 1830 § 7; 2 December 1836 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 2. FNL. See also Saalas 1957, 167.

727 For instance, the SFFF nominated professor Frans Buchenau from Bremen because he had helped the University Museum by defining the species and sent gifts to the collections; Mr Ivanitzki from Petrozavodsk for the gifts of botanical specimens and maps. Minutes of the SFFF 5 October 1895 § 24. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; minutes of the board of the SFFF 4 November 1898 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/19. FNL.

quite unsympathetic. Miss Travers was told that an appointment as a corresponding member usually presumed scholarly credits or merits in translating Finnish folklore or literature.<sup>728</sup> Many correspondents were previously known to members of the societies. Expeditions connected scientists and created the bonds of friendship, which sometimes led to nominations.<sup>729</sup>

The role of the corresponding members varied, depending on their personality, status and interests. Most of them seem to have sent only one letter – a letter of thanks for the appointment.<sup>730</sup> These letters were always very polite. No matter how distinguished and famous a scholar was, he expressed pleasure at the unexpected honour of being nominated a correspondent or an honorary member of such a distinguished Finnish society. Usually, these gentlemen also promised, in accordance with their modest abilities, to promote the aims of the Finnish society.<sup>731</sup> The letters, which were read at the meetings, certainly aroused a sense of satisfaction.<sup>732</sup> The most regular method of co-operation was sending publications. The Finnish societies used to consign almost all of their publications to their foreign members who, on their part, did not have any quid-pro-quo obligations.<sup>733</sup> Yet, many donated their books and reprints, sometimes even the journals which they edited. Often this material was valuable because several correspondents were known and respected scientists and scholars. Besides, many of the donated books were products of private publishers and, therefore, would not have been available via exchange.<sup>734</sup> Not only books but also botanical and zoological specimens and plaster models were sometimes donated

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<sup>728</sup> 16 January 1913 R. Travers to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 102. *Mf* 2003:18; 24 March 1913 the FLS to R. Travers. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 113. *Mf* 2004:9. SKS, KIA. Probably, not only the straight style of this British lady, but also her political standing bothered this quite conservative society. On Travers, see Halmesvirta 1993, pp. 148–158.

<sup>729</sup> For instance, J. Ångström had participated in a botanical expedition to the Russian Lapland with Nylander. Minutes of the SFFF 1 February 1879 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL. See also Lilja 2007, p. 86.

<sup>730</sup> Nothing certain can be said about the volume of correspondence because the letters have not been preserved extensively in the archives of the societies.

<sup>731</sup> See e.g. 1 July 1914 Aldar Bán to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 103. *Mf* 2003:18. SKS, KIA; 16 February 1875 R. Mac Lachlan to the SFFF; 13 June 1894 Ch. Flahault to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:11. FNL; 29 April 1907 Heinrich Kemke to the FAS, attached to the minutes 7 May 1907. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6. NBA Archives; 27 March 1905 Claude Martin to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 27. NARC.

<sup>732</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1837 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 1. FNL.

<sup>733</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 October 1847 § 6. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Helsingissä Asetukset 1848. 1848, 6–7; minutes of the SFFF 31 May 1848 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL; minutes of the FDS 29 April 1912 § 9. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>734</sup> See the acquisition catalogues of the FLS library I–V 1831–1914. SKS, Kirjasto; minutes of the SFFF 15 December 1848 § 2; 9 February 1849 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; minutes of the FAS 2 February 1895 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3; 1 June 1894 Aleksandr Dmitriev to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 10, 756; 28 December 1906 Johanna Mestorf to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 16, 548. NBA Archives. The SFFF decided in 1900 to print a circular to correspondents informing them that their books and reprints were most welcome in the library of the society. Minutes of the board of the SFFF 26 October 1900. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/1. FNL; minutes of the FDS 28 May 1901 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

to the collections.<sup>735</sup> Another regular form of communication were congratulatory letters and telegrams, which were sent to the correspondents on special occasions and sometimes even from correspondents to the societies on their anniversaries.<sup>736</sup> Finally, a letter of condolence, or an address was sent. If the deceased was a close partner of the society, it was also considered whether a Finnish representative or another local correspondent could attend the funeral.<sup>737</sup>

Some correspondents wrote letters regularly, providing information and various favours. For instance, the FLS had a successful project collecting, depositing and publishing folklore from Estonia and Finland, with Jakob Hurt.<sup>738</sup> Many correspondents of the SFFF offered help in reviewing the definitions of species.<sup>739</sup> Some members disseminated information on Finnish books and journals in their local papers or even sold the publications of Finnish societies.<sup>740</sup> The French journalist Eugène Beauvois, who was a corresponding member of the FLS and the FAS, presented their books regularly in French journals.<sup>741</sup> In return, the corresponding members could ask for help distributing their publications in Finland.<sup>742</sup> Visits to the homes or institutions of corresponding members were rare, but not unthinkable. For instance, Herman

<sup>735</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1875 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 13 May 1881 § 3; 5 April 1884 § 6; 1 November 1884 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL; minutes of the FDS 7 December 1907, annual report. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

<sup>736</sup> See e.g. minutes of the FLS 6 February 1902 § 3. In SUOMI III:20 (1902), pp. 126-127; minutes of the SFFF 1 November 1896. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL; minutes of the board of the FAS 6 February 1902 § 5-6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 5; 27 March 1899 J. Mestorf to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 12, p. 853. NBA Archives.

<sup>737</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 December 1891 § 3. In SUOMI III:6 (1893), p. 53; 6 February 1907 § 3. In SUOMI IV:5 (1907), p. 152; 3 May 1912 § 3. In SUOMI IV:13 (1913/1915), pp. 12-13; minutes of the SFFF 2 March 1878 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 5 April 1913 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the board of the FAS 28 September 1899 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives; minutes of the FDS 28 January 1907 § 1; 27 November 1911 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2-3. NARC.

<sup>738</sup> Minutes of the FLS 9 October 1901 § 4. In SUOMI III:20 (1902), p. 59; 2 June 1902 § 1, 5. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), p. 27; 3 October 1906 § 5. In SUOMI IV:5 (1907), p. 81.

<sup>739</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 12 December 1845 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 13 May 1878, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 3 December 1881 § 7; 2 December 1882 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6; 4 March 1899 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; 8 April 1905 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

<sup>740</sup> The correspondent of the FLS, Eilert Sundt, requested the publications of the FLS to sell them the Finnish people in Norway, and an Estonian correspondent F. R. Kreutzwald sold books in Estonia. Minutes of the FLS 6 September 1865 § 3. In SUOMI II:5 (1866), p. 306; 3 September 1873 § 10. In SUOMI II:12 (1878), p. 192. Charles de Linas promised to recommend *Antiquités* of Aspelin to a Parisian bookseller. 25 February 1877 Charles de Linas to J. R. Aspelin. Archive of the FAS. Fa 2, pp. 405-408. NBA Archives.

<sup>741</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 September 1870 § 14. In SUOMI II:11 (1876), p. 296; 8 May 1889 § 2. In SUOMI III:3 (1890), pp. 364-365; 6 February 1913 § 2. In SUOMI IV:13 (1913/1915), p. 53; Beauvois to the FLS 12 January 1911. Correspondence 99. Mf 2003:16. Another active correspondent of the FLS was P. A. F. Konstantin Possart, who announced to be willing to review the Finnish books in Jena. See minutes of the FLS 3 February 1841 § 2. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>742</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FLS 2 January 1850. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA; minutes of the SFFF 15 May 1840 § 9 Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 11 February 1871 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL.



Kellgren and August Ahlqvist visited Jacob Grimm.<sup>743</sup> The corresponding members sometimes attended the meetings of the Finnish societies where they were heartily welcomed. Usually, these visitors were Estonians or Swedes for whom travel to the country was not too costly.<sup>744</sup> Some correspondents used the opportunity to publish their papers in the serials of the Finnish societies.<sup>745</sup> Even the drawings or the clichés of published pictures were lent, which was an important form of support, for they were very expensive.<sup>746</sup>

The rules of nomination and practices of collaborating with correspondents were inherited from the Republic of Letters and, therefore, quite congruent in these four societies. The geographical distribution of foreign members, however, varied in respect to the research interests of the societies. Table 4.4 shows the development of the number of the correspondents of the FLS, before World War I.

For the FLS, the corresponding members formed a much more extensive network than the exchange partners. Before the First World War, it nominated 97 correspondents through whom it reached many countries where it did not have exchange relations, such as the United Kingdom. In the first three decades, the FLS built its foreign relations steadily. Among the Swedish correspondents, there were three Finnish-born men, of whom Adolf Ivar Arwidsson actively helped the society to find new Swedish correspondents.<sup>747</sup> The Estonian contacts were partly created in the study tour of Elias Lönnrot, and partly by the activity of the linguist August Ahlqvist. The German correspondents were mostly linguists and historians with whom the individual members of the FLS had previously befriended. For instance, Hermann Brockhaus, had been a landlord of Hermann Kellgren during his study tour in Leipzig. Kellgren taught Finnish to this Professor of Sanskrit, who was keen on reading *Kalevala*.<sup>748</sup> The 1860s meant an increasing interest in Hungarians whose number in the list of correspondents doubled.<sup>749</sup> The 1870s, was a stagnant period in all international intercourse, but in 1881, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society, 11 new corresponding

743 Kunze 1957, pp. 60-83.

744 Minutes of the FLS 1 June 1894 § 2. In SUOMI III:12 (1895), p. 23; 2 June 1902 § 1, 5. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), p. 27; minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1900, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL; minutes of the FAS 7 May 1897, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3; 7 May 1913, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives; minutes of the FDS 7 December 1902, annual report. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

745 F.R. Kreutzwald, the compiler of the Estonian Epic *Kalevipoeg*, gave his collections of Estonian folk tales to be published in Finland when the political situation in his home country was too unstable. Minutes of the FLS 18 January 1865 § 6. In SUOMI II:4 (1865), p. 328. The Pharmacist Alexander Günther, an active amateur writer from Petrozavodsk published his botanical papers in *Notices* and *Bulletin*. Minutes of the SFFF 12 February 1867 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

746 30 March 1898 and 18 April 1898 J. Jung to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 12, pp. 431-434, 461-468.

747 Minutes of the FLS 8 October 1834 § 4-5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

748 Karttunen 2000. <http://helios.uta.fi:2288/kb/artikkeli/3502/> (cited 4 September 2011). See also Kunze 1957, pp. 11-28, 106-107.

749 August Ahlqvist had on his journey to Hungary, in 1862, become acquainted with the linguists Jozsef Budenz, István Fabian and Szende Riedl. Tervonen 1984, 66-69.

members were nominated – almost all of them suggested by Otto Donner.<sup>750</sup> At the turn of the century, the internationalisation of modern folklore research promoted the appointment of foreign scholars and widened the network to new areas. Political motives were evident when appointing some Russian honorary members. Nomination of the Governor-General was, undoubtedly, a wise choice, in the unstable years of the 1840s.<sup>751</sup> However, no new Russian correspondents were denominated in the period of russification.

Scholarly credits were not the only prerequisites when selecting corresponding members. In the first decades, many of the correspondents of the neighbouring regions were culturally active clergymen, whereas the German members were more often professors. As regards the academics, the majority were linguists, specialising in oriental languages, which usually meant some kind of knowledge of the Finnish language. Linguistic interests were also typical of consuls and diplomats who, together with other state officials, formed a minority of the correspondents of the FLS. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the folklore researchers became a dominant group of new foreign members due to the activity of Kaarle Krohn in making suggestions for correspondents.<sup>752</sup> The translators of *Kalevala* held a special position among the correspondents.

The corresponding members of the FLS were crucial in disseminating information on Finnish literature and culture, for most of them could understand the language. Some did complain of the difficulties learning this curious language,<sup>753</sup> but the FLS kept sending them its publications which, via this route, found their way to the rest of the world.

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<sup>750</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1881 § 10. In SUOMI II:14 (1881), pp. 502-503.

<sup>751</sup> Sulkunen 2004, p. 87.

<sup>752</sup> Minutes of the FLS 1 February 1905 § 17. In Suomi IV:3 (1905), pp. 124-125; 3 October 1907 § 4. In SUOMI IV:6 (1909), pp. 64-65.

<sup>753</sup> 19 December 1856 Hermann Brockhaus to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 62. Mf 1984:I. SKS, KIA; 4 November 1891 § 2. In SUOMI III:6 (1893), p. 37.

*Table 4.4. Number of the foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1914.*<sup>754</sup>

<b>Foreign correspondents and honorary members</b>										
<b>Country</b>	1833- 1839	1840- 1849	1850- 1859	1860- 1869	1870- 1879	1880- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1914	<b>Total</b>
Austria	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Czecho- slovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Denmark	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	9
Estonia	0	9	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	15
France	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	5
Germany	3	2	2	2	0	4	0	2	0	15
Hungary	1	1	1	3	1	2	0	1	1	11
Italy	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
Latvia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Lithuania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Norway	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	5
Russia	1	2	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	9
Sweden	5	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	8
The United Kingdom	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	8
The USA	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
<b>Total</b>	14	16	10	9	3	20	9	12	4	97

<sup>754</sup> The table includes both corresponding members and foreign honorary members. If a person was nominated first as a correspondent and later as an honorary member, only the first nomination is counted. As in the tables and figures on exchange relations, the countries are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period. The country is where a member lived at the moment of nomination, except for consuls who are listed under their home countries. The list of the correspondents of the years 1831-1892 is available in Sulkunen 2004, pp. 184-185. The later names are collected from the minutes and annual reports of the FLS.

The correspondent network of the SFFF did not extend to as wide an area as its exchange of publications. Before World War I, it nominated 135 foreign members, almost all of them Europeans.

*Table 4.5. Number of the foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1836-1914.*<sup>755</sup>

Country	Foreign correspondents and honorary members									Total
	1836-1839	1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1914	
Austria	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
Belgium	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Denmark	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	6
Estonia	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
France	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Germany	0	1	0	2	3	2	9	1	0	18
Italy	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Norway	0	0	0	1	2	6	0	0	0	9
Russia	0	2	1	1	3	2	6	4	0	19
Sweden	6	3	0	16	11	7	11	3	2	59
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
The United Kingdom	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	6
The USA	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	6	6	1	25	29	21	37	8	2	135

The first statutes of the SFFF did not set separate criteria for corresponding members, but solely stated that all persons interested in the nature of Finland were welcome to be members.<sup>756</sup> Consequently, the first correspondents came from neighbouring areas – Sweden and Russia. The only German member fulfilled requirements because he had reviewed some Finnish insects for the society.<sup>757</sup> When scientific and international activities increased, these terms of membership became too restricting. In 1867, President Lindberg suggested, apologetically, two new correspondents, C. F.

<sup>755</sup> The table includes both corresponding members and foreign honorary members. If a person was nominated first as a correspondent and later as an honorary member, only the first nomination is counted. The countries are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period. The list of the correspondents is collected from the minutes and annual reports of the SFFF and controlled with the list of foreign members published in Elfving 1921, pp. 278-279.

<sup>756</sup> Elfving 1921, pp. 19-20.

<sup>757</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 26 February 1847 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL.

P. Martius from München and J. D. Hooker from London *who though not especially distinguished in Nordic flora were, however, outstanding scientists in botany.*<sup>758</sup>

In the 1894 statutes, the criteria became less restrictive: *A foreign person can be nominated as a corresponding member if he is engaged in science and has either influenced the investigation of Finnish fauna or flora or, alternatively, influenced its research here.*<sup>759</sup> This formulation permitted, on the one hand, amateurs who aided in identifying species and, on the other hand, remarkable scientists whose merits lay more in theory and methodology than in the expertise of Finnish nature. The recruitment area enlarged gradually. At the beginning, many foreign members were amateurs – clergymen, officers, foresters etc. Gradually, the share of academics increased.<sup>760</sup> Furthermore, new members were often committed to the modern theories and methods of biology, beginning with J. D. Hooker and Richard Spruce, who were friends and supporters of Darwin.<sup>761</sup> Nonetheless, there are no remarks of correspondents acting as propagandists for new theories. Their dealings with the SFFF were always polite and formal.

In the SFFF, the number of corresponding members was only a third of the number of exchange partners, and geographically more limited, but it seems that via its foreign members, the society could better acquire knowledge about new trends in biology than via its exchange network.

Also, for the FAS, the network of correspondents was narrower than its group of exchange partners, as Table 4.6 indicates. A special feature of the geographical distribution is the strong focus on Russia.

<sup>758</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 November 1867 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL. The citation in Swedish: [...] *hvilken väl ej speciellt gjort sig förtjent om den Nordiska floran, men dock inom den botaniska vetenskapen intager ett framstående rum.*

<sup>759</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1894, attachment 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL. The citation in Swedish: *Till korresponderande ledamot kan utses utländsk vetenskapsidkare, hvilken antingen medvärvat till utredandet af den finska faunan eller floran, eller ock på annat sätt utöfvat inflytande på forskningen härom.*

<sup>760</sup> E.g. 21 new correspondents, the society nominated in 1896, to celebrate its 75th anniversary, were mostly academics. Minutes of the SFFF 3 October 1896 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

<sup>761</sup> On Hooker and Spruce, see Gribbin and Gribbin 2008, pp. 265, 279. See also the eulogies of Friedrich Brauer. Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1905, annual report. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 8. FNL.

Table 4.6. Number of the foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1879-1914.<sup>762</sup>

Country	Foreign correspondents and honorary members				Total
	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1914	
Austria	0	0	0	1	1
Denmark	0	3	0	3	6
Estonia	1	1	0	0	2
France	2	0	1	1	4
Germany	0	1	3	4	8
Hungary	0	0	1	0	1
Latvia	1	0	0	0	1
Norway	1	0	0	2	3
Russia	4	6	1	4	15
Sweden	2	0	1	2	5
The United Kingdom	0	0	0	3	3
Total	11	11	7	20	49

An impetus for finding foreign members was Aspelin's privately published book *Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien*. After he had presented the material of this study at the congress of archaeologists in Stockholm in 1874, a French journalist, Beauvois, wrote a review of the book. He also discussed this work with his compatriot Charles de Linas, who began an intense correspondence. In addition to archaeological questions, his letters to Aspelin were full of news on French and German archaeologists, family matters, requests for Finnish stamps and thoughts on the political situation in Russia and Europe.<sup>763</sup> In 1879, de Linas suggested that Aspelin aid him to have an appointment as foreign member of the Finnish Academy of Science – *dans l'Académie d'Helsingfors*.<sup>764</sup> He probably meant the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters because there was no academy in Finland at the time. This wish was never fulfilled, but the FAS began nominating its own foreign members. The first choices were Linas and Beauvois, who were followed by Swedish archaeologists Hans Hildebrand and Oskar Montelius and a Norwegian archaeologist O. Rygh.<sup>765</sup>

<sup>762</sup> The list of foreign and honorary members of the FAS is published in Tallgren 1920, pp. 222-225. The table includes corresponding members, foreign members and foreign honorary members. (In the FAS, only Russians were called corresponding members, whereas others were foreign members.) If a person was nominated first as a foreign and later as an honorary member, only the first nomination is counted. The countries are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period.

<sup>763</sup> See e. g. Ch. de Linas to J. R. Aspelin 8 February 1877; 15 May 1877. Archive of the FAS. Fa 3, pp. 397-399, 493-496; Ch. de Linas to J. R. Aspelin 3 July 1878. Archive of the FAS. Fa 4, pp. 159-164. NBA Archives.

<sup>764</sup> 23 February 1879 Ch. Linas to J. R. Aspelin. Archive of the FAS. Fa 3, pp. 507-510. NBA Archives.

<sup>765</sup> Minutes of the FAS 12 March 1879 § 6; 9 April 1879 § 7. In Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat II. Helsinki 1915, pp. 149-150, 154. The foreign and honorary members of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters are listed in Elfving 1938, pp. 297-304.

The majority of the later foreign members of the society were also archaeologists. Nevertheless, scholarly credits were not necessary and amateurs and laymen, who had aided the FAS, in one way or another, were sometimes appointed. The Russian amateurs and collectors who had helped the members of the FAS in their Russian expeditions formed a special group in this network.<sup>766</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the scholarly criteria became stricter and amateur correspondents became exceptional. At the same time, the geographical area enlarged to incorporate new countries – Austria and the United Kingdom.<sup>767</sup> Unlike the FLS and SFFF, the FAS accepted ladies as foreign members. The Countess Uvarova was the president of the Archaeological Society in Moscow and Professor Johanna Mestorf the director of the museum of Kiel. Both were later nominated as honorary members.<sup>768</sup>

Even though the network of exchange partners was over three times larger and geographically wider than the group of correspondents, the foreign members of the society still had an important function. In comparison with the formality of exchange practices, the letters of correspondents were a lively and sometimes cordial way of keeping in touch with the international scholarly community.

The first foreign member of the Finnish Dental Society was not a dentist or odontologist but a zoologist – an eager advocate of the theory of evolution in Sweden, Wilhelm Leche. His recent work on the evolution of the teeth system of mammals was presented at the March meeting of 1896, and on the same occasion, he was unanimously nominated as an honorary member. The nomination proved to be a good move; together with his letter of thanks, Leche donated his book *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Zahnsystems der Säugethiere*.<sup>769</sup> Also, the next honorary member, Oscar Amoëdo, was suggested at the same meeting when his new book was presented.<sup>770</sup> He was nominated together with three other honorary members and seven correspondents, in December 1899. This entrée into the international odontological community happened in the same year when the FDS felt its own scientific work was being suppressed, due to the political pressures of the February manifesto.<sup>771</sup> The nomination of eleven foreign members was considered an important step.<sup>772</sup> In the early twentieth century, new correspondents were selected almost annually.

Except for Amoëdo, the first foreign members were nominated from Germany or Scandinavian countries. In the early twentieth century, the geographical scale widened. The importance of the United States increased steadily in the course of the twentieth century, due to the many innovative centres of odontological research visited by the members of the FDS on their study tours. Among Scandinavians, there were many practising dentists, while German, Hungarian and French members were

<sup>766</sup> Minutes of the FAS 5 February 1889 § 9; 13 December 1893 § 12. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>767</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 5 May 1906 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6. NBA Archives.

<sup>768</sup> Tallgren 1920, pp. 222-225; Salminen 2003, pp. 32, 70-71.

<sup>769</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 March 1896 § 5; 4 April 1896 § 3; 28 September 1896 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC. On Leche, See Leche, Jakob Wilhelm Ebbe Gustaf. In *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* 22, pp. 414-416.

<sup>770</sup> Minutes of the FDS 24 April 1899 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

<sup>771</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 October 1899 § 5; 2 December 1899 § 8. On political opinions, see annual report 1899. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>772</sup> Minutes of the FDS 8 December 1900, annual report. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12. NARC.

usually professors. The FDS did not hesitate to appoint the most famous researchers and inventors as members. Hence, some innovators, such as Green Vardiman Black, inventor of the foot-driven dental drill, one of the developers of amalgam alloy and an author of many fundamental books in the field of dentistry, and Alfred Gysi, an inventor of the widely discussed articulator, received this honour.<sup>773</sup>

*Table 4.7. Number of the foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Dental Society 1896-1914.*<sup>774</sup>

Foreign correspondents and honorary members				
Country	1896-1899	1900-1909	1910-1914	Total
Denmark	2	0	0	2
France	1	1	0	2
Germany	3	3	2	8
Hungary	0	2	0	2
Italy	0	1	0	1
Norway	2	1	1	4
Spain	0	1	0	1
Sweden	4	2	3	9
Switzerland	0	1	0	1
The USA	0	2	2	4
Total	12	14	8	34

The corresponding members offered the societies different links to the international scholarly community. Because their appointment was one-sided and they did not have any formal obligations, even the most illustrious scientists could be nominated. Nevertheless, they were not as regular and trustworthy information providers as the exchange partners. If a foreign member was an active and generous person, he (or she) could make the relationship much more prolific, intimate and versatile than an exchange relation between two institutions ever could be. Conversely, many correspondents remained passive. They received the publications of the Finnish societies and addresses on their birthdays, without giving anything in return – neither at a material nor intellectual level. Furthermore, the relations with correspondents were more vulnerable to political changes or personal friction than the impersonal exchange between institutions.

<sup>773</sup> On Gysi and Black, see Bremner 1954, pp. 222, 409-419.

<sup>774</sup> The table includes both corresponding members and foreign honorary members. The countries are divided according to the political situation of the interwar period. The data on corresponding and honorary members is gathered from Sivén 1942, pp. 42, 100 and from the minutes and annual reports of the society.



## 5 DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS IN 1915 – 1939

The First World War is usually considered a watershed, a sweeping away of the safe and ordered world of the nineteenth century. However, recent research has emphasised that in spite of the obvious discontinuity between the pre- and post-war periods, the continuity should also be accounted for. These latter features were, among other, reading, writing and producing books, which flourished even in wartime.<sup>775</sup> This chapter examines the effect of the Great War and the new political order on the scholarly community, examining what was left of the old Republic when the dust of battle had settled. In the interwar period, politics influenced scientific work more than ever before, but other factors should not be ignored. Therefore, the development of exchange networks is described both in the context of politics and strengthening scientific competition.

### 5.1 THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FROM THE FINNISH PERSPECTIVE

Unlike in Central Europe, the outbreak of the war did not have a notable effect in Finland. Russia joined the war, in July 1914, but the mobilisation did not concern Finnish men because the Finnish forces had been abolished. The state of war meant strengthening the fortifications, the deployment of Russian troops along the coastline and new restrictions on the freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. The political situation offered an opportunity for the active wing of the national movement – some 2,000 young men left for military training in Jägerbattalion (Royal Prussian Rifle Battalion). Although the war meant closing the western markets, the Russian demand for paper, metal and textile products increased, and until the end of 1916, the economic situation in the country was reasonably good.<sup>776</sup>

The learned societies continued their usual activities, but in February 1915, their secretaries were invited to the local police station. There, they had to present the lists of their members because the Russian administration urged the dismissal of German, Austrian, Hungarian and Turkish members. The order was proclaimed at the

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<sup>775</sup> Hammond and Towheed 2007, pp. 1-3.

<sup>776</sup> Meinander 2006, pp. 148-149; Kirby 2006, pp. 157-158; Paasivirta 1984, pp. 18-33, 38-44.

meetings of the FLS and FAS, without any comments,<sup>777</sup> whereas the SFFF and FDS did not register any decisions into their minutes. Instead, the president of the SFFF, Palmén, announced his worry about the fate of the foreign members of the society.<sup>778</sup> They succeeded in avoiding the conflict with the authorities, unlike the semi-official Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, which declined the measure, but was finally forced to dismiss the members from hostile states and to publish this decision.<sup>779</sup> In practice, the contacts would have been broken, anyway, as there was no regular post connection between enemies. Under the new conditions, even the use of the German language caused embarrassment. To avoid aggravating the authorities, the FLS decided to write the introduction of the catalogue of its folklore collections in French, instead of German, as originally was planned.<sup>780</sup> Furthermore, it wrote to the war censorship committee, enquiring if it was allowed to publish the second volume of the German-Finnish Dictionary.<sup>781</sup> The SFFF, for its part, continued to publish German summaries in its *Bulletin*.<sup>782</sup> Publishing the pictures of military commanders and notables of enemies was forbidden as well, but this was probably the least of the problems.<sup>783</sup>

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, 93 prominent German intellectuals signed a manifesto, *An die Kulturwelt!*, in which they declared loyalty to their country and tried to justify its military actions. This provoked the Allied front even further.<sup>784</sup> The FLS and FAS received French and Canadian circulars, demanding condemnation of German war crimes.<sup>785</sup> Even the letters of condolence included political messages. After the death of President Aspelin, the Société des Antiquaires du Centre from Bourges wrote to the FAS:

*nos deux patries ne sont pas seulement unies par une noble émulation scientifique, mais pour une lutte plus âpre dont dépendent est leur liberté propre et la civilisation mondiale.*<sup>786</sup>

<sup>777</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 March 1915 § 4. In Suomi IV:15, p. 106; minutes of the FAS 17 February 1915. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA.

<sup>778</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1915, annual report. In MEDDELANDEN 41 (1915), pp. 103–115.

<sup>779</sup> Elfving 1938, pp. 121–122.

<sup>780</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 28 September 1916 § 4. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA. See also minutes of the board of the FAS 11 October 1917 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>781</sup> 6 August 191[5] The FLS to Sotasensuuritoimisto. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence. Mk 1-45 (2003), 114, 393. SKS, KIA.

<sup>782</sup> See Übersicht der wichtigeren Mitteilungen 1914–1915. In MEDDELANDEN 41 (1915), pp. 182–200; MEDDELANDEN 42 (1916), pp. 160–173.

<sup>783</sup> 7 December 1915 [Circular] Salainen kiireellinen kiertokirje. Archive of the FAS. Ea 3. NBA Archives.

<sup>784</sup> Somsen 2008, p. 366. It should be noted that not all prominent scientists were among those 93 subscribers. Albert Einstein, for instance, refused to sign it. Medawar and Pyke 2001, p. 35.

<sup>785</sup> 3 November 1914 [Circular] Les universités françaises aux universités des pays neutres. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 103a. Mf 2004:1. SKS, KIA; 24 September 1914 Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France to the FAS; 30 December 1914 [Circular] Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 18. Minutes of the FAS 3 December 1914 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

<sup>786</sup> Société des Antiquaires du Centre to the FAS. Attached to minutes of the FAS 7 October 1915 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

Société Archéologie du Midi de la France announced satisfaction that the circular informing the death of the president was written in French.<sup>787</sup> The Finns, for their part, avoided political issues when giving commemorative speeches on their French colleagues.<sup>788</sup> The FDS was willing to organise aid for the colleagues when *L'aide confraternelle aux dentistes français et belges victimes de la guerre* sent a circular, requesting monetary support. The society decided to publish the letter for help in its *Proceedings* and take responsibility for the collecting of funds.<sup>789</sup>

Not only the political but also the practical consequences of the war caused difficulties for the learned societies. The FLS, which deposited its collections in its own house, acquired iron shutters for its windows and insured its property.<sup>790</sup> Odontology, for its part, benefited from the situation because the battles resulted in various face and chin injuries. Some members of the FDS served in ambulances or field hospitals, in order to develop their skills further. The majority of the members, nevertheless, stayed at home annoyed at conditions which isolated them from international development.<sup>791</sup> It seems that sometimes the Finns almost felt guilty about their peaceful conditions. In his speech at the annual meeting of 1915, the president of the FLS, Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, noted that the large editing project of the OPFP may seem odd, at a time when war had devastated the lives of many peoples. Nevertheless, he justified the project – because the war destroyed the monuments of culture, it was important to collect, preserve and publish all that was still available.<sup>792</sup>

In Finland, war did not diminish the business of commercial publishers. People were hungry for information and wanted to escape from the difficulties and horrors of the time to the world of books.<sup>793</sup> Sadly, the increasing demand did not extend to learned journals and growing expenses caused by inflation damaged more the scientific publishing than fiction.<sup>794</sup> Government support decreased as well.<sup>795</sup> New papers

<sup>787</sup> 22 July 1915 Société Archéologie du Midi de la France to the FAS, attached to minutes of the FAS 7 October 1915 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>788</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1915 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives; minutes of the FLS 1 November 1916 § 2. In SUOMI IV:18 (1920), p. 56.

<sup>789</sup> Minutes of the FDS 26 September 1916 § 6. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>790</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1915, annual report, attachment 2, 94; 5 May 1915 § 11. In SUOMI IV:16 (1916/1917), pp. 21–22.

<sup>791</sup> For instance, they could participate in a large odontological conference in San Francisco in 1915 only by sending papers and demonstration material. Minutes of the FDS 4 December 1915 § 1. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC; annual report of FDS 1915. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 17 (1916), pp. 54–59; annual report of the FDS 1917. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 22 (1918), pp. 41–49. See also Sivéń 1943, p. 147.

<sup>792</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1915 § 1. In SUOMI IV:15 (1915/1916), p. 116. Similar tone is notable in annual report 1917 of the FDS. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 22 (1918), pp. 41–49.

<sup>793</sup> Häggman 2008, p. 284.

<sup>794</sup> 9 September 1915 Circular of Finnish printing houses. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 103 a. Mf 2004:1. SKS, KIA.

<sup>795</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 February 1915 § 17: from 8000 to 6000 marks. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the FLS 3 November 1915 § 2: from 18000 to 9000 marks. In SUOMI IV:16 (1916/1917), pp. 55–56; minutes of the board of FAS 7 May 1915 § 2: from 5,000 to 4,000 marks. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

were announced as eagerly as in peacetime, but their printing was often delayed.<sup>796</sup> Occasional relief came in the form of private donations, which were given to certain publications.<sup>797</sup> In the spring of 1916, the SFFF, together with the Finnish Society of Forest Science, wrote an article series in the leading Swedish-speaking newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet*, to arouse the interest of potential donors. In these articles, the practical benefits of botany, zoology and forestry were underlined. This touched a chord and in the course of the year donations rose to over 20,000 marks.<sup>798</sup> The economic difficulties provoked discussion on what should be published. The SFFF announced that it would no longer print the lists of local plants or animals in its journals.<sup>799</sup> In the FDS, the extracts and translations from other journals, published in the *Proceedings*, aroused criticism.<sup>800</sup> However, no exact publishing policies were decided. In the FLS, the leadership was criticised for producing books with low demand. The president defended the publishing policy vigorously, reminding the members that the objective of the society had never been commercial success, but rather producing scholarly books and journals, dictionaries and translations, whose publication was risky and expensive.<sup>801</sup>

The war prevented the exchange of publications with enemies, but the book consignments from the Allies and neutral countries continued,<sup>802</sup> and even some new exchange relations were established. For instance, in 1915, the SFFF began an exchange with the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales, the University of Illinois and the National Academy of Sciences in Boston.<sup>803</sup> In 1917, it accepted an exchange offer made by the Junta de Ciencias Naturales de Barcelona.<sup>804</sup> Furthermore, contacts were established with Swedish and Norwegian museums and the University of Lund.<sup>805</sup> The Russian institutions were active in initiating exchanges with the Finnish soci-

<sup>796</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 25 November 1915 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; minutes of the FAS 7 May 1917, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>797</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1916. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 19 (1917), pp. 88-96. The SFFF received private support for continuing the printing of the *Bulletin* in 1916. Minutes of the SFFF 4 February 1916 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the board of the FAS 26 March 1917 § 3; 4 May 1917 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>798</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 May 1916 § 3; 7 October 1916 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>799</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 13 May 1916 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>800</sup> Minutes of the FDS 29 February 1916 § 7. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 3. NARC.

<sup>801</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1916, speech. In SUOMI IV:16 (1916/1917), pp. 100-104.

<sup>802</sup> 10 June 1916 Société d'anthropologie de Paris to the FAS; 19 June 1916 Société Suisse de Préhistoire to the FAS; 20 June 1916 the New York Public Library to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>803</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 February 1915 § 21; 6 March 1915 § 20; 2 October 1915 § 17. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>804</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 15 December 1917 § 23. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>805</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 December 1916 § 29. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the FAS 3 December 1915 § 2; 1 March 1917 § 7; 5 April 1917 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

eties during the war,<sup>806</sup> and some new exchanges were established even in the period between the two revolutions.<sup>807</sup> Despite new partners, library acquisitions diminished radically, as Table 5.1 demonstrates.

*Table 5.1. Library acquisitions of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica, Finnish Literature Society and Finnish Antiquarian Society 1913 – 1918.*<sup>808</sup>

Year	Number of library acquisitions		
	SFFF	FLS	FAS
1913	1172	685	339
1914	1136	585	215
1915	1332*	512	123
1916	431	496	230
1917	366	missing**	198
1918	186	650	223

\*The bequest of Professor Carl Lundström formed over 50 % of the acquisitions.

\*\*Probably, the acquisitions of 1917 are part of the figure for 1918.

The libraries of the FLS and FAS did not suffer as much as the library of the SFFF since they had more domestic exchange partners and, furthermore, a significant part of their foreign exchanges were in the Nordic countries, Estonia and Russia, where the contacts were maintained during the war.

The First World War had little direct influence on Finland, but the political development in Russia began to change conditions in the spring of 1917. The provisional government, imposed after the February Revolution, cancelled all unification measures which had aroused irritation in Finns since 1899. The wariness of the learned societies began to fade in the course of the revolutionary events. The FDS received at its March meeting a telegram from its Danish correspondent Henrik Stürup. Its message *Vive Finlande Libre!* elicited ‘hurrahs’ from the participants of the meeting.<sup>809</sup> The obedience towards wartime orders diminished and the memory of a German corresponding member was openly honoured in the FDS in September 1917.<sup>810</sup> Soon, however, the waves of more radical revolutionary events extended into the scientific world. In October 1917, a Russian troop invaded the biological station in Tvärminne, imprisoning Professor Palmén who was working there. There was no severe damage, but the SFFF was very indignant about this imprisonment of its aged president.<sup>811</sup> This

<sup>806</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 30 April 1915 § 11; 4 March 1916 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the FAS 7 May 1915 § 10; 6 May 1916, annual report; 5 April 1917 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>807</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1917 § 10. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9; 24 May 1917 Ministerstvo Imperatorskago dvora Imperatorskij Ermitaž to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

<sup>808</sup> The figures are gathered from library reports and annual reports of these societies and the acquisition catalogue of the FLS. The exact figures of the FDS were not available.

<sup>809</sup> Minutes of the FDS 26 March 1917 § 1. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 21 (1918), p. 62.

<sup>810</sup> Minutes of the FDS 24 September 1917 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 21 (1918), p. 90.

<sup>811</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1917 § 17. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

episode, however, was nothing compared with the disorder which some months later ceased all activities of the learned societies.

Instead of joining their forces in this new political situation, the Finnish parties descended into deep suspicions and controversies. There were social problems in the background, especially the question of landless people and the lack of food supplies. The October Revolution in Russia, the organisation of red guards in Finland and their part in the general strike in November, together with the presence of ill-disciplined Russian troops and the absence of any effective police authority aroused fear in the right-wing parties. The new senate, it was hoped, would restore order and separate Finland from Russia. However, only the second objective was realised. The parliament accepted the declaration of independence given by this senate on December 6, 1917.<sup>812</sup> Owing to the fact that Russian troops were still in the country, the government organised armed forces by deploying the civil guards, which consisted of non-socialist volunteers, the Jägerbattalion, trained in Germany and the group of former Finnish officers of the imperial Russian army. This decision was objected to by the Social Democrats who feared that these forces would stand against the working class. The radical wing of the party considered that the situation formed a second opportunity for revolution and should not be lost. At the same time, the so-called ‘white troops’ began to disarm Russian garrisons in Ostrobothnia, and red guards and civil guards began to fight in eastern Finland. The civil war lasted from the end of January to early May, 1918, and ended in victory for the white troops, which in the final phases of the war were aided by the units of German troops. The civil war, which was called by the white side, the Freedom War, and by the reds, the Class War or Red Rebellion, left deep scars. The red terror of wartime was followed by white terror after the war. In total, 11,800 were executed, 10,000 of them reds. In addition, 11,000 soldiers were killed in fights and 13,500 reds died in prison camps after the war. The image of a harmonious nation, sustained for decades by the national movement, was now broken.<sup>813</sup>

During the red occupation of the capital, no meetings of learned societies were held, but after the arrival of the white troops in April 1918, the societies gradually returned to the normal routine. At the first meetings, the leaders of the societies, who all represented the white party, held speeches which reflected their shock and disappointment at recent developments. Most of them considered that the civil war was the result of extremist or retarded elements – the dregs of society – and of the provocation and support of the Russian Bolsheviks. As Palmén stated:

*the eastern utopias have for a long time silently been embedded in the backward elements here.*<sup>814</sup>

The president of the FDS, Edvard Groundstroem, openly expressed his admiration of Germans:

<sup>812</sup> Kirby 2006, pp. 156-161; Hentilä 2009, pp. 102-116; Paasivirta 1984, pp. 53-57, 66-73, 90-99.

<sup>813</sup> Kirby 2006, pp. 161-162; Meinander 2006, pp. 152-156; Hentilä 2009, pp. 108-116. Hentilä gives different figures of the number of dead: 36,000 victims of war, terror and prison camps, 27,000 of them reds.

<sup>814</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1918, annual report. In MEDDELANDEN 44 (1918), p. 176. The citation in Swedish: *Men österländska utopier hade länge i tysthet inympats hos oss på efterblifna folkelement.*

*these great, powerful and noble people we, first and foremost, owe a debt of gratitude for our freedom.*<sup>815</sup>

Nevertheless, although the dislike of the red party and the admiration for white troops were obvious, the presidents emphasised the need to avoid further conflict and to continue scientific and scholarly work.<sup>816</sup> The most neutral of these societies was the FAS, possibly due to the consideration for its former secretary, Julius Ailio, who was a member of the Social Democrat Party, though he never accepted its decision on taking up arms. The FAS was quick in collecting the material remains of red guards – red ribbons, stamps and prints – which indicated that it was ready to accept the civil war as a part of Finnish history whose heritage was worth preserving.<sup>817</sup>

During the war, the Finnish societies tried to remain neutral and retain old internationalist attitudes. Contacts with Germany were only broken at the order of Russian authorities. Contacts with the Allies were maintained in a polite spirit, but the political tone in their letters and circulars did not have an effect. After the war, the situation radically altered. The old restrictions were abolished and the Finnish societies were free to create international contacts and to re-establish their position in the scientific community, on their own terms. The international scholarly community, however, was altering remarkably.

## 5.2 EUROPEAN SCIENCE AND SCHOLARSHIP UNDER THE STRAIN OF POLITICS

After the war, the ideas of internationalism and universalism seemed to be fading. The manifesto *An die Kulturwelt* had shocked the scholarly community because it was signed by scientists and academics who, according to tradition, were expected to maintain a neutral stance. This led to the creation of two scientific fronts. The German scientists were banned from international unions and a new organisation, the International Research Council, was established to promote the scientific co-operation among the winners.<sup>818</sup>

The isolation of Germany extended to academic publishing. Journals and abstract publications, which before the war had a wide international distribution, were now boycotted by the Allies. The whole of German scientific and bibliographical publishing was threatened by a diminishing number of subscribers, increasing costs of printing and lack of support from industry. Nevertheless, the crisis promoted co-operation and created centralised organisations to serve the German scholarly community. Not-

<sup>815</sup> Minutes of the FDS 24 April 1918 § 1. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 22 (1918), pp. 57–58. The citation in Swedish: *det stora, mäktiga och ädla folk vi i främsta rummet ha att tacka för vår frihet*. The members of the FDS gave dental care to German soldiers, after the civil war. See annual report of the FDS 1918. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), pp. 39–45.

<sup>816</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 May 1918 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; 13 May 1918, annual report. In MEDDELANDE 44 (1918), pp. 176–187; minutes of the FLS 1 June 1918 § 1. In SUOMI IV:19 (1922), pp. 67–70; minutes of the FLS 3 May 1918 § 1. In Suomi IV:20 (1927), pp. 3–4.

<sup>817</sup> Minutes of the FAS 10 October 1918 § 10, speech and annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives. On Ailio, see Autio 1999 <http://artikkelihaku.kansallisbiografia.fi/artikkeli/649/> (cited 2 September 2011).

<sup>818</sup> Somsen 2008, p. 367; Crawford 1990, pp. 261–263; Bartholomew 1989, p. 254.

gemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft was founded in 1920, to provide grants, assist in publishing and promote the acquisition of instruments and machines. Its library board aimed at filling the gaps in the foreign literature collections that had grown as a result of the war, by organising collective exchanges. Reichszentrale für naturwissenschaftliche Berichterstattung, founded in the same year, began as a centre for bibliographical and abstract work, but soon widened its activities to providing copies of scientific papers for libraries in Germany and abroad. Nordic countries, new independent states and the Soviet Union did not join the boycott of Allies, which meant that contacts with these institutions could be established.<sup>819</sup>

In the middle of the 1920s, the boycott began to erode, opening the Western markets to German scientific journals. The progress of German science, fostered by the recovering economy and political stabilisation, was propagated actively in the journal *Forschungen und Fortschritte* which was sent free of charge to foreign scientists, institutions and societies. The publishing branch recovered relatively quickly, but the rampant inflation caused remarkable rises in the price of the commercially published journals. Also, some structural differences, such as authorship and editor fees and the commissions of agents who distributed the journals raised costs in comparison with American and British serials, which usually were based on voluntary work in societies. The American libraries occasionally objected to the German prices, but their patience ended after the financial crash of 1929. In 1931, the American Library Association launched a formal protest, which was followed by the Linnean Society of London and the Interational Federation of Library Associations. In addition to price, they were critical to the standard of German journals, for instance, the practice of publishing theses as supplementary series. The German publishers were pressured to reduce the prices of the most expensive journals from 20–30% and to lessen the volume of publishing. However, the devaluation of the dollar and British pound eliminated the gains of the reduction. The problem was finally solved by the National Socialist government which, worried at the growing dominance of English language and Anglo-American culture, admitted export subsidies for journals in 1935.<sup>820</sup>

The Nazi Government generously supported research – as well as journals – which bolstered their ideology.<sup>821</sup> At the same time, however, the regulations following the Nuremberg laws were eroding the flourishing branch of scientific publishing. Several publishing houses were originally founded by Jews. The Jewish ownership of business was proscribed by the new laws, and so too their work as editors or reviewers. Subscriptions to foreign journals published or edited by Jews were forbidden as well. The result was that many Jews emigrated, creating new and innovative establishments, such as Interscience and Academic Press, in the USA and the United Kingdom. These banished publishers were instrumental in making English the language of the scientific community.<sup>822</sup>

As the old frontiers between Germany and the Allied countries were reshaping, another political division was developing between the Soviet Union and the western world. In the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet research was reorganised into a structure of three

819 Behrends 1997, pp. 54–61; Дивногорцев 2007, pp. 35–36, 51–52.

820 Behrends 1997, pp. 63–65; Edelman 1994, pp. 171–176.

821 Burleigh 1988, pp. 54–55.

822 Sokoloff 2002, pp. 315–319.



distinct pyramids: first, the academy system, at the top of which was the USSR Academy of Sciences, heading specialised and local academies and their institutes; second, the institutes of higher education; and third, the ministerial research establishments, usually industrial research institutes. The previous societies were mostly disbanded and replaced by government-controlled bureaus. The publishing production increased in the course of the 1920s and 1930s, but scientific publishing became subject to the control of the Academy institutes and strictly censored. The Cultural Revolution of 1928–1931 and the terror of Stalin, in the 1930s, destroyed the will of most people desiring freedom for their research.<sup>823</sup> Despite the ideological attacks against bourgeois science and scholarship, Soviet society was eager to organise the acquisitions of foreign literature for its research libraries. The purchases were, in the early 1920s, centralised under the authority of the *Bûro inostrannoĭ nauki i tehniki* (BINT) (The Bureau of Foreign Science and Technology), located in Berlin. It had representatives in many European capitals and provided thousands of items annually, which were mainly deposited in the major libraries. It mediated exchange offers, too. Furthermore, the exchange activities were the responsibility of the *Bûro meĭdunarodnaâ knigobmena* (The Bureau of International Exchange of Publications), which, during the NEP-period, was accompanied by a more famous player, *Vsesoûznoe Obšestvo kul'turnoĭ svâzi s zagranicej* VOKS (The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). VOKS, which nominally was a society, enjoyed more goodwill among the Western publishers than governmental institutions, but was actually under the tight control of the Communist party. Its first director, Olga Kameneva, who was a sister of Trotsky and wife of Lev Kamenev, was dismissed in 1929. Censorship increased during the rule of Stalin; foreign literature was available only in major libraries, and those considered most dangerous only in the department of secret books of the Library of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>824</sup>

Apart from the increasing influence of international politics in science, the trends of academic publishing remained much the same as in the prewar period. After a temporary decrease in the growth of the number of scientific journals caused by the war, the exponential increase in titles continued and these became more and more specialised. The number of abstract journals also grew.<sup>825</sup> In Germany, the branch of academic publishing was still mostly in the hands of commercial establishments, which carried all editorial and production costs and had to rely on subscriptions for income. In the United Kingdom and the USA, research journals were often published by learned societies and hence supported by their memberships, sometimes even by public funding or private donations. In the USA, the number of university presses multiplied. The country had not suffered from the war as much as the European countries, and private and federal funding was abundantly available to the univer-

<sup>823</sup> Graham 1993, pp. 87–98, 122–123, 180–181; Trigger 1989, p. 216. On the publishing figures, see Дивногоорцев 2007, pp. 67–68.

<sup>824</sup> Дивногоорцев 2007, pp. 34–36, 44–46, 70–77, 80, 148. Trigger (1989, pp. 214–229) says that in the NEP period, foreign contacts were mostly allowed, but in the Stalin era, current foreign publications in the field of archaeology were found only in the library of the Institute of Material Culture in the Academy.

<sup>825</sup> Meadows 1998, pp. 13–21, 30–31; Price 1986, pp. 7–10.

sities and research institutes.<sup>826</sup> In new independent countries, scientific and scholarly publishing was continued mostly by the societies, academies and institutions founded in the nineteenth century. Voluntary work, modest government subsidies and some private financiers were the backbone of journals in these small countries which experienced economic difficulties after the war.<sup>827</sup> In Finland, scholarly publishing remained mostly in the hands of learned societies which enjoyed government subsidies. The inflation, though not as high as in Germany, burdened the system because the subsidies increased much more slowly than the costs of paper and printing. From 1926, the Ministry of Education distributed a part of the profit funds of state lotteries to the learned societies.<sup>828</sup> The societies, for their part, were required to submit more accurate reporting on their publications, distribution, paid honoraria, etc.<sup>829</sup>

The exchange of publications widened during the interwar period. Most of the new independent states adhered to the Brussels Conventions in the 1920s. Their ratification by China and Egypt extended the conventions to new continents. In 1936, a new Inter-American Convention was signed in a Pan-American spirit. Bilateral agreements were established, too, especially by countries which had not signed the Brussels Conventions. These agreements usually focused on the exchange of official publications, but they highlighted questions which related to scientific exchanges, as custom fees and postage. The Commission of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations kept trying to secure international postal franchise on exchange material, without success, however.<sup>830</sup> The question of information flow was grasped by the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA), founded in 1927. It aimed at establishing rules on the exchange of dissertations which caused many problems – the flow of literature to libraries and expenses to the doctoral candidates.<sup>831</sup>

The interwar years were in many ways a contradictory period in science and scholarship. On the one hand, politics had a notable effect on scientific co-operation and on academic publishing: first, the boycott of Germany; then the racial laws of the Nazis; and third, the upheavals in Soviet science, which influenced scientific work both on an institutional and personal level. On the other hand, there were many efforts to rebuild bridges; for instance, the national and international centralised organisations, which aimed at promoting the acquisition of foreign books and journals. The economic base of scientific publishing was also varied. The seeds of commercial publishing sown in the prewar period grew in Germany in the 1920s, leading to a blossoming business, which was transferred to the USA and the United Kingdom after the political turmoil. Simultaneously, the exchange activities were promoted in many countries and by new international organisations such as the League of Nation and IFLA. The interest in exchanges was partly supported by the currency fluctuations and economic

<sup>826</sup> Edelman 1994, pp. 171-172; Sörlin 1994, p. 210. For instance, the Carnegie institution supported journals. Stieg 1986, pp. 76-80.

<sup>827</sup> Kobyliński 2007, pp. 71-78; Rózsa 1976, pp. 11-12. See also the memorandum written by A. M. Tallgren and U. T. Sirelius in 1924, attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1924 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>828</sup> Autio 1986, pp. 214-215; Martin 1974, p. 167.

<sup>829</sup> 1 March 1927 Tieteellinen Keskuslautakunta to the FAS, attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 3 March 1927 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>830</sup> Lilja 2006, pp. 58-59.

<sup>831</sup> Gombocz 1974, pp. 9-10.

crises, but it was also still rooted in the old traditions of scholarly community, the spirit of sharing and helping. In these most turbulent of times, one can only admire scholars and scientists, who sat patiently in their studies or laboratories, persistently submitting their articles to journals as well as publishers, who in spite of economic difficulties and political constraints, continued to distribute their findings.

### 5.3 PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES OF THE FINNISH SOCIETIES DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

#### 5.3.1 The SFFF

The war had not paralysed the publishing activities of the SFFF. On the contrary, the president, Palmén, was confident of the scientific standard of the research, announcing that the time of mere observations was coming to an end and the era of proper biological research was well under way.<sup>832</sup> Many papers were offered and new projects launched. To celebrate the centenary, the society decided to begin writing the history of the society, descriptions of the collections in the natural history museums and bibliographies of zoological and botanical literature.<sup>833</sup> Furthermore, Professor Kaarlo Mainio Levander made a motion on the reformation of the *Bulletin* so that it would appear four times a year, together with a supplement – a popular zoological-botanical journal which would be more suited to the general reading public.<sup>834</sup> Levander's plans, however, were postponed, due to the difficult times.<sup>835</sup> Another ambitious idea was to translate into German all the major works of J. P. Norrlin, the path breaker of botanic geography, to make them available for international distribution.<sup>836</sup>

Peacetime brought with it difficulties. The society lost its long-time president when Palmén died in April, 1919.<sup>837</sup> In economic terms, inflation multiplied the price of paper and printing. In the autumn of 1920, the situation became so critical that all printing of the SFFF had to be suspended. The members of the board were requested to approach potential private financiers<sup>838</sup> and the society raised the prices of its publications significantly – 600–1000% .<sup>839</sup> The annual government subsidy was raised to 37,500 marks in 1921.<sup>840</sup> Appeal to donators proved successful and the centenary publications of the society received over 100,000 marks in support from firms and private

<sup>832</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1917. In MEDDELANDEN 43 (1917), pp. 188–207.

<sup>833</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 March 1917 § 8; 15 December 1917 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>834</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 15 December 1917 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL. See also annual report of SFFF 1917. In MEDDELANDEN 44 (1918), pp. 176–187.

<sup>835</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 May 1918 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>836</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1918 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>837</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1919. In MEDDELANDEN 45 (1920), pp. 226–240.

<sup>838</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 15 October 1920 § 4, 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>839</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 December 1920 § 20. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>840</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 1 February 1921 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; minutes of the SFFF 5 February 1921 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1921. In MEDDELANDEN 47 (1921), pp. 119–134.

persons.<sup>841</sup> Optimism returned. When the statutes of the SFFF were readjusted, the scope of the society was defined more broadly than before. The new president, Alvar Palmgren, wished that, in addition to traditional botany and zoology, the society should include in its programme biology in general and publish its research results in a new serial *Acta Biologica*.<sup>842</sup> The idea found supporters, but in the current economic situation, it appeared to be too ambitious. At the next meeting, Professor Fredrik Elfving suggested that various societies might publish *Acta Biologica* together.<sup>843</sup> The matter was not discussed in the SFFF any more, but the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, where Elfving was an active member, launched a new serial, *Commentationes biologicae*, in 1922.<sup>844</sup>

The monetary situation recovered temporarily as a result of the centenary, but in the following year a new crisis emerged and even the printing of the *Bulletin* had to be postponed.<sup>845</sup> The government subsidy rose to 105,000 marks in 1926, and to 130,000 marks in 1928. In addition, the SFFF began to receive the profit funds of the state lottery.<sup>846</sup> At the beginning of the 1930s, the depression cut government subsidies but, fortunately, the lottery funds rose.<sup>847</sup> Private donations were occasionally received, although they were small in comparison with governmental funding.<sup>848</sup> Extra subsidy was admitted for Brotherus' handbook on mosses, *Die Laubmoose Fennoscandias*, which formed the first volume of the series *Flora Fennica*.<sup>849</sup> Another series, *Fauna Fennica*, was launched in 1924, when Richard Frey was promised the funding for a handbook on Diptera haplostomata.<sup>850</sup> However, although some big projects were successfully promoted, others were forgotten due to the financial situation. For instance, an idea to translate into German and publish the central works of Ragnar Hult in the field of botanic geography was first postponed and then discarded.<sup>851</sup> The translation of Norrlin's works was transferred to the Finnish Society of Forest Science.<sup>852</sup>

Despite the constant economic pressure, the SFFF was determined to develop its journals. The old question concerning the relation between *Acta* and the *Bulletin*

841 Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1921 § 21; 7 May 1921 § 6; 1 October 1921 § 21. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1921. In MEDDELANDEN 47 (1921), pp. 119-134.

842 Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1921 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

843 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 5 May 1921 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

844 Elfving 1938, pp. 134-135.

845 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 May 1922 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

846 Annual report of the SFFF 1928. In MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276.

847 Annual report of the SFFF 1934. In MEMORANDA 10 (1933-35), pp. 452-465.

848 Minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1928 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; minutes of the board of the SFFF 24 January 1929 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

849 Annual report of the SFFF 1923. In MEDDELANDEN 49 (1925), pp. 179-195; minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 November 1923 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL. The book also had remarkable reduction to the price of the paper, from the Kymmene paper factory.

850 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 May 1924 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1924. In MEDDELANDEN 50 (1925), pp. 93-114.

851 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 26 November 1925 § 13; 28 November 1927 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; Palmgren 1958, p. 40.

852 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 15 October 1920 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL. They were published in 1923. See Halonen 2009, p. 29.

re-emerged in 1921, when school teacher August Parvela offered his paper, describing the flora of the district Oulainen, to the Centenary-Acta. Elfving criticised the decision of publishing it in *Acta*, stating that the descriptions of this kind, which aroused only domestic interest, fitted better in the *Bulletin*. The board considered, however, that papers for the jubilee volume were requested from all members and so Parvela's paper was accepted.<sup>853</sup> Nevertheless, soon after the centenary festivities the board discussed the future of *Acta*, planning to divide the botanical and zoological papers into separate serials. Each volume would have a separate editor to supervise its content, the printing process and the length of the papers; only those arousing general interest would be accepted after being reviewed by two referees. In addition to these reforms, President Palmgren suggested that only papers written in the *big civilised languages* would be accepted to new *Acta* series, but this proposal was put aside.<sup>854</sup> In 1923, the board decided to launch these new serials, *Acta Zoologica Fennica* (AZF) and *Acta Botanica Fennica* (ABF), but also to continue the old *Acta*, in which the previously accepted papers and multivolumed books, such as *Conspectus Florae Fennicae*, would be published.<sup>855</sup> The format of the ABF and AZF was to be similar with the journals of other societies because it made possible the common publishing, hence saving costs and widening the distribution.<sup>856</sup> Some features were adopted from the international journals. For instance, the day of printing was marked in each paper.<sup>857</sup> These reforms were a consequence of increasing international and domestic competition – another Finnish biological society, Vanamo, had recently widened its activities to international publishing and launched its own scientific *Annales* series, which mostly included papers in German. Furthermore, on the eve of the First World War, the Finnish Society of Forest Science had founded its own serial, *Acta Forestalia Fennica*, aimed at international distribution as well.<sup>858</sup>

Palmgren returned to the issue of language in the annual report of 1926, where he contemplated it alongside the prospects of widening the international exchanges of the SFFF:

<sup>853</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 1 June 1921 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>854</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 19 November 1921 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1922. In MEDDELANDEN 48 (1925), p. 210–226. The phrase *in the big civilised languages* (in Finnish: *suurilla sivistyskielillä*), which usually meant writing in German, French or English, sometimes even in Latin, Italian or Spanish, was widely used at the time. Also the terms *in European languages*, *International languages*, *World languages* or even *Christian languages* were used. See Garritzen 2011, p. 204.

<sup>855</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 27 October 1923 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>856</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 12 May 1925 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1925. In MEMORANDA 1 (1927), pp. 127–136.

<sup>857</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 9 February 1928 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>858</sup> Saalas 1946, pp. 224–229, 330–335, 346–349; Halonen 2009, pp. 137–141.

*Naturally, it is not enough that our publications end on the desks of scientists; they have to be understood as well. Therefore, if they include findings which interest international science they should be published in some world language.*<sup>859</sup>

Palmgren passed the baton to the financiers of the science, for he considered that the use of domestic languages was due to the economically difficult position which hindered Finnish scientists from translating their papers or developing their own language skills during foreign study tours. His own early papers were written in Swedish and, therefore, unknown in the rest of Europe. From the early 1920s, Palmgren had published in German, and at the time of these contemplations, he was already an internationally recognised botanist.<sup>860</sup> The opinion of the president was supported by the circular of the Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, which encouraged the members of the learned societies to write all papers of broad scientific interest in a *lingua franca*. Despite the costs of language revision, which the authors had to pay themselves,<sup>861</sup> the biologists seemed willing to use foreign languages. ABF and AZF included only papers in German or sometimes in English. Only one exception was made for a Swedish author.<sup>862</sup>

In the early 1920s, there was no oversupply of material, probably due to the founding of several new biological serials in Finland.<sup>863</sup> Rejections of papers were relatively rare and in these cases, the society often sought the opinion of a third referee.<sup>864</sup> In the second half of the 1920s, the volume of submitted papers increased because of the growing number of Finnish biologists whose education in the new university, in Turku, was well under way. The society could not publish all the papers it received.<sup>865</sup> Theses were still published in all *Acta* series, but usually with the condition that the respondent paid 30-50% of the printing costs and 50% of illustrations.<sup>866</sup> The theses also had to pass the regular review process.<sup>867</sup>

<sup>859</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1926. In MEMORANDA 2 (1927), p. 93. The citation in Finnish: *Ei luonnollisestikaan ole kyllin siinä, että julkaisumme joutuivat tiedemiesten pöydälle, niitä tulee myös ymmärtää. Niiden tulee siis, mikäli sisältävät kansainväliselle tieteelle kiintoisia tuloksia, ilmestyä jollakin maailmankielellä.* Also, in the annual report of 1927, Palmgren stated that the main purpose of the new serials was to widen the contacts with foreign universities, institutions and scientists. In MEMORANDA 3 (1927), pp. 112-113.

<sup>860</sup> Leikola 2006. <http://helios.uta.fi:2313/artikkeli/7115/> (cited 21 January 2011).

<sup>861</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 24 January 1929 § 18; 22 October 1929 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

<sup>862</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 29 November 1937 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

<sup>863</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 May 1924 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>864</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 28 November 1924 § 8; 2 December 1926 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>865</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1927. In MEMORANDA 3 (1927), p. 106.

<sup>866</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 15 February 1922 § 5; 31 October 1924 § 2; 2 December 1926 § 4; 3 February 1927 § 8; 21 October 1927 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; 24 January 1929 § 8; 2 May 1934 § 11; 24 March 1936 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL. Those who defended their theses in the University of Turku had to pay less because their university did not give subsidies for publishing.

<sup>867</sup> See e. g. minutes of the board of the SFFF 24 January 1929 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

The reforms of the *Bulletin* began in the 1920s. The first step was a new Latin title, *Memoranda Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica*.<sup>868</sup> In the background the language dispute between Finnish and Swedish-speaking people was being politicised radically.<sup>869</sup> Important editorial reforms were not made. The papers offered to *Memoranda* were usually reviewed only by the editor and rejections were rare.<sup>870</sup> The guidelines for *Memoranda* were settled in 1928; it was to be a forum for publishing the minutes and reports of the society. Therefore, the papers could not be offered to the journal without presenting them at meetings, and all those who held presentations were obliged to leave a written paper on the subject to *Memoranda*. The papers written in domestic languages should have summaries in German, French or English.<sup>871</sup> Unfortunately, the new guidelines did not make the publishing of *Memoranda* much easier. Many papers were offered and often they were large scientific studies which made the publishing process slow, laborious and expensive. The society was worried that it would absorb material which should instead be published in the peer reviewed journals ABF and AZF. As a solution, the board suggested that the papers published in *Memoranda* should not exceed one printed sheet. The old *Acta* could be developed as a forum for papers too long for *Memoranda* but including information of mostly local interest. *Acta* would have its own editors and papers would be reviewed by two referees.<sup>872</sup>

Despite the constant shortage of money, the number of copies in each of the serials increased many times until the end of the 1930s. The reason for this was the effort to widen exchanges. In 1920, the printing of the *Bulletin* was raised to 750 copies and *Acta* to 700 copies,<sup>873</sup> and in 1924, to 900 and 875 copies respectively.<sup>874</sup> The printing of the new serials, ABF and AZF, was 950 copies at the beginning,<sup>875</sup> but the latter was soon raised to 1,200 copies.<sup>876</sup> Nevertheless, in 1937 the printing of ABF, AZF and *Memoranda* was reduced by a hundred copies.<sup>877</sup> It seems that there was a growing sense of pessimism in the society because it also lightened the peer review process in 1939. In all serials, the editor of the volume could now be the only referee if he was

868 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 7 March 1925 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

869 Annual report of the SFFF 1927. In MEMORANDA 3 (1927), p. 112; Palmgren 1958, p. 12. On the language dispute, see Hentilä 2009, pp. 146-147.

870 Some rejections were discussed in the board, for instance, the papers of the assiduous author Magnus Brenner. Minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 February 1927 § 13; 18 May 1928 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

871 Minutes of the SFFF 15 April 1928 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 13 May 1928 Bil. C. Archive of the SFFF. Protokollbilagor. SLSA1162:5 (1927-1932). FNL.

872 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 May 1935 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1935. In MEMORANDA 11 (1935-36), pp. 246-260.

873 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 21 May 1920 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

874 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 4 April 1924 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

875 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 12 May 1925 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

876 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 8 April 1926 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

877 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 29 November 1937 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

competent in the respective subject. Officially, the motive for this measure was to shorten the time needed to publication,<sup>878</sup> but probably, the publishing programme had proved to be too ambitious. Neither did the situation in world politics arouse optimism.

Although the president of the society had ambitious plans for the international distribution of the publications, the SFFF was not very willing to open its journals to foreign scientists. From time to time, the papers were offered by corresponding members and other foreign researchers, but only some were published.<sup>879</sup> A paper written by a Swedish amateur, Th. Lange, was included in ABF in 1938. He had previously donated his herbarium to the Åbo Akademi, which possibly had an effect on the decision.<sup>880</sup> The paper offered by a corresponding member, Astrid Cleve-Euler, caused confusion because her scientific work had been criticised in other journals, but after long discussion, the board supported its publishing.<sup>881</sup> All in all, the foreign papers seemed to have more difficulties in passing the review.<sup>882</sup> Some monographs were prepared in collaboration with Nordic scientists. Vainio's large work, *Lichenographia Fennica*, was after his death finished by a Norwegian correspondent of the society, B. Lyngé.<sup>883</sup> In 1933, Richard Frey relayed a suggestion made in the Nordic congress of entomologists that the SFFF should publish a catalogue of the beetles in the Nordic countries because the printing costs were the lowest in Finland. The society accepted, supposing that subscriptions would cover the majority of the costs.<sup>884</sup> As usual, this expectation was too optimistic.<sup>885</sup>

The publishing activity of the society increased markedly in the interwar period. Two serials published before the war had generated four others and furthermore, the society prepared handbooks in the series *Flora Fennica* and *Fauna Fennica*. Dividing the old *Acta* into botanical and zoological serials was in direct response to the general demand for more specialised journals. In addition, the SFFF determinately aimed at raising the standard of its publications. The intensifying international competition, constant shortage of money and supply of material from scientists and amateur members was a challenging combination. The SFFF did its best to satisfy all parties by

878 Annual report of the SFFF 1939. In MEMORANDA 15 (1939-1940), pp. 250-264.

879 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 8 March 1927 § 8 (H. Lohmander from Lund). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; 18 February 1931 § 7 (doctor Ziegenspeck from Königsberg); 22 January 1937 § 13 (Hans Schlesch from Copenhagen); 29 November 1937 § 21 (Astrid Cleve-Euler from Uppsala). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3; minutes of the SFFF 5 November 1927 § 18 (Kurt Wein from Germany). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 6 November 1937 § 11 (Professor Otto Steinböck from Innsbruck). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

880 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 7 May 1937 § 13; 29 November 1937 § 7; 17 November 1938 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

881 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 29 November 1937 § 21; 23 March 1938 § 15; 5 May 1938 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

882 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 27 January 1936 § 11; 22 January 1937 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3.

883 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 5 January 1930 § 11; 16 October 1931 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

884 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 November 1933 § 22; 2 May 1934 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL; annual report of the SFFF. In MEMORANDA 10 (1933-35), pp. 452-465.

885 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 23 March 1938 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.



developing *Memoranda* and the old *Acta* for domestic papers and ABF and AZF for an international readership, but it did not grab at the opportunity to internationalise its journals by accepting foreign papers. It seems that in the course of the 1930s, the editors and the members of the board were overburdened by enormous undertakings and constantly growing printing bills. Lightening the criteria of the peer review as well as diminishing the number of copies were both signs that the publishing principles had been set too high to be affordable.

### 5.3.2 The FLS

After the civil war, the accountants of the FLS suggested some reforms to publishing. They proposed creating a special department for publishing activities, improving the bookkeeping and hiring a professional to deal with accounting and marketing.<sup>886</sup> The question arose again in January 1919 when the bookkeeper of the society announced that she was resigning. The board considered two options: to transfer distribution and bookkeeping to the big commercial publishing houses, or to rearrange the publishing in the society on the basis of profitableness, which presumed appointment of a manager with relevant experience. However, neither of the choices was acceptable – there were not enough funds to hire a manager, and the society was not willing to deliver this crucial part of its activities to an outsider. Therefore, the board decided to continue as before. A new lady (with a reasonably low wage request) was appointed as a keeper of book storage.<sup>887</sup> Hiring low-pay employees meant, in practice, a high turnover of workers, but in 1921, the society managed to reappoint Mathilda Bohm, who had filled the post successfully in the prewar period.<sup>888</sup>

Inflation, together with diminished government subsidy, threatened to paralyse many planned projects, but the situation recovered after a private donation.<sup>889</sup> The government subsidy was raised to 19,200 marks in 1919, besides an additional grant of 14,300 marks.<sup>890</sup> The prices of publications were raised many times, which was problematic because the society was aware of its responsibility to guarantee the availability of certain basic works, such as *Kanteletar* and *Kalevala*, at a reasonable price.<sup>891</sup> It was especially difficult to raise the prices of OPFP, whose subscribers had committed to order the series in the prewar period, before inflation and other difficulties.<sup>892</sup> Application for funding was submitted and received from Finnish foundations. Luckily, the society had an influential supporter; the Minister of Education, Emil Nestor Setälä, was an active member and an initiator of many previous publishing projects.

<sup>886</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 November 1918 § 3. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 30–31.

<sup>887</sup> Minutes of the FLS 22 January 1919. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 55–57. The duties of the bookkeeper included storage, binding, selling and bookkeeping. See minutes of the FLS 16 December 1919 § 13. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 55–57.

<sup>888</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 May 1921 § 9. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), III, pp. 8–9.

<sup>889</sup> Minutes of the FLS 17 March 1919 § 1. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 74–75.

<sup>890</sup> Minutes of the FLS 7 May 1919 § 5. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, p. 6.

<sup>891</sup> Minutes of the FLS 8 October 1919 § 7. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, p. 19; 6 October 1920 § 8. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), II, p. 28.

<sup>892</sup> Minutes of the FLS 2 October 1918 § 8; 19 February 1919 § 9. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 21–22, 68.

He managed to persuade Parliament to grant an extra subsidy for the OPFP.<sup>893</sup> One solution to the economic problems was to sell copyrights.<sup>894</sup> It was a problematic business, however. The most embarrassing incident occurred in 1927, when the inheritors of Aleksis Kivi sued the FLS for stealing his copyrights and the society had to pay them royalties.<sup>895</sup> Ignoring the copyrights was not exceptional at the time when the legislation concerning intellectual property was just forming.<sup>896</sup>

The economic situation began to recover in the middle of the 1920s. The government subsidies were raised and the sales were progressing, too.<sup>897</sup> The economic depression of the early 1930s was alleviated by the centenary of the society in 1931, which meant increased public funding.<sup>898</sup> Even a 30% reduction in government subsidy the following year was not calamitous, for the depression made the printing houses more willing to give reductions, and extra subsidies were received from the profit funds of state lottery.<sup>899</sup> New innovations in printing, such as the offset-method, promised cheaper production.<sup>900</sup> Mostly, the FLS worked on the publishing projects begun in the prewar period. OPFP took the lion's share of new publications. Some new dictionaries, grammars and readers were made and new editions of the older issues printed. Translating Shakespeare's plays continued. Notably, the FLS still published and supported schoolbooks and translations which were not supposed to have wide distribution.<sup>901</sup> The series *Suomen kielen muistomerkkejä* was continued,<sup>902</sup> and a new subseries of the *Editions*, entitled *Kansatieteellisiä kuvauksia (Ethnographic Descriptions)*, was launched.<sup>903</sup> Only four volumes appeared, all of them in the 1930s. Moreover, the FLS published a serial of another society, the *Yearbook of the Finnish Literary Research Society*.<sup>904</sup>

The scholarly publishing was mostly absorbed by the journal *Suomi*. Its peer review practices were not discussed at meetings, but a letter to a German student offering

893 Minutes of the FLS 4 May 1921 § 3 (50,000 from Alfred Kordelin Foundation). In SUOMI V:1, (1927), II, pp. 6-7; 3 May 1922 § 3 (40,000 from Alfred Kordelin Foundation); 5 April 1922 § 8. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, p. 7; minutes of the board of the FLS 2 March 1923 § 14. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:5. SKS, KIA. On Setälä, see Autio 1998. <http://helios.uta.fi:2380/artikkeli/500/> (cited 22 January 2011).

894 The FLS sold the rights of the 15th edition of *The Book of Nature* and the illustrated *Kalevala* to WSOY publishing house, and the right to print an illustrated version of *The Fairy Tales and Stories of the Finnish People* to Kirja publishing house. Furthermore, the right to make a film based on Kivi's *Seven Brothers* was sold to the Suomen Filmikuvaamo company. Minutes of the FLS 3 March 1920 § 4-5. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 50-52; 19 April 1920 § 8. In SUOMI V:1, (1927), II, pp. 4-5. See also 3 June 1929 § 4-5; 5 February 1930 § 8. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 57; 4 March 1931 § 5. In SUOMI V:12 (1931), II, p. 80; annual report of the FLS 1921. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), II, p. 24.

895 Annual report of the FLS 1927. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, pp. 18-19; Häggman 2009, pp. 30-31.

896 Häggman 2008, pp. 365-369.

897 Annual report of the FLS 1925. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 23-24; annual report of the FLS 1929. In SUOMI V:9 (1930), III, pp. 11-12.

898 Annual report of the FLS 1932. In SUOMI V:14 (1932), IV, pp. 15-16.

899 Annual report of the FLS 1933. In SUOMI V:15 (1933), V, p. 12; annual report of the FLS 1934. In SUOMI V:17 (1935), IV, p. 14.

900 Minutes of the FLS 6 May 1931 § 7. In SUOMI V:14 (1932), IV, p. 13.

901 See e.g. minutes of the FLS 2 February 1927 § 6. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, pp. 67-68.

902 Minutes of the FLS 2 April 1924 § 6. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 10-12.

903 Minutes of the FLS 4 December 1929 § 6. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 47.

904 Minutes of the FLS 1 April 1931 § 9. In SUOMI V:14 (1932), IV, p. 4.

his paper, explained that the text had to be reviewed by experts and then accepted by the board.<sup>905</sup> This was probably a typical way of treating the manuscripts, though the names of the referees were mentioned only occasionally in connection with the publishing decisions – usually one referee per work.<sup>906</sup> Often the papers were recommended at the general meetings by the board or by the linguistic department. Requiring changes or amendments were unusual.<sup>907</sup> The review of the *Editions* differed with regard to the type of publications. For scholarly books, grammars and dictionaries, the society used referees.<sup>908</sup> Theses were still accepted by both serials, on the condition that the author paid half of the production costs, his or her share of the printing and corrections. It seems that the society considered the publishing permission of the Faculty as sufficient guarantee of the quality of the work.<sup>909</sup> Problems were not avoided, however. In practice, the same Faculty linguists sat on the board and the controversies were easily transferred from one place to the other.<sup>910</sup> Rejecting papers was infrequent and it was even more unusual to record reasons for these decisions in the minutes. In 1932, the society rejected two ethnographic descriptions because they did not include any new research results.<sup>911</sup> Sometimes, even economic reasons had an effect on publishing decisions.<sup>912</sup>

The majority of the works published by the FLS were still based on national aims with few exceptions. Armas Otto Väisänen managed to publish the melodies of Finnish folk songs with an introduction written in Finnish and German.<sup>913</sup> The questionnaire on the publishing languages of the Institut international de coopération intellectuelle reached the FLS, but it did not lead to any change in the policy. The society promised to continue to publish foreign summaries *at least on the same scale as before*.<sup>914</sup> Nevertheless, when Professor Lauri Kettunen suggested two years later attaching a German summary of some 10 pages to his work on the Finnish dialects, the board considered it best to publish this report separately in *Finnisch Ugrische*

905 16 June 1927 the FLS to R. Gothe. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 119. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

906 Minutes of the FLS 4 October 1922 § 7. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, pp. 19-20; 4 February 1925 § 7. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 66-67; 1 April 1925 § 4-5. In SUOMI V:6 (1928), IV, pp. 8-10; 2 June 1926 § 5. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, p. 37; 3 June 1929 § 14. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 13. The recommending statements emphasised the abundance of material in the research and new information produced by the author.

907 Minutes of the FLS 1 February 1928 § 9. In SUOMI V:8 (1929), III, p. 59.

908 Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1925 § 6. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 64-65; 3 May 1929 § 10. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 10; 26 March 1935 § 14. In SUOMI V:17 (1935), V, p. 78.

909 Minutes of the FLS 4 June 1919 § 3. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 10-11; 1 February ([i. e. March] 1933) § 8. In SUOMI V:15 (1933), V, p. 102.

910 Minutes of the FLS 31 May 1933 § 17. In SUOMI V:17 (1935), IV, pp. 26-27. On the case of Lauri Hakulinen, see Leino 2004 <http://helios.uta.fi:2917/artikkeli/6986/>. (cited 22 January 2011).

911 Minutes of the board of the FLS 1 December 1932 § 7-8. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6; 26 March 1936 § 1. See also minutes of the board of the FLS 28 May 1931 § 16. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA.

912 Minutes of the FLS 26 January 1933 § 12. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA. See also: 6 January 1935 the FLS to Julius Mägiste. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 126. SKS, KIA.

913 Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1925 § 6. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 64-66.

914 Minutes of the board of the FLS 29 November 1928 § 14. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:5. SKS, KIA. The citation in Finnish: *ainakin yhtä suuressa mittakaavassa kuin ennen*.

*Forschungen* or in some German journal.<sup>915</sup> Instead, an abbreviated French version was written of the centenary history of the society by the corresponding member of the society, Jean-Louis Perret.<sup>916</sup>

Some tentative signs of increasing interest in international publishing were noticeable in the second half of the 1930s. In 1936, the editors of a privately published journal, *Studia Fennica*, offered either the FLS or the Jyväskylän yliopistoyhdistys (Jyväskylä University Association) the opportunity to adopt this serial. *Studia Fennica* was an international journal with German and French papers and as such it would have been an attractive exchange publication. For this reason, both the linguistic department and the library committee of the society seconded it. Nevertheless, the society was willing to give this opportunity to the Jyväskylä University Association, considering that summaries in foreign languages could be added to the articles of *Suomi*.<sup>917</sup> However, Jyväskylän yliopistoyhdistys was not interested and the offer of adopting *Studia Fennica* was forgotten.<sup>918</sup> The decision to add German, French or English summaries to the papers of *Suomi* was made in 1938, when the society was discussing its modernisation.<sup>919</sup> Within this context, the ethnographic committee suggested dividing the journal into three separate serials according to their focus: linguistics, literature research and ethnology. In the background was a desire to strengthen the position of ethnology. Another reason was the general demand for more specified publications. The idea was opposed by the secretary, who considered that the disciplines presented in *Suomi* belonged together. Those who wanted papers only in their specialist field could order reprints. The linguistic, historical and library committees opposed the division as well and the board decided to continue *Suomi* as a multidisciplinary journal.<sup>920</sup>

At the time when the first steps of internationalising the journal *Suomi* were taken, political pessimism was spreading, as the letter of the secretary of the FLS, Aarne Anttila, to Oskar Loorits, in the Estonian Folklore Archives, indicates:

*Here, in our country, intellectual values will hardly be considered, in the near future. The vigour and funds of the nation are focused on building stadiums, aerodromes, velodromes, hippodromes and other dromes for the trial of strength of the pick of the world and when everything is ready, the struggle of nations will, already, be going on in the trenches and in gas chambers.*<sup>921</sup>

915 Minutes of the board of the FLS 27 November 1930 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA.

916 Minutes of the board of the FLS 17 February 1931 § 9. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA.

917 Minutes of the board of the FLS 3 December 1936 § 9. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA.

918 Minutes of the board of the FLS 28 October 1937 § 17. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 196:7. SKS, KIA. *Studia Fennica* was published by the FLS from its sixth volume (1952). Nivanka 1957, p. 5.

919 Minutes of the board of the FLS 31 March 1938 § 6. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:8. SKS, KIA.

920 Minutes of the board of the FLS 27 October 1938 § 7; 1 December 1938 § 16. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:8. SKS, KIA.

921 28 December 1938 the FLS to Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 128. SKS, KIA. The citation in Finnish: *Täällä meillä ei kai lähivuosina ehditä juuri benkisiä arvoja ajatella. Kansakunnan tarmo ja varat keskitetään stadionien, aero-, hippo-, velo- ym. droomien rakentamiseen maailman valioiden voimannittelyille, ja kun kaikki on valmiina, käy kansojen kamppailu jo juoksuhaudoissa ja kaasukammioissa.*

Unfortunately, this vision proved prescient and the political situation also had its effects on the publishing activities of the FLS. The efforts to internationalise the publications bore fruit only after the Second World War.

Despite its language policy, the central position of the FLS in folklore and Finnish linguistics provided it with many contacts with foreign researchers. Some led to collaboration in publishing, but often the society confined itself to advise the authors and to review their manuscripts. Foreign colleagues were usually invited to participate in the publications in honour of the leading members of the society but, even in these cases, the society presumed that their papers would be written in Finnish. Some Estonian texts were accepted, however.<sup>922</sup> Similar to their domestic counterparts, the scholarly papers of foreign researchers were reviewed and sent back for amendments and corrections if considered necessary.<sup>923</sup>

The publishing policy of the FLS differed in many aspects from other societies under study. The wide scope of publishing brought the society income but caused problems as well. The society had to defend itself in the copyright disputes and to justify to its members enormous projects which swallowed funds for decades, arousing envy and criticism. On the one hand, the society learned from these difficulties. Already in the prewar period, it had invested in proper accounting, and in the 1930s, it was well on the way to becoming a professional publisher. The strong ideological principles which guided the activities of the FLS were a source of inspiration. On the other hand, this led to old-fashioned ideas, especially with regard to the journal *Suomi*. When scientific publishing in Europe was specialising and internationalising, *Suomi* retained its national and multidisciplinary character and adhered to the Finnish language. Therefore, it could never be a flagship of the society in the international scholarly community.

### 5.3.3 The FAS

During the war, many ideas for new books or serials had been discussed in the FAS – among others a reference book on Finnish manors and a series introducing Finnish mediaeval castles and ancient hillforts. Some books materialised with the help of private funding, while many were postponed until better times.<sup>924</sup> Sadly, peacetime did not bring with it improved prospects of publishing. The catastrophic economic situation was discussed at the board meeting in October 1918. The first measure was to raise the prices of the monthly magazines.<sup>925</sup> Four thousand marks were collected from fund-raising, which also brought many new members to the society.<sup>926</sup> A raise

<sup>922</sup> 5 November 1929 W. Grünthal to the FLS; 15 October 1929 J. Mägiste to the FLS; 15 October 1929 F. Ohrt to the FLS. Correspondence 120. Mf 2004:11; 9 January 1932 Walter Andersson to the FLS; 28 March 1933 Oskar Loorits to the FLS. Correspondence 124. Mf 2004:11; Kesäk.1922 [Circular] Kaarle Krohnnin juhlahjulkaisuun osallistuville. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 47. SKS, KIA.

<sup>923</sup> 6 January 1935 the FLS to Julius Mägiste. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 126. SKS, KIA.

<sup>924</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 14 April 1916 § 2; 26 March 1917 § 3; 7 May 1917, annual report; 10 October 1918, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>925</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 17 October 1918 § 3; 29 October 1918 § 1-2; 3 December 1918 § 2-3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>926</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1919, speech. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

in government subsidy was granted in 1919, and in the following year, supplementary support was received from the Längman funds.<sup>927</sup>

The successful fund-raising, together with the recently achieved independence of the country and the beginning of peacetime, aroused optimism. This was evident in the annual report of the society (1920):

*Those who have the premises must aim at the international work and at re-establishing the severed cultural connections. This is demanded by the reinstating of the concept of humanity over the concept of nationality. It is also demanded by the new position of Finland – to make the cultural value of our country more widely known among civilised circles abroad.*<sup>928</sup>

These slightly contradictory goals of nationalism and internationalism were soon put to the test when German archaeologists began to submit their papers to be published by the FAS whose funds were hardly sufficient for printing the texts of its own members. The first offer came in October 1922, from Doctor Gero von Merhart, who had during the war been a prisoner in Russia where he worked in the museum of Krasnoârsk. His subject – the kurgans of the Minusinsk regions – fitted the scope of the *Journal*. After considering the monetary situation for a month, the board accepted the paper.<sup>929</sup> In comparison, the paper on the evolution of stone axes, offered by professor J. Metzger, was declined due to the lack of money.<sup>930</sup> In the following years, the supply of foreign papers increased and the majority was accepted.<sup>931</sup>

Government subsidies multiplied in the course of the twentieth century, but the costs of paper and printing grew even faster and private sponsors were needed.<sup>932</sup> The prices of all publications of the FAS were raised in 1921.<sup>933</sup> Occasionally, applications were made to firms, private funds and foundations for additional funding.<sup>934</sup> The monetary situation recovered gradually, for allowances from the profit funds of state lotteries began to improve the situation from 1932. In the middle of the 1930s, the FAS

<sup>927</sup> Accounts of the FAS of 1920, attached to minutes of 7 May 1921. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>928</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1920, annual report. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives. The citation in Finnish: *Katkenneitten kulttuurisiteitten solmimista ja kansainvälistä työtä täytyy nyt niitten pitää päämääränään, joilla on siihen mahdollisuuksia. Sitä vaatii ihmisyyskäsitteen uudelleen etusijaan kohottaminen kansallisuuskäsityksen yläpuolelle. Sitä vaatii myös Suomen uusi asema: maamme kulttuuriarvon tehostaminen ulkomaitten sivistysvoimien tietoisuudessa.*

<sup>929</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 October 1922; 2 November 1922 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives. On von Merhart, see Merhart von Bernegg, Gero. In *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* 7, p. 70.

<sup>930</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 November 1922 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>931</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 October 1923 § 2 (Estonian E. G. Blibernicht); 1 November 1923 § 2; 23 May 1924 § 8 (Estonian Martta Schmiedehelm). Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; minutes of the board FAS 2 April 1925 § 6 (Johannes Gahlnbäck). Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>932</sup> Annual reports of FAS 7 May 1920 – 7 May 1921. In SM 29 (1922), p. 55; 7 May 1921 – 7 May 1922. In SM 29 (1922), pp. 60–61.

<sup>933</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 October 1921 § 3; 3 November 1921 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>934</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FAS 6 October 1927 § 11; 2 February 1928 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

even managed to have a couple of surplus years,<sup>935</sup> and the latter part of the decade was a productive and prosperous time when many earlier plans were realised.<sup>936</sup>

The new rules of the FAS did not provide exact guidelines for publishing, but stated only that the board was in control of scholarly and literary activities, and that its editorial board responded to publishing.<sup>937</sup> In 1922, the society created a publishing committee, consisting of the president, vice president and secretary, to review all papers and illustrations.<sup>938</sup> After two years, the composition was re-defined so that the secretary and the chief editors of the *Journal* and the monthly magazines belonged to it.<sup>939</sup> The final decisions on publishing were still made by the board of the FAS.<sup>940</sup> The favouring statements emphasised how the subject related to museum work or to the scope of the society.<sup>941</sup> When the subject did not exactly represent the core areas of the FAS, as was the case with geological papers, the board was more reluctant to publish them with the limited funds available.<sup>942</sup> In some statements, the reviewers required more comparative material or the wider use of literature.<sup>943</sup> The practice of two reviewers became common in the late 1920s. Usually, they were members of the board, the editors of the journals or otherwise active members of the society.<sup>944</sup> External referees were used only when the subject or the method was not familiar. For instance, the paper of a Polish anthropologist, Jan Czekanowski, which was based on statistically analysed cranial measurements, was sent to Professor of Anatomy Yrjö Kajava.<sup>945</sup> As regards geological papers or articles concerning the chemical methods of conservation, external referees were needed as well.<sup>946</sup> If the author was recognised enough, his paper was accepted even without peer review.<sup>947</sup> Theses were published every now and then, without review, as it was considered that the opinion of the faculty was authoritative enough.<sup>948</sup>

935 Annual reports of FAS 7 May 1932 – 7 May 1933; 7 May 1933 – 7 May 1934. In SM 40 (1933), p. 93; SM 41 (1934), p. 104, SM 42 (1935), p. 102.

936 Annual reports of FAS 7 May 1936 – 7 May 1937; 7 May 1938 – 7 May 1939. In SM 45 (1938), p. 95; SM 46 (1939), p. 79.

937 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1919, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

938 Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 May 1922 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

939 Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 April 1924 § 10; 7 May 1924 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

940 Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 October 1927 § 14. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

941 Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 April 1925 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

942 Minutes of the board of the FAS 13 December 1934 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

943 Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 April 1929 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

944 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1925 § 7; 6 October 1927 § 14; 14 December 1928 § 6; 5 December 1929 § 4; 6 May 1930 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

945 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1925 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

946 Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 December 1936 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

947 Minutes of the board the FAS 3 February 1926 § 8 (The paper of the guardian of oriental coins in the State Hermitage Museum, R. Vasmer). Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. See also 2 October 1924 § 6 (Tallgren's paper). Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 5 October 1933 § 6 (Nordman's paper). Cd 1. NBA Archives.

948 Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 30 November 1938 § 5; 27 January 1939 § 9; 2 November 1939 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

In the interwar period, approximately a third of the papers in the *Journal* were written in German. Aarne Michaël Tallgren used mostly French in his articles and Carl Axel Nordman was a pioneer in English writing. The monthly magazines continued to inform members in Finnish and in Swedish. They appeared fairly regularly, even in the years of economic difficulties, and included minor articles, book reviews, obituaries, the annual reports of the society and the descriptions of acquisitions of the National Museum. Despite the increasing volume of foreign material in the *Journal*, the idea of a special international serial emerged from time to time. In 1916, Uno Taavi Sirelius and Tallgren presented a plan for a new journal entitled *Eurasia Septentrionalis*, which would accept only papers in the *big civilised languages*. Due to the wartime economy, this matter was placed on the table.<sup>949</sup> Tallgren and Sirelius returned to the subject eight years later, with an even more ambitious plan, which indicated their broad understanding of European publishing. Their goal was to gain Finland a central position in the archaeological and ethnographic research of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia. The right moment was at hand because the economic difficulties in Germany, Austria, Hungary and the Soviet Union meant that their researchers would certainly offer material to an international journal. The new journal would have an independent economy and editorial board, but its government subsidy should be applied by the FAS.<sup>950</sup> The society accepted the plan, reserving for itself the right to nominate the editors. It decided that ESA was to include the studies on Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, while the *Journal* was to focus on Finland and the neighbouring areas. Somewhat surprisingly, the decision was opposed by the president of the society, Julius Ailio, who before the war had eagerly supported an international journal.<sup>951</sup> In the applications for government subsidies, the *Journal* was still mentioned as a flagship of the society and a central exchange publication.<sup>952</sup>

The first two volumes of the new serial appeared in 1926–1927, with the title *Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua: Bulletin et mémoires consacrés à l'archéologie et l'ethnographie de l'Europe orientale et de l'Asie du nord*. At the beginning, ESA was truly international. The Soviet archaeologists contributed actively during the NEP period. In addition to scholarly papers, ESA served as a forum for discussion and polemic. Tallgren was more interested in theoretical questions than in a meticulous study of details. He did not avoid political comments and in the 1930s, criticised the Stalin purges and the dogmatic tone of Soviet archaeology. Neither did he hide his distaste for archaeology in Nazi Germany. This open criticism led to the loss of German and Soviet contributors. As a result, ESA had more and more difficulty receiving material, and the economy posed problems constantly. Finally, Tallgren decided to cease the journal with Volume 12, which appeared in 1938.<sup>953</sup>

<sup>949</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 October 1916 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives. See also Kokkonen 1985, pp. 5–6.

<sup>950</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1924 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives; Kokkonen 1985, p. 6.

<sup>951</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 22 February 1924 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>952</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 March 1924 § 2, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>953</sup> Annual reports of the FAS 7 May 1926 – 7 May 1927; 7 May 1938 – 7 May 1939. In SM 34 (1927), p. 87. In SM 46 (1939), p. 79; Kokkonen 1985, pp. 7–9; Salminen 2003, pp. 145–151; Tallgren 1932, p. 203; Tallgren 1936b, pp. 23–24; Tallgren 1936a, p. 149.



ESA was not the only international effort in the field of Northern archaeology. The FAS also participated in launching another enterprise – the Nordic journal *Acta Archaeologica*. It was published by a commercial publisher, Munksgaard, in Copenhagen, and soon became economically independent. The members of the FAS participated in the editorial committee. Like ESA, *Acta* aimed to be international forum of geographically limited archaeological research focusing on the Scandinavian Peninsula. It published only papers in major languages – German, English, French or Italian and invited all foreign archaeologists interested in this area to contribute. Unlike ESA, which was mainly a one-man enterprise, *Acta* had a steady editorial board and an established publishing house. Therefore, it managed to survive and even make a profit.<sup>954</sup> On the other hand, its connection to the FAS was much looser than in the case of ESA and no exchange copies were available.

Monographs did not play a significant role in the publishing of the FAS. The society mostly delegated them to other publishers.<sup>955</sup> One of the exceptions was Jalmar Kekkonen's book on Karelian folk architecture and ornaments which appeared in 1930.<sup>956</sup> In 1927, Sirelius, suggested a new series in which ethnographic material from the various localities of Finland could be presented in a standardised form. He had outlined the first part of the series based on the results of the recent ethnographic expedition to the Hauho parish.<sup>957</sup> After Sirelius' death in 1929, the project seemed to stall,<sup>958</sup> but in 1933, the new Professor of Ethnology, Albert Hämäläinen, together with Doctor Toivo Immanuel Itkonen, suggested a series entitled *Kansatieteellinen arkisto (Ethnological Archive)*, which would include descriptive ethnographic studies of Finland and the neighbouring areas. The papers in foreign languages were allowed, but otherwise the international aspect was not especially emphasised. The society accepted the plan and the first volume entitled *Vanhaa Hauhoa (On the old Hauho)* appeared in 1934, hence realising Sirelius' plans.<sup>959</sup> The following volumes consisted of both articles and monographs. Another descriptive series on the old churches of Finland had been planned already in the prewar period, but the results were meagre and only one volume, *Letala kyrka (The Church of Laitila)*, appeared in 1930.<sup>960</sup>

The interwar period was very prolific in terms of the publishing activities. The principal aim was to produce scholarly publications of international standard. This was an auspicious time because the lack of resources in many European countries provided abundant foreign material for Finnish publications. In the 1920s, the *Journal* absorbed this material, but from the end of the decade, ESA turned out to be the major international forum. The *Journal* continued with domestic authors who, nevertheless, published mostly in foreign languages. The tradition of publishing descriptive and

954 Minutes of the FAS 1 October 1931, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives; Randsborg 2007, pp. 91-93.

955 Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 June 1918 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9; 6 May 1930 § 2; 6 November 1930 § 4; 19 February 1931 § 2. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

956 Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 October 1913 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8; 27 February 1930 § 2. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

957 Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 February 1926 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

958 Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 October 1927 § 11; 7 March 1929 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

959 Minutes of the board of the FAS 17 February 1933 § 7; 2 March 1933 § 3; 7 May 1934 § 2. Cd 1. NBA Archives; annual report of the FAS 7 May 1933 – 7 May 1934. In SM 41 (1934), p. 104.

960 Annual report of the FAS 7 May 1930 – 7 May 1931. In SM 38/39 (1931/1932), p. 76.

local material was not discarded in this wave of internationalism. The proposition of Sirelius to publish ethnographic material from various localities, as well as the idea for a series describing the churches of Finland, mirrored this tradition. There was no opposition to this on the board, although publishing the *Journal* and ESA was put first in economically difficult phases. The *Ethnological Archive* was launched in the 1930s when the monetary situation improved. The favourable economic conditions, together with the increased experience in scholarly publishing, led to a more systematic publishing policy where different materials were published in different forums.

### 5.3.4 The FDS

In the FDS, peacetime began with problems. The first issue was whether to raise the membership fees or the price of the *Proceedings*. The society decided to request an extra fee of 20 marks from all its members.<sup>961</sup> The economy did not recover and in 1921 the FDS turned to its old friend, the firm Dentaldepot, which generously promised to advertise in the journal for 4,000 marks.<sup>962</sup> In the following year, the society applied for a government subsidy of 6,000 marks, appealing to the fact that it was the only journal representing odontological research in Finland. This time it managed to secure 5,000 marks, which encouraged it to renew its application.<sup>963</sup> Hence, it attained the same position as the other societies under study, albeit its annual subsidy was relatively small. The volume of print run was quite meagre – in 1922, only 310 copies. In 1925, it received an extra subsidy of 2,000 marks, and in the following year, the sum was raised to 9,000 marks.<sup>964</sup> The profit funds of state lotteries were, for the first time, granted to the society in 1935.<sup>965</sup>

As in the prewar time, language was a subject of debate. In 1918, the society decided that in order to publish a bilingual journal, it should have two editors, one Finnish-speaking and the other Swedish-speaking. In addition, the president of the society would be a member of the editorial board.<sup>966</sup> The decision was fiercely opposed by Per Gadd, who had been nominated as a Swedish-speaking editor. He considered that the system of two editors representing different languages would provoke further dispute. In terms of accepting submitted papers, paying the expenses of illustrations, etc., these two editors would, without doubt, show bias. Besides, the system left unresolved who, in case of controversy, would have responsibility in scientific and economic matters, for he did not believe the president was capable of solving disagreement. Gadd justified his arguments from an international viewpoint:

<sup>961</sup> Minutes of the FDS 28 October 1918 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 22 (1918), pp. 76-77; 7 December 1918 § 7. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), pp. 48-49.

<sup>962</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 May 1921 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 26 (1921), p. 122.

<sup>963</sup> Minutes of the FDS 28 January 1922 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 27 (1922), p. 92; annual report of the FDS 1923. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), p. 164.

<sup>964</sup> Minutes of the FDS 28 January 1922 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 27 (1922), p. 92; annual report of the FDS 1925. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 33 (1926), p. 83; annual report of the FDS 1926. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 36 (1927), p. 98.

<sup>965</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1935. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 52 (1936), p. 108.

<sup>966</sup> Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1918 § 10. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), p. 48-49.

*And the task [of editing a journal] is these days even more demanding than many of us can imagine, if we are to maintain the respect of this journal abroad where, in parenthesis, every scientific body is led by one "head".*<sup>967</sup>

Gadd proposed that the *Proceedings* should have only one editor, who was allowed to nominate subeditors from both language groups. His criticism aroused discussion, but the society was not willing to change its decision and Gadd resigned from the post of editor.<sup>968</sup>

Despite his resignation, Gadd continued to make proposals for developing the journal. When the society considered measures to improve the *Proceedings* commercially, he suggested that savings could be made if not all the presentations held at the meetings *in extenso* were included, but only their summaries. Rather, the society should publish research articles which would raise the scientific standard of the journal. Furthermore, he wished to have more book reviews. The society ignored these ideas. Probably it did not want to restrict the authors who had to pay part of the printing expenses in these economically difficult times.<sup>969</sup> Gadd's ideas emerged in discussions from time to time and were gradually adopted. In 1921, the society permitted the editors the right to select from the offered papers those which should be published.<sup>970</sup> A prize for the best research article, which the society began to outline in 1923, was another sign of an increasing interest in more scientific papers. However, the term *research article* (*originalartikel*) was soon dropped from the contest plans. Instead, the society required that the contestants should be dentists and, furthermore, members of the society.<sup>971</sup> Research results were also published in the form of thesis; as an only Finnish forum of odontology, the *Proceedings* interested the doctoral students. In 1927, the society decided that it would pay the expenses for the first sheet of each thesis, while the rest was left to the author.<sup>972</sup> The founding of Suomen Hammaslääkäriliitto (the Finnish Dental Association) in 1924, turned the attention of the FDS more towards scientific research, and the new association focused upon the professional and social questions of dentistry.<sup>973</sup>

In the meantime, Gadd had become the representative of the society in Fédération Dentaire International.<sup>974</sup> The international experience gained there strengthened his vision of scientific publishing. In 1926, he sent a memorandum to the FDS, proposing that the *Proceedings* should include summaries written in the major languages, and

967 Minutes of the FDS 27 January 1919 § 6. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), p. 51. The citation in Swedish: *Och uppgiften är nog mera kräfvande än mången tror i dessa tider, om vi skola kunna uppehålla tidskriftens anseende i utlandet, där i förbigående sagdt, hvarje vetenskapligt organ ledes af ett "hufvud"*.

968 Minutes of the FDS 24 February 1919 § 3. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 24 (1919), p. 94.

969 Minutes of the FDS 23 February 1920 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 25 (1920), pp. 61-62. The texts exceeding five pages and the illustrations were to paid by the authors.

970 Minutes of the FDS 26 September 1921 § 4, 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 26 (1921), pp. 125-126.

971 Minutes of the FDS 24 September 1923 § 7; 26 November 1923 § 2; 1 December 1923. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), pp. 178, 181, 183.

972 4 October 1926 T.A. Wuorinen to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC; minutes of the FDS 26 September 1927 § 3. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 36 (1927), p. 120.

973 Sivén 1943, pp. 198-199.

974 Sivén 1943, p. 229.

that it should be distributed to the leading European and American odontological journals. This time he wisely evoked patriotic motives:

*The increasing interest that the foreign world has begun to show in Finland and in its cultural ambitions, suggests that propaganda of this kind would be of great advantage for the society and, not least, the fatherland.*<sup>975</sup>

The society accepted his proposal unanimously. Gadd, for his part, was ready to forget old divisions and agreed to become editor when this post became vacant at the end of 1926.<sup>976</sup>

Gadd's interests to connect the FDS with the international odontological community extended to his bibliographical work. He published the bibliographies of Finnish odontological literature in the *Proceedings*, with the intention of distributing them to the central European libraries.<sup>977</sup> In 1927, the society joined a new multilingual Finnish medical bibliography and abstract journal, *Medicina Fennica*, published by the Finnish Medical Society Duodecim. The FDS had to pay expenses for printing its abstracts, but it received 100 copies for its own distribution.<sup>978</sup> Furthermore, on Gadd's initiative, the society decided to send its publications to a German abstract service, Bureau der Medizinischen Referatenblätter.<sup>979</sup>

In the 1930s, the language question re-emerged, for a younger generation of Finnish-minded odontologists, was active. In 1934, one of them, Juuso Kivimäki proposed that a Finnish summary should be attached to all papers written in Swedish or in foreign languages. The question was left to the board, but it did not lead to any results.<sup>980</sup> After a few years, when reform of the statutes was on the table, Lauri Siikala, supported by Kivimäki, suggested that the official language of the society should be Finnish because the majority of the members were Finnish-speaking. Swedish-speaking members might still use Swedish in their addresses, presentations or papers. His proposal was accepted.<sup>981</sup> Gadd opposed this measure, especially the idea of changing the old bilingual name to a Finnish one, arguing that a new name would cause confusion in international odontological circles.<sup>982</sup> The Swedish papers did not vanish from the *Proceedings*, but their share diminished, while more Finnish, English and German papers were published.<sup>983</sup> At the end of the 1930s, the volume of research was growing, which guaranteed the supply of papers. Those of foreign researchers appeared

975 Minutes of the FDS 22 February 1926 § 6. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 33 (1926), pp. 102-103. The citation in Swedish: *Att denna propaganda vore Sällskapet till stor nytta och icke minst fosterlandet till gagn framgår tydligt ur det växande intresse utlandet börjat visa Finland och dess kulturella strävanden.*

976 Minutes of the FDS 27 September 1926 § 13. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 34 (1926), p. 148; annual report of the FDS 1926. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 36 (1927), p. 98.

977 Minutes of the FDS 27 September 1920 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 25 (1920), p. 69; Sivén 1943, pp. 202-203.

978 11 February 1927 Duodecim (Eino Suolahti) to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC. On Duodecim, see Soininen 1956, pp. 77-81.

979 Minutes of the FDS 4 February 1928 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 37 (1928), p. 135.

980 Minutes of the FDS 26 March 1934 § 6. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 49 (1934), p. 103; Sivén 1943, pp. 260-261.

981 Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1935 § 11. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 53 (1936), pp. 86-87; Säännöt 1936. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 36. NARC.

982 Minutes of the FDS 26 October 1934 § 2, attachment. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 55 (1936), pp. 66-67.

983 See Förhandlingar 54 (1937) - 64 (1939).

from time to time, especially in the publications in honour of central figures or of the society itself,<sup>984</sup> and they were similarly subject to peer review.<sup>985</sup>

In 1930, the board of Scandinavian Dentists' Association again considered publishing its own journal. The idea developed in various directions. Some proposed that the already existing dental journals should be distributed to all members of four Scandinavian dental societies – either free of charge or funded by raising their membership fees. An opposing view was to distribute the Scandinavian odontological research internationally. In order to fulfil this latter aim, a new odontological journal would be needed, including papers written in the major languages.<sup>986</sup> Disagreement remained for some years. In 1933, the FDS discussed this journal which, in the meantime, had been entitled *Acta Odontologica Scandinavica*,<sup>987</sup> but nothing materialised. In 1937, the society announced seconding the journal, in principle, but considered that some economic and language issues were still unresolved.<sup>988</sup> Finally, the gift of a Swedish supporter, which lightened the budget, led to a positive result, and the FDS decided to join the publishers of *Acta*.<sup>989</sup> The first volume appeared in 1939. Its preface described the history of the new journal, emphasising that it fulfilled both of its original aims:

*It was unanimously agreed upon the urgent need of a publication in foreign language in order to secure the presentation of valuable treatises within Scandinavian odontology before a foreign auditory. The appearance of an ACTA would also at the same time solve the old problem of issuing the national Scandinavian journals in their respective languages.*<sup>990</sup>

During the interwar period, the publishing policy of the FDS was mostly shaped by Gadd, who did his best to raise the standard of the *Proceedings* to the international level. The board of the society was more cautious in realising his plans, probably because the journal was subscribed – and mostly funded – by membership consisting of ordinary dentists interested in reading about new methods in their mother tongue. A similar attitude was evident in the Scandinavian Dental Society. Gadd himself was Swedish-speaking, but more than advocating his own language, he aimed at distributing the journal outside the traditional borders of Scandinavia. In the 1930s, the younger generation wished for wider use of the Finnish language, not, however, at the expense of international readership but rather of the Swedish papers. The central figure in these efforts was Kivimäki, who became the president of the FDS in 1936. Yet, he promoted international contacts, actively.<sup>991</sup> In general, the Finnish-minded ac-

984 Förhandlingar 35 (1927) was published in honour of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Matti Äyräpää and included six foreign papers.

985 20 May 1937 the FDS to Hedda Boers. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

986 [Undated circular] Skandinaviska Tandläkareföreningen. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

987 Minutes of the FDS 25 September 1933 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 48 (1933), p. 101.

988 Minutes of the FDS 22 May 1937 § 11. In: FÖRHANDLINGAR 59 (1937), p. 83.

989 Minutes of the FDS 31 March 1939 § 6. In: FÖRHANDLINGAR 65 (1939), p. 93.

990 *Acta Odontologica Scandinavica* 1 (1939), preface.

991 27 November 1937 the FDS to V. O. Hurme, Copeland, MA. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

tivists in the FDS, as in the field of medicine, were not nationally fixated.<sup>992</sup> Nonetheless, the old Scandinavian tradition remained strong and prolific in *Acta Odontologica*.

## 5.4 EXCHANGE POLICIES AND NEW EXCHANGE RELATIONS

### 5.4.1 The SFFF – Publish, exchange – or perish

As a sign of imminent peace, an exchange offer from the Canadian Geological Survey arrived at the November meeting of the SFFF in 1918, even before the German submarines had withdrawn from the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>993</sup> Yet, the first years after the war were a quiet time when European societies and institutions concentrated on re-establishing their prewar relationships. New exchange offers came mainly from the United States and Canada.<sup>994</sup> The centenary festivities of the SFFF in 1921, offered an opportunity to strengthen the existing contacts. Many partners sent congratulatory telegrams; especially from Germany and the Nordic countries.<sup>995</sup> The French Société de Géographie, which was founded in the same year, even sent a medal with an engraving – *Société de Géographie, Fondée à Paris en 1821. En hommage à la Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1821-1921*.<sup>996</sup> After the festivities, the society began trawling through the list of exchange partners to discover which were actually working.<sup>997</sup> Almost all exchange serials had wide gaps and demand notes were sent to 356 societies or institutions, of whom 185 sent publications.<sup>998</sup> Not only had the war made the situation complex; there were the usual difficulties associated with changes in institutional structures, problems in bookkeeping and unreliable mailing.<sup>999</sup>

The need for new exchange relations was announced,<sup>1000</sup> but no measures were taken until January, 1924, when the search for new exchange partners was delegated to the board.<sup>1001</sup> The annual report informed the members on the enlargement project, stressing that the publications of the society were to be sent to the leading botanical

992 The society of Finnish-speaking medical doctors Duodecim was active in promoting international publishing; 11 February 1927 Duodecim (Eino Suolahti) to the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC. On Duodecim, see Soinen 1956, pp. 73-81.

993 Minutes of the SFFF 2 November 1918 § 16. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

994 Minutes of the SFFF 21 October 1921 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

995 The congratulators were listed in minutes of the SFFF 1 November 1921. In MEDDELANDEN 48 (1925), pp. 105-107.

996 Minutes of the SFFF 3 December 1921 § 6-7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

997 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 May 1922. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

998 Report of the library of the SFFF 1925. In MEMORANDA 1 (1927), pp. 139-140.

999 See e. g. 22 November 1924 Société de physique et d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:16; 1 December 1924 Deutsche Entomologische Gesellschaft to the SFFF; 17 September 1924 The Imperial bureau of Entomology to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:17. FNL.

1000 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 May 1922. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

1001 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 22 January 1924 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

and zoological institutions, and for which purpose the printing of both *Acta* and the *Bulletin* should be increased by 150 copies.<sup>1002</sup> It is probable that this work of the SFFF had a domestic background because another biological society, Vanamo, had in the same year sent 195 copies of its new serial, *Annales*, abroad, with an exchange offer and in 1920, the Finnish Society of Forest Science had also sent its *Acta Forestalia Fennica* to 200 foreign societies.<sup>1003</sup> The list of the SFFF was ready at the May meeting of 1925, and included 103 institutions and societies selected by Professors Enzio Reuter and Fredrik Elfving. Furthermore, the society decided to give the central museums and institutions its publications as a gift.<sup>1004</sup> In the course of the next year, the number of exchange offers rose to 180.<sup>1005</sup> The motives for this enlargement project were clarified in the annual report of 1926:

*Scientific achievements in the world are nowadays so vast that a single work easily vanishes among them. This concerns especially studies coming from a small remote country which has difficulties in standing up for its rights. No matter how valuable a scientific work is, in most cases it can be known and recognised only when it is accomplished in such a country or town, a university, institute or educational institution from which the scientific world is used to expect signs. Considering these facts, the board has, in the last few years, aimed at widening the exchange of publications of the Society. In this respect, our Society, like many other scientific associations, has neglected much. For a long time, our Society has mainly passively accepted the exchange proposals but has not taken initiatives itself. Yet it is obvious that our remote corner should strive for a connection with the cultural world and not vice versa.*<sup>1006</sup>

These words of President Alvar Palmgren, which were obviously written to justify to members increased printing, indicate that the society felt its position in the scientific community peripheral, and also that the exchange was considered a proper method in strengthening the reputation of its publications. The slogan of the society might well have been *Publish – and exchange – or perish!*

Sadly, Palmgren's assessment of the poor position of Finnish science was accurate – 105 exchange offers (58%) received no response. Unfortunately, the lists of exchange proposals have not been preserved in the archive of the SFFF, so it is impossible to examine what kind of institutions refused to exchange publications. Some letters have

1002 Annual report of the SFFF 1924. In MEDDELANDEN 50 (1925), pp. 93–114.

1003 Saalas 1946, pp. 389–390; Halonen 2009, pp. 182–183.

1004 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 May 1925 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; minutes of the SFFF 2 May 1925 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

1005 Report of the library of the SFFF 1926. In MEMORANDA 2 (1927), pp. 100–104.

1006 Annual report of the SFFF 1926. In MEMORANDA 2 (1927), pp. 92–93. The citation in Finnish: *Tieteelliset aikaansaannokset maailmassa ovat nykyisin niin valtavat, että yksityinen työ hyvin helposti häviää joukkoon. Ja aivan erikoisesti tämä koskee niitä tutkimuksia, jotka tulevat pienestä etäisestä maasta, jolle on vaikea puolustaa oikeuttaan. Miten arvokas tieteellinen teos tahansa voi useimmissa tapauksessa [sic!] tulla tunnetuksi ja tunnustetuksi vain siinä tapauksessa, että se on lähtöisin sellaisesta maasta tai kaupungista, yliopistosta tai laitoksesta tai tieteellisestä koulusta, josta tieteellinen maailma on tottunut odottamaan merkkejä. Edellä sanottuun katsoen on Hallitus viime vuosien kuluessa pyrkinyt laajentamaan Seuran julkaisuvaihtoa. Tässä suhteessa on meidän seuramme kuten muutkin tieteelliset yhdistykset paljon laiminlyönyt. Pitkiin aikoihin on Seuramme suurin piirtein vain passiivisesti suostunut julkaisuvaihtoa tarkoitaviin ehdotuksiin, mutta ei ole itse tehnyt aloitteita. Ja kuitenkin on ilmeistä, että meidän syrjäisen kolkkamme tulee pyrkiä yhteyteen kulttuurimaailman kanssa, eikä kulttuurimaailman meidän kanssamme.*

been preserved and they give clues as to why exchange was rejected. The Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève wrote that it already had the complete series of the publications of the SFFF in its library.<sup>1007</sup> It was a usual practice of societies to deposit the serials they received to public institutions – museums, botanical gardens or universities – which had better opportunities of attending the library. For a distant society, it was often impossible to know where its publications finally ended. Naturforschende Gesellschaft des Kantons Glarus announced that it did not publish anything, or at least regularly enough, to maintain an exchange relationship.<sup>1008</sup> Finally, the high number of exchange partners or, consequently, the lack of space in the library, was given as reason to decline an offer.<sup>1009</sup>

The president was not discouraged by the high rejection rate. He accused the long repression in the time of the Russian rule and considered that the society still had much to do in this field.<sup>1010</sup> Already in 1928, he asked the members to inform the society of the periodicals which were not received by exchange.<sup>1011</sup> The request for finding new exchange partners was repeated the following year. Most obviously, he was planning a new enlargement project,<sup>1012</sup> but nothing happened for some years. In 1935, the librarian was ordered to compile a list of central zoological and botanical university institutes for whom the publications of the SFFF should be sent. The aim was to widen exchanges, but the president considered that some major institutions should have the publications of SFFF free of charge, if they were not able to establish an exchange because it was crucial to have the journals of the society available in the scientific centres.<sup>1013</sup> The rationale did not differ from previous time:

*The publications of the nations living on the periphery, should appear in larger editions than the publications of the leading nations whose achievements are not as easily ignored as those of smaller nations. This fact demands economic sacrifice, for increased printings and reprints raise the costs.*<sup>1014</sup>

Interestingly, Palmgren's view describes the Matthew world perspective well, though the concept was introduced by Merton only some thirty years later.

<sup>1007</sup> 24 November 1924 Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:16. FNL.

<sup>1008</sup> 5 July 1925 Naturforschende Gesellschaft des Kantons Glarus to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:16. FNL.

<sup>1009</sup> 3 December 1925 Zoological Society of London to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.

<sup>1010</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1927. In MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276. The fate of the exchange offers sent by Vanamo seemed to be quite similar: it sent 195 offers in 1924, and in 1926, it had a 100 functioning exchanges. See Saalas 1946, pp. 390-392.

<sup>1011</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1928 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1928. In MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276.

<sup>1012</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 6 April 1929 § 24. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1929. In MEMORANDA 5 (1929), pp. 178-197.

<sup>1013</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 May 1935 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1935. In MEMORANDA 11 (1935-36), pp. 246-260.

<sup>1014</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1935. In MEMORANDA 11 (1935-36), pp. 259. The citation in Finnish: *Syrjässä elävien kansakuntien julkaisujen pitäisi ilmestyä suurempina painoksina kuin johtavien kansakuntien, joiden suorituksia ei sivuuteta yhtä helposti kuin pienten kansojen. Tämäkin seikka kysyy taloudellista uhrausta, sillä korotetut painosmäärät ja eripainokset lisäävät kustannuksia.*



The list including 220 institutions was ready in January 1936, but at the annual meeting in May, the librarian reported almost 300 proposals for new exchange partners.<sup>1015</sup> The letters were sent during the following year of activity,<sup>1016</sup> and the first affirmative answers came in October 1937.<sup>1017</sup> The results of this enormous project relate well to the Matthew world concept. Approximately, only forty new exchanges were established before the outbreak of the Second World War, which means that over 80% (some 260 institutions) refused an offer. The few announced reasons for declining were similar to those in 1925.<sup>1018</sup> Deutsche Botanische Gesellschaft informed the SFFF that it would not exchange publications because it did not have a library of its own.<sup>1019</sup> Besides, its *Berichte* was published by a private publisher, G. Fischer, which certainly diminished its interest in exchanges. In all likelihood, the political situation in Europe influenced the passivity as well. In the library catalogue of the SFFF, compiled in 1958, there are many serials whose volumes begin in 1937–1939, but their consignments are not mentioned in minutes of the SFFF before the outbreak of the war. For instance, *Annales Musei Serbiae Meridionalis*; *Annual report / Freshwater Biological Association*; *Boletins da Faculdade de filosofia, ciências e letras / Universidade de São Paulo*; *Jaarverslagen / Nederlandsche vereeniging tot bescherming van vogels*; *Lavori di botanica / Università degli studi di Torino*; *Lilloa: Revista de botánica* were possible responses to the circular of 1937, even though these exchanges began to work only after the Second World War.<sup>1020</sup> The institutions providing these journals are not counted among the exchange partners because there are no mentions in the minutes of these exchanges during the period under study.

The SFFF had difficulties in its enlargement projects but it received many exchange offers from others. Actually, the majority of the established new exchanges were initiated by foreign partners, as Table 5.2 indicates.

The European and American societies and institutions were active in the early twenties and exchange offers from various scientific bodies were regularly announced at the meetings.<sup>1021</sup> The popularity of the publications of the SFFF was obviously growing, at least the number of exchange offers sent to the society increased steadily in the

1015 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 27 January 1936 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL; report of the library of the SFFF 1937. In MEMORANDA 12 (1936–37), p. 246.

1016 Report of the library of the SFFF. In MEMORANDA 13 (1936–38), pp. 163–164.

1017 Minutes of the SFFF 2 October 1937 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

1018 The Torrey Botanical Club wrote that it deposited its exchange publications in the libraries of Columbia University and the New York Botanical Garden, both of which already had the journals of the SFFF. The Royal Dublin Society regretted that its library was too congested and Deutsches Hygiene Museum announced that it did not publish anything. 21 October 1937 Torrey Botanical Club to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:17; 10 June 1937 Royal Dublin Society to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:60; 9 June 1937 Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, Zentralinstitut für Volksgesundheitspflege, Dresden. 1162:19. FNL.

1019 28 May 1937 Deutsche Botanische Gesellschaft e. V. to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.

1020 Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica: luettelo seuran kirjastossa olevista ulkomaisista sarjajulkaisuista. 1.4.1958. Laatinut Gunvor Hällsten; Venäläiset sarjat Luetteloinut Matti Kahla. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:27. FNL.

1021 See e. g. minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 March 1923 § 7; 6 October 1923 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; minutes of the SFFF 6 December 1924 § 18. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

Table 5.2. *Initiators of the new exchange relations of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1915-1939.*<sup>1022</sup>

Period	Initiator				Total
	SFFF	Exchange partner	Both	Unknown	
1915-1918	0	8	1	1	10
1919-1926	77	57	3	2	139
1927-1932	2	71	0	3	76
1933-1939	44	101	2	1	148
Total	123	237	6	7	373

course of the interwar period. The active international distribution of publications as well as the reforms in the language policy and peer review practices certainly had an effect on the increasing interest. The SFFF was almost always willing to establish contacts. The only exchange offer it rejected was made by the Geological Department in Florida, which was refused because its publications were already available in the library of the Geographical society of Finland, and their subject did not match the interests of the society.<sup>1023</sup>

Dividing *Acta* into botanical and zoological journals was a useful measure from the point of view of exchange, as the society did not have to deliver each volume of the expensive series to all its partners. ABF and AZF was now sent to the botanical and zoological institutions respectively, whereas the general biological institutions and scientific societies received both. The *Bulletin* and its successor, *Memoranda*, were included in almost all exchanges.<sup>1024</sup> Some institutions received only the *Bulletin* (*Memoranda*) and reprints from the ABF and AZF, concerning their specialist fields. For instance, the entomological department of the National Museum of Czechoslovakia had entomological reprints and ornithological societies had ornithological reprints.<sup>1025</sup> Small and local societies or institutions, from whom minor publications were expected, received only the *Bulletin* (*Memoranda*).<sup>1026</sup>

<sup>1022</sup> The periods on the table are based on partly internal, partly external factors: 1) wartime; 2) period of the reconstruction of the scholarly contacts; 3) period from the launching of ABF and AZF until the rise of dictatorships in Germany and the Soviet Union; 4) period of a tightening political situation. It should be noticed, that part of these relationships were only nominally new, for they were institutions which were founded in place of an earlier learned body.

<sup>1023</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 10 April 1915 § 18. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>1024</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 October 1925 § 18. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; minutes of the board of the SFFF 6 October 1925 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1025</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 7 November 1925 § 20. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 7 March 1931 § 13; 2 March 1935 § 11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

<sup>1026</sup> On the receivers of *Memoranda*, see e. g. minutes of the SFFF 3 March 1928 § 19 (the local research societies in Solovki and Kostroma and Hydrobiologisches Station der Lettländischen Universität); 4 November 1933 § 11 (Entomologica Argentina, Buenos Aires, Instituto forestal de Investigaciones y experiencias, La Moncloa, Madrid; Societa Veneziana di Storia Naturale). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

Collective exchanges were sometimes organised though they were not very usual. The Entomological Society of Helsinki provided the SFFF with 50 exchange copies of its new journal, *Notulae entomologicae*, to be used as a supplementary material with entomological journals.<sup>1027</sup> Furthermore, in 1924, the SFFF participated in the exchange proposal which several Finnish scientific societies made to the New York State University,<sup>1028</sup> and the proposal of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters to the Zoological Society in London.<sup>1029</sup>

Mutual favours were still a part of co-operation, though requests were made only seldom. After the earthquake had destroyed the library of Tokyo university, the SFFF donated the whole set of its serials.<sup>1030</sup> Distinctions were made as in the prewar period, mostly by sending addresses or telegrams.<sup>1031</sup> Sometimes the local correspondents of the SFFF were asked to represent the society in their festivities.<sup>1032</sup> The spirit of the Republic manifested still in the donations generously made even to such scientific institutions which were not regular exchange partners. For instance, the SFFF donated publications to the Finnish Department of the Nordisches Institut der Universität Greifswald, the University of Riga, the University of Kaunas and the Zoological Institute of the University of Wien,<sup>1033</sup> but declined to give financial aid to Mikrographische Gesellschaft in Wien, which wrote to the SFFF after the catastrophic impact of war.<sup>1034</sup>

The SFFF directed some two thirds of its exchange offers to the institutions which were not willing to establish an exchange. Its policy to seek central institutions was not very successful though the publications of the SFFF reached them as gifts, and hence the studies of the society became better known. The field of scientific publishing was dividing into various sectors: commercial journals which were not obtainable

1027 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 7 March 1922 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; minutes of the SFFF 5 April 1924 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL. The co-operation with the Entomological Society and the SFFF was close, for the SFFF administered the government subsidies of *Notulae*, too.

1028 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 31 October 1924 § 11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

1029 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 February 1927 § 15. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

1030 Report of the library of the SFFF 1924. In MEDDELANDEN 50 (1925), pp. 240-241.

1031 See e. g. minutes of the board of the SFFF 4 April 1924 § 10 (Société Linnéenne de Normandie). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; 6 April 1932 (Svensk botanisk förening); 24 March 1936 § 4 (Edinburgh Botanical Society); 7 May 1937 § 9 (Kaiserlich Leopoldinisch-Carolinisch Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Halle); 5 May 1938 § 4-5 (Linnean Society, Società Botanica Italiana). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3; minutes of the SFFF 8 May 1926 § 10 (Zoolog. Botan. Gesellschaft in Wien). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 4 November 1933 § 4 (Dansk Naturvidenskaplig forening). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

1032 Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1927 § 10. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

1033 Jan. 1921 Nordisches Institut der Universität Greifswald to the SFFF, attached to minutes of the SFFF 5 February 1921 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; minutes of the board of the SFFF 4 April 1924 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2; 11 November 1924 Lietuvos pasiuntinybe to the SFFF. Protokollsbidragor 1922-1927. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:4; 17 June 1924 Dr Gerner, Assistant des I. Zoologischen Institutes d. Universität Wien to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA 1162:19 FNL.

1034 5 November 1920 [Circular] Mikrographische Gesellschaft, attached to minutes of the SFFF 4 December 1920 § 9; 5 March 1921 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; minutes of the board of the SFFF 8 February 1921 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

via exchange; the outstanding scientific institutions which were willing to exchange publications only with similar high-flyers; and finally, the small, young and peripheral publishers that actively initiated exchanges. Nevertheless, the situation was not stable. Some important changes were occurring in the geography of science. They are examined in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

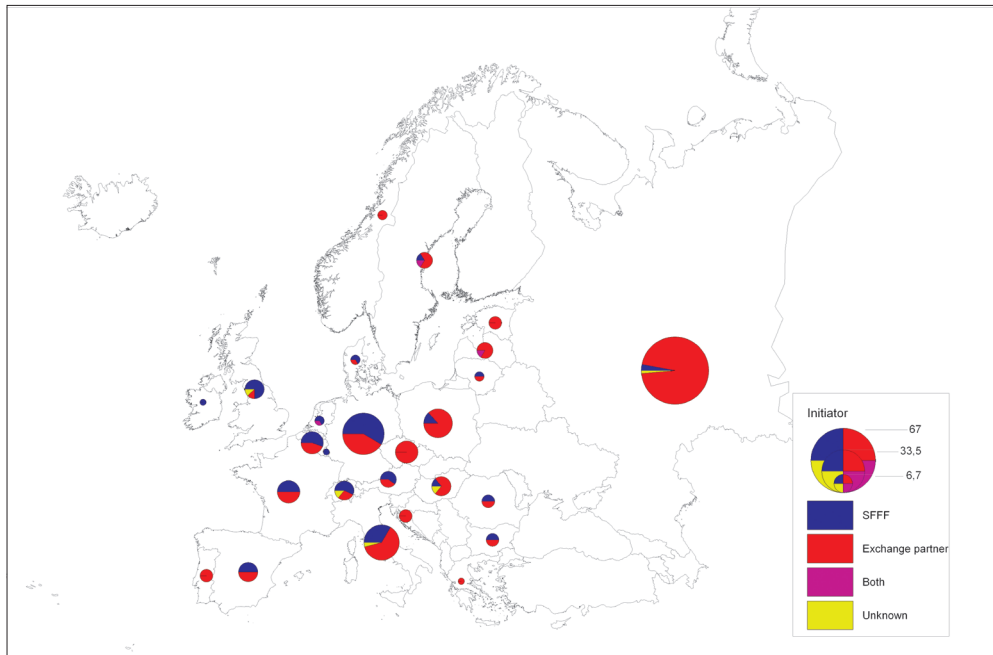


Figure 5.1. New European exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1915-1939 (total 245).<sup>1035</sup>

### *The Soviet Union*

Somewhat surprisingly, the biggest provider of exchange partners in the interwar period was the Soviet Union, with 67 new relationships. The number of partners was mostly based on the activity of the Soviet institutions. During the war, when important links with German science were broken, the Russian institutions actively established contacts with Finnish societies. The practice had the blessing of V. I. Lenin, who encouraged the libraries to promote exchanges with Finnish and Swedish institutions. Nevertheless, the role of Finland in the exchange networks of Soviet institutions should not be exaggerated. Their major interest was, as it had been before the war, directed towards Germany. During the NEP period, the libraries promoted exchanges and the state supported their activities, for instance, by admitting free railroad transport for exchange material. The Stalin rule brought about tighter cen-

<sup>1035</sup> The map represents current political borders. For this reason, Czechoslovakian partners are located in the Czech Republic and three Yugoslavian partners are located in Croatia. One exchange to the Vatican is located in Italy. The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 5.

sorship and many restrictions, but did not end the activity.<sup>1036</sup> The last offer from the Soviet Union was presented to the SFFF on the eve of the Winter War, in October 1939, when the society was already planning the measures to protect its library and collections from the threats posed by the political situation.<sup>1037</sup>

L. R. Graham states that despite the bad reputation caused later by Lysenkoism, Soviet biology was progressing effectively in the 1920s. In particular, the Soviet geneticists were world leaders, and also in conservation theory and community ecology some pioneering work was being carried out.<sup>1038</sup> In the SFFF, Soviet biology did not arouse much discussion. Harry Federley informed the society on the Russian congress of geneticists, which he had been invited to attend in 1929.<sup>1039</sup> Two exchange offers of the SFFF were made to *Naučno-issledovatel'skij institut zoologii* (Scientific Zoological Institute), which was a department of the Academy in Moscow and *Vsesoûznyj institut rastenivodstva* (Institute of Plant Industry) in Leningrad, which was suggested by the librarian and entomologist Reuter. This passivity did not mean an unwelcoming attitude because the society accepted all new Soviet proposals and tried to revive the old ones. These efforts did not, however, lead to significant results, as many old societies had ceased their activities.<sup>1040</sup> The new Soviet partners represented the reformed structure of science and their majority had been established quite recently.

The attitude of the leading members of the SFFF towards the Soviet Union was one of suspicion, if not even hostility. President Palmgren, who used to comment not only on scientific but also political development in the annual reports, had a gloomy perspective on events behind the Eastern border.<sup>1041</sup> Not only the dislike of the Soviet system but also the old resentment towards Russia, inherited from the period of russification became evident.<sup>1042</sup> Nonetheless, the political factors were never discussed in connection with exchanges. The Soviet offers were announced at the meetings and accepted like any other initiatives from institutions representing biology. Among the Soviet partners there were many local institutions which received only the *Bulletin (Memoranda)*, but ABF and AZF were sent to major national institutions.<sup>1043</sup>

1036 Дивногорцев 2007, pp. 31, 51-52, 60-61, 91-92, 148-150; Behrends 1997, p. 61; Graham 1993, pp. 175-179.

1037 Minutes of the SFFF 7 October 1939 § 17. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11; minutes of the board of the SFFF 6 October 1939 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 4. FNL.

1038 Graham 1993, pp. 240-243.

1039 Minutes of the SFFF 2 February 1929 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL. On Federley, see Hietala 2003. <http://helios.uta.fi:2226/artikkeli/5980/> (cited 30 January 2011).

1040 Report of the library of the SFFF 1926. In MEMORANDA 2 (1927), pp. 100-104. The librarian mentioned that the majority of 30 doubtful exchange partners were Russian societies and institutions.

1041 Annual report of the SFFF 1922. In MEDDELANDNEN 48 (1925), pp. 225-226.

1042 Annual reports of the SFFF 1922, 1928, 1931. In MEDDELANDEN 48 (1925), p. 225; MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276; MEMORANDA 7 (1931/32), pp. 311-312.

1043 For instance, minutes of the SFFF 7 May 1927 § 19 (La Société entomologique de Stavropol); 3 March 1928 § 19 (The local research societies in Solovki and Kostroma). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 7 February 1931 § 14 (L'Institut Scientifique de Biologie et de Géographie à l'Université d'Irkoutsk, The Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book. 11. FNL.

### Germany

Germany had before the war been the most important exchange country for the SFFF, but during the interwar period, it dropped to the third position, providing 29 partners. However, it was still the country where the SFFF sent most of its exchange offers. The fame of German science had not withered during the war and the society was eager to revive the old contacts and establish new ones. Despite the economic problems and the boycott of the Allies, German science recovered relatively quickly and up to the Nazi era, it managed to maintain a leading position in the world of science. Of the 100 Nobel laureates from the period 1901–1932, 33 were Germans. Centres of scientific excellence, where other countries sent their doctoral students, flourished in Berlin, Munich and Göttingen. German scientific journals were highly valued. On the other hand, the structure of the German university system was rigid and did not encourage the specialisation of disciplines. The inflation after the war and the stagnation in the early 1930s further weakened the universities and institutes.<sup>1044</sup>

In the early 1920s, German institutions actively contacted Finnish societies which had not joined the boycott of the Allies. Their messages articulated their insecure position in the international scientific community and their desire to re-establish contacts, as is shown in this letter of thanks sent by the Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte, after having received the congratulations of the SFFF on its anniversary:

*Wir freuten uns, dass durch diesen Gruss die bestehenden engen Verbindung zwischen den Naturforschern und Aerzten beider Länder noch besonders dokumentiert wurden.*<sup>1045</sup>

President Palmgren expressed his sympathy towards Germany in the annual report of 1922, writing:

*Scientific life is threatened, as is civilisation in general. The most prominent nation in science still feels the weight caused by the chains of envy and hatred.*<sup>1046</sup>

Sympathy was sometimes evident in small deeds, for instance, compensating the postage of the exchange items.<sup>1047</sup> Furthermore, the society was critical of the congresses arranged by the international organisations which boycotted Germany.<sup>1048</sup>

However, the SFFF gained advantage from this new situation. It managed, at least, to establish exchanges with some institutions which previously had refused its offers. For instance, Botanischer Garten und Museum in Berlin, which had declined an offer of the SFFF in 1892, became an exchange partner in 1923.<sup>1049</sup> Half of the new German partners were local societies, which indicates that the SFFF still had difficulties in reaching the modern scientific institutes. Privately published journals were mainly unattainable, though some were temporarily provided by Notgemeinschaft

<sup>1044</sup> Medawar and Pyke 2001, pp. 3–10; Edelman 1994, p. 171; Harwood 1987, pp. 400–403, 408–412.

<sup>1045</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 4 November 1922 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1046</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1922. In: MEDDELANDNEN 48 (1925), p. 225. The citation in Finnish: *Tieteellinen elämä on uhattu, kuten sivistys yleensäkin. Tieteen etevin kansakunta tuntee vielä kateuden ja vihan kableiden painoa.*

<sup>1047</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 March 1923 § 7 (the postage of Bayerische Botanische Gesellschaft). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1048</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1927 § 15 (10th International Zoological Congress in Budapest). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1049</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 December 1923 § 16. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

der deutschen Wissenschaft, which contacted the SFFF in 1923.<sup>1050</sup> This centralised service sent the SFFF some journals it sought, such as *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Morphologie und Physiologie* and *Mitteilungen über die Vogelwelt*, but central biological journals such as *Zoologische Anzeiger* were not available.<sup>1051</sup> The consignments of Notgemeinschaft ceased in 1932.

The attitude towards Germany began to change in the society, in the 1930s. The president expressed his fears at the direction of world events in the annual report of 1935. Most obviously, he meant Germany when speaking of a country with respectable intellectual traditions:

*The righteous attitude to the human dignity of one's fellows, many ideas of honour, which for centuries have been a key to co-operation and mutual understanding, are now cast aside like waste; and this is happening even in countries which have been regarded as being the elite of objective thinking and of the freedom of thought [...] We are required to do hard work and have a good team spirit, calm and open-minded consideration, a sympathetic and tolerant attitude to both scientific and social questions which today so strongly affect the conditions of research.*<sup>1052</sup>

At the end of his speech, he requested the members of the society to foster biological research and culture independent of national or racial barriers.

As in the contacts with the Soviet Union, the political suspicions did not manifest themselves in the exchange contacts. The tolerant attitude desired by the president made possible maintaining contacts with totalitarian states, even increasing them. This was partly due to the fact that a society in a small country with a young scientific tradition could not afford boycott.

#### *Italy and the Mediterranean area*

In the Mediterranean area, the emphasis of the exchange activities moved from France to Italy, which became the fourth most important country, with its 23 new exchanges. In total, 61% of offers were made by Italian partners, which were a heterogeneous group, consisting of academics, institutes, journals, societies and universities.

The diminishing share of France is an eye-catching change. Only 10 new exchange relations, half of which were initiated by French societies, indicates that the SFFF was losing its interest in the area. In the nineteenth century, the lichenologists Nylander and Vainio had lived in Paris and written their papers in French, but during the interwar period, no similar links existed and only one paper in French appeared in *Acta*. The new initiatives of the SFFF were directed at the local societies, which formed half of the new French exchange partners.

<sup>1050</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 10 March 1923 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1051</sup> 17 February 1925 Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.

<sup>1052</sup> Annual report of the SFFF. In MEMORANDA 11 (1935/36), p. 260. The citation in Finnish: *Oikeamielinen suhtautuminen lähimmäisten ihmisarvoon, monet kunniakäsitteet, jotka vuosisatojen ajan ovat olleet kaiken yhteistyön ja yhteisymmärryksen avain, hyljätään turhana romuna; ja näin tapahtuu sellaisissakin maissa, joita on pidetty objektiivisen ajattelun ja ajatusvapauden valioina. [...] Meiltä vaaditaan vakavaa työtä ja hyvää yhteistuntoa, tyyntä ja enakkoluulotonta harkintaa, ymmärtämyksellistä ja avarakatseista suhtautumista sekä tieteellisiin että yhteiskunnallisiin kysymyksiin, jotka nykyisin niin voimakkaasti vaikuttavat tutkimustyön edellytyksiin.*

The number of Portuguese and Spanish partners increased, though their position in the exchange network of the SFFF remained marginal. Greece entered the scene with one partner, Institutum et Museum Zoologicum Universitatis Atheniensis.

### *Eastern Europe*

The share of eastern Europe grew, especially Poland, where the SFFF had 15 exchange partners, and Czechoslovakia, 10 partners. The initiatives came mostly from East European institutions, while the offers of the SFFF were restricted to two Polish, two Bulgarian, two Romanian and one Hungarian exchanges. It seems that the SFFF did not feel any special sympathy towards these countries which, like Finland, had only recently received independence. Neither did the kindred peoples' ideology, which in the 1930s was manifest in many ways, promote exchanges with Hungarians. Among the partners, there were many societies and institutions which received only the *Bulletin (Memoranda)*, an indication of the low appreciation of their publications.<sup>1053</sup> The majority of the East European partners were young institutions and the proportion of local societies was reasonably low.

### *The British Islands*

The United Kingdom was in many respects an opposite of the East European countries. The number of partners was approximately the same as those in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, but the central position of the country in the scientific community strongly affected the nature of the contacts. The initiative of the SFFF accounted for 75% of exchanges, the interest of British societies in Finnish biology still being very low. The British Museum and the Science Museum were among those major institutions which received the publications of the SFFF without any expectation of *quid pro quo*. The Science Museum requested and even demanded the missing items of the publications of the SFFF without referring to the possibility that it might send its own publications in exchange.<sup>1054</sup> Even the local societies were selective. Cardiff's Naturalists Society was not willing to enter into an exchange relationship without knowing the language of SFFF publications.<sup>1055</sup> Nevertheless, the position of the SFFF was not totally subordinate. At least the respectable Kew Gardens seemed to appreciate the publications of the SFFF, answering its demand note in the most polite way:

*We shall be glad to continue to receive the publications of your Society which are highly valued.*<sup>1056</sup>

<sup>1053</sup> For instance, minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1923 § 10 (Société des sciences naturelles de Moravska Ostrava); 4 October 1924 § 20 (Institutum botanicum Universitatis litterarum regiae Hungariae Francisco-Josephinae); 2 May 1925 § 15 (Archiwum Rybactwa Polskiego); 2 November 1929 § 17 (L'Institut national Polonais d'Économie Rurale à Pulewy). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 3 December 1932 § 11 (Prirodovedecký Klub, Jihlava). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

<sup>1054</sup> 26 October 1928 The British Museum to the SFFF; 11 November 1925 the Science Museum to the SFFF; 6 December 1926 the Science Museum to the SFFF; 15 April 1926 the Science Museum to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.

<sup>1055</sup> 2 June 1927 Cardiff Naturalists Society to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.

<sup>1056</sup> 25 November 1924 the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19. FNL.



Moreover, some signs indicated that the position was improving gradually. The Zoological Society in London, which had rejected the offer of the SFFF in 1892, began to send its publications at the end of the 1930s as a common exchange with the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.<sup>1057</sup> Similarly, the only Irish partner, the Royal Irish Academy, had declined the offer of the SFFF in 1877, but established an exchange in 1937. So, the SFFF managed to gain ground in the British Islands, but mostly by its own initiative and after making economic sacrifices.

#### *Switzerland and Austria*

The role of the Alps region remained much the same as in the prewar period, representing the mean value of exchanges per country. The interest in exchanges was mutual and the partners represented various types of learned bodies. Among Austrian partners, there were two societies focusing on nature conservation. The botanists of the SFFF valued the Swiss research of botanic geography highly, which explains its own exchange offers.<sup>1058</sup>

#### *Belgium and the Netherlands*

Similarly, Belgium and the Netherlands represented the mean type of exchange countries. However, Belgium now provided more partners than the Netherlands and it was also active in initiating exchanges. Its scientific academy even sent the SFFF a medal when celebrating its own 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1922.<sup>1059</sup>

#### *The Nordic countries*

The share of the Nordic countries was surprisingly low, in view of the fact that personal contacts between Swedish and Finnish scientists were still very close and the Finnish botanical geographers, Norrlin and Hult, were widely respected in Sweden.<sup>1060</sup> Furthermore, the Nordic meetings of naturalists were important and the SFFF encouraged its members to participate in them.<sup>1061</sup> A political explanation to the low number of exchanges might be searched in the so-called Åland crisis. In the 1920s, Finland and Sweden got into an argument over the Åland islands, whose inhabitants were eager to gain a sovereign position as part of Sweden. The controversy was settled in 1921, but the dispute created tension between both countries for many years to come.<sup>1062</sup> However, there are no mentions of strained relations in the minutes or letters of the SFFF. The majority of the initiatives were made by the Nordic partners, which were mainly research institutes and universities. Almost all received both serials of the SFFF, which indicates that their publications were respected.

1057 Minutes of the SFFF 3 February 1927. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

1058 The interest in Swiss botany was not discussed in connection with exchanges but was apparent in the proposals for new corresponding members. See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1923 § 19, attachment. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

1059 Minutes of the SFFF 7 October 1922 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

1060 Linkola 1929, p. 134.

1061 Minutes of the SFFF 1 December 1928 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

1062 Paasivirta 1984, pp. 258-261; Kirby 2006, p. 191; Hentilä 2009, p. 141.

*The Baltics*

Although the SFFF from time to time announced its desire to improve the contacts with the Baltic countries, and Professor of Botany, Kaarlo Linkola, actively promoted the Baltic meetings of botanists,<sup>1063</sup> the society made only one exchange offer to the Baltics, to the Botanical Garden in Kaunas.<sup>1064</sup> The Baltic countries were more active. For them, a Finnish society was obviously more easily attainable than the institutions in the bigger scientific centres. Their common history as part of the Russian empire and the wide use of the German language were further factors that encouraged co-operation and exchanges. The Baltic partners were botanical gardens, universities and research institutions.

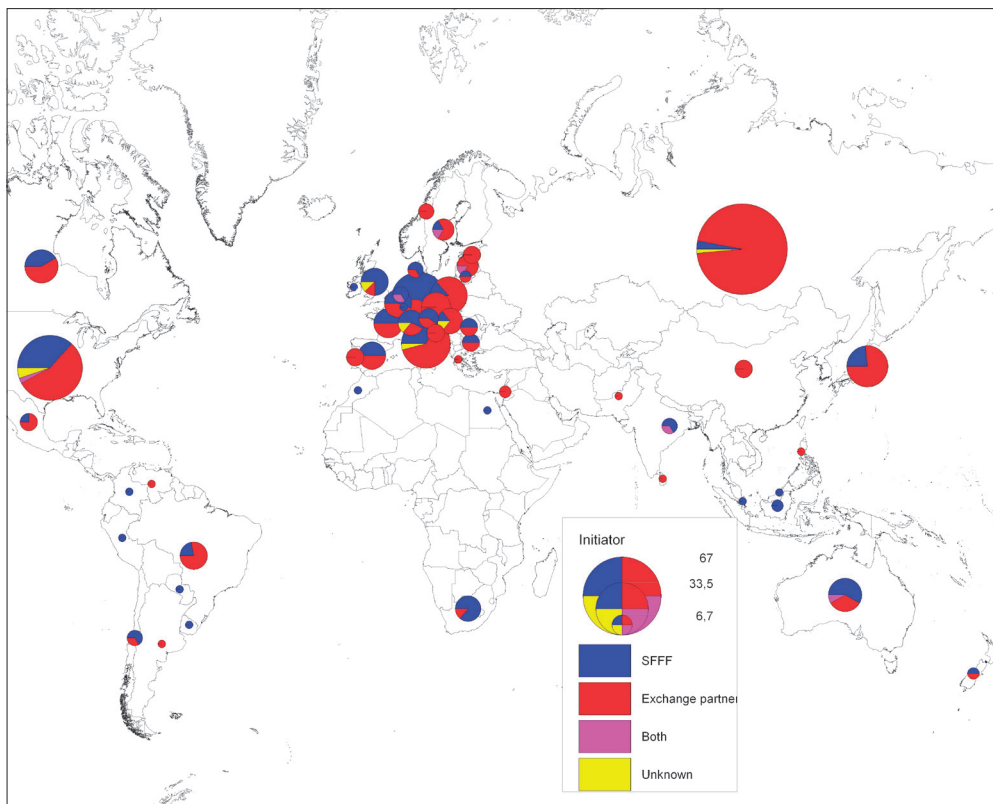


Figure 5.2. New exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1915-1939 worldwide (total 373).<sup>1065</sup>

<sup>1063</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 February 1930 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 4 March 1933 § 5; 2 March 1935 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

<sup>1064</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1928. In MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276; minutes of the SFFF 6 May 1933 § 21. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

<sup>1065</sup> The Manchurian exchanges which are slightly problematic to categorise are located in Japan, here. The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 6.

### *The United States and Canada*

The USA retained its second position as a provider of exchange partners, but a change was occurring in the increasing interest of the SFFF. The share of the offers of the SFFF rose from 12% in the prewar period to 37%. American science was progressing strongly and it diverged in many respects from European research. Universities, agricultural colleges and experiment stations enjoyed not only federal funding but also capital from private donors. The organisational structure of universities left their presidents free to organise institutes, appoint researchers and hence prepare the way for new specialised disciplines like genetics.<sup>1066</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that American science aroused interest in Finland. The increasing importance of university presses, is visible in the high proportion of universities (42%) among the exchange partners.<sup>1067</sup> The second largest group (21%) consisted of local societies and the rest were divided quite evenly among museums, botanical gardens, academies, research institutes, national societies and journals. Also some private institutes, such as the Carnegie Museum were willing to exchange publications.

The exchanges with Canadian institutions and societies increased as well. Initiatives were quite even: seven Canadian proposals and five offers by the SFFF. Altogether, it is obvious that North America was strengthening its position in the world of science.

### *The Latin America*

In Latin America, the most important country was Brazil, which offered nine exchanges, seven of whom were initiated by a Brazilian party. It seems that Vainio's study, *Étude sur la classification naturelle et la morphologie des lichens du Brésil*, still held the interest of Brazilian institutions.<sup>1068</sup> From the Finnish perspective, some partners were involved in more exotic work, not least the Instituto de Butantan, which specialised in the venoms of snakes. The interest in exchanges was mutual. When widening its exchange relations, the SFFF made offers to Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. However, many Latin American partners, which proposed exchanges, were sent only the *Bulletin (Memoranda)*, even though they were institutions of national importance.<sup>1069</sup>

### *Japan*

Japan was the fifth most important exchange country. Its position was mostly based on the initiatives of Japanese universities and research institutes. During the interwar period, Japanese society increasingly favoured science. New laboratories and experiment stations were established and scientific competition was encouraged with grants and prizes. The country wanted to be independent of German influence. It is possible that the activity, with regard to the SFFF, was part of this new policy, though mostly

<sup>1066</sup> Harwood 1987, pp. 394-395, 399-400, 404-409.

<sup>1067</sup> On University presses, see Jagodzinski 2008, pp. 3-5.

<sup>1068</sup> Lang, Stenroos and Alava 2007. <http://helios.uta.fi:2876/artikkeli/3676/> (cited 24 January 2011).

<sup>1069</sup> For instance, minutes of the SFFF 4 October 1924 § 20 (Academia Brasileira de Ciencias). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 7 February 1931 § 14 (Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadística); 4 November 1933 § 11 (Entomologica Argentina, Buenos Aires, Societa Veneziana di Storia Naturale). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

it focused interest on the United States.<sup>1070</sup> The SFFF made only four offers to Japan, but it seemed to appreciate its Japanese partners, as most also received the *Acta*.

There was a small but interesting group of two scientific societies and one institute in Harbin, Manchukuo – an area which belonged to Japan from 1905 to 1925 and as a puppet state from 1932 on. After the Russian Civil War, Harbin became a city of White Russian emigrants, some of whom continued their scientific work there. Besides, there was an active Jewish community which absorbed the German Jewish refugees in the 1930s. These distant societies did not manage to send many publications to the SFFF, but their activity in creating international contacts provides interesting evidence of the efforts to create scientific co-operation, even under very difficult conditions.<sup>1071</sup>

#### *Other Asian countries and colonies*

The activity of the SFFF extended to a wide area. It sent exchange offers to India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, receiving proposals partly from the same countries and also from China, Philippines and Sri Lanka. The publications of the Asian countries did not arouse much discussion. Obviously, the society just wanted to distribute its publications as widely as possible and, in return, to receive information from various parts of the world.

#### *Australia and New Zealand*

The same tendency was visible in the growing interest in Australian partners. The SFFF made seven exchange offers to societies and institutions in the major cities of Sydney, Canberra, Brisbane and Melbourne, and one to New Zealand, to the Canterbury Museum.

#### *Africa*

The African exchanges were concentrated in South Africa where the SFFF made six offers, mostly to museums. Besides, it made an offer to the Société des sciences naturelles du Maroc and to the Société entomologique d’Egypte.

The interest of the SFFF in continents other than Europe or North America was somewhat tentative and sporadic. It aimed at a wide exchange network, extending to all continents. Exchange offers from the four corners of the world were accepted, but the society was willing to give its most valuable publications only to the scientific centres and respected institutions even in the cases when they did not intend to give their publications. In this respect, it followed the policy formed in the prewar period. This policy may seem somewhat extravagant, but it proved prolific. At least when measured against the number of exchange offers made to the SFFF, its position appears remarkably stronger than in the prewar period.

Some changes also occurred in the types of exchange partners. Figure 5.3 compares the prewar and interwar types.

<sup>1070</sup> Bartholomew 1989, pp. 239-247, 254.

<sup>1071</sup> Алкин 1998 <http://nature.web.ru/db/msg.html?mid=1187208> (cited 17 February 2012); Harbin. Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harbin>. (cited 24 January 2011).

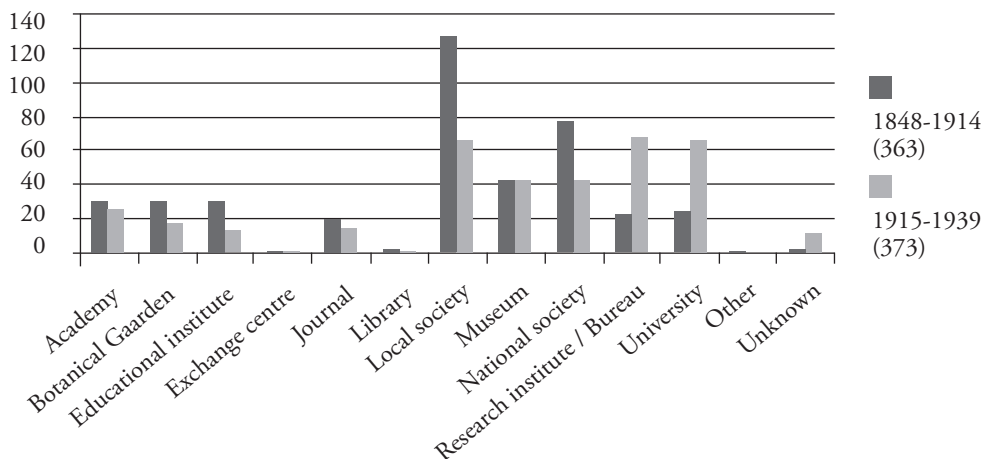


Figure 5.3. Types of the exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1939.

The most important changes occurred in the number of societies. Both national and local societies lost their share, whereas the number of publicly funded institutions, especially the research institutes and universities, increased. This partly mirrors the changing structure of the scientific community. In the Soviet Union, the societies almost totally lost ground to institutes, but elsewhere, the number of the latter grew, due to the increased private and governmental funding of science. Considering that the number of other respected institutions such as botanical gardens grew, the change can also be regarded as an indicator of the better position of the SFFF in the exchange market.

In 1925, the librarian was authorised to establish exchanges even with the renowned foreign researchers who were interested in the publications of the SFFF.<sup>1072</sup> In the annual report of 1929, the president mentioned that the society had exchange relations with many foreign scientists, but presumably he meant corresponding members, considering that no individual scientists were mentioned among the exchange partners.<sup>1073</sup> The statistics presented in this chapter do not include any exchanges with individual scientists.

The similar minor increase in authority of the exchange partners is also noticeable in their ages, as Figure 5.4 demonstrates.

The share of young partners decreased slightly, but this should not be exaggerated. The growth in the eldest category is partly explained by the increasing number of universities, of whom one third were over a hundred years old. The initiative of various age categories remained much the same as in the prewar period: most of the foreign

<sup>1072</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 26 November 1925 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1073</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1929. In MEMORANDA 5 (1929), pp. 178-197.

exchange offers (59%) came from the two youngest categories, whereas the SFFF sent most of its proposals (68%) to two middle aged groups.

Three interesting features are noticeable in the exchange policy of the SFFF. First, it was fully aware of the competitive character of the scientific community and did not think too highly of its own position in this arena. Its leaders considered that the exchange of publications was the most important way to strengthen its standing and that it should be practised as widely as possible, whatever the costs. The other interesting feature was the Republican heritage which still had an effect on the exchange policy of the society. This was visible especially in the suppressing of political attitudes with regard to exchanges. President Palmgren was open about his views in the annual reports, nevertheless, the society never rejected exchanges for political reasons. Neither are there signs that ideological motives might have been the sole reasons for establishing exchanges. Scientific contacts were based on science only and tolerance was necessary in promoting them. The third feature was the dominance of the distribution motive. The acquiring of foreign literature was not a driving force in the exchanges of the SFFF. The sending of publications, even to those institutions which were not willing to give their own journals in exchange, indicates that its main interest lay in creating publicity for its own journals.

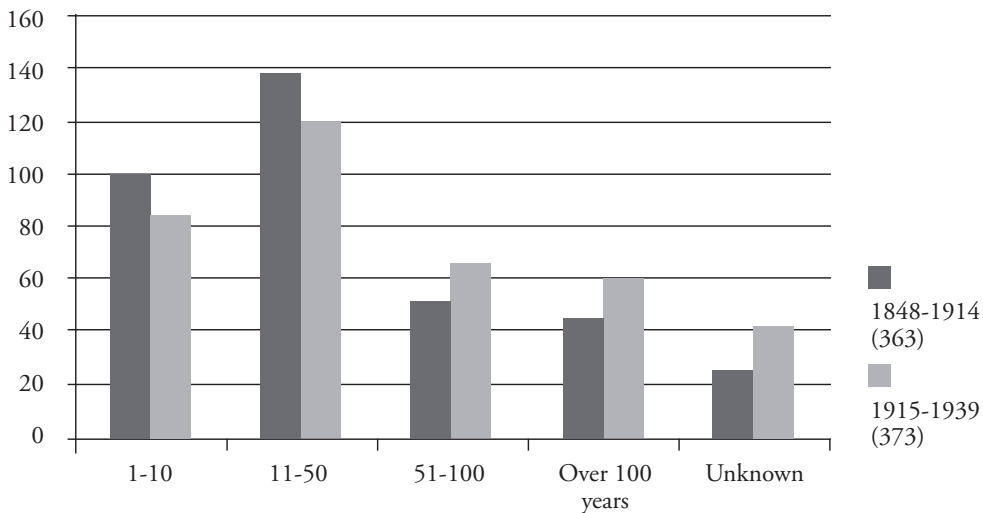


Figure 5.4. Ages of the exchange partners of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1848-1939.

#### 5.4.2 The FLS –Finno-Ugrian interests as a guiding light

The FLS began to revive its exchange relations in 1921 by sending its recent publications with a printed reception card to all exchange partners.<sup>1074</sup> This measure meant

<sup>1074</sup> The reception notes from 1921 consignments are preserved among the correspondence of the FLS of 1921. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 105. Mf 2004:3. SKS, KIA.

only normalising the situation because no plans for extending exchanges were presented. As in the prewar period, the exchange did not play a notable role in the society. It was mostly on the agenda when the offers were received from other institutions or when the board had to consider the number and quality of the publications given in exchange. Furthermore, the anniversaries of the exchange partners and congratulations sent on the occasion of these festivities were mentioned at the meetings.<sup>1075</sup> At times, the exchange publications were discussed if they were especially close to the interests of the FLS.<sup>1076</sup>

The passivity of the FLS and the language policy of its publications were the main reasons for the low number of foreign exchange offers it received. Information on the society, its activities and publications was available at least in *Minerva: Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt* and *Index Generalis – annuaire général des Universités, sections des sociétés savantes*, so that other societies and institutions could find it.<sup>1077</sup> The seventeen offers received during the interwar period did not amount to an international success par excellence, at least when compared with the figures of the SFFF at the same time. The total number of the new exchange relations of the FLS was low and diminished in the course of the period, as Table 5.3 shows.

Table 5.3. *Initiators of the new exchange relations of the Finnish Literature Society 1915-1939.*<sup>1078</sup>

Period	Initiator			Total
	FLS	Exchange partner	Unknown	
1921-1926	0	10	0	9
1927-1932	1	5	0	6
1933-1939	1	2	2	7
Total	2	17	2	21

At the end of the 1930s, signs of an increasing interest in international exchanges began to appear. In connection with outlining the acquisitions policy of the library, the society discussed the exchange relations whose promotion was considered important.<sup>1079</sup> A similar attitude was apparent when considering the adoption of the journal *Studia Fennica*. The library committee and the linguistic department alike

<sup>1075</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FLS 4 November 1925 § 2. In SUOMI V:6 (1928), IV, pp. 44-45; 5 December 1934 § 2. In Suomi V:17 (1919/1920), V, p. 56; 2 February 1938 § 1. In SUOMI V:20 (1938), IV, p. 60.

<sup>1076</sup> Minutes of the FLS 31 May 1922 § 8. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV p. 15.

<sup>1077</sup> [Undated] *Index Generalis – annuaire général des Universités, sections des sociétés savantes* to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106; Jun.1925 Redaktion der *Minerva* to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 107. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1078</sup> As there were no special phases in the publishing or exchange activities of the FLS, the periods are based only on external factors: 1) period of the reconstruction of the scholarly contacts; 2) period of the active international co-operation until the rise of dictatorships in Germany and the Soviet Union; 3) period of a tightening political situation.

<sup>1079</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 March 1935 § 11 (The proposition of the acquisitions policy of the library). In SUOMI V:18 (1936), IV, pp. 88-91.

wished that the society increase the number of exchange relations.<sup>1080</sup> Despite this, the society dismissed the opportunity to adopt *Studia Fennica*, which would have been an excellent exchange journal. They believed that the journal *Suomi* would promote international exchange as well, especially if provided with German summaries. This opinion suggests that the FLS was not very aware of what was going on in the exchange markets, probably due to the fact that it had never really aimed at widening exchanges. The occasional exchange offers it had received gave a wrong indication of the demand for Finnish scholarly publications abroad. Therefore, this slightly increasing interest in exchanges did not lead to any significant results. Two exchange initiatives on the part of the FLS did not form the beginning of a project of expansion – one was made to replace a previously terminated Swedish exchange, and the other began from mutual donations with a Soviet institution.

At the end of the 1930s, the responsibility of exchange activities was transferred to a recently founded library committee, though ideas for exchange were still brought to the board for discussion.<sup>1081</sup> The procedure was not very well-defined and sometimes the final decisions on exchanges were made at the general meetings, sometimes by the board.<sup>1082</sup> The journal *Suomi* was still the central exchange publication, whereas *Editions* was consigned selectively. For instance, the University of Lund received all scholarly volumes of *Editions* and such dictionaries which aided in learning the Finnish language.<sup>1083</sup> In addition to its own publications, the FLS could use the periodicals which it supported economically: *Virittäjä*, a journal of the Society for the Study of Finnish, and *Kirjallisuudentutkijain Seuran Vuosikirja* (Yearbook of Literature Research Society).<sup>1084</sup> Their papers used to have summaries in German or French. Many exchange partners requested the OPFP,<sup>1085</sup> but the society was willing to give it only in special cases. For instance, Eesti Rahva Muuseum (the Estonian National Museum) was promised OPFP if it was willing to donate to the FLS a collection of recent Estonian studies and belles lettres.<sup>1086</sup>

The quantitative examination of 21 exchange relations would not give statistically representative results. Therefore, the exchanges of the FLS are analysed only geographically. Figure 5.5 presents the distribution of the exchange partners in various countries.

1080 Minutes of the board of the FLS 3 December 1936 § 9. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA.

1081 Minutes of the FLS 3 March 1937 § 11. In SUOMI V:19 (1938), V, pp. 86–89.

1082 Minutes of the FLS 2 June 1937 § 14. In SUOMI V:20 (1938), IV, p. 22; minutes of the board of the FLS 30 September 1937 § 15. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA.

1083 Minutes of the FLS 2 February 1921 § 3. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), II, pp. 38–39.

1084 27 December 1934 The New York Public Library to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 126. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 6 April 1938 § 6. In SUOMI 102 (1943), p. 6.

1085 See 20 January 1921 Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund to the FLS; 13 July 1922 Kungl. Universitetsbibliotek i Uppsala to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA.

1086 At the beginning, the FLS cherished hope of finding a co-publisher in this costly enterprise and was, therefore, reluctant to bind itself in the exchange obligations. Minutes of the board of the FLS 9 February 1915 § 2. Minutes of the board of the FLS 26 April 1917 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.



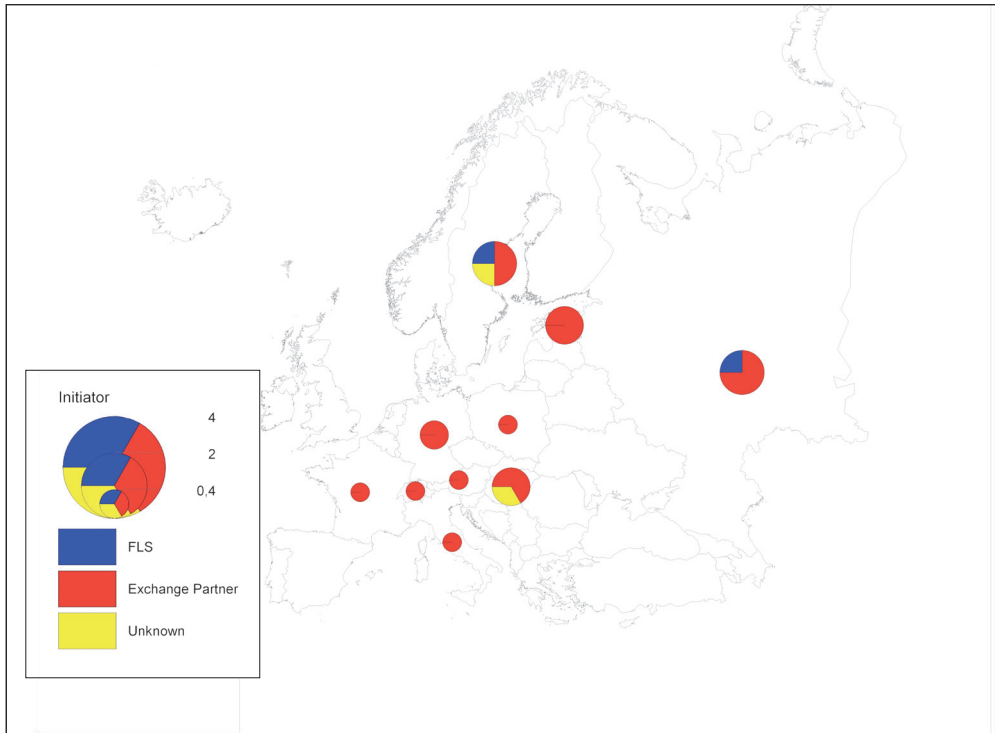


Figure 5.5. New exchange partners of the Finnish Literature Society 1921-1939 (total 21).<sup>1087</sup>

### *The Soviet Union*

The Soviet Union was in the first position as a provider of exchange partners, but the relationship between the FLS and its eastern neighbour was far from trouble-free. The FLS showed sympathy for the so-called Greater Finland idea, which aimed at joining the Eastern Karelia to Finland. This activism culminated in the Aunus expedition of 1919, where a group of Finnish volunteers tried to occupy certain Karelian areas.<sup>1088</sup> After the peace of Tartu in 1920 had confirmed the Eastern border, no further attacks were made, but ideological work continued – even in the FLS. Its President Kaarle Krohn announced his support for the Eastern Karelians, who had revolted against the Soviet Union, as well as his resentment of the Finnish red refugees, who had joined the Soviet army.<sup>1089</sup> The society supported East Karelian writers, archived descriptions of the fates of these peoples and sometimes even gave monetary assistance to the victims of Bolsheviks.<sup>1090</sup>

<sup>1087</sup> The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 7.

<sup>1088</sup> The resistance of the Soviet troops was too powerful and the Finns had to retreat. Minutes of the FLS 1 June 1918 § 1. In *SUOMI IV:19* (1922), IV, pp. 67-70. On Greater Finland idea, see Hentilä 2009, pp. 131-134.

<sup>1089</sup> See e. g. the speech of Krohn, minutes of the FLS 16 March 1921 § 1. In *SUOMI V:1* (1927), II, p. 57; 16 March 1922 § 1. In *SUOMI V:1* (1927), III, pp. 63-67.

<sup>1090</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 17 February 1927 § 10. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962.5; 19 September 1919 § 14. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962.4. SKS, KIA.

The Greater Finland ideology did not prevent contacts with the Soviet partners. Rather, the scholarly interest in Karelians and other Finno-Ugrian peoples in the Soviet Union promoted them. The pioneer in establishing new relations was a Komi Linguist, Vasili Lytkin, who studied at the University of Helsinki in the 1920s. Lytkin had close contacts with the Finno-Ugrian Society where he made acquaintances with leading Finnish linguists. In 1926, Lytkin asked the FLS to donate books to a research library of Ust-Sysolsk (today, the city of Syktyvkar) and, furthermore, suggested an exchange between *Suomi* and the new journal *Komi Mu*. The society accepted both proposals.<sup>1091</sup> The following year, Lytkin mediated an exchange offer of Institut vostokovedeniâ (The Institute of Oriental Studies), which was accepted as well.<sup>1092</sup> Unfortunately, this personal link between Finnish and Komi societies was not a long-lasting one. Lytkin returned to his home country where his close relations with Finnish scholars were interpreted as espionage. He was accused of working for SOFIN, an association for liberating the Finno-Ugrian people which, actually, never really existed. Lytkin's defence, stating that his contacts with the Finnish linguists had been only scholarly, did not convince the prosecution and, in 1933, he was sent to a labour camp for five years.<sup>1093</sup>

The further the building of the Soviet system progressed, the less room there was for private activity. Instead, exchanges were promoted by VOKS, which in 1927, offered the FLS two new partners – Institut Belorusskoj kul'tury (the Institute of Byelorussian culture) in Minsk and Muzej Central'no-promyšlennoj oblasti (the Museum of the Central Industrial District Rayon) in Moscow. The society requested some more information and publication lists, before accepting these proposals, but it received material only from Minsk. This exchange did not last very long.<sup>1094</sup> A letter from Herzen Pedagogical University in Leningrad, requesting guides for the collectors of vocabulary and tradition in Eastern Karelia, aroused in the FLS expectations of wider co-operation in collecting material of Karelian dialects. However, nothing was heard from Herzen University afterwards.<sup>1095</sup> Instead, an exchange relation was created with the Karel'skij naučno-issledovatel'skij institut (Karelian Research Institute), which had informed the Finno-Ugrian Society of its wish to have Finnish publications concerning Karelians and the Veps people for the bibliography it was creating. In 1932, the FLS sent some linguistic publications, asking if it was possible to receive the journal *Karelo-Murmanskij kraj*. This journal was not received but some other journals, mediated by the VOKS, arrived in due course. The FLS continued its consignments, though these often had difficulties in reaching their destination. The co-operation between the society and the Karelian institute was wider than a mere exchange of publications. At least Eemil Aukusti Tunkelo, the librarian of the FLS, visited this

1091 20 April 1926 Vasili Lytkin to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 118. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 5 May 1926 § 8. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, p. 28.

1092 Minutes of the FLS 2 March 1927 § 6. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, p. 82.

1093 Kokkonen 1996, pp. 20-23; Salminen 2008, p. 123.

1094 Minutes of the board of the FLS 27 May 1927 § 13. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.

1095 10 April 1928 Herzenin pedagog. instituutti, Leningrad to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 118; 16 April 1928 the FLS to Herzenin pedagoginen instituutti. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 119. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

institute during his expedition, and they aided each other by providing the copies and catalogues of archival material.<sup>1096</sup>

The Soviet literature was very important for the FLS and it was even willing to buy books and journals. In this matter, it turned to the Finnish consulate in Leningrad for help. The consulate managed to consign some book packages, though the book markets seemed to be quite confused.<sup>1097</sup> Furthermore, the FLS wrote to the VOKS, requesting its help in reviving the old contact with the Kazanskoe obšestvo arheologii, istorii i ètnografii (the Kazan Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnology).<sup>1098</sup> Occasional exchanges and donations were made with governmental institutions and private persons.<sup>1099</sup> Not all Soviet partners were welcomed, however. The FLS declined the exchange offers of the University of Saratov and the Tatar institute in Kasan which it considered irrelevant.<sup>1100</sup>

Although the ideological stand of the FLS was dangerous from the point of view of Soviet politics, the mutual information needs created bonds between the society and some Soviet institutions pursuing Finno-Ugric studies. A symbolic expression of these curious contacts was a congratulatory note sent on the occasion of the FLS centenary by one of those institutions, which had been sent gifts in the past, Leningradskoe Obšestvo Issledovatelej Kul'tury Finno-ugorskih Narodnostej LOIKFUN (Leningrad Society for Studying the Finno-Ugric People):

*We wish the Society develops further to the advantage of the labour class of Finland.*<sup>1101</sup>

### Sweden

As in prewar, the contacts of the FLS concentrated in the neighbouring areas and Sweden held the second position as a provider of exchange relations. Of the Swedish partners, the Nordic museum and the University of Lund were initiators of exchange relations. The latter organised many exchanges with Finnish societies and institutions at the time. The FLS was critical of the value of its serials because they were already available in many libraries.<sup>1102</sup> The problem was solved by a special arrangement: the University of Lund promised to consign some journals of other publishers

<sup>1096</sup> 22 April 1932 the FLS to Karjalan tieteilinen tutkimuslaitos; 19 August 1932 the FLS to Karjalan tieteilinen tutkimuslaitos. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123; 6 June 1933 the FLS to Karjalan tieteilinen tutkimuslaitos; 10 October 1933 Gesellschaft für Kulturelle Verbindung der Sowjetunion mit dem Auslande (VOKS). Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 124; 31 January 1935 the FLS to Karjalan tieteilinen tutkimuslaitos. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 126. Mf 2004:11.SKS, KIA.

<sup>1097</sup> See e. g. 2 September 1935 the FLS to Suomen pääkonsuli, Pietari; 13 September 1935 Suomen pääkonsuli, Pietari to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 126. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1098</sup> 4 October 1928 the FLS to the Gesellschaft für Kulturelle Verbindung der Sowjetunion mit dem Auslande (VOKS). Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 119. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1099</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 27 May 1927 § 15. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:5; 29 January 1932 § 14. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1100</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 April 1929 § 4. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 3; minutes of the board of the FLS 29 September 1932 § 18-19. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1101</sup> The centenary of the FLS 15-16 March 1931. In SUOMI V:12 (1931), II, pp. 19-20. The citation in Finnish: *Toivotamme Seuralle etäisempää kehitystä Suomen työväen hyödyksi*. The LOIKFUN was not an exchange partner of the FLS although they made some mutual donations.

<sup>1102</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 12 February 1918 § 7. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.

and theses concerning history, ethnology, linguistics and literature.<sup>1103</sup> Usually, the co-operation with Swedes ran smoothly, but the friction with a corresponding member of the society, Karl Bernhard Wiklund, led to the termination of an old exchange with the journal *Le Monde Oriental* whose editor he was. Instead, the FLS began to send its publications to Stockholms högskola (The University College in Stockholm) where the Finnish language had recently been included in the curricula.<sup>1104</sup>

### *Estonia*

The common cultural heritage and interest in the Finno-Ugric languages, which had helped foster scholarly contacts between the FLS and Estonian societies in the prewar period, now spread more widely in culture and politics of Finland. In the 1920s and 1930s, the so-called kindred peoples' ideology flourished. This was partly a continuation of earlier scholarly interest in Finno-Ugrian languages and cultures, and partly a result of a new political situation where Finland, Hungary and Estonia had achieved their independence while other Finno-Ugrian peoples remained under Soviet rule. Pan-Ugric nationalism was apparent in the Finno-Ugrian cultural meetings, which were organised from 1921.<sup>1105</sup> One might suppose that these conferences were especially close to the interests of the FLS, but its minutes do not include much information on the planning of these events, and at times, it seems that the society was slightly reserved in front of the enthusiasm of the organisers.<sup>1106</sup>

From the point of view of the FLS, the old traditions, projects and personal contacts promoted exchanges more than any ideological conferences or official agreements. Many Finnish scholars worked in the University of Tartu, and hence were influential in Estonian learned societies. For instance, Professor Lauri Kettunen was one of the founders of *Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts* (the Academic Society of the Mother Tongue), which was the first exchange partner in the independent Estonia.<sup>1107</sup> Often the co-operation with Estonian partners surpassed the usual impersonal book consignments. For instance, the FLS granted to the University of Tartu some material offered by the University of Lund which it did not need in its own library.<sup>1108</sup> Eesti Kirjanduse Selts, for its part, copied for the FLS some letters of Elias Lönnrot.<sup>1109</sup> Due to the relatively short distance, Estonian institutions could easily send their delegates to

1103 Minutes of the FLS 2 February 1921 § 3. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), V, II, pp. 38-39.

1104 3 March 1932 the FLS to Volmar Bergh; 7 April 1932 the FLS to Volmar Bergh; 2 March 1932 the FLS to *Le Monde Oriental*. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 2 March 1932 § 5. In SUOMI V:14 (1932), IV, p. 60.

1105 Numminen 1984, pp. 16-18; Paasivirta 1984, pp. 438-439.

1106 2 June 1930 the FLS to Suomalais-ugrilainen kulttuurikongressi; 28 October 1930 Suomalais-ugrilainen kulttuurikokous to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 121. MF 2004:11. SKS, KIA.

1107 Kuldsepp and Seilenthal 1982, p. 39.

1108 Minutes of the board of the FLS 30 November 1922 § 14. MF 1962:5; 17 June 1923 the FLS to K. Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 117. Mk 1-45 (2003). SKS, KIA.

1109 7 May 1928 the FLS to Eesti Kirjanduse selts. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 119. MF 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

the festivities of the FLS<sup>1110</sup> and vice versa – the FLS sent delegates to the anniversaries of Estonian societies with the most precious gifts it had, all volumes of the OPFP.<sup>1111</sup>

Despite the cordial relations, only three new exchanges were established with Estonian institutions in the interwar period. Obviously, the FLS was willing to exchange publications only with the national societies and institutions which were not so numerous in a small country. It sent forward an exchange proposal of Kabala algkool (Kabala elementary school).<sup>1112</sup> Slightly surprising was the decision to decline the exchange offer of recently founded Eesti Keele Arhiiv (The Archive of Estonian Language). The society explained the decision that on the basis of the first number of its journal, it was too early to begin an exchange but it is more likely that some personal friction caused the reluctance.<sup>1113</sup>

### *Hungary*

The role of Hungary was in many ways similar to that of Estonia. The spirit of brotherhood which had connected the FLS with the Hungarian institutions in the prewar period is well illustrated in the centenary congratulation received from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences:

*Both institutions were born of the force of the same ideology, nationalism, and they aim at the same end, to gather the strength of their respective peoples for ideological production, to revive the spiritual endeavour of their countries and to participate in international intellectual work. Both institutions have met each other in the same work field, investigating the common origins of our nations' languages and other culture.*<sup>1114</sup>

Yet, the kindred peoples ideology did not translate into new exchange partners – only three Hungarian exchanges were established in the interwar period. The first of them was the University of Szeged, the previous University of Koloszvar, which was transferred to the Hungarian side, from the area left to Romania after the war. Like many other exchange partners of the FLS, this university had a professorship of the Finnish language. Linguistic interest led also to an exchange with the journal *Magyar*

1110 The centenary of the FLS 15 – 16 March 1931. In SUOMI V:12 (1931), II, pp. 19-26.

1111 Minutes of the FLS 5 October 1932 § 2. In SUOMI V:15 (1933), V, p. 39 (Eesti Kirjanduse Selts); 2 February 1938 § 1. In SUOMI V:20 (1938), IV, p. 60 (Õpetatud Eesti Selts).

1112 7 October 1936 the FLS to Kabala Algkool. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 127. SKS, KIA.

1113 Minutes of the board of the FLS 28 March 1935 § 22. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA. A possible reason may have been the controversy between the correspondent and close co-operator of the FLS, Oskar Loorits and the head of the Archive of Estonian Language, Andrus Saareste. See e. g. the article Pisuhänd ajas keelemehed riidu: Tartus puhkes dr. O. Looritsa ja dr. A. Saareste vahel võitlus pisuhänne nimede pärast. *Vaba Maa* 106. 6 May 1935.

1114 The centenary of the FLS 15 – 16 March 1931. In SUOMI V:12 (1931), II, pp. 19-20. The citation in Finnish: *Molemmat laitokset ovat syntyneet saman aatteen, kansallisuusaatteen voimasta ja samaan tarkoitukseen tähdäten, kootakseen kumpikin kansansa voimat aatteelliseen tuotantoon oman maan henkisten pyrintöjen elvyttämiseksi ja osallistumaan kansainväliseen henkiseen työhön. Molemmat laitokset ovat kohdanneet toisensa samalla työvainiolla kansojemme kielten ja muun kulttuurin yhteisen alkuperän selvittämisessä.*

*Nyelvör*,<sup>1115</sup> and the third partner was a producer of bibliographies, Ungarisches Zentralstelle für Bibliothekswesen, which, in 1928, proposed exchange of *Suomalainen kirjallisuus* (Finnish Literature).<sup>1116</sup> In addition to these three Hungarian publishers, the only French partner of the society was also Hungarian. The journal *Revue des études Hongroises et Finno-Ougriennes* was published in Paris, but edited by a Hungarian linguist Zoltan Baranyai.<sup>1117</sup>

### Germany

After the civil war, the leaders of the FLS felt gratitude and admiration for Germany. President Krohn even seemed to support the idea of having a German-born king in Finland:

*The near future will show if the Finns, once again, can unite around their own king, as they already have united below the commonly accepted flag. The personal representative of our independence would not only mean for us a safer preserving of our current borders from western and eastern encroachments but possibly also the realisation of the idea of Greater Finland.*<sup>1118</sup>

The speech of the president was given during difficult times, after the civil war, when the future of the country was uncertain. The idea of a German-born king was abandoned after the defeat of Germany and the political comments in the speeches of the president of the FLS became more cautious.

New exchange relations with German institutions were based on German initiatives. Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft contacted the FLS in 1922 and offered a variety of serials, including also the journals of commercial publishers, such as *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*. It requested both *Suomi* and *Editions*.<sup>1119</sup> The FLS sent *Suomi* and a selection of *Editions*, which were deposited in the Preussischer Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The wishes of the FLS, however, did not come to fruition, for instead of the complete series it had requested, it received scattered volumes of journals published by German societies.<sup>1120</sup> Notgemeinschaft kept demanding the missing

1115 Minutes of the FLS 3 February 1937 § 12. In SUOMI V:19 (1938) V, p. 79. According to Zeitschriftdatenbank, Magyar Nyelvör was published by the Hungarian Academy of Science, which already was the exchange partner of the FLS. However, it is possible that before the Second World War, the journal was published privately. Zeitschriften Datenbank, record Magyar Nyelvör. <http://dispatch.opac.d-nb.de/DB=1.1/SET=1/TTL=1/SHW?FRST=1> (cited 12 September 2011).

1116 Minutes of the board of the FLS 29 March 1928 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 25. SKS, KIA.

1117 Minutes of the FLS 6 December 1922 § 6. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, p. 32.

1118 Minutes of the FLS 1 June 1918 § 1. In SUOMI IV:19 (1922), IV, pp. 67-70. The citation in Finnish: *Voivatko suomalaiset jälleen yhtyä oman kuninkaan ympärille, samoin kuin jo ovat kokoontuneet oman yhteisesti sovitun lipun juurelle, on läheinen tulevaisuus osoittava. Itsenäisyytemme personallinen edustaja ei meille merkittäisi ainoastaan maamme nykyisten rajojen turvallisempaa säilymistä läntisten ja itäisten naapurien anastuspyyteiltä, vaan mahdollisesti myös Suursuomen aatteen toteutumista.*

1119 16 June 1922 Bibliotheksausschuss der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 6 December 1922 § 7. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, pp. 32-33.

1120 20 November 1922 the FLS to Bibliotheksausschuss der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 116. Mk 1-45 (2003); 10 July 1923 Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA.

volumes of *Editions* though the FLS had informed it that the whole series was not available via exchange.<sup>1121</sup> At the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, the exchange worked better. Notgemeinschaft mediated *Suomi* to various German libraries and the FLS received the serials it had requested.<sup>1122</sup> Another German partner was the Ost-Europa Institut in Breslau which was founded in 1918, to investigate the areas left behind by the treaty of Brest Litovsk.<sup>1123</sup> It published a bibliographical series, *Osteuropäische Bibliographie*, and, therefore, was interested to have *Finnish Literature*. Both of these German exchanges were short-lived, since *Osteuropäische Bibliographie* ceased to appear in 1928, and Notgemeinschaft was merged with the bureaucracy of the Nazi Regiment in 1934.

Scattered documents in the archives of the FLS indicate that the old admiring attitude towards Germany gradually turned to dislike. At least the motives of racial research aroused suspicions among the central figures of the society. The ethnologist Albert Hämäläinen, who had visited the Nordic and German institutions, noticed that the field of physical anthropology was in crisis, due to the scientifically incompetent people engaged in racial research.<sup>1124</sup> In April 1937, the board of the FLS considered the proposal made by Ahnenerbe Institut of a common research project investigating ancient Finno-German relations. Ahnenerbe was Heinrich Himmler's institute, focusing on the racial research, folklore, archaeology and mythology of Germans. One of its rising stars was a young Finn, Yrjö von Grönhagen. Martti Haavio, the head of the folklore archives of the FLS, was worried by the possible use of the folklore material of the society in Germany. The whole question of co-operation was buried after Grönhagen had lost his position in Ahnenerbe, in the autumn of 1937.<sup>1125</sup> The question of German politics was not discussed at general meetings. In their letters to Hungarians and Estonians, the leading members of the society expressed their feelings more freely, and it was obvious that the potential of Germany aroused more fear than enthusiasm.<sup>1126</sup> In 1932, the FLS declined an exchange offer from Deutsches Institut für Auslandskunde because it considered that its publications were political and had nothing in common with the activities of the society.<sup>1127</sup> No new exchanges were established in the 1930s. Nevertheless, German scholarship was still valued and the society followed with interest the research and archival methods of German institutions.<sup>1128</sup>

1121 8 April 1926 Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 118. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

1122 25 November 1931 Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 122. SKS, KIA.

1123 Minutes of the FLS 7 April 1926 § 8. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, p. 4. On the Osteuropa-Institut, see Burleigh 1988, pp. 24-25.

1124 Minutes of the FLS 8 May 1935 § 17. In SUOMI V:18 (1936), IV, pp. 14-29.

1125 Minutes of the board of the FLS 29 April 1937 § 26. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA. On Ahnenerbe and Grönhagen, see Pringle 2006, pp. 81-98.

1126 24 March 1939 the FLS to G. Lakó. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 129. SKS, KIA. See also citation in Chapter 5.3.2.

1127 It is possible that the term *political* (*politisch*) meant also that the publications represented political sciences. 30 September 1932 the FLS to Deutsches Institut für Auslandskunde. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123. SKS, KIA.

1128 Minutes of the FLS 2 June 1937 § 6; 6 October 1937 § 14. In SUOMI V:20 (1938), IV, pp. 14, 29.

### *Switzerland and Austria*

The exchange with the University of Vienna began after a request for help from this old and renowned university. In 1921, it politely asked to have the publications of the FLS as a gift. The society sent many volumes of the journal *Suomi* and a selection of *Editions*, mentioning that publications concerning folklore and ethnology would be welcomed in return if the University had such material available. The first consignment, however, was regarded as a gift for a university suffering from economic difficulties after the war.<sup>1129</sup> Soon, a new request concerning *Editions* came from Vienna, and this time the board agreed that some central Austrian journals should be received as quid pro quo.<sup>1130</sup> Some consignments were actually sent from Vienna, but not the journals the FLS had requested. The received monographs were not so relevant to the society and, therefore, they were deposited in the University library.<sup>1131</sup> Also, the postage caused trouble.<sup>1132</sup> The consignments from Vienna ceased at the end of the 1920s.

The motive of the only Swiss partner, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität in Basel, was to complete the scattered volumes of the *Editions*, which it had inherited from a local professor. The FLS was willing to send the journal *Suomi* and selected volumes of *Editions* and requested the theses focusing on Finno-Ugrian linguistics and general literature research, folklore and comparative religion. Furthermore, it asked for the serial *Schriften der Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* and some other periodicals which it did not receive.<sup>1133</sup>

### *Italy*

The old exchange with Accademia dei Lincei was re-established soon after the war. In this connection, the librarian of the academy requested that the FLS donate a French-Finnish dictionary to his son, who was studying the Finnish language, which was accepted. Personal gifts were not usually mixed with exchanges, but probably a young man's interest in the Finnish language touched the society.<sup>1134</sup> During the Fascist regime, Accademia dei Lincei was replaced by Reale Accademia d'Italia. An embarrassing conflict followed this reform. The new academy was willing to send a delegate to the centenary festivities of the FLS, but the society invited only the exchange partners and the invitation had been sent to the old partner, Accademia dei Lincei. Problematically, the representative of Reale Accademia was the corresponding member of the FLS, Professor Paolo Emilio Pavolini, who was widely appreciated as a friend of Finland and translator of *Kalevala*. As a delegate of Reale Accademia,

<sup>1129</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 November 1921 § 8. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), III, pp. 39-41; annual report of the FLS 1923. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, p. 16.

<sup>1130</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 1 November 1923 § 17; minutes of the FLS 8 November 1923 § 6. In SUOMI V:4 (1928), III, p. 31.

<sup>1131</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 October 1922 § 2. In SUOMI V:3 (1927), IV, pp. 15-16; 1 October 1924 § 6. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, p. 38; 6 October 1926 § 11. In SUOMI V:7 (1929), II, pp. 50-51.

<sup>1132</sup> 17 November 1923 Universitätsbibliothek Wien to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1133</sup> Minutes of the FLS 5 December 1923 § 2. In SUOMI V:4 (1928), III, pp. 36-37.

<sup>1134</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 24 February 1921 § 2; 31 March 1921 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.



he would have had his trip paid for by governmental funds, but now he had to stay at home. Even the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the FLS of the wishes of Pavolini, but the society did not change its original invitations, probably due to its dislike of the new institution, which it called *Mussolini's academy*. An exchange relationship, however, was established later at the initiative of Reale Accademia. The FLS sent it only the journal *Suomi*, whereas the Accademia dei Lincei had been given quite generously the volumes of *Toimituksia* as well.<sup>1135</sup>

### *Poland*

The only Polish partner Polska Akademia Literatry (Polish Academy of Literature) proposed an exchange in 1938. It was sent a French translation of the history of the FLS and the *Yearbook of Literature Research Society*.<sup>1136</sup>

### *The Anglo-American world*

Unlike many short-lived European exchanges, the American consignments came regularly during the whole interwar period. No new exchanges with American or British partners were established, but some efforts were made from both sides. The University of Illinois and Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters proposed exchanges to the FLS, which declined them because it considered their publications irrelevant.<sup>1137</sup> Slightly surprisingly, the United States was one of the few areas where the FLS wanted to establish a new exchange relation. In 1937, it decided to ask its corresponding member Professor John Wuorinen to make a proposition to Columbia University to exchange some publications with the FLS and hence accumulate the collections in the Finnish department of its library, which could be developed into a central library of Finnish books in the USA.<sup>1138</sup> However, nothing came of this proposal before the outbreak of war.

The United Kingdom was still an empty area on the map of exchange partners. One proposition came from Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society but it was probably forgotten, as the letter was not mentioned in the minutes of the society.<sup>1139</sup>

The exchange partners of the FLS represented relatively high rank institutions, their majority being universities, museums and academies. Most of the exchange offers it received seemed to be well-advised and focused, i. e. the initiators knew the material they requested beforehand. Despite this, the exchange relations of the FLS did not

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1135 29 December 1930 Liisi Karttunen to the FLS; 13 January 1931 Ulkoasiainministeriö to the FLS; 2 March 1931 the FLS to Liisi Karttunen. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 122. On the consignments to the Accademia dei Lincei, see 22 January 1921 Lynceorum Accademia to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004.4. SKS, KIA; minutes of the board of the FLS 31 January 1935 § 9. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA. On Pavolini, see Litzen 2002. <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/5455/> (cited 1 June 2011).

1136 Minutes of the FLS 6 April 1938 § 6. In SUOMI 102 (1943), p. 6.

1137 Minutes of the FLS 7 February 1917 § 13. In SUOMI IV:18 (1920), pp. 74-75; 2 November 1928 the FLS to the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 119. Mf 2004:10.

1138 Minutes of the FLS 30 September 1937 § 16. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7; 8 October the FLS to J.H. Vuorinen. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 128. SKS, KIA.

1139 May 1926 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 118. Mf 2004:10. SKS, KIA.

work too well. The big actors like Notgemeinschaft did not provide the central and relevant journals wished by the FLS, whereas the smaller ones had difficulties in publishing anything at all. Furthermore, the political instability of the time caused difficulties – institutions were closed and journals ceased. The most trustworthy areas under these circumstances, were Sweden, Estonia, Hungary and the United States. The exchange activities of the FLS mirrored its general policy, which had been shaped in the nineteenth century – the international contacts were restricted to actors interested in Finnish culture, and readers capable of understanding the language. This policy had been functional in the nineteenth century when the scholarly community was continuously expanding and still relatively open and generous. In interwar Europe, however, this approach was becoming too restrictive – at least, it limited the acquisitions of foreign literature to a very narrow area.

#### 5.4.3 The FAS – gaining the West but losing the Soviet Union

After the war, the mood in the FAS was pessimistic. At the annual meeting in 1919, President Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo contemplated the chaos in Russia, noting that all archaeological interests in this area had to be postponed. Neither was the situation in western Europe much better, not to mention Finland, which had been torn by the Civil War.<sup>1140</sup> Despite these dark clouds, the society was determined to reconstruct its exchange relations. Actually, it had begun to fill the gaps already in 1917–1918, when it turned to Russian and Nordic exchange partners with demand notes.<sup>1141</sup> In the autumn of 1919, it consigned its new publications to its previous partners and requested the missing items of their serials.<sup>1142</sup> The correspondence following these consignments mirrored the political situation. German and Austrian letters expressed their gratitude for the will to continue co-operation, though they did not have much to offer in the current situation. The letter of the Moravian archaeological club, however, was full of optimism of the future of a new independent country.<sup>1143</sup>

The FAS avoided a political tone in its own messages, but it could not escape ideological emphasis in the foreign letters and circulars. For instance, after sending a message of congratulation on the 75th anniversary of its old exchange partner, *Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*, it received a letter of thanks, expressing gratitude at a time of political isolation:

<sup>1140</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1919. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1141</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 10 October 1918, report of the library. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9. NBA Archives.

<sup>1142</sup> The case Fa 19 includes many letters of thanks for the publications of the FAS but also demand notes. See e.g. 11 November 1919 *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand* to the FAS; 6 November 1919 *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19. NBA Archives.

<sup>1143</sup> 13 January 1920 *Anthropologisches Institut der Universität München* to the FAS; 5 December 1919 *Landmuseumsverein für Vorarlberg* to the FAS; 10 November 1919 *Museum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck* to the FAS; 2 December 1919 *Moravsky archéologický klub* to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19. NBA Archives.

*Letztere soll uns ermutigen auch in der Zukunft der wachsenden Schwierigkeiten zu trotzen und unsere Pflicht wie früher zu erfüllen.*<sup>1144</sup>

At the same meeting, another political message from the Allied side was announced – a Latin poem in celebration of peace, sent by Société archéologique de Tarn & Garonne. Though the poem did not describe the villainies of the enemy, it made obvious the sacrifice of Frenchmen in achieving peace.<sup>1145</sup> No comments on this poem were registered into the minutes, but it seems that the FAS was not willing to participate in celebration of this kind; a stance further suggested by its neglect of the centenary festivities of the Tarn & Garonne society, next year.<sup>1146</sup>

The reconstruction of exchange relations continued for many years. The wartime volumes were requested still in the middle of the 1920s, when the search for new partners was under way.<sup>1147</sup> The exchange policy of the FAS followed similar lines as in the prewar period, albeit there were no large projects for increasing the number of partners. In the late 1920s, when ethnologic research was active in the society, and a new series of ethnologic monographs was under planning, Ilmari Manninen suggested that the FAS should search for new partners among museums and learned societies practising material ethnology.<sup>1148</sup> The list of desired exchange partners was not very long – only six museums or societies, five of whom accepted the offer. They were to receive the Magazines, ethnologic monographs and suitable volumes of the *Journal*.<sup>1149</sup>

Table 5.4 indicates that the society made exchange offers quite regularly throughout the whole period, except during wartime when opportunities were limited.

*Journal* was still considered the most important exchange publication of the FAS.<sup>1150</sup> It was distributed to the partners whose publications were appreciated, whereas magazines were sent to small museums and societies which produced minor publications. Nevertheless, some letters indicate that Magazines aroused interest abroad as well.<sup>1151</sup> Also, monographs, which usually were expensive to produce, were sent to some partners.<sup>1152</sup> Although *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (ESA) was not exactly the publication of the FAS, it affected significantly the interest in the FAS, which is observable in Table 5.4. The number of foreign offers rose sharply after its launch in 1927. The

1144 20 December 1919 Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia to the FAS, attached to minutes of the FAS 6 February 1920 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

1145 Minutes of the FAS 6 February 1920 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

1146 The announcement of the centenary of the Société archéologique de Tarn et Garonne was written into minutes of the FAS of 3 February 1921 § 4. No measures were taken although it was a usual practice to send congratulations. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

1147 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1925, report of the library; 7 May 1926, report of the library. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1148 Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 March 1929 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives. On ethnologic research and its internationalisation, see Sirelius 1929, pp. 106–112.

1149 Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 6, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1150 Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 March 1924 § 2, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

1151 8 July 1935 Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien to the FAS, attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 3 October 1935 § 6. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1152 See e. g. 8 February 1932 Norsk Folkemuseum to the FAS; 9 February 1932 Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde to the FAS; 12 February 1932 Royal Anthropological Institute to the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

deal between the editors of ESA and the FAS guaranteed the society over a 100 copies to be used in exchange,<sup>1153</sup> but in practice, only some 20 copies were sent to the partners who particularly requested it, or were considered by the society as the most important. Exchange offers, concerning only ESA, were received from about 20 such journals or institutions which were not partners of the FAS. Furthermore, Tallgren suggested some new exchanges himself. The publications received via these independent exchanges of ESA were not deposited in the library of the FAS.<sup>1154</sup> Therefore, they are not included in the statistics of this chapter.

*Table 5.4. Initiators of the new exchange relations of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1915-1939.*<sup>1155</sup>

Period	Initiator					Total
	FAS	Exchange partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
1915-1918	5	5	1	0	3	14
1919-1926	11	17	0	1	14	43
1927-1932	13	27	1	0	6	47
1933-1939	13	20	1	0	4	38
Total	42	69	3	1	27	142

In the prewar period, about a third of FAS offers were rejected, but during the interwar period, only six were made in vain. It is possible, however, that the number was somewhat bigger, for not all unofficial overtures were registered into the minutes and letters have not been preserved extensively. The FAS became more critical during the interwar period. The constant economic shortage in the 1920s, made it reconsider the volume of its exchange. The board noted that many of the exchange publications were, in fact, not useful for the research pursued in the FAS. In 1928, it decided to set up a committee, consisting of Tallgren, Nordman and Nils Cleve, in order to consider which exchanges should be ceased. The list was ready in April 1929, and after a short discussion and minor changes, it was accepted *due to economic reasons*.<sup>1156</sup>

<sup>1153</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 7 October 1926 § 2, Tallgren's letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>1154</sup> Esan julkaisujen vaihto; ESA III läh. 4.5.1928; ESA V; Tallgren's correspondence with the exchange partners. Hd 1. NBA Archives. Mostly, the partners represented similar learned bodies to the partners of the FAS.

<sup>1155</sup> The periods are based on partly internal, partly external factors: 1) the wartime; 2) period of the reconstruction of the scholarly contacts; 3) period from the launching of ESA until the rise of dictatorships in Germany and the Soviet Union; 4) period of a tightening political situation. It should be noted that part of these relationships were only nominally new because there were institutions which were founded in place of an earlier learned body; for instance, the Institut Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury (State Academy for the History of Material Culture), which replaced the Imperatorskaâ arheologičeskaâ komissiâ (Imperial Archaeological Commission) in the 1920s.

<sup>1156</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 14 December 1928 § 5; 4 April 1929 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives. Unfortunately, the list is no longer in archive of the FAS.

The share of foreign initiatives was high during the whole period, but there were clear regional differences. The map below (Figure 5.6) illustrates the new exchange partners of the FAS.

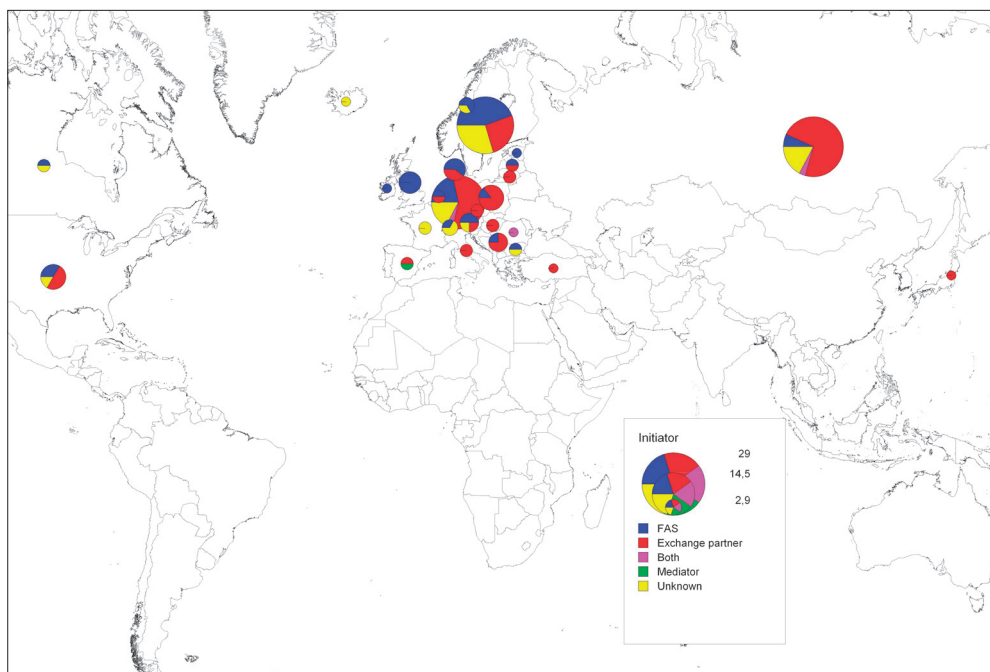


Figure 5.6. New exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1915-1939 (total 142).<sup>1157</sup>

#### *The Soviet-Russia and Soviet Union*

For Russia (since 1917 the Soviet-Russia), Finland could serve as the gate to the west in wartime, when important contacts with German science and scholarship were broken. The majority of the exchange offers were made by a Russian partner. Even during the period between two revolutions, exchanges with the Hermitage museum, the State Historical museum and some other societies and institutions were proposed, but the civil war interrupted the exchange activities for a number of years. A new period of activity began after the founding of VOKS in 1925. VOKS, which mediated the proposals of local institutions,<sup>1158</sup> did not control the field alone, but in-

<sup>1157</sup> As this map represents current political borders, Czechoslovakian partners are located in the Czech Republic and Yugoslavian partners are located in Serbia where the majority of them were in this period. One exchange with the Vatican is located in Italy. The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 8.

<sup>1158</sup> The VOKS sent the offers of *Central'nyj muzej Tatarstana* (the Central Museum of Tatarstan) and *Naučnoe obšestva Tatarovedeniâ* (Learned society of the Tatar studies). Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 February 1928 § 5, the letter attached; 7 May 1929 § 6, the letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

dividual arrangements were also possible.<sup>1159</sup> For instance, the Komi Linguist, Vasili Lytkin, who organised exchange relations in the FLS and the Finno-Ugrian Society, made initiatives to the FAS. The contacts offered by Lytkin were not the best because they represented more linguistics than archaeology or ethnology. When introducing the proposal of the Obšestvo izučeniâ Komi (The Research Society of the Komi), Tallgren emphasised its aims in teaching Finnish in local secondary schools. This time, ideological motives were more important than scholarly gains:

*Even though the achievements [of the Research Society of the Komi Area] can thus far only slightly benefit the FAS, I suggest that the society should accept the exchange of publications.*<sup>1160</sup>

However, ideological reasons or sympathy were not always sufficient to establish an exchange relationship. Tallgren used to consider critically the quality of publications as well as possibilities for their continuation.<sup>1161</sup>

The embassy of the Soviet Union also mediated exchange offers, sending in 1927 a list of 29 societies or institutions which requested exchange. About half of them were already exchange partners of the FAS, and after Tallgren's critical examination, only four new exchanges were established. The list indicates how tangled the situation was in the Soviet Union and that the publications consigned by the FAS to its old partners had not reached their destination. No reasons were given to declining the rest, but probably, the society was not willing to distribute many publications to small local institutions whose prospects were uncertain.<sup>1162</sup> In addition to the proposals of the embassy, the FAS rejected the offers of the Soviet bibliographical series *Inostrannaâ kniga* (The Foreign books), which, it is likely, would not have been useful,<sup>1163</sup> and the society of Russian emigrants in Paris, Société des amis du Livre Russe, whose proposition may have been buried, as there are no mentions of this offer in the minutes of the board.<sup>1164</sup>

After the active period of the late 1920s, the number of Soviet initiatives diminished. Neither did the existing exchanges run smoothly and publications were received only occasionally.<sup>1165</sup> In 1934, the FAS received a letter from the Soviet ambassador, request-

1159 At least the Russian museum in Petrograd and the Archaeological Commission of Ukraine suggested exchanges to the FAS directly and received the publications without intermediaries. Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 April 1927 § 6, the letters attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 23 September 1928 Ukraïnska Akademîâ nauk, vesukraïnskij arheolgičnij komitet to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1160 Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 May 1926 § 3. The citation in Finnish: *Jos kohta saavutukset toistaiseksi voivat vain vähän hyödyttää Muinaismuistoyhdistystä, ehdotan että yhdistys suostuu julkaisujen vaihtoon.*; minutes of the board of FAS 3 February 1926 § 6, Lytkin's letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives. Another partner suggested by Lytkin was Moskovskij Institut vosto-kovedeniâ (Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies).

1161 See e. g. minutes of the board of the FAS 7 May 1927 § 5, letters attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1162 Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 October 1927 § 13. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1163 Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 October 1932 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1164 4 February 1935 Annales de la Société des amis du Livre Russe to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1165 Tallgren complained about the limited publishing activity of the Soviet institutions and the irregular exchange in his article *Archaeological Studies in Soviet Russia*. Tallgren 1936a, pp. 129-130.

ing information on the Soviet institutions which were in an exchange relationship with the society. Tallgren was delighted, as he supposed the purpose of this inquiry was to make the exchanges more efficient. Optimistically, he even saw an opportunity of finding new exchange partners and wrote to the ambassador:

*Sie, Herr Minister, würden die Finnische Altertumsgesellschaft zum grossen Dank verpflichtet wenn die Gesellschaft durch Ihre gefällige Vermittlung davon benachrichtigt werden könnte, ob diese Institutionen noch existieren, eventuell unter verändertem Namen und ob sie in der Zwischenzeit etwas veröffentlicht haben. Sollte das der Fall sein, möchte ich sehr bitten die neuen Arbeiten durch Ihre freundliche Fürsorge für die Bibliothek der Finnischen Altertumsgesellschaft zu bekommen. Die Gesellschaft erklärt sich ihrerseits immer bereit eventuelle Lücken in den betreffenden Sowjetrussischen Bibliotheken durch Neusendung ihrer Veröffentlichungen zu füllen.*<sup>1166</sup>

The list, including the Soviet partners of the FAS, sent and received serials and the gaps in the received literature, was sent to the ambassador via the librarian of the Slavonica department of the University library. However, no further messages concerning the subject were registered into the minutes of the FAS. In a private letter written in 1940, Tallgren mentioned that, despite the sympathetic attitude the ambassador took, his letter and list had no results.<sup>1167</sup> Considering the tightening censorship in the Soviet Union, and the fact that two years earlier the seventh volume of ESA had appeared, including Tallgren's critical review of Soviet archaeology,<sup>1168</sup> it seems obvious that the only purpose of the ambassador's letter was to decipher where the publications of FAS were sent.

Only one Soviet exchange was established after this correspondence. In 1935, the Institut Narodov Severa (The Institute of Northern Peoples) sent its publications to the FAS, which decided to send ESA in return.<sup>1169</sup> The following year, Tallgren became a *persona non grata* in the Soviet Union. He was no longer admitted by visas and was dismissed from his memberships in the Soviet scholarly institutions. Hence, he had no more opportunities to use his personal contacts in promoting exchanges. The Finnish interest in Eastern Archaeology was fading also, and the young archaeologists created instead contacts with their western colleagues.<sup>1170</sup>

#### *Sweden and the other Nordic countries*

Sweden with its 27 partners was the second most important exchange country, and in many respects, a complete contrast to the Soviet Union, providing steady and regular exchanges.

The Åland crisis was once referred to when nominating new correspondents in 1920, but it did not have any effect on exchange activities.<sup>1171</sup> Neither did the FAS interfere in the language dispute which raged at the time, disrupting even the diplomatic and

<sup>1166</sup> Minutes of the board of FAS 5 October 1934 § 5, the sketch of Tallgren's letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1167</sup> 25 October 1940 A.M. Tallgren to Sulo Haltsonen. The archive of Sulo Haltsonen. 1168:106. Mf 2009:9. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1168</sup> Tallgren 1932; Kokkonen 1985, pp. 7-8; Trigger 1989, p. 218; Дивногорцев 2007, pp. 148, 159.

<sup>1169</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 11 April 1935 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1170</sup> Salminen 2003, pp. 205-206.

<sup>1171</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 24 October 1920 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

cultural relations with Sweden.<sup>1172</sup> The majority of Swedish exchanges was created at the initiative of the FAS, though it should be noted that the share of unknown initiatives was almost 30%.

Many important Swedish institutions had already established exchange relations with the FAS in the prewar period, but some major museums, such as the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and National museum, appeared on the list, as well as Geologiska Föreningen (The Geological Association). The University of Lund, which eagerly searched for Finnish partners, made an offer to the FAS, but the society was not willing to begin a regular exchange and only some publications were sent.<sup>1173</sup> The librarian of the university kept making overtures, though the FAS responded only with occasional gifts until, finally, in 1930, it was accepted among the exchange partners.<sup>1174</sup> A large share of the new Swedish partners consisted of local societies, representing antiquarian or regional studies, which were founded throughout the country in the early twentieth century.<sup>1175</sup> Often these small societies received only the magazines. Although their publications were not considered worth *Journal*, they were desired partners and the FAS was often the initiator in relationships with them, especially at the end of the 1930s, when collaboration with the big countries was becoming more and more difficult.<sup>1176</sup>

The increase in the number of partners was not the only indicator of the importance of Sweden to Finnish archaeology. Contacts were maintained on a personal level as well. The congratulatory message sent by the Swedish Antiquarian Society on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the FAS was a sign of this friendship:

*The Swedish Antiquarian Society cordially congratulates her Finnish sister on her long-term progressive work toward common goals.*<sup>1177</sup>

The mission of the archaeologists on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia was shared.

Contacts with Norway and Denmark remained close as well, although the number of new partners was not very high. The FAS offered exchanges to central institutions such as Danmarks Geologiske Undersøgelse (the Geological Survey of Denmark), Kommissionen for Videnskabelige Undersøgelser i Grønland (The Commission for Scientific Investigations in Greenland) and Kunstindustrimuseum (The Danish Museum of Art & Design), whereas it received offers mostly from local museums and

1172 See minutes of the FAS 7 October 1932 § 3. Cc 1. NBA Archives; on Finnish-Swedish relations, see Paasivirta 1984, pp. 269-272, 287-295.

1173 Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 October 1928 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1174 Minutes of the board of the FAS 1 November 1928 § 6, the letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 4 December 1930 § 5. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1175 Hembygdsförening. In Nordisk Familjebok. Ugglepplagan. 36 Supplement GLOBE – KÖVESS, 347-348. <http://runeberg.org/nfcp/0196.html>. (cited 2 September 2011).

1176 See. e. g. minutes of the board of the FAS 3 April 1930 § 3; 4 December 1930 § 5; 7 October 1932 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1; 5 February 1939 § 4; 2 March 1939 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

1177 23 October 1920 Svenska Fornminnesförening till FAS (Telegram). Ea 4. The Citation in Swedish: *Svenska Fornminnesföreningen bringar sin finländska syster en hjärtlig hyllning för dess mångåriga framgångsrika arbete mot de gemensamma målen.*



societies, which were usually categorised as the receivers of magazines.<sup>1178</sup> Links were also established with Fylkesmuseet for Telemark og Grenland in Skien after new searches were made for ethnologic partners,<sup>1179</sup> and another ethnologic institute, Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, contacted the society some years later.<sup>1180</sup> As regards Iceland, in 1930, relations were established with the national archaeological society Hid Islenzka fornleifafélag.<sup>1181</sup>

### *Germany*

Germany, which had been the most important exchange country in the prewar period, now dropped to third position. Besides, the roles had been reversed and German institutions were taking the initiative in over half of the exchanges. The isolated position of Germany and its ruined economy meant that they were more inclined to search for Finnish partners. This was visible in the first German exchange offers after the war which, in addition to the usual courteous phraseology of exchange proposals, emphasised their special interest in Finland and the Finnish culture.<sup>1182</sup> The congratulations sent by the German partners on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of FAS expressed the gratitude they felt for having the publications of the FAS, their common interests and the long-established bonds of friendship between Finland and Germany.<sup>1183</sup> If the attitude of the FAS to German partners had in the prewar period been more or less deferential, in these new conditions, the self-esteem of the society rose and it began to view its position as equal. For instance, it sent a bill with the book consignment to the Ungarisches Institut an der Universität Berlin, which had not sent any exchange copies to the FAS.<sup>1184</sup>

During the Nazi period, German archaeological research turned to be more aggressive, arousing a disapproval elsewhere in Europe and colliding with Polish research inasmuch that many German publications were banned in Poland.<sup>1185</sup> The leading archaeologists of the society, Tallgren and Nordman, made obvious their dislike of current German archaeology. In his article *Sur la méthode de l'archéologie préhistorique*, Tallgren regarded as equal the problems of Nazi and Soviet research:

*Mais "l'archéologie", de ces deux Etats [La Russie soviétique et Allemande] est fréquemment du dogmatisme, de la scholastique, qui tire ses preuves, même en citations!, des*

1178 See e. g. minutes of the board of the FAS 28 May 1935 § 1. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1179 Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 9 April 1931 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1180 3 October 1935 Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1181 Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 December 1930 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1182 12 October 1920 Verein zur Förderung des städtischen Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; June 1922 Nordisches Institut der Universität Greifswald to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 20. NBA Archives.

1183 Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte to the FAS; Königl. sächs. Altertumsverein to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1184 Minutes of the board of the FAS 29 April 1929 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1185 Pringle 2006, p. 129; Burleigh 1988, p. 69.

*ouvrages des autorités politiques ou des discours, dogmes et assertions de Marx, Lénine, Engels, Stalin, Hitler. Il est vain d'engager une polémique contre eux.*<sup>1186</sup>

Despite their negative view, some of the new partners of the FAS were openly Nazi sympathisers – at least Institut für Rassen und Völkerkunde which was led by Otto Reche, a famous researcher of racial hygiene.<sup>1187</sup> In 1938, the FAS itself suggested an exchange to a new journal *Jomsburg: Völker und Staaten im Osten und Norden Europas* which was a forum for popularising the so-called Ostforschung, a research field justifying the Lebensraum policy of Germany in the East. *Jomsburg* was one of the publications banned in Poland and its distribution at a conference in Riga was prevented as well.<sup>1188</sup> Therefore, it seems odd that the FAS was an initiator in this exchange. Evidently, the archaeology of Northern Germany interested someone in the society because in 1938, it also suggested exchange to Institut für Vorgeschichte und Germanische Frühgeschichte in Universität Hamburg.<sup>1189</sup> The conciseness of the minutes makes it impossible to investigate who suggested these exchanges and their motives. No dissenting opinions were registered, however.

Exchanges with German institutions were ceased as well. At the end of the 1930s, the society decided to cancel exchanges if the partners had not sent their publications for many years. The first victim, in 1938, was the Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, and in the following year, three exchanges with German institutions were terminated.<sup>1190</sup> Furthermore, the offers of two German museums were rejected in the late 1930s: Museum für Mineralogie, Geologie und Vorgeschichte (Dresden)<sup>1191</sup> and the Deutsches Museum für Länderkunde, again without registering any reasons in the minutes.<sup>1192</sup> Instead of politics, a possible explanation is that these institutions represented more natural history than humanities.

In the 1930s, archaeological research was dividing into many schools with various theories, methodologies and interpretations of prehistory. To follow the development, it was necessary to acquire journals as widely as possible – at least from the areas which matched the interests of the FAS. Hence, the society was eager to establish exchanges even with totalitarian states, though its members, at the same time, criticised their

<sup>1186</sup> Tallgren 1936b, p. 24. Nordman detached himself from German nationalistic tradition and its first and foremost representative Gustav Kossinna, as early as in 1915. In the methodological questions, he attained mostly to the Danish tradition. See Meinander 1991, pp. 31-35. Tallgren was professor of archaeology at the end of the 1930s and Nordman state archaeologist.

<sup>1187</sup> The institute used the notepaper of its predecessor. See 22 February 1938 Staatliches Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde, Leipzig to Finskt Museum. Attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 2 March 1938 § 12. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives. On Reche and the Institut, see Burleigh 1988, pp. 126-128; Institutsarchiv. <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~ethno/alt/Institutsarchiv.htm>. (cited 26 January 2011).

<sup>1188</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 24 May 1938 § 10, the letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives. On *Jomsburg*, see Burleigh 1988, pp. 136-142.

<sup>1189</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 30 November 1938 § 10, the letters attached. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1190</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 27 January 1939 § 11. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1191</sup> 2 January 1938 Der Landespfleger für Bodenaltertümer in Sachsen to the FAS, attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 2 March 1938 § 12. NBA Archives.

<sup>1192</sup> 26 February 1938 Deutsches Museum für Länderkunde to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

politics. This was the case with the Soviet Union and the same approach was adopted with Nazi-Germany.

### *Eastern Europe*

In the prewar period, archaeological research had played a central role in encouraging a strong sense of ethnic identity of the nations living under Austrian, Prussian and Russian domination, and it retained its national character in the newly independent countries, even after the war. The archaeologists had counted on governmental support for their research, but the economic disaster in time of peace and the tradition of publishing in the vernacular hindered international networking. Only Poland was investing significantly in science and scholarship. Journals, previously published by wealthy amateurs were absorbed by the publicly funded museums. When planning ESA, Tallgren and Sirelius presumed eastern Europe to be a prolific area of co-operation.<sup>1193</sup> Their conjecture proved to be correct even with regard to exchanges – the institutions and journals in the new independent countries were eager to contact the FAS.

Poland was the most important provider of exchange partners in eastern Europe. A peculiar trait in seven Polish exchanges was that over half of them were established with journals. Mostly, the Polish partners were initiators of the exchanges, except Polska Akademia Umiejętności (the Polish Scientific Academy) in Kraków, which was one of the ethnographic publishers searched for by the FAS in 1929.<sup>1194</sup>

Of four Yugoslavian exchanges, only one was initiated by the FAS, in the project to widen ethnographic exchanges. It was the Etnografski muzej (the Ethnographic museum) in Belgrad.<sup>1195</sup> Other exchanges were suggested by Yugoslavian institutions. For them, the FAS was willing to send only Magazines, though there were some national institutions, such as the National Museum of Croatia and the Serbian Academy of Science, among them.<sup>1196</sup>

The new Czechoslovakian partners represented nationalities other than Czechs or Slovaks. The first of them was the Kondakov institute in Prague, which was founded by the Russian emigrant Nikodim Kondakov and specialised in Byzantine art and archaeology. It was considered an important partner because the FAS suggested immediately as wide exchange as possible. It sent Kondakov institute the monographs it requested and ESA.<sup>1197</sup> The other partner from the Czechoslovakian area, Anstalt für Sudeten-deutsche Heimatforschung, represented German nationality, and probably

<sup>1193</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1924 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives. On archaeological research and publishing, see Trigger 1988, pp. 149-150, 185; Kobyliński 2007, pp. 71-77; Burleigh 1988, p. 50.

<sup>1194</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>1195</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>1196</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 1 November 1928 § 7, the letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 21 February 1936 § 13. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1197</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 10 December 1934 § 3, the letter attached. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1; 21 December 1934 Kondakov Institut to the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives. On the Kondakov institute, See Kondakov: Collection of the N.P. Kondakov Archaeological Institute. <http://www.udu.cas.cz/en/kondakov/> (cited 26 January 2011).

ideology as well. It proposed to the FAS exchange a few months before Sudetenland was occupied by German troops, and it was promised to receive the *Journal*.<sup>1198</sup>

Bulgaria was a new exchange country, introduced to the FAS by Tallgren. He persuaded the society to suggest exchange to the Archaeological Society in Sofia, stating that their publications were excellent and that the Bulgarian language was easy to understand because it was very close to Russian.<sup>1199</sup> In Romania, one exchange was established with the National museum, apparently both parties being initiators.

Although the FAS participated in Finno-Ugrian cultural work from time to time,<sup>1200</sup> Hungary was not especially well represented among the new exchange partners of the FAS. The department for researching the caves of the Hungarian Geographical Society suggested exchange in 1926, but, probably, the publications of the FAS, which focused more on neolithic, bronze age and iron age, were not interesting from the viewpoint of cave studies and, in the 1930s, it ceased sending its journal *Barlangutató*. Another Hungarian partner, the Déri-Múzeum in Debrecen sent publications until the end of the period, but it received only the magazines, which indicates that it belonged to the group of the less appreciated partners.<sup>1201</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that the kindred peoples ideology did not have a significant effect on the exchanges of the FAS.

### *The British Islands*

The British institutions were still the most passive in initiating new exchanges, but they were now more willing to accept the exchanges proposed by the FAS than in prewar. Furthermore, the new British partners represented more significant institutions. An obvious indicator of the increased self-esteem of the society was an idea presented by Nordman, in 1930, suggesting exchanges with the British Museum and Victoria and Albert museum.<sup>1202</sup> Considering that the British Museum had rejected the common offer of several Finnish learned societies and the University in 1911 (see Chapter 4.2.1), it seems astonishing that the offer of the FAS was accepted and the consignment of 45 books received.<sup>1203</sup> The letter of thanks of the FAS illustrates well how highly appreciated this new partner was:

*We are quite aware that the books forwarded by us to the British Museum are by no means equivalent to the publications given by your institution. I am charged by the Society to express its sincere thanks for this most valuable gift which is now deposited in the library of the National Museum. I am convinced that the gift will prove to be of great importance to the scientific work in which members of our Society are engaged. May I hope that the*

<sup>1198</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 March 1938 § 12. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1199</sup> 9 December 1920 A. M. Tallgren to C. A. Nordman. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19. NBA Archives.

<sup>1200</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 May 1928 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 7 May 1938 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives; annual report of the FAS 7 May 1929 – 7 May 1930. In SM 37 (1930), p. 102.

<sup>1201</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 1 November 1928 § 7, the letters attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>1202</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 February 1933 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1203</sup> 5 August 1933 British Museum to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4; minutes of the FAS 7 May 1934, report of the library. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

*products of their work, in their turn will be of some interest to British science, the field of which covers all the world. Our future publications will be sent to the British Museum.*<sup>1204</sup>

The Victoria and Albert Museum, a famous art and design gallery, accepted the proposal of the FAS as well<sup>1205</sup> but, surprisingly, the exchange with the Irish National museum proved to be more complicated. It presumed that the exchange publications were sold for a members' price and, hence, the publications should have been priced and, accordingly, bills and cheques sent to a partner. The FAS accepted these conditions and sent a cheque but did not receive any publications. Some volumes of the Report series came finally in September 1937, but this curious exchange was a short-lived one.<sup>1206</sup>

Many British partners were introduced by Nordman, who had been a visiting lecturer at the University of Edinburgh in the early 1930s. He and Tallgren were able to write in English, which aided in creating contacts.<sup>1207</sup> In the course of the 1930s, Finnish archaeology became well known in the British Islands, inspiring such famous authors as Grahame Clark.<sup>1208</sup>

#### *The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria*

The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria had been middle-ranking exchange countries in the prewar period, and they retained this position after the war, except for Belgium where no new partners were found. The search for ethnographic partners led to the relationships with national ethnographic societies in Austria and Switzerland.<sup>1209</sup> Some exchanges were based on interest in the ESA, for instance, the contact with the Biologisch-Archaeologisch Institut Der Rijks-Universiteit te Groningen.<sup>1210</sup> The FAS was slightly more active in initiating exchanges than the foreign partners.

#### *The Baltics*

The only new Estonian partner was Tartu Ülikooli kunstiajaloo kabinett (The Chair of the Art History in the University of Tartu). The small share of new contacts did not mean the end of active co-operation, bearing in mind that many exchange relations with Estonian societies and institutions, created in the prewar period, continued after the war. Besides, the collaboration continued on a personal level. Tallgren was Professor of Archaeology at the University of Tartu for a short time in the 1920s,

<sup>1204</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 December 1933 § 3, a sketch of a letter of the FAS to the British Museum attached. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1205</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1934, report of the library. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1206</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 November 1937 § 15, correspondence of the FAS and the director of the museum (A. Mahr) attached. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1207</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 1 December 1921 § 4; 2 October 1924 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; minutes of the board of the FAS 2 February 1933 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives; On Nordman, see Meinander 1991, pp. 55-57.

<sup>1208</sup> Trigger 1988, p. 264.

<sup>1209</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 5 December 1929 § 6, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives

<sup>1210</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 12 February 1935 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

and Ilmari Manninen was the head of the Estonian National Museum between 1922 and 1928.<sup>1211</sup> Estonian archaeologists published actively in the *Journal* and some held presentations at the meetings of the society.<sup>1212</sup>

Two new Latvian contacts were established, but they were considered minor as only the magazines were sent to them.<sup>1213</sup> The Lithuanian contacts began with the request of the Lithuanian embassy for a book donation to its recently founded Kaunas University. After having received the publications, the university – again via the embassy – suggested a regular exchange relation.<sup>1214</sup> Encouraged by the example of the university, the Kaunas city museum also sent an exchange offer to the FAS and requested all archaeological and ethnographic publications. The society accepted the offer, but only the magazines were sent.<sup>1215</sup>

### *The Mediterranean area*

The importance of France diminished noticeably compared with the prewar period when it was the third desired country for the FAS. In 1924, the FAS established exchange relations with two museums in Paris, but one of them, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain en Laye, hardly sent anything. There are many possible reasons for the diminishing interest in French exchanges. Finnish antiquarian research focused prominently on Russia, Eastern Europe and the Baltic Sea area and, therefore, they had not so much use of the French journals, representing palaeolithic or classical archaeology. It is also possible that the political rhetoric of some French letters annoyed the FAS which tried to remain neutral. The consignments caused trouble, too; some French partners were not willing to pay the postage for their publications and sent them to the Finnish embassy in Paris. The ambassador informed the FAS that it should pay the postage.<sup>1216</sup> This problem was soon solved since the French exchange centre, Service des Echanges Internationaux, committed to attend the consignments in the future.<sup>1217</sup>

The first Spanish exchanges of the FAS were established in the early 1920s. Seminario de historia y arqueología, from the University of Barcelona, actually proposed the exchange to the Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft, but Tallgren, who at the time was a professor in the University of Tartu, suggested to this Spanish institute that it should instead establish an exchange relation with the FAS. At the same meeting, another Spanish proposal made by the Junta superior de excavaciones y Antigüedades was accepted.<sup>1218</sup>

<sup>1211</sup> Kuldsepp and Seilenthal 1982, pp. 40–41.

<sup>1212</sup> See e. g. annual reports of the FAS 7 May 1934 – 7 May 1935. In SM 42 (1935), p. 103; 7 May 1938 – 7 May 1939. In SM 46 (1939), p. 82. On publishing, see Chapter 5.3.3.

<sup>1213</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 23 May 1935 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1; 30 November 1938. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1214</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1924 § 4; 3 April 1924 § 3–4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1215</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 May 1925 § 4, the letter 17 February 1925 Lietuvos pasiuntinys to the FAS attached. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

<sup>1216</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 1 October 1931 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1 NBA Archives.

<sup>1217</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 28 January 1932 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1218</sup> A.M. Tallgren to the FAS 27 March 1921. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; minutes of the board of FAS 2 February 1922 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

Only one new Italian partner came onto the list. The local society, Società Piemontese di Archaeologia e Belle Arte, proposed exchange soon after the war. Liisi Karttunen's letter to Tallgren indicates that the FAS was interested in finding more new partners in Italy and asked her help in this matter. Unfortunately, the desired journals were either published by private persons or by institutes which were not willing to establish exchange relations.<sup>1219</sup>

A special case in the Mediterranean area was an exchange with the Pontificum Institutum Orientale (The Pontifical Oriental Institute), in the Vatican. It was, in fact, a co-exchange suggested by the Central State Committee of Sciences and Letters. The idea of common exchanges had not aroused enthusiasm in the FAS in the prewar period, since it did not want to deposit its serials in libraries other than the National Museum.<sup>1220</sup> However, when the Committee suggested that of two copies of the journal *Orientalia Christiania* received via this common exchange, one would be deposited in the Library of the National Museum, the society was very interested in co-operation and promised to consign both magazines and the *Journal*, as well as monographs on churches and art history, to the papal library.<sup>1221</sup>

### *The United States and Canada*

The exchanges of the FAS had previously concentrated in Europe, but the interwar period meant widening the exchanges to new continents. The volume of American exchanges increased evenly, and the USA with its six exchanges was the fifth most important country. In the prewar period, the initiatives had come mostly from the side of the American partners, but now even the FAS made some offers, for instance, to Bishop Pauahi museum in Honolulu.<sup>1222</sup> The society was not so receptive in other cases; it did not especially appreciate the offer of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Harvard University, and was more or less reluctant for a wide retrospective exchange. However, the Peabody museum kept on writing and requesting the previous volumes of the *Journal* and reminding the FAS that it had sent an extremely valuable book to the FAS.<sup>1223</sup> The fame of ESA promoted the American exchanges as well, leading to an exchange offer from the Oriental Institute of Chicago University.<sup>1224</sup>

1219 20 August 1920 Liisi Karttunen (Suomen lähetystö Roomassa) to A. M. Tallgren. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19. NBA Archives.

1220 Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 December 1911 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 8. NBA Archives.

1221 Minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1929 § 4; 7 March 1929 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1222 Minutes of the board of the FAS 27 May 1927 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1223 Minutes of the board of the FAS 9 April 1931 § 5; 2 February 1933 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives. The valuable book was *The Numeration, Calendar Systems, and Astronomical Knowledge of the Mayas*.

1224 Minutes of the board of the FAS 23 May 1935 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. A year after establishing the exchange, the Oriental institute announced that it could not continue for economic reasons. The following year, it overturned this announcement, stating that it was a mistake. See 13 October 1936 The Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago to the FAS. Attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 3 December 1936 § 11; 28 January 1937 the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago to the FAS, attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 11 March 1937 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

Many transatlantic contacts were established with the universities and institutions which had wide exchange networks, instead of the special societies representing the same disciplines. For instance, the Geological Survey of Canada had many Finnish exchange partners, the SFFF among them. The publications of the FAS were requested for the anthropological department of the Survey.<sup>1225</sup>

#### *Asian partners*

ESA opened the gates to Asian continent. The first to make contact was the Far Eastern Archaeological Society in Tokyo, which suggested exchange in 1937. In the same letter, the Japanese society sent some photographs as a gift, which was exceptional and can be considered as a sign of a sincere will to achieve co-operation.<sup>1226</sup> The only partner in Asia Minor, The Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society), belonged to the select few who were to receive all publications, including ESA.<sup>1227</sup> However, not many consignments were sent because it was the last exchange relationship established before the outbreak of the Second World War. The time of peaceful co-operation was running out.

The geographical area of the exchange network of the FAS extended during the interwar period. Some changes also occurred in the types of exchange partners. This is demonstrated in Figure 5.7 .

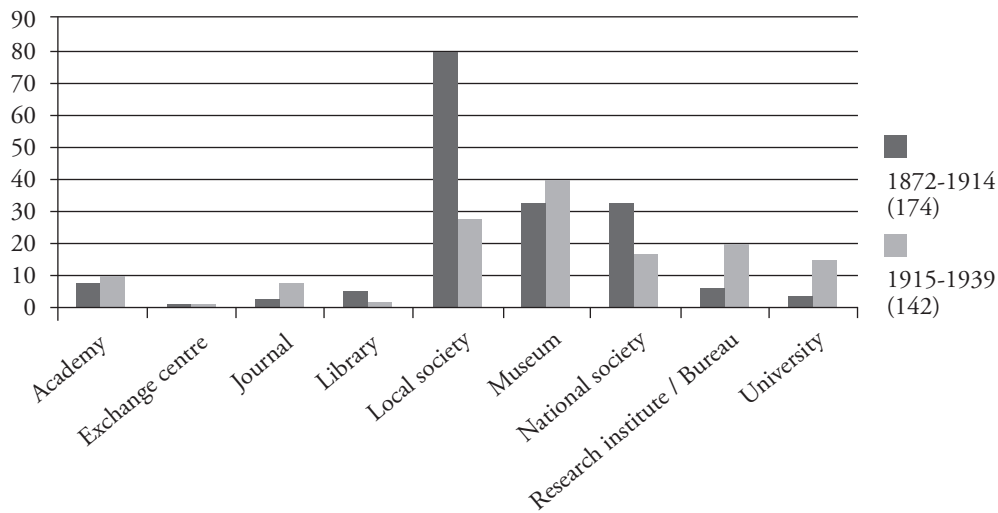


Figure 5.7. Types of the exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1939.

The most salient change is the diminishing number of local societies which in the prewar had been the largest group of partners, whereas the share of museums,

<sup>1225</sup> 13 January 1920 Canada Geological Survey to the FAS. Attached to minutes of the FAS 4 March 1920 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1226</sup> 20 February 1937 the Far Eastern Archaeological Society, Tokyo to the FAS. Attached to minutes of the board of the FAS 1 April 1937 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1227</sup> Minutes of the FAS 6 May 1939 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.



research institutes, universities, journals and academies was growing. The increase in the numbers of research institutes and academies was partly due to the new structure of science and scholarship in the Soviet Union. The category of museums included mostly established institutions from various parts of Europe and Northern America, and hence, it is a more trustworthy indicator of a growing demand for the publications of the FAS, especially when considering that some half of the exchanges (21 of 41) was created on the initiative of foreign museums. The number of universities was rising mostly on account of their own initiatives. The FAS was interested in creating contacts with some archaeological departments, but it was quite sceptical about exchanges with big university libraries.<sup>1228</sup> It is probable that the overflow of these made them less desired exchange partners. Exchanges with certain types of institutions were still hard to achieve. Three of the rejected offers made by the FAS were made to journals which had commercial publishers,<sup>1229</sup> and two propositions were directed to numismatic societies, which already, in the prewar period, had proved to be a difficult type of society to attract.<sup>1230</sup>

It is obvious that the exchange partners of the FAS represented more prestigious institutions in the interwar period. Evident changes are not, however, notable in the ages of exchange partners, as Figure 5.8 indicates.

The share of young partners rose slightly, due to the high number of new institutions in the Soviet Union. The rising share of the eldest group is mostly explained by the increasing number of universities, many of whom were centuries old. In actual fact, neither of these changes can be taken as an indicator of the position of the FAS in the scholarly community.

On the whole, the exchange policy of the FAS was very successful during the interwar period. From the beginning, it had aimed its publications internationally, but only after the war was it capable of practising determined publishing policy. Specialising the journals in certain areas, the confidence in its own expertise in these fields and the wide use of foreign languages made the publications of the FAS more attractive to an international audience. Not only the careful planning of publications, but also the personal efforts in creating international contacts, affected the development of exchange activities. Many exchanges seemed to be introduced by Tallgren – in Russia and eastern Europe as well as many transatlantic connections.<sup>1231</sup> As the editor of ESA, he had wide personal networks and knowledge of what was going on in other parts of

1228 The FAS was reluctant to establish an exchange with the university library of Lund and sceptical about material offered by the university library of Kiel. Minutes of the board of the FAS 3 October 1928 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 3 October 1935 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

1229 The journals were: *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana*; *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde (Berlin)*; *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*. See 20 August 1920 Liisi Karttunen (Suomen lähetystö Roomassa) to A. M. Tallgren. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; minutes of the board of the FAS 7 February 1924 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 5 December 1929 § 6, attachment. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

1230 They were Société Française de Numismatique and British Numismatic Society. See 20 August 1921 the FAS to Société Française de Numismatique; 4 April 1922 British Numismatic Society to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 20. NBA Archives.

1231 See e. g. 15 November 1920 A. M. Tallgren to C. A. Nordman. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; minutes of the board of the FAS 27 May 1927 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11. NBA Archives.

the world. However, the names of Nordman and Manninen should not be forgotten when discussing exchanges. Nordman was very active in creating contacts with the British institutions, while Manninen travelled in Central and eastern Europe, personally introducing the publications of the FAS to museums and institutions there.<sup>1232</sup>

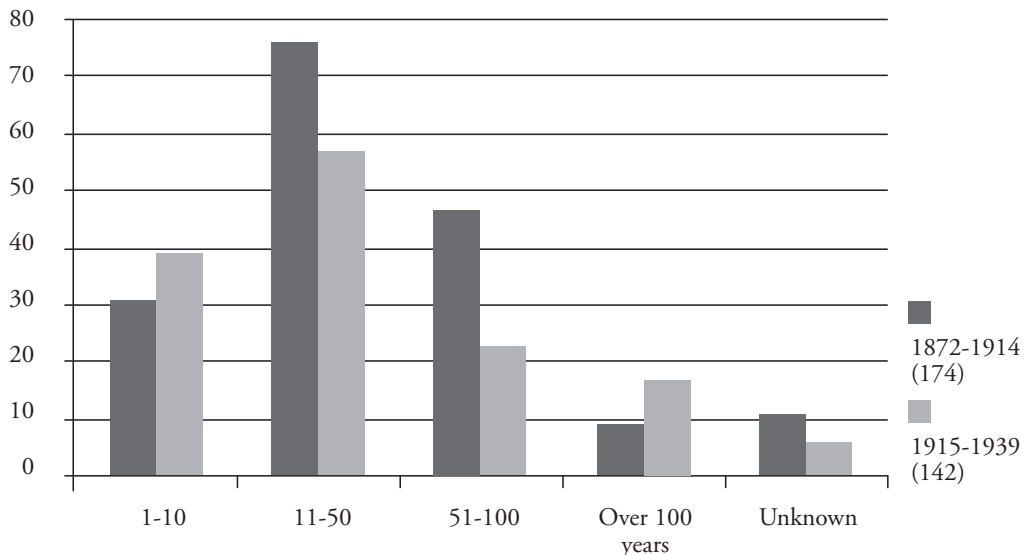


Figure 5.8. Ages of the exchange partners of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1872-1939.

The exchange of publications had many meanings for the society. Its importance for library collections was emphasised in the petitions for government subsidy. In this context, the publishing was mentioned as a prerequisite for the exchange activity which, for its part, was a prerequisite for maintaining a research library in the National Museum.<sup>1233</sup> Nevertheless, another crucially important function of the exchange was still to promote goodwill among the institutions, contacts which might be beneficial, for instance, when Finnish researchers needed to use foreign museum collections.<sup>1234</sup> Furthermore, the wide international exchange network had always been a source of pride for the society. This attitude was made clear in the speech of President Tallgren delivered in 1935, on the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society. However, also evident is a pessimistic tone as regards the future developments of international scholarly contacts:

*It may be, that the near future brings a pause but the international scholarly work will continue. It is the constant prerequisite for the activities of our society, too. The confidence*

<sup>1232</sup> See e. g. 11 December 1935 Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde to Ilmari Manninen. Attached to minutes of the board of FAS 21 February 1936 § 7. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.

<sup>1233</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 October 1921 § 1, attachment A; 6 March 1924 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1234</sup> See e. g. minutes of the board of the FAS 7 April 1927 § 6, Tallgren's note attached. NBA Archives.

*and respect, which the society, to our pleasure, enjoys abroad, is partly due to the particularity of its tasks on the border between the eastern and western cultures and partly due to the high level the cultural history studies have in Northern Europe.*<sup>1235</sup>

#### 5.4.4 The FDS – missing practices

Unlike the other societies, the FDS did not have to begin the new period by filling the gaps in the serials. As all its exchange partners were Scandinavians, it could continue its normal activities. At the February meeting, 1919, a new exchange with a Danish journal, *Tidskrift for tandlæger* (Journal for Dentists) was announced. Its editor had contacted Per Gadd, who was not quite certain how to proceed in this matter – something which indicates that no common procedures were fixed concerning exchanges.<sup>1236</sup> Neither were these practices properly developed later in this period. The new serials were often mentioned in the annual reports as gifts and, probably, even librarians were uncertain how they were received. Only occasionally were the exchange offers registered into the minutes.<sup>1237</sup>

In 1926, when suggesting foreign summaries to the *Proceedings*, Gadd proposed that it should be distributed to the leading odontological journals in Europe and America. He had often received enquiries on the Finnish odontological journal, so he was certain that it would arouse international interest. Nevertheless, he did not mention what kind of distribution he meant – donating or exchanging the *Proceedings*.<sup>1238</sup> Probably, the society considered exchange because at the next meeting, the secretary wrote into the minutes that the proposal of the board on the exchange of publications was accepted. Typically for the FDS, no more details were given, so that it is impossible to investigate to which institutions the exchange proposal was sent.<sup>1239</sup> In the next annual report, only two new journals appeared on the exchange list – *Sveriges Tandläkarförbunds tidning* (Journal of Swedish Dental Association) and *Revue Belge de Stomatologie*, which had previously been received as a gift.<sup>1240</sup> In 1927, the donation list included a Polish journal, *Polska dentystryka*, and some Japanese journals, which were registered as exchanges the following year. Obviously, they were not those leading journals whom the *Proceedings* was to be sent, but rather more probably, these recently founded journals made exchange offers to the FDS themselves. Instead,

1235 Minutes of the FAS 7 May 1935 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives. The citation in Finnish: *Voi olla, että lähin aika tuo seisauksen, mutta kansainvälinen tieteellinen työ pysyy. Se on seurammeikin jatkuvan toiminnan elinehto. Se luottamus ja arvonnanto, jota yhdistys iloksemme nauttii ulkomailta, riippuu osaksi sen tehtävien erikoisuudesta itäisen ja läntisen kulttuurin rajaviivalla, osaksi siitä korkeasta tasosta, jolla kulttuurihistoriallinen tutkimus Pohjois-Euroopassa on.*

1236 Minutes of the FDS 24 February 1919. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 24 (1919), p. 95; 28 January 1919 P. Gadd to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

1237 See e.g. the mentions on Göteborgs Tandläkare Sällsksaps årsbok and *Revue Belge de Stomatologie* in annual report of the FDS 1920. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 26 (1921), pp. 100–104.

1238 Minutes of the FDS 22 February 1926 § 6. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 33 (1926), p. 103.

1239 Minutes of the FDS 29 March 1926 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 33 (1926), p. 104.

1240 Annual report of the FDS 1926. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 36 (1927), p.100.

some French, German and American serials which appeared on the exchange lists in 1930–1931, might have been the journals the FDS was interested in.<sup>1241</sup>

From 1932, the received journals were not listed in the annual reports any more and only some sporadic mentions of exchange activities were written into the minutes or reports. Obviously, the exchange of publications was widening, however, for the annual report 1935 stated that the majority of the journals were received by the exchange.<sup>1242</sup> The exchange practices were still quite undefined. In 1937, Gadd proposed that, *for the sake of clarity*, the society would subscribe to two journals (*Zeitschrift für Stomatologie* and *Schweizerische Monatsschrift für Zahnheilkunde*) which until then *probably* had been acquired by exchange.<sup>1243</sup> In 1936, the society sent some exchange offers whose drafts have been preserved in the archives though they were not mentioned in the minutes.<sup>1244</sup>

It is more than problematic to present statistics of the exchange activities of the society, which was not aware on its own exchanges. Therefore, the figures in Table 5.5 are not as reliable as in the statistics of the other three societies. The table includes all exchange partners (or journals) mentioned as exchanges in the library acquisitions lists, or which were on the distribution list of the *Proceedings* written in 1936. Their majority is also found either in the minutes or letters or in the catalogue of the journals in the FDS library compiled in 1958. Four of these exchanges are found in the distribution list of 1936 only, and they may also have been gifts to foreign institutions. The period categorisation is based on the source material – the first period covers the time when the library acquisitions were listed in the annual reports.<sup>1245</sup>

The number of exchanges was somewhat larger than in the FLS, but quite modest in comparison with the SFFF and FAS. Due to the careless registering of exchanges in the minutes, the share of unknown initiatives was very high. In the first period, the initiative was marked for the foreign partner in the cases when a journal was first categorised as a gift from the editors and later as an exchange, albeit this was not a watertight criterion. From the second period, the offers have, in some cases, been found in the letters or in the minutes. The weak interest in exchange activities which

1241 Annual reports of the FDS 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 39 (1929), p. 158; 41 (1930), p. 82; 43 (1931), p. 114; 46 (1932), p. 156. All these exchanges are categorised as unknown initiatives because no certain data of their initiators is available.

1242 Annual report of the FDS 1935. In: FÖRHANDLINGAR 52 (1936), p. 110.

1243 Minutes of the FDS 29 November 1937 § 17. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 60 (1938), p. 188.

1244 3 February 1936 the FDS to Buletin Odontologico, Assosicao Central Brazileria de Cirurgioes-Dentistos; 30 January 1936 the FDS to Deutsche Zahn- Mund- und Kieferheilkunde, Prof. D. E. Wannanmacher; 30 January 1936 the FDS to the International Journal of Orthodontia and Dentistry of Children, St. Louis, USA. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18; 30 January 1936 the FDS to Nuova Rassegna di Odontoiatria; 30 January 1936 the FDS to Rivista italiana di Stomatologia. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 19. NARC.

1245 The library acquisitions lists, where purchases, exchanges and gifts from the editors were separated, were attached in annual reports of the society until 1931. The categorisation, however, is quite unclear and the same journal may appear on the list of exchanges in one year and in another on the list of subscriptions. The distribution list of 1936 is entitled: Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC; Suomen Hammaslääkäri-seura – Luettelo seuran kirjastossa olevista ulkomaisista sarjajulkaisuista 1.5.1958, laatineet Berit Boström, Eeva-Maija Tammekann. Archive of the Federation of Scientific Societies. 630:177. Kotelo (Folder) 15. NARC.

*Table 5.5. Initiators of the new exchange relations of the Finnish Dental Society 1919-1939.*

Period	Initiator			Total
	FDS	Exchange partner	Unknown	
1919-1931	1	10	5	16
1932-1939	3	5	21	29
Total	4	15	26	45

manifested in the careless registering of partners refers to the passivity of the FDS. On the other hand, the exchange offers, written by the FDS in the 1930s, indicate an increasing interest and it would be tempting to suppose that the majority of unknown initiatives from this later period were made by the FDS.

Although the new exchanges were only seldom registered into the minutes of the FDS, the various distinctions to exchange partners were meticulously noted, especially when they concerned the Scandinavian companions. Not only were the usual congratulatory messages sent and received, but also gift-giving was typical of the scientific friendship. For instance, the FDS dedicated a decoratively bound volume of the *Proceedings* to the Danish Dental Association on its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary.<sup>1246</sup> The odontological societies did not limit their distinctions to centenaries or golden jubilees, but even smaller festivities, such as the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the FDS, were honoured with addresses and visitors.<sup>1247</sup>

The geographic distribution of the exchange partners of the FDS, presented in Figure 5.9, is somewhat different to that of the other three societies under study.

### *The USA and Canada*

The biggest provider of exchange partners was the United States, which had a long tradition in dentistry. Unlike in Europe, American dentists were trained in special, often privately owned, dental colleges. The education aimed at teaching students how to practise the profession and odontological research was often pursued by practitioners.<sup>1248</sup> This *promised land of odontology*,<sup>1249</sup> where many important discoveries were made, had already in the prewar period aroused interest in the FDS. For instance, it had written a letter of recommendation for Carin Johansson, who was planning a study tour to the Angle School of Orthodontia in St. Louis.<sup>1250</sup> In the field of exchange, the first initiative came only in 1923, when the Northwestern Uni-

<sup>1246</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1923. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), p. 168; See also the 25 anniversary meeting of the FDS 14 April 1917 § 3-4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 21 (1918), pp. 68-70.

<sup>1247</sup> Minutes of the FDS 11-13 April 1927 § 11-16. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 36 (1927), p. 118.

<sup>1248</sup> Bremner 1954, pp. 161-174. On differences in medical research, see Ben-David (1960) 1991, p. 38.

<sup>1249</sup> The citation from Professor Äyräpää in minutes of the FDS 1 December 1906 § 5. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 12.NARC. The citation in Swedish: *odontologins förlofvade land*. Americans invented e. g. the dental engine and amalgam. See Bremner 1954, pp. 226-229, 248-254.

<sup>1250</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 January 1905 § 3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC; Sivén 1943, pp. 144-145. On Angle school, see Bremner 1954, pp. 363-364.

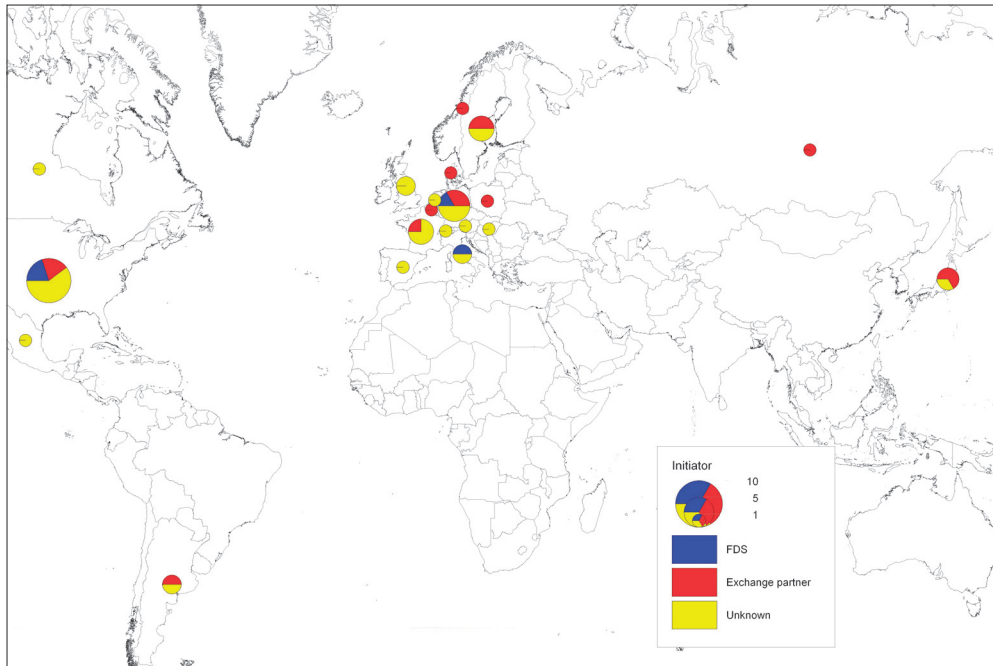


Figure 5.9. New exchange partners of the Finnish Dental Society 1915-1939 (total 45).<sup>1251</sup>

versity in Chicago proposed exchanging library duplicates. The annual report states, however, that the exchange concerned journals. This University was still in the distribution list of the *Proceedings* in 1936, so that it must have been a permanent exchange relation. It seems likely that the honorary member of the society, Green Vardiman Black, who was a dean in Northwestern University, had encouraged it to contact the FDS.<sup>1252</sup>

The majority of the American exchange partners consisted of journals, many of which were privately published. In other disciplines, the publishing houses were usually not willing to exchange their products. The few journals on the exchange lists of the SFFF and FAS were often published by private persons, but the FDS received exchange offers even from firms, for instance, the Eastman Kodak Company.<sup>1253</sup> It may have been the case that these journals considered a wide circulation useful, as it was prone to increase the interest of their advertisers.<sup>1254</sup>

The majority of initiatives are unknown, but the known cases indicate that the interest in exchange was mutual. In the FDS, the American contacts were activated by Helmi Kulovesi, who had worked as a dentist in New York. She worked hard to fill the gaps in the American serials in the library of the FDS, by changing duplicates

<sup>1251</sup> The exact figures are to be found in Appendix 9.

<sup>1252</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 April 1923 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 28 (1923), p. 139; annual report of the FDS 1923. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), p. 169.

<sup>1253</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 March 1939 § 6. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 66 (1939), p. 200.

<sup>1254</sup> On journals, see Bremner 1954, pp. 141-147.

and, if necessary, purchasing the missing volumes. Some of her measures led to regular exchanges and, for example, the *Penn Dental Journal* was received for the rest of the period. Also, Juuso Kivimäki, who was president of the society from 1936, was fluent in English and opened contacts with the American researchers.<sup>1255</sup> The vice president of the society, Eero Tammissalo, made a study tour in the USA, in the summer of 1934, and lectured at the September meeting on American odontological education.<sup>1256</sup>

Canadian odontological science did not arouse much discussion in the FDS. The only Canadian exchange was a journal, *Revue dentaire canadienne*.

### *Germany*

In Germany, odontological science was practised in the medical faculties of the universities, but it did not gain proper academic status with the doctoral degrees until in the 1920s. In the FDS, the admiration for German science had already been evident before the war in the nomination of eight German members, the majority of whom became honorary members in the course of time. The role of German troops in the Civil War had brought along a sense of political alliance, which led the society to support Germany on the international stage in the 1920s. Together with the Swedish dental societies, the FDS protested against the plans to exclude Germans and Austrians from the Fédération Dentaire Internationale.<sup>1257</sup> Also, study tours were made to Germany as early as 1920, when the whole dental profession was still in chaos after the war.<sup>1258</sup>

Germany held the second place on the list of exchanging countries, offering six partners which consisted of journals, national societies and commercial publishers. It is possible, however, that the last mentioned group represented the societies in selling and exchanging their journals. The German exchanges were quite blurred. For instance, the first German partner, the journal *Zahnärztliche Rundschau* contacted the FLS in 1921, requesting the *Proceedings* as a gift. The society agreed to the request even though it purchased *Rundschau* for the next few years. Obviously, the exchange began to function in the 1930s. At least *Rundschau* was still on the distribution list of the society in 1936.<sup>1259</sup>

### *France*

Supporting the Germans did not lead to discrimination against French odontology. France, with its four exchange partners, was the third most important exchange country though not much can be said on these institutions. Three of them (Société française d'orthopédie dento-faciale, Association stomatologique internationale and Presse Dentaire) were, probably, those leading institutions to whom the FDS sent

1255 Annual report of the FDS 1932; 1933; 1934. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 47 (1933), p. 80; 48 (1933), p. 98-99; 50 (1935), p. 125. On Helmi Kulovesi, see Tommola 1989, p. 324.

1256 Minutes of the FDS 24 September 1934 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 50 (1935), p. 127.

1257 Minutes of the FDS 17 September 1921 § 1. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 26 (1921), p. 123.

1258 Minutes of the FDS 23 February 1920 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 25 (1920), pp. 62-63.

1259 Minutes of the FDS 30 May 1921 § 8. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 26 (1921), p. 123; annual reports of the FDS 1922-1924. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 28 (1923), p. 120; 29 (1924), p. 172; 31 (1925), p. 500; Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS.630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

the *Proceedings* in 1926, because their publications appeared in the exchange lists in 1930 and 1931.<sup>1260</sup>

### *The Nordic countries*

The number of exchange partners in the Nordic countries was, actually, not very large. Sweden offered four exchange relations, Denmark and Norway only one exchange each. Their majority were societies. The co-operation between the Nordic dentists and their societies was, however, so close that the exchange of publications played a minor role. The societies used to contact each other immediately after their annual meetings, sending notes on changes in their boards or officials.<sup>1261</sup> In 1938, the Swedish Dental Association even proposed that the Scandinavian societies should send the agendas of their meetings to each other. The FDS accepted the idea though it certainly meant extra work to its secretary.<sup>1262</sup>

In addition to usual exchange relations, the society discussed another form of disseminating information, which they called the exchange of journals though it differed much from the normal use of this term. In 1930, the Scandinavian Dentists Association outlined a system where all journals of Scandinavian dental societies were distributed to all members of the association. The costs of increasing the printing of the *Proceedings* would have been about 5,500 marks – over half of the government subsidy received by the FDS! The proposal aroused resistance among those members of the FDS who were not members of the Scandinavian association. Finally, the question was resolved by selling the *Proceedings* at members' price to the Scandinavians.<sup>1263</sup> Nevertheless, though the original grandiose system was scaled down to sale at a reduced price, the plan reveals the importance of membership and the Scandinavian context for the FDS as well as for other Scandinavian societies. Instead of increasing the imprint for wide international distribution to other societies and institutions, the odontologists were willing to do this for their own members and Scandinavian colleagues.

The co-operation with Nordic societies was not only active but also warm and personal in character. The members used to meet in various congresses, seminars and festivities, making friendships and family connections. The Scandinavian colleagues shared the joys and sorrows of Finnish dentists – sometimes announcing happiness on their achievement of independence, sometimes sympathising with their private resistance against the prohibitory liquor law.<sup>1264</sup> The letter from the Dental Society of Gothenburg soon after the outbreak of the Winter War, illustrates the warm relations:

*We have in recent days followed with deep sorrow the horrible events in Finland and commiserate with you on the difficult ordeals that encountered your dear fatherland. The*

<sup>1260</sup> Annual reports of the FDS 1930 and 1931. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 43 (1931), p. 114; 46 (1932), p. 156.

<sup>1261</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FDS 23 November 1919 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 25 (1920), p. 47.

<sup>1262</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 May 1938 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 63 (1938), p. 81.

<sup>1263</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 March 1931 § 8. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 43 (1931), p. 123; 27 April 1931 § 7; 30 November 1931 § 7. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 46 (1932), pp. 159, 161; 23 April 1931 Tampereen Hammaslääkäri-seura to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1264</sup> The resistance was quite active among dentists. See e. g. minutes of the FDS 1 December 1923 § 3, Liite 1. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), pp. 185-186.



*requirements made on dentists in war are great, and we fully understand that this will entail great sacrifices and risks to our colleagues in brotherland, among whom are many dear, personal friends.*<sup>1265</sup>

### *Japan*

Two Japanese journals appeared on the acquisitions list in 1926, first as gifts from the editor, and then, in 1929, as exchanges. One of them was published by a society and another by a dental school. In 1929, the *Journal of the Nippon Dental Association* joined. In Japan, dentistry was not part of medicine but an independent profession. Dentists were educated in private schools until 1903, when a department of dental surgery was established in the medical school of Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>1266</sup> Considering the activity of Japanese scientific organisations in contacting European and American institutions, it is probable that these three exchanges were also initiated by the Japanese partners though their origin was not registered. Some lasted until the end of the period.

### *The Mediterranean area*

The FDS proposed an exchange to an Italian journal, *Rivista italiana di Stomatologia*, and in the 1936 distribution list, there was another, *Annali di Odontologia*, of which only a few volumes were received. The Spanish journal *La odontologia* was received in 1935–1936.

### *The United Kingdom*

British dentistry was not very developed in the interwar period, and still in the 1920s, the educated dentists were fighting for professional privileges. The education in dental schools emphasised scientific and theoretical subjects, instead of technical training.<sup>1267</sup> The British Dental Association, which appeared in the 1936 distribution list, was a trade union aiming at legislation to regulate dentistry.<sup>1268</sup> The other British partner on the same list, the journal *Dental Record*, was published by the British Society for the Study of Orthodontics.

### *Latin America*

In 1934, the University of Buenos Aires requested the complete set of the publications of the FDS, proposing exchange – not only with publications but also with instruments. The FDS kept sending its publications though nothing in return was sent,

<sup>1265</sup> 6 December 1939 Göteborgs Tandläkare-Sällskap to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 28. NARC. The citation in Swedish: *Med djupt beklagande ha vi tagit del av de senaste dagarnas avskvärda händelser i Finland och deltaga varmt med Eder i den svåra hemsökelse, som drabbat Edert kära fosterland. De krav, som ställas på tandläkarkåren under ett krig, äro stora, och vi inse till fullo att uppfyllandet av dem kommer att innebära stora uppföringar och risker för våra kolleger i brorderlandet, bland vilka många av oss räkna kära personliga vänner.* The members of the Gothenburg society showed not only their sympathy but they had collected some funds, too.

<sup>1266</sup> Tanaka, Honda and Kitamura 2008, p. 1078.

<sup>1267</sup> Bremner 1954, pp. 395–402.

<sup>1268</sup> History of the BDA. <http://www.bda.org/about-the-bda/history.aspx>. (cited 27 January).

at least no serials were received.<sup>1269</sup> Furthermore, on the 1936 distribution list, there was another journal, *Odontologia Argentina*, which was not received, either. The FDS had better luck with the Mexicans – the *Boletín odontológico mexicano* was received from 1936.

### *The Soviet Union*

The prewar Russian partner, the Odontological society in St. Petersburg, seemed to disappear from the exchange list even before the war, though it continued its activities after the Revolutions and aimed at maintaining the contacts with the FDS by nominating Matti Äyräpää and S. W. Tigerstedt as its honorary members.<sup>1270</sup> Only one new Soviet partner emerged during the interwar period. The clinic of surgery and stomatology in the University of Tomsk proposed exchange in 1937. The FDS accepted, politely, the proposal, but no serials were received from Tomsk.<sup>1271</sup>

### *Other European countries*

Both Belgium and the Netherlands offered one partner. Supporting Germany in the Fédération Dentaire Internationale did not disrupt the co-operation with Belgians. Rather, it seems that the aid the FDS had given to the French and Belgian dentists during the First World War was not forgotten. After the outbreak of the Winter War, the Belgians collected 5,000 francs, which were sent to the FPS, in February 1940.<sup>1272</sup>

Austria, Switzerland, Hungary and Poland each provided one exchange partner. The Austrian and Swiss journals were purchased, at first, but obviously, these societies began the exchange at the end of the 1930s.<sup>1273</sup>

Except for Poland, the Baltics and eastern Europe were not represented in the exchange network of the FDS, despite the kindred people's ideology adopted by the society in the 1930s. The co-operation of dentists was discussed in the Finno-Ugrian cultural committee, and the FDS promised to promote the contacts with Estonian and Hungarian dental societies.<sup>1274</sup> Ironically, it had only recently refused to establish an exchange with the Hungarian journal *Fogtechnikai Szemle*. It had justified this decision by highlighting the high number of exchange partners. Of course, this was just a polite excuse because it simultaneously aimed at widening its exchanges. It is probable that it was not interested in the journal written in Hungarian.<sup>1275</sup> The Finno-

1269 Minutes of the FDS 24 September 1934 § 14. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 50 (1935), p. 130; [Undated] Facultad de odontologia, Universidad de Buenos Aires. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 31; Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

1270 Minutes of the FDS 1 December 1923 § 17. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), p. 185.

1271 13 November 1937 the FDS to Prof. S. F. Kossyich, Klinik d. chirurg. Stomatologie, U. S. S. R. Sibirien, Tomsk. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

1272 26 February 1940 Association Générale des dentistes de Belgique to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 28. NARC.

1273 See e.g. the acquisitions lists of the library 1919-1920. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 25 (1920), pp. 75-76; 26 (1921), p. 104; Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

1274 Minutes of the FDS 5 December 1936 § 13. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 56 (1937), p. 72; 22 February 1937 § 7. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 57 (1937), p. 66.

1275 9 May 1936 the FDS to Sigmund Weiss / Redaktion Fogtechnikai Szemle. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

Ugrian programme included such measures that the other societies under study had long ago taken, such as the exchange of publications and correspondence.<sup>1276</sup> Not much was achieved in the FDS. The contacts with Estonians were promoted by inviting Professor Valter Hiie from Tartu to give a lecture at the April meeting, 1938. Later, he was nominated as a corresponding member.<sup>1277</sup> Among some Finnish-minded members, the kindred peoples ideology touched a chord, but it had less meaning for the dentists who were deeply integrated with the Scandinavian Dentists Association and the *Fédération Dentaire Internationale*.<sup>1278</sup>

The geographical distribution of the partners differed from the other societies, especially due to the strong American emphasis. Neither were the types of the exchange partners similar, as Figure 5.10 indicates.

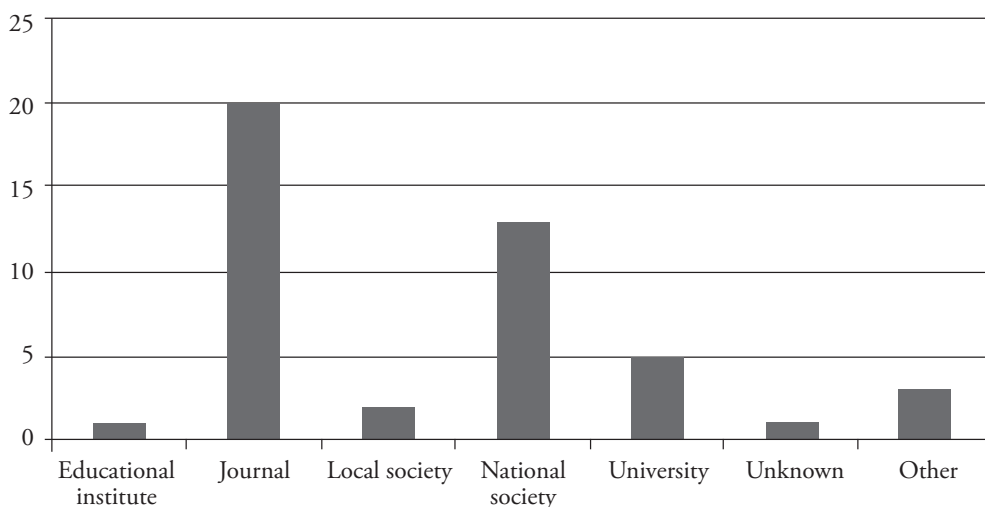


Figure 5.10. Types of the exchange partners of the Finnish Dental Society 1919-1939.

The most eye-catching detail among the types is the large number of journals. In the field of dentistry and odontology, commercial journals – even from Germany – were available in exchange probably due to the fact that they were partly funded by advertisements. In comparison, the share of societies was relatively low, and especially unsubstantial was the role of local societies. Obviously, there were not many local or regional societies in dentistry, which was determined to exclude non-professionals. The type Other includes mostly commercial publishers.

The age distribution, presented in Figure 5.11, did not differ much from the partners of the other societies under study.

<sup>1276</sup> 28 January 1937 *Suomalais-ugrilainen Kulttuuritoimikunta*, *Suomalainen osasto* to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 26. NARC.

<sup>1277</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 April 1938 § 10. In *FÖRHANDLINGAR* 62 (1938), p. 168.

<sup>1278</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 225-230, 274-276.

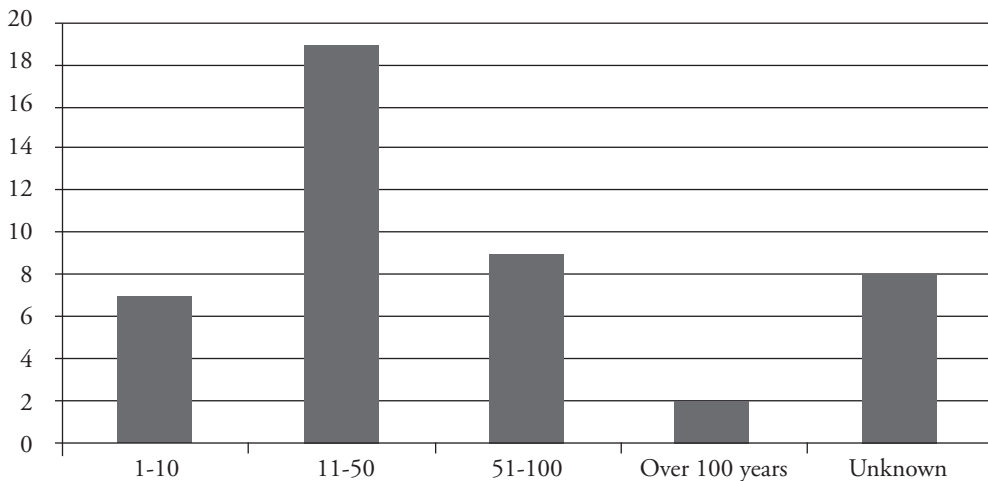


Figure 5.11. Ages of the exchange partners of the Finnish Dental Society 1919-1939.

Odontology was a relatively young discipline, but there were some societies which had passed the venerable age of 50. The oldest group consisted of the universities. As in the other societies, the 11–50 age category was the most usual group to find partners.

Not many certain details can be given on the exchange activities of the FDS. Nevertheless, some interesting features are revealed. The first was the strong dependency of membership of the society. The *Proceedings* was first and foremost published to inform the members, not to distribute research results internationally. The interest in the international dissemination of information increased in the 1920s and 1930s, when some members, such as Gadd and Kulovesi, worked tenaciously to widen international distribution. Their propositions were appreciated and accepted, but the measures taken were not even written in the minutes. Exchange never became a daily routine, which it was in other societies. Instead, the FDS appreciated co-operation at the personal level, congresses, meetings and especially festivities. Unlike exchanges, the gifts given to partners, speeches delivered and toasts drunk to collegiality were accurately described in the minutes and the annual reports.

It seems that the influence of the Matthew effect was not very strong in dentistry and odontology. There were not many rejected exchange offers. In 1936, the society made three offers to foreign journals which had already ceased to appear.<sup>1279</sup> Furthermore, in the 1936 distribution list, there were four journals which were never received by the library of the FDS. The geographical distribution of these seven unsuccessful offers did not differ much from the established exchanges: two French, one Italian, one American, one Polish, one Cuban and one Brazilian institution. Possibly, the nature of odontological research lessened the Matthew effect. Odontology was a young discipline and in some countries, it was without academic status. In other fields of study, research and publishing were concentrated in universities, institutes and scientific societies but dentistry was often practised in private institutes. Due to

<sup>1279</sup> 30 January 1936 the FDS to the Nuova Rassegna di Odontoiatria; 30 January 1936 the FDS to the International Journal of Orthodontia and Dentistry of Children. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18; Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

the constant demand on the services of dentists, the rapidly developing technology and the non-academic character of odontology, the commercial actors had much more influence in this field. This was visible in the exchange of publications, as the big share of commercial journals and firms indicates. In a practical field, such as dentistry, the journals could be funded with advertisements, which made it possible to sell them at a low price or to exchange them, something which was unusual in commercial scientific publishing in other disciplines. Instead, the traditional promoters of exchange, such as the Smithsonian Institution or *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*, did not interfere in this field, or at least there is no evidence in the archive of the FDS. The dental world aimed at international co-operation, but it created its own peculiar methods.

## 5.5 OTHER CHANNELS FOR DISSEMINATING PUBLICATIONS

### 5.5.1 Commercial distribution

During the interwar period, the interest in the international commercial distribution of publications increased slightly in the Finnish learned societies, but the inflation and instability of currencies made it quite challenging. Yet, some progress was made in most of these societies. The figures in this chapter illustrating the sales, costs and government subsidies have similar deficiencies as those in Chapter 4.6.1 because accounting in the societies was not very accurate in the interwar period. Therefore, they should be considered as only suggestive.

#### *The SFFF*

After the war, the inflation complicated the selling of publications. The society raised the prices of its journals twice in 1920.<sup>1280</sup> The prices were announced in Finnish marks and Swedish crowns, as before but now the German mark was replaced by the U.S. dollar<sup>1281</sup> because of the inflation in Germany. Nevertheless, in 1926, when the economic situation in Germany was recovering, the firm Friedländer und Sohn in Berlin was selected as the foreign distributor of the society.<sup>1282</sup> Obviously, Friedländer did not have a monopoly, and direct orders were received from the Soviet supplier of books, Kniga, W. Junk Buchhandlung and some private people.<sup>1283</sup>

The minutes and letters include only sporadic mentions concerning bookselling. With the exception of handbooks, the commercial distribution of the publication was insignificant and hardly had any role in funding publishing,<sup>1284</sup> as Figure 5.12 shows.

<sup>1280</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 21 May 1920 § 8; 12 November 1920 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1281</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 December 1923 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1282</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 December 1926 § 10-11. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1283</sup> 12 October 1925 Berlin Kniga Buch- und Lehrmittel-G. m. b. H. to the SFFF; 26 July 1925 Enzo Reuter to J. Wilhelmsson. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:19; 16 January 1930 A. H. Magnusson to the SFFF. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:16. FNL.

<sup>1284</sup> In 1938, the society announced that 60 copies of Lange's book *Jämtlands kärlväxtflora* had been sold. Minutes of the board of the SFFF 17 November 1938 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

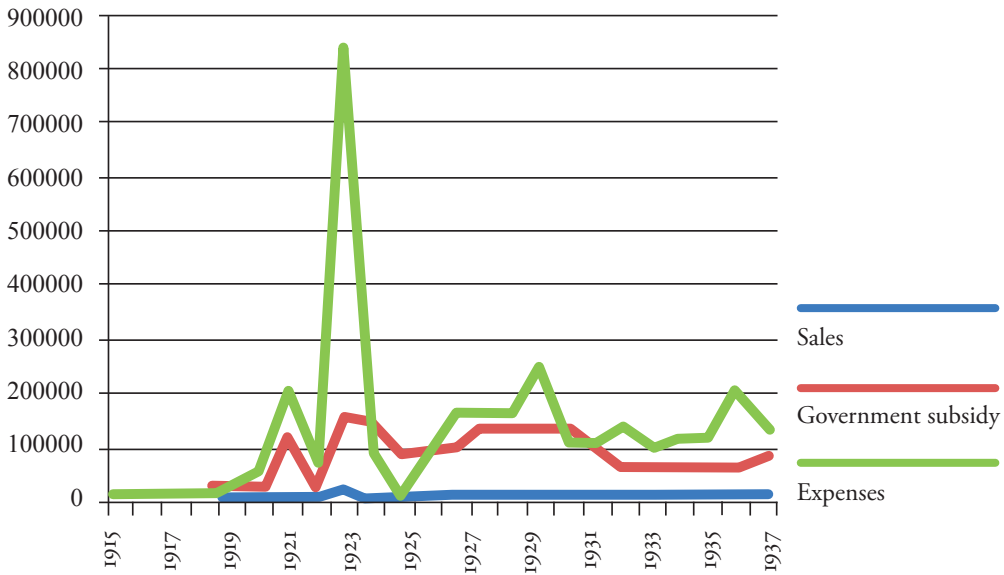


Figure 5.12. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1915-1939 (Currency: FIM).<sup>1285</sup>

The low sales figures were a natural consequence of the distribution policy of the SFFF. The exchange was the main method of distribution, a channel for the readership. The society preferred exchange even in such cases when there was an opportunity of selling publications – it accepted, for instance, the exchange offer of the Canadian Department of Mines, Ottawa, which had previously bought the publications of the society.<sup>1286</sup> It also restricted the sales of those volumes of which there were less than 25 copies left, but was still willing to use these in exchange.<sup>1287</sup>

### *The FLS*

Every now and then, the FLS reminded its members that its task was not to produce profit but scholarly or culturally valuable literature for the Finnish people.<sup>1288</sup> However, it exerted remarkable effort in selling its publications. Hiring a book-keeper was an exceptional step to take for a learned society. In addition, the accountants took their jobs seriously, suggesting reforms to selling and accounting.<sup>1289</sup> From 1917, the

<sup>1285</sup> The information is gathered of the accounts attached to annual reports of the society. The expenses include costs of printing, binding, illustrations and royalties. The profit funds of state lotteries are not included in the government subsidies.

<sup>1286</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 1 April 1922 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1287</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 October 1920 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL.

<sup>1288</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FLS 16 March 1916, speech of the president. In SUOMI IV:16 (1916/1917), V, pp. 100-104; 16 March 1939 § 1 (speech of the president). In SUOMI: 102 (1943), p. 43.

<sup>1289</sup> Minutes of the FLS 8 October 1919 § 5. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 16-17.

prices of the publications were raised many times, but it did not affect the demand for the books. The sales increased, as Figure 5.13 indicates.<sup>1290</sup>

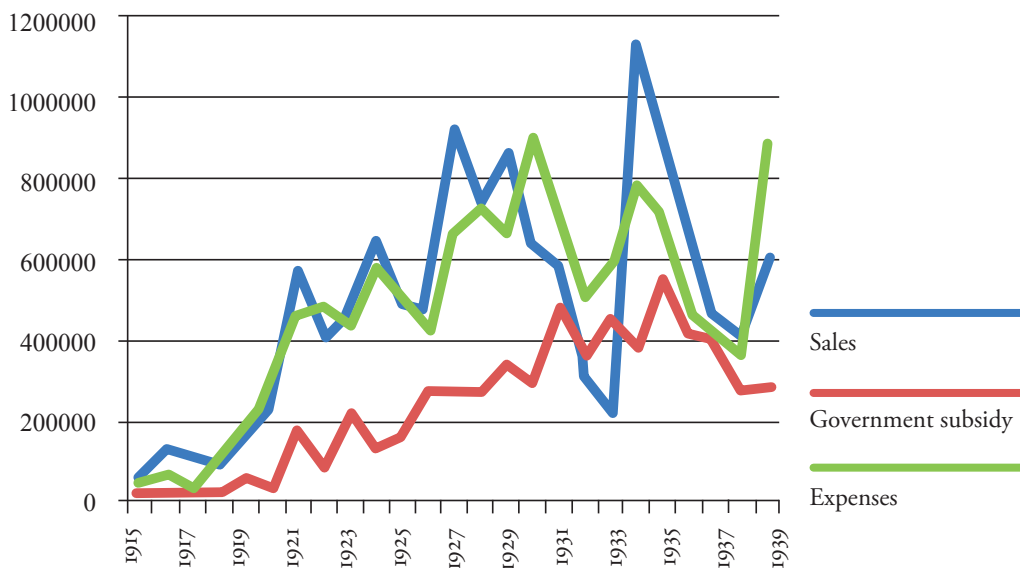


Figure 5.13. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Finnish Literature Society 1915-1939 (Currency: FIM).<sup>1291</sup>

Mostly, the FLS managed to balance the sales and expenses of its publications, which was unusual in learned societies. Instead of publishing, it could use the government subsidies for hiring personnel for its library and archives. The good results were partly explained by the material it published. Certainly, the dramas of Shakespeare interested the bookshop customers more than the theories of prehistoric peoples or hydrobiological studies written in German. Dictionaries were necessary for libraries as well as for private people, and the demand for schoolbooks was always guaranteed, although in this market, the FLS was a minor player among the big publishing houses.<sup>1292</sup>

The reading public, whom the FLS offered its publications, was believed to be mostly Finnish, but some international demand existed, too. In prewar, the Leipzigan Harrassowitz had been the main distributor of the publications of the FLS in Germany, but the contact was broken during the war. In 1922, Otto Harrassowitz

<sup>1290</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 October 1917 § 3. In SUOMI IV:19 (1922), IV, pp. 43-44; annual report of the FLS 1919. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 23-25; annual report of the FLS 1920. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 18-20.

<sup>1291</sup> The information is gathered of the accounts attached to annual reports of the society. The expenses include costs of printing, binding, illustrations and royalties. The sales do not include the income received from the sold copyrights. The profit funds of state lotteries are not included in the government subsidies.

<sup>1292</sup> On the school book markets, see Häggman 2008, p. 340.

wrote to the society, asking for dictionaries for his bookstore and complaining that his FLS orders had not led to any consignments:

*Sie wissen, dass ich gerade für finnische Bücher Interesse und gute Absatzmöglichkeiten habe. Es ist in der letzten Zeit überhaupt recht schwer, aus Finnland Bücher zu bekommen.*<sup>1293</sup>

However, the archives of the FLS include only orders made by the library of the FLS to Harrassowitz – there are no suggestions that books were sold to his store. In the 1920s, the currency fluctuations caused difficulties in German trade relations, and it seems that both parties were dissatisfied with the price.<sup>1294</sup> After the economic conditions had stabilised, the demand revived.<sup>1295</sup>

In Estonia, the selling of publications was organised by a deal with the Academic Society of the Mother Tongue, so that these societies distributed each other's publications in their countries.<sup>1296</sup> Some British and American booksellers contacted the FLS, but their orders were not very numerous.<sup>1297</sup> There is no evidence that books were sold to the Soviet Union. Only the decision the society made in 1921, to write off the debt of the Finnish bookseller Edgren in Saint Peterburg, has been preserved.<sup>1298</sup>

### *The FAS*

The FAS's experience in commercial distribution was meagre and the economic situation in Europe unpromising, but, as early as 1918, it bravely grasped the nettle and began to promote sales. It sent copies of its new publications to be reviewed in central archaeological and ethnographic journals.<sup>1299</sup> The following year, it decided to ask Otto Harrassowitz, in Leipzig, to be its distributor,<sup>1300</sup> but changed its mind and announced at the next meeting that its foreign agent was to be another Leipzgian, Karl Hiersemann, who was to distribute its publications in all countries, except Scandinavia. He had already in the prewar period sold the publications of the society, but now, he insisted on a commission of 50%, due to hard times in Germany. Promising the most efficient world-wide advertising, Hiersemann ordered immediately 25 copies of

1293 19 June 1922 Otto Harrassowitz to O. J. Tallgren. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 105. Mf 2004:3. SKS, KIA.

1294 26 May 1922 Albert Hämäläinen to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4. SKS, KIA.

1295 11 August 1934 Universitäts-Bibliothek Kiel to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 125. SKS, KIA.

1296 11 July 1927 the FLS to Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 117b, 64-65. Mk 1-45 (2003). SKS, KIA.

1297 9 December 1932 The FLS to S. Gurney Champion. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123; 14 January 1936 C. Bell & Sons Ltd Publishers, London to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 127; 17 June 1930 Kruse Antiquariat, Kansas city to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 121. Mf 2004:11; 31 October 1932 Grace Lucille Craig to the Academic bookstore. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123; 8 December 1924 Philosophical Publishing company, Chicago. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (folder) 45. SKS, KIA.

1298 Minutes of the board of the FLS 28 April 1921 § 11. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.

1299 The receipt of mailing 13 July 1918. Archive of the FAS. Ga 13. NBA Archives.

1300 Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 November 1919 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.



each publication.<sup>1301</sup> Unfortunately, the business with him was not profitable for the FAS. He sold the publications and even ordered a new set in 1920, but their pricing constantly caused confusion, which was made worse by the rapidly increasing inflation. Hiersemann suggested changing the deal to the fixed order base, but the society was no longer willing to negotiate. In 1922, the contract was dissolved. The sum he had accounted, 94 Finnish marks, formed less than 5% of the sales of 1921.<sup>1302</sup>

After this split, the FAS did not have its own agent for marketing and distribution, and the era of sales in commission ended. The publications of the FAS aroused interest, however, and orders were received from many booksellers in Sweden, Germany, Poland, France, the United Kingdom and the USA.<sup>1303</sup> Also, the old distributors of the society, such as Glerups, continued to subscribe to magazines.<sup>1304</sup> A new subscriber was the Soviet bookstore Kniga, in Berlin, which ordered both magazines and the *Journal* for the public library of Leningrad in 1926–1929.<sup>1305</sup> Sometimes, foreign individuals or institutions ordered publications directly from the FAS.<sup>1306</sup> Despite the worldwide interest, the sales proceeds were low during the whole period, as Figure 5.14 reveals.

Due to inflation, the prices were raised at least in 1918, 1920, 1932 and 1939,<sup>1307</sup> but at no point did the sales cover the costs. The number of sold copies was marginal in comparison with some 300 hundred copies sent in exchange or as gifts.

1301 Minutes of the FAS 4 December 1919 § 3; 7 May 1920, report of the library. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives. The society sent only ten copies.

1302 Minutes of the board of the FAS 2 February 1922 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 16 July 1920 Karl W. Hiersemann to the FAS; 21 September 1920 Hiersemann to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; 23 June 1921. Hiersemann to the FAS; 22 September 1921 Hiersemann to the FAS; 27 October 1921 Hiersemann to the FAS; 26 April 1922 Hiersemann to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 20. Receipt of the payment of delivery to Hiersemann. 31 December 1919 Viktor Ek, Speditions-afdelningen. Archive of the FAS. Ga 14. NBA Archives.

1303 See e. g. 1 April 1922 Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 20; [undated, 1925] Alfred Lorentz Buchhandlung to A. M. Tallgren; 21 December 1925 D. E. Friedlein, Krakau to the FAS; 20 May 1926 Buchhandlung Karl Siegismund, Berlin to the FAS; 8 January 1929 Hahn & Seifarh, Buchhandlung und Antiquariat, Leipzig to the FAS; 8 May 1930 B. F. Schultz & Co. Plauen i. v., Buch- und Kunst-Antiquariat, Warschau to the FAS; 6 May 1932 Simmel & Co, Buchhandlung Antiquariat Leipzig to the FAS; 23 October 1931 T'oung-Pao, Paul Pelliot, Paris to the FAS; 28 November 1932 Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. Oriental and African Booksellers to the FAS; 4 January 1933 K. F. Koehlers Antiquarium, Leipzig to the FAS; 6 January 1933 G. E. Stechert & Co., New York to the FAS; 6 January 1933 Librairie Orientaliste Paul Gauthier, Paris to the FAS; 20 January 1933 Ernst W. Nielsen, Stockholm to the FAS; 4 November 1936 Bernard Quaritch, booksellers, London to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1304 28 December 1925 Glerupska Univ. Bokhandlen, Lund to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1305 There are many subscription cards from Kniga” Buch – Lehrmittelges, Berlin, in the archive of the FAS, from 12 June 1926 until 1 December 1929. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1306 Minutes of the board of the FAS 8 December 1927 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 15 February 1929 Prof. O. Sild, Tartu to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives.

1307 Minutes of the board of the FAS 29 October 1918 § 1-2; 6 November 1918 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Ca 9; 4 October 1921 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 7 April 1932 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1; 27 January 1939 § 12. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

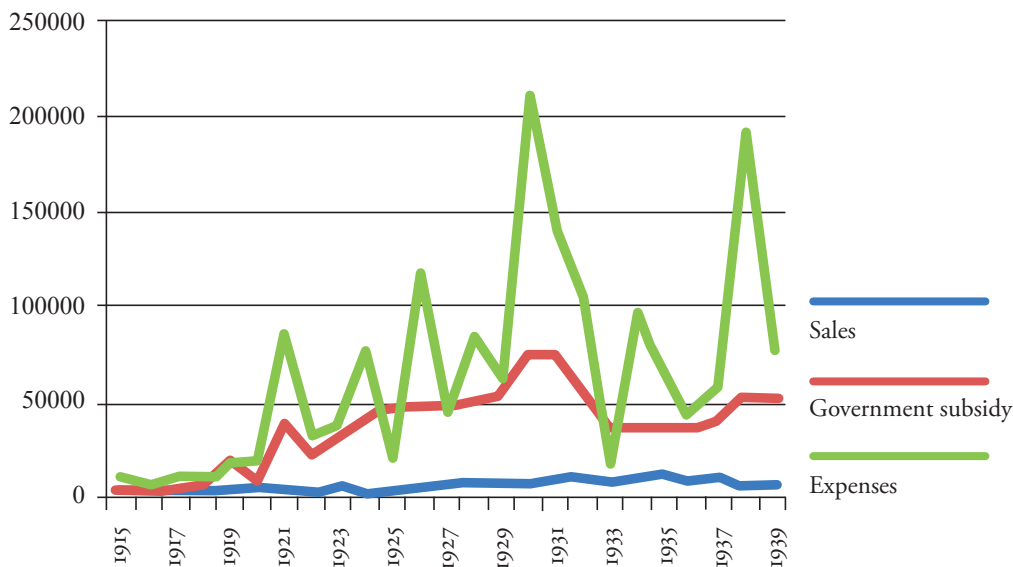


Figure 5.14. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1915-1939 (Currency: FIM).<sup>1308</sup>

### *The FDS*

In the prewar period, the *Proceedings* had been funded mainly from the subscription fees, which was exceptional in scientific societies, but can be explained by the small print run of its journal and the information needs of the practising dentists that it fulfilled. Figure 5.15 which describes the sales and costs of the *Proceedings*, differs notably from the figures of the SFFF and FAS.

After the war, the income from the subscriptions was not sufficient for funding further volumes of the *Proceedings*, and the society tried to sell advertising space to foreign dental firms. Obviously, it set the price too high and finally had to apply for governmental funding.<sup>1309</sup> Government subsidies were for the first time admitted in 1923, but their share of the expenses was less notable than in the other societies under study. In 1929, the FDS decided to raise the membership fee and to send its journal to the members free of charge.<sup>1310</sup> The measure caused a sharp fall in the sales, which was, nevertheless, compensated by the tripling of the membership fees. The sales figures began to rise again in 1932, which was probably due to the Scandinavian subscriptions; at the end of 1931, the society had decided to sell the *Proceedings* at members' price to the dentists belonging to the Scandinavian Dentists Association.<sup>1311</sup> The majority of

<sup>1308</sup> The information is gathered from the accounts attached to annual reports of the society. The expenses include costs of printing, binding, illustrations and royalties. The profit funds of state lotteries are not included in the government subsidies. The subsidies and costs of ESA are not included. In some years, the income of sales included the sales of photographs and postcards, too.

<sup>1309</sup> 21 January 1920 Elektro dental Fischer & Rittner GmbH, Dresden to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 27. NARC.

<sup>1310</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 184-185.

<sup>1311</sup> Minutes of the FDS 30 November 1931 § 7. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 46 (1932), p. 161.

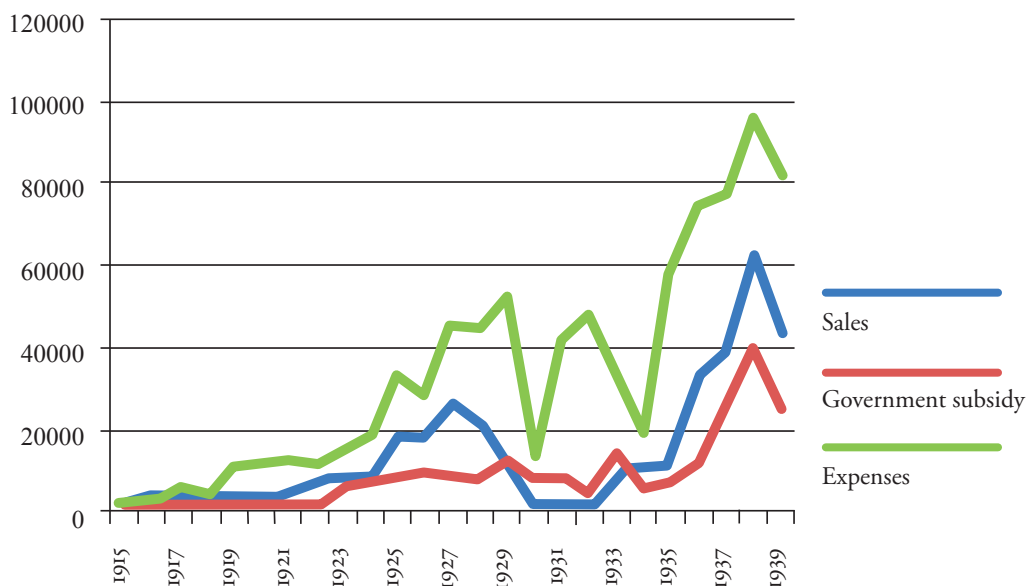


Figure 5.15. Sales and expenses of the publications of the Finnish Dental Society 1915-1939 (Currency: FIM).<sup>1312</sup>

the subscribers were probably Swedish because a letter to Dansk Tandlaegeforening (Danish Dental Association) mentions that the number of Danish subscribers was only seven in 1937.<sup>1313</sup> Another letter indicates that two volumes of the *Proceedings* were sold to the USA, which, obviously, was exceptional, for it aroused some enthusiasm in the society.<sup>1314</sup> These are the only mentions of the sale of FDS publications.

The publications of the Finnish learned societies were distributed via commercial agents across a wide area – from the Soviet Union to the United States. The volume of foreign sales was meagre, however. The government subsidies made it possible to publish journals without the need to sell them. Only the FDS, whose government subsidy was from the beginning much more modest than in the other societies, and the FLS, which published material for the general public, were able to cover a significant share of expenses by selling their publications. They followed different routes; the FDS counted on its own membership and the dentists belonging to the Scandinavian Dentists Association, and the FLS distributed its publications widely via bookstores and hired a bookkeeper to attend to the selling and accounting.

<sup>1312</sup> The information is gathered from the tables published in Sivén 1943, pp. 111, 186-187, 252. Due to Sivén's categorisation, the government subsidies include the profit funds of state lotteries which were received at least in 1935 and 1936. The sales of the year 1916 included a voluntary grant of 1,700 FMK for publishing the *Proceedings*.

<sup>1313</sup> 27 November 1937 the FDS to Dansk Tandlaegeforening. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

<sup>1314</sup> 27 November 1937 the FDS to Tohtori V. O. Hurme, Copeland, MA. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 18. NARC.

### 5.5.2 Corresponding members

The forms of co-operation with corresponding members remained similar to the pre-war period. The publications of the Finnish societies were sent to foreign members,<sup>1315</sup> and book donations and reprints of articles were received from them in return,<sup>1316</sup> sometimes even copies of archival material, pieces of antiquities or paintings.<sup>1317</sup> Congratulations were sent and received and the deceased honoured.<sup>1318</sup> In the political turbulence of the time, the foreign members still represented a benevolent scholarly community, as the message of congratulation of the FLS to the Danish linguist Wilhelm Thomsen, on his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday, testifies:

*Your 80th birthday is a reassuring day of joy in science, in the peaceful cultural work which brings the peoples closer.*<sup>1319</sup>

Despite this idealistic image, the corresponding networks were not free of political barriers. Also, desire to strengthen the standing of the societies abroad affected the choices. Sometimes, the practical gains were openly emphasised. For instance, when suggesting Harald Kylin as a corresponding member of the SFFF, the initiators considered that *as a publisher of Botanical Notices, he will certainly benefit our Society and its individual members.*<sup>1320</sup> In 1936, the FLS librarian, Sulo Haltsonen, complained that most of the corresponding members seemed to have forgotten the society and only seldom donated their publications to its library. He suggested that the society should send a circular, requesting from the correspondents that they send information on the

<sup>1315</sup> Minutes of the board of the SFFF 15 February 1922 § 4; 6 October 1925 § 8. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL; minutes of the board of the FLS 26 March 1936 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA; 5 July 1934 Ellis H. Minns to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 4. NBA Archives; Finska Tandläkarsällskapets tidskrifter för följande medlemmar i sällskapet och enskilda inrättningar. Archive of the FDS. 630:45, Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1316</sup> See e. g. report of the library of the SFFF 1920, 1926, 1930, 1936. In MEDDELANDEN 46 (1921), p. 197; MEMORANDA 2 (1927), pp. 80–95, MEMORANDA 6 (1929–31), pp. 223–224, MEMORANDA 12 (1936–37), p. 246; minutes of the SFFF 3 February 1923 § 20. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL; minutes of the FAS 9 October 1919 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives; minutes of the FDS 25 February 1929 § 7. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 39 (1929), p. 170; attachment to minutes of the FDS 24 November 1924 § 7. Archive of the FDS. 630.145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1317</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 November 1921 § 4. In SUOMI: V:1 (1927), III, p. 37; 2 December 1920 Ellis H. Minns to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Fa 19; minutes of the FAS 3 December 1931 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1; minutes of the board of the FAS 2 February 1933 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Cd. 2. NBA Archives. The portrait of Gustaf II Adolf was donated to the National museum by the Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf after his nomination as an honorary member.

<sup>1318</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 4 December 1920 § 4. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 9. FNL; minutes of the FLS 3 March 1920 § 2. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, p. 49; minutes of the board of the FAS 3 February 1921 § 2–3; 1 December 1921 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives; minutes of the FDS 29 September 1924 § 1, 12. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 30 (1924), pp. 80, 82; 24 May 1930 § 7, 8. In FÖRHANDLINGAR: 42 (1930), pp. 79–80.

<sup>1319</sup> Minutes of the FLS 1 February 1922 § 2. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), III, p. 44. The citation in Finnish: *Teidän yhdesyhdeksättä syntymäpäivänne on tieteen rauhallisen, kansoja toisiinsa lähentävän kulttuurityön lohtuisa riemupäivä.*

<sup>1320</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 8 May 1926 § 27, Bil. J. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL. The citation in Swedish: *som utgifvare af Botaniska Notiser komme han helt säkert att gagna vårt sällskap och enskilda dess medlemmar.*

current literature on Finland published in their countries. This, it was hoped, would politely remind them to send their own publications as well.<sup>1321</sup>

The geography of corresponding networks changed in all these four societies during the interwar period.

### *The SFFF*

In order to balance the diminished number of foreign members, the SFFF nominated two Danish and two Swedish correspondents at the end of 1917.<sup>1322</sup> Nordic men were natural choices at a time when the political situation was unstable. In connection with the centenary of the society in 1921, 10 honorary and 14 corresponding members were appointed – mostly from the Nordic countries and Germany.<sup>1323</sup> Soon after the festivities, President Palmgren and Albin Backman suggested six new corresponding members, to widen the network to new countries. The nominees were outstanding representatives of botanic geography from the United States, Italy and Switzerland.<sup>1324</sup> Also, many other correspondents nominated in the 1920s, were specialists in botanic geography. Often their selection was based on their personal interest in Finnish research or the valuable help they had given. Besides, the geographic balance of foreign members affected the choice – or at least, it was mentioned in the proposal if their country had few or no representatives.<sup>1325</sup>

After the active period of the 1920s, the next decade brought about only some new correspondents. This was probably due to the pessimism surrounding world politics.<sup>1326</sup> Politics also affected the geographical distribution of foreign members, which is demonstrated in Figure 5.16.

When comparing the figures of two periods, it should be noted that the number of new foreign members in the interwar period was only about half of the number pre-war. Sweden and Germany retained their position as leading countries. The important contacts with German scientists were recreated in the 1920s, when 10 new German members were nominated. (Also, two professors working in Danzig are included in this category.) From 1932, no new German corresponding or honorary members were nominated, which is indicative of the influence of politics. Two other scientific superpowers, France and the United Kingdom lost their positions in the interwar period, while Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania,

<sup>1321</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 26 March 1936 § 3. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:6. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1322</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 November 1917 § 3; 15 December 1917 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:I. Book 9. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1918. In *MEDDELANDEN* 44 (1918), pp. 176-187.

<sup>1323</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1921 § 7. The list was accepted at the next meeting 1 October 1921 § 20. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:I. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1324</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 May 1923 § 19, attachment. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:I. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1325</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 3 October 1925 § 23; 7 November 1925 § 22-23; 6 February 1926 § 13; 2 October 1926 § 24; 6 November 1926 § 17; 6 October 1928 § 16. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:I. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1326</sup> The attitude was apparent in the contemplations of Alvar Palmgren in annual report of the SFFF 1933. In *MEMORANDA* 9 (1933-34), pp. 211-229.

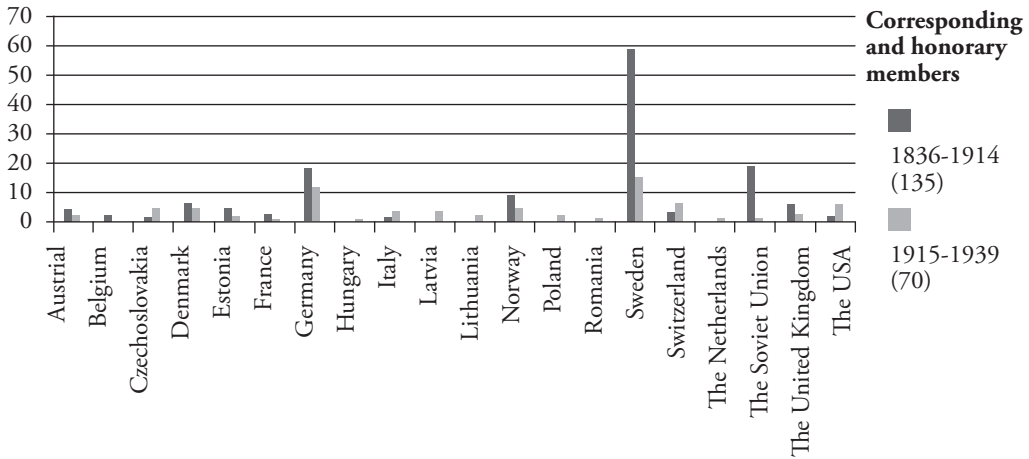


Figure 5.16. Foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica 1836-1939.<sup>1327</sup>

Switzerland, the Netherlands and the USA increased their share. Widening the area to new countries was a central objective of the society. The diminishing number of Russian members most probably had a political cause. Only one Soviet scientist was nominated as a correspondent in the interwar period. He was Finnish-born A. W. Lindholm, the head of the department of molluscs in the Zoological museum of the Academy in Leningrad.<sup>1328</sup> Neither was the society interested in co-operating with Russian scientists nominated in the prewar period.<sup>1329</sup>

### *The FLS*

The first correspondent nominated by the FLS after the war was Julius Zolnai, professor of the Hungarian language, in the university of Kolozsvár. Zolnai was both a linguist and a translator of Finnish poetry and hence a very suitable member. An additional motivating factor in this decision was to revive the Finno-Hungarian contacts broken during the war.<sup>1330</sup> The next foreign members were Norwegian Professor Konrad Nielsen and Swedish Professor Karl Bernhard Wiklund, both specialists in the Lappish language.<sup>1331</sup> Wiklund's case differed from the normal collaboration with corresponding members. He became a close co-worker of the linguists of the society.

<sup>1327</sup> The information on correspondents is gathered of minutes of general meetings and minutes of board.

<sup>1328</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 April 1930 § 13. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10. FNL.

<sup>1329</sup> Theodor Pleske, who had been an active correspondent of the society, suggested in 1923 that the SFFF should publish his extensive work of the birds of Northern Siberia which, in a way, would form a new edition of Palmén's ornithological book. The board considered that more accurate information was needed on the work and then the idea seemed to be forgotten. Minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 November 1923 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1330</sup> Minutes of the FLS 2 October 1918 § 7. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 20-21; annual report of the FLS 1921. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), II, p. 26; minutes of the board of the FLS 10 February 1921 § 8. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1331</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 June 1919 § 8. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 12-13.

At the beginning, he used to write his letters in Finnish, in an almost cordial tone.<sup>1332</sup> However, a dispute on the publishing rights of Carl Axel Gottlund's diary annoyed him so much that his letters became snappish and, even worse, written in Swedish. The co-operation with the society ceased, but when Wiklund died some years later, his memory was duly honoured.<sup>1333</sup>

During the interwar period, the FLS nominated only 23 foreign members, the majority being linguists or folklorists from Scandinavia, Estonia and Hungary. In connection with the centenary festivities, eight new correspondents were nominated, which is a reasonably low figure compared with other societies.<sup>1334</sup> The centenary year of *Kalevala* (1935) saw three new correspondents.<sup>1335</sup> The focus was on Estonia and the Nordic countries, as Figure 5.17 indicates.

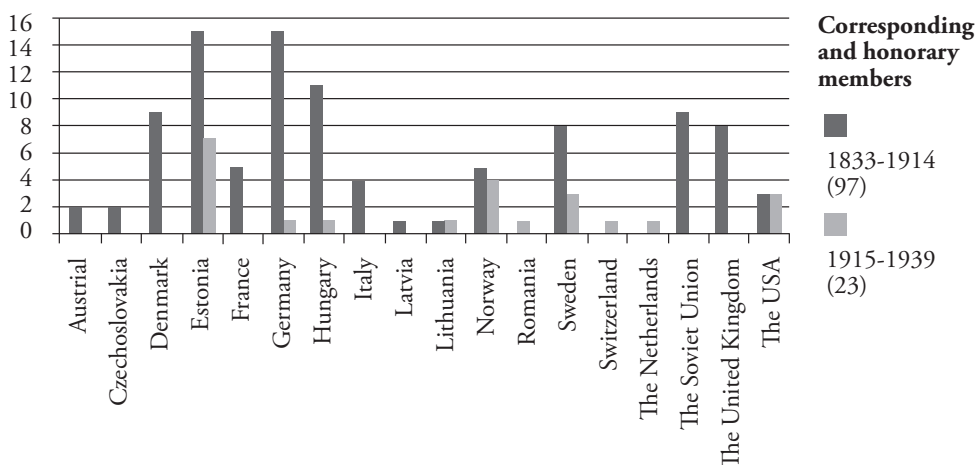


Figure 5.17. Foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Literature Society 1833-1939.<sup>1336</sup>

The number of foreign members diminished in the interwar period, so much so that it is difficult to draw conclusions on the changes. Some features are noticeable, however. Estonia retained its leading position while the role of scientific superpowers diminished significantly. No French or British members were nominated and the only

<sup>1332</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FLS 16 December 1919 § 3. In *SUOMI* IV:20 (1927), V, p. 28; 4 July 1922 K. B. Wiklund to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 106. Mf 2004:4, SKS, KIA.

<sup>1333</sup> 4 April 1929 K. B. Wiklund to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 120; 5 October 1930 the FLS to K. B. Wiklund; 11 December 1930 K. B. Wiklund to the FLS. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 121. Mf 2004:11. See also 7 April 1932 The FLS to Volmar Bergh. Historical archive of the FLS. Correspondence 123. SKS, KIA; minutes of the FLS 3 October 1934 § 2. In *SUOMI* V:17 (1919/1920) IV, p. 22.

<sup>1334</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1931 § 16; 4 March 1931 § 10. In *SUOMI* V:12 (1931), II, pp. 74-75, 82.

<sup>1335</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 February 1935 § 23. In *SUOMI* V:17 (1919/1920) V, pp. 74-76.

<sup>1336</sup> The information on correspondents is gathered of minutes of general meetings and minutes of the board.

German member was Hans Grellman, the director of the Institut der Finnlandkunde in the University of Greifswald. The FLS emphasised Grellman's merits as a publiciser of Finnish literature in Germany, but he was eager to state that this distinction should also be seen as honouring his role as a representative of his country.<sup>1337</sup> The radically diminishing share of the German correspondents, however, proves the opposite – that the FLS was not interested in contacts with Germans. Neither were any members nominated from the Soviet Union. Instead, new contacts with American scholars were established. Some of them had an enthusiastic reception, as a letter of T. F. Crane indicates:

*My long life has been devoted almost exclusively to the promotion of scholarship in this country, and the most effectual way to accomplish this has been to make American scholars acquainted with the work of their foreign colleagues. [...] I shall cherish the Diploma [of the membership] as long as I live and at my death I shall leave it to my beloved grandson, named after me, to preserve with other memorials of his grandfather.*<sup>1338</sup>

Mostly, the foreign members of the society were academics except an Estonian, Friedebert Tuglas, who was an author.<sup>1339</sup> A Norwegian, Johan Beronka, earned his living as a vicar, but had studied linguistics and wrote scholarly papers in his spare time.<sup>1340</sup>

### *The FAS*

In connection with its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, in 1920, the FAS selected many new honorary and foreign members. They represented various nationalities; British, French, German, Austrian and American scholars though the majority came from the Baltic area.<sup>1341</sup> When the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society approached, Tallgren and Hackman suggested five new correspondents, mostly from Sweden and Eastern Europe but also a Korean archaeologist, Sueji Umenhara, who was a known researcher of Eurasian steppe cultures.<sup>1342</sup> After this, no notable groups of foreign members were selected, but the ethnologists in the society remained active, making some suggestions for anthropologists and ethnologists.<sup>1343</sup> In the interwar period, the FAS nominated 36 foreign members, whose geographical distribution is analysed in Figure 5.18.

The most important change was the lack of new Russian members. Before the war, the Russians had been the most numerous group, but no new members were nominated from the Soviet Union. It is slightly odd because Tallgren emphasised the need of Russian contacts on many occasions. However, although no new members were nominated, those remaining were still respected. Certainly, their memories were

<sup>1337</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 April 1934 § 5; 3 October 1934 § 4. In SUOMI V:17 (1919/1920) V, pp. 22-24.

<sup>1338</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 December 1924 § 2. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, pp. 57-58.

<sup>1339</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 March 1926 § 7. In SUOMI V:6 (1928), IV, p. 96.

<sup>1340</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 February 1931 § 16. In SUOMI V:12 (1931), II, pp. 74-75. Söderholm 2010. <http://helios.uta.fi:2268/artikkeli/9283/> (cited 28 January 2011).

<sup>1341</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 24 October 1920 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1342</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 15 September 1930 § 6, attachment D. Cd 1; minutes of the FAS 1 October 1930 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1343</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 May 1935 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1; 4 May 1936 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Cd 2. NBA Archives.



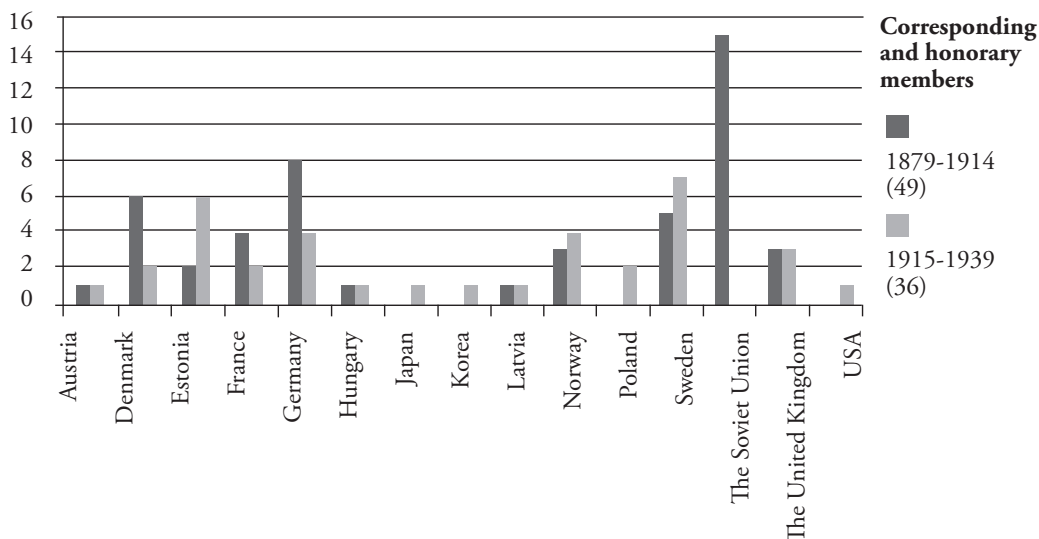


Figure 5.18. Foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Antiquarian Society 1879-1939.<sup>1344</sup>

honoured at the general meetings of the society, and messages of congratulation were sent to mark particular anniversaries.<sup>1345</sup> Also, the share of Germans diminished. Four German members were nominated in the 1920s and early 1930s, but from 1934, the interest of the FAS faded. While these two most important countries were losing their position, the share of Estonia rose. Furthermore, scholars from Japan, Korea, Poland and the USA entered the network. The representatives of new independent countries considered their nomination a sign of appreciation for their nation, as the letter of Latvian Francis Balodis indicates:

*Und zugleich darf ich wohl in dieser Wahl auch finnische Sympathien für Lettland, das lettische Volk und lettische Wissenschaft sehen.*<sup>1346</sup>

The political questions were not totally irrelevant to the Finns, and this became obvious in connection with the nomination of a Swedish member at the time of the Åland crisis. President Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo, wanted to register his disagreement with a decision he considered inappropriate in the current political situation. Other members of the board were reluctant to open the doors to politics and the Swedish archaeologist Ture Johnson Arne was nominated.<sup>1347</sup> When discussing the centenary

<sup>1344</sup> The information on correspondents is gathered of minutes of general meetings and minutes of the board.

<sup>1345</sup> Minutes of the FAS 6 March 1919 § 1; 2 October 1924 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 1 November 1928 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Ca 11; 1 October 1931 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1346</sup> 15 February 1932 Fr. Balodis to the FAS, attached in minutes of the board of the FAS 10 March 1932 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1347</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 May 1919 § 3; minutes of the FAS 6 May 1919 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

nominations, Appelgren-Kivalo kept protesting Swedish members, but he was left in the minority, again.<sup>1348</sup>

The motives that lay behind the choices were similar to those in the prewar period. People who had published remarkable works, donated books, gave presentations or assisted Finnish scholars, were nominated.<sup>1349</sup> The interest in Finland was often mentioned when suggesting correspondents, but it was not a necessary prerequisite if the nominee was illustrious, as was, for example, anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon.<sup>1350</sup> The important position of a person was only seldom the crucial motive, but this was the case when the Swedish Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf was suggested as an honorary member in connection with his visit to Finland. The prince was an active amateur archaeologist, who had participated in many excavations in the Mediterranean area, and learned to handle and catalogue the findings, under the guidance of Swedish archaeologists.<sup>1351</sup>

### *The FDS*

For the FDS, the corresponding and honorary members were a more important link to the international scientific community than the exchange of publications. Sometimes it nominated foreign members when it wanted to create a contact with some society or an institution – without even considering an exchange of publications as a possible link between learned bodies.<sup>1352</sup> However, although some members were selected as representatives of their institutions, most of the choices were based on individual features of dentists and scientists. When introducing the candidates, their professional and scientific merits were emphasised, but often they were praised for their kind character and the sympathy they had shown towards Finland.<sup>1353</sup>

The FDS nominated foreign members almost annually, in total, 51 new members, which is 17 more than the prewar period. The increase concentrated in the Nordic countries, as is clearly evident in Figure 5.19.

The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the society coincided with war, when it was practically impossible to nominate foreigners other than Scandinavians.<sup>1354</sup> The share of Scandinavians remained high in the course of the whole interwar period. Among them, there were many practising dentists.<sup>1355</sup> The first German was selected as an honorary

<sup>1348</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 24 October 1920 § 2. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

<sup>1349</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 4 March 1920 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10; 26 April 1928 § 9; 28 January 1932 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1350</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 6 May 1935 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1351</sup> Minutes of the board of the FAS 18 November 1932 § 1. Archive of the FAS. Cd 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1352</sup> Minutes of the FDS 26 November 1934 § 4, attachment; 5 December 1936 § 8, attachment. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1353</sup> See e.g. minutes of the FDS 26 March 1917 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 21 (1918), pp. 63–64; 2 December 1922 § 13. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 27 (1923), pp. 127–129; 30 November 1932 § 8, attachment. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC; annual report of the FDS 1934. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 50 (1935), p. 120; 4 December 1937 § 8, attachment. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1354</sup> Minutes of the FDS 26 March 1917 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 21 (1918), pp. 63–64.

<sup>1355</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FDS 2 December 1922 § 13. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 27 (1923), pp. 127–129; 5 December 1931 § 8. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 46 (1932), p. 163.

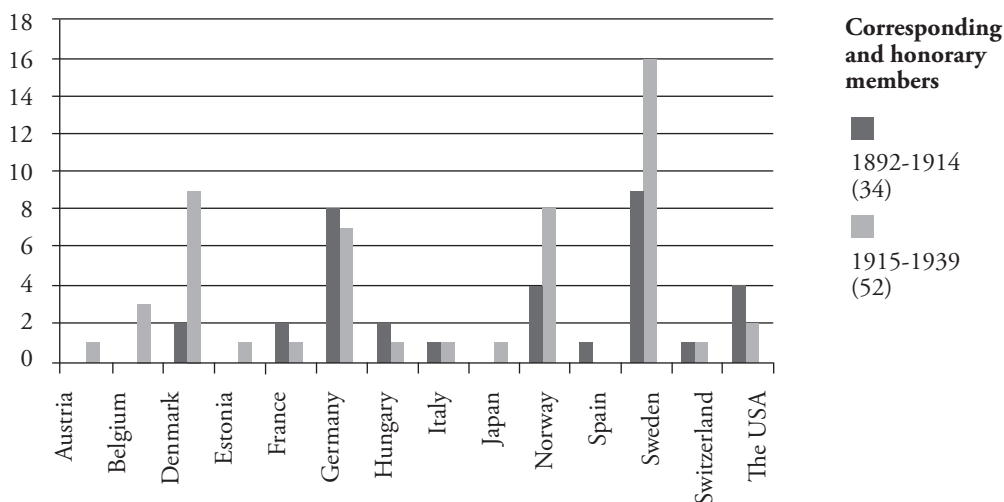


Figure 5.19. Foreign correspondents and honorary members of the Finnish Dental Society 1892-1939.<sup>1356</sup>

member soon after the Civil War.<sup>1357</sup> The German members were often professors with a distinguished academic career. Many of them had taught Finnish dentists in their study tours or supervised their trainee period.<sup>1358</sup> The FDS created new contacts with Germans in the Nazi-era, too. Political questions were not discussed, but the close contacts of Finland and Germany were emphasised in the most glowing terms:

*Diese hohe Auszeichnung nehme ich mit ganz besonderer Freude entgegen. Sie lässt mich die engen freundschaftlich-kulturellen Beziehungen empfinden, welche seit vielen Generationen, nicht zuletzt seit dem stolzen Befreiungskampfe des finnischen Volkes, zwischen dem schönen Lande der Tausend Seen und meinem Vaterlande bestehen.*<sup>1359</sup>

The close ties with Germany did not disrupt contacts with French or Belgian odontologists. The share of Americans, instead, diminished during the interwar period, but the contacts were quite close. Despite the enormous distance, both new American correspondents visited Finland.<sup>1360</sup> The corresponding network extended eastwards, too, skipping, however, the politically suspect Soviet Union, and ending in Japan. The Japanese correspondent Toll Shmamine had, in the prewar period, worked in Berlin, in the clinic of the honorary member of the FDS, Professor Dieck. Together with Dieck, he had visited Finland, in 1913.<sup>1361</sup> The only Italian correspondent, Silvio

<sup>1356</sup> The information on correspondents is gathered of minutes and annual reports.

<sup>1357</sup> Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1918 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), pp. 48-49.

<sup>1358</sup> Minutes of the FDS 7 December 1918 § 9. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 23 (1919), pp. 48-49; 3 December 1921 § 10. In FÖRHANDLINGAR pp. 87-88; 26 November 1934 § 4, attachments. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1359</sup> 5 May 1937 Oskar Weski to FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 31. See also 11 May 1937 Prof Axhausen to the FDS. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 28. NARC.

<sup>1360</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1921. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 27 (1922), pp. 72-75; minutes of the FDS 6 June 1924 § 1-2. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 30 (1924), pp. 79-80.

<sup>1361</sup> Attachment to the minutes 24 November 1924 § 7. The archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

Palazzi, was nominated in 1929. As an editor of the journal *Nuova rassegna di odontoiatria*, he promised to open this forum for the papers of the Finnish dentists.<sup>1362</sup> The kindred peoples' ideology was further nurtured in 1936, when the Finnish-minded members, Juuso Kivimäki and Martti Pohto, suggested that the society should create more contacts with other Finno-Ugrian countries, as it had already been done in the field of humanities. They considered that nominating the president of the Hungarian Dental Society, Gustav Morelli, would be a good start.<sup>1363</sup> The impact of the kindred peoples' ideology was not relevant, however, for Morelli had only one Finno-Ugrian follower, Valter Hiie from Estonia.<sup>1364</sup>

The visits and presentations of the corresponding members became more usual in the interwar period, in all societies.<sup>1365</sup> They were important because they presented fresh research results and promoted co-operation between countries.<sup>1366</sup> For foreign visitors, they were valuable opportunities to present their new ideas, methods or techniques. If travelling was not possible, the correspondents could send their presentations to be read by Finnish members.<sup>1367</sup> At the end of the 1920s, some odontologists sent educational films which were presented at the meetings.<sup>1368</sup> However, correspondents were not the only visitors to these societies; even other researchers came to the meetings.<sup>1369</sup> For instance, in the FAS, the head of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, Professor F. Sarre, held a presentation of old Persian art in 1924,<sup>1370</sup>

<sup>1362</sup> 20 November 1930 Silvio Palazzi to the FDS. The archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 27. NARC.

<sup>1363</sup> Minutes of the FDS 5 December 1936 § 8, attachment. The archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1364</sup> Minutes of the FDS 3 December 1938 § 8. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 64 (1939), 103.

<sup>1365</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 13 May 1924 § 1-2 (Einar Lönnberg, Stockholm); 22 October 1927 § 1 (B. Lyngé, Oslo); 15 April 1928 § 1 (K. R. Kupffer, Riga). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 1 February 1936 § 1 (Theodor Lippmaa, Tartu); 4 March 1939 § 7 (C. Regel, Kaunas). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL; annual report of the FLS 1924 (Julius Zolnai, Rudolf Eucken). In SUOMI V:4 (1928), III, pp. 21-22; 29 February 1928 § 2-3 (Béla Vikár, Hungary). In SUOMI V:8 (1929), III, p. 65; 5 March 1930 § 9-10 (Fr. Ohrt, Denmark). In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 65; minutes of the FAS 14 November 1937 § 1 (Johnny Roosval, Stockholm); 3 November 1938 § 4 (Harry Moora, Tartu). Archive of the FAS. Ca 1. NBA Archives; minutes of the FDS 6 June 1924 § 1-2 (Professor Prinz, Philadelphia). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 30 (1924), pp. 79-80; 18 September 1928 § 3 (professor Dieck, Berlin). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 38 (1928) p. 94; 21 September 1929 § 5 (Boyd S. Gardner, Rochester). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 40 (1929), p. 97; 16 April 1932 § 4-6, 8-10 (Professor Melchior, Copenhagen, professor Ottesen, Kristiania, doctor Norberg, Stockholm and doctor Gormsen, Copenhagen). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 46 (1932), p. 170.

<sup>1366</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1928. In MEMORANDA 4 (1928), pp. 253-276; minutes of the board of the SFFF 3 May 1929 § 2; 10 May 1930 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2. Book 3. FNL.

<sup>1367</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FDS 29 October 1923 § 2. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 29 (1924), p. 178.

<sup>1368</sup> Minutes of the FDS 3 December 1927 § 13; 27 February 1928 § 4. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 37 (1928), pp. 133, 135.

<sup>1369</sup> See e. g. minutes of the SFFF 1 October 1921 § 1; 30 April 1927 § 13 (Fritz Johansen on his expeditions to the arctic parts of America); 6 October 1928 § 1 (A. Willer on hydrobiology in eastern Prussia); 2 March 1929 § 1 (J. Moryka on the vegetation in Poland). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 10; 5 November 1932 § 2 (Adele Hammerman on palaeolithic excavations in Crimea and Siberia); 2 December 1933 § 1 (B. Heimbeck on the nature in northern Norway and on the fishing in Lofoten); 2 May 1936 § 1 (P. Thomson on the vegetation in Estonia in the Ice Age); 4 February 1939 § 1 (A. Kemner on the way of life of termites). Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 11. FNL.

<sup>1370</sup> Minutes of the FAS 7 April 1923 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 10. NBA Archives.

and Professor D. Zolotarev from Leningrad lectured on the anthropological research of Karelians, enlivening his presentation with a film on Karelian life.<sup>1371</sup> The FDS had foreign lecturers annually,<sup>1372</sup> introducing new technology, such as developments in X-ray photographing.<sup>1373</sup>

The role of corresponding members remained important during the whole interwar period. It differed in many aspects from the exchange of publications. At its best, the relation between a society and its correspondent meant close and personal cooperation, which promoted research in both countries and sustained the collective ideal of science and scholarship. Often, however, corresponding members were passive receivers of publications and distinctions, giving a Finnish society only the authority of their name and reputation. There are signs that in the course of the interwar period, this attitude was becoming more common. At its worst, the relationship led to quarrels, but this was exceptional. The changes in political atmosphere had more effect on the corresponding networks than on the impersonal exchange relations. This became visible especially in the relations with both Soviet and German scientists.

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<sup>1371</sup> Minutes of the FAS 27 January 1930 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Cc 1. NBA Archives.

<sup>1372</sup> See e. g. minutes of the FDS 2 May 1924 § 2 (R. Landsberg, Berlin). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 30 (1924), p. 72; 1 December 1928 § 14-15; 20 March 1929 § 3 (Prof. Moral, Rostock). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 39 (1929), pp. 167, 171; 31 March 1930 § 5 (Herr Bischoff, Berlin). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 41 (1930), p. 92; 30 September 1935 § 10 (P. Simonsen, Philadelphia). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 53 (1936), p. 80; 26 April 1937 § 2-3 (Lidforss-Strömngren, Copenhagen and A. Edelmann, Zürich). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 58 (1937), pp. 81-82; 25 February 1938 § 11 (Dr. H. O. Scheid, London). In FÖRHANDLINGAR 61 (1938), p. 127.

<sup>1373</sup> Minutes of the FDS 27 November 1924 § 5. In FÖRHANDLINGAR 31 (1925), p. 505.

## 6 AVAILABILITY AND USE OF THE SERIALS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE

### 6.1 EXCHANGE MATERIAL IN LIBRARIES

This chapter focuses on the use of the exchange material. First, it examines the various solutions in depositing material acquired by exchange in libraries and making them available to users. Second, it evaluates the relevance of the exchange material, which is done by analysing the citations in the publications of the SFFF and the FAS during the interwar period.

The Finnish learned societies had various models for their library activities. Beginning with the Royal Society, scientific societies had founded their own libraries which served as focal points for the communication of information. In Germany, the society libraries were usually open to members only, whereas in France, the provincial societies and academies also provided library services to local residents.<sup>1374</sup> Domestic models were offered by the numerous reading circles which circulated books and journals among their members and reading societies which collected their own libraries. This societal activity spread in Finnish towns in the 1790s, providing opportunities not only for reading but also for discussing the books and journals.<sup>1375</sup> Although these reading circles and societies did not aim at scholarly work, some of their practices were adopted by the learned societies in whose meetings the book acquisitions had an important role.

Most Finnish learned societies founded a library at an early phase of their activities. These collections grew mostly by donations and the exchange of publications. Although censorship aimed at restricting the import of foreign books to Finnish bookshops, the university had the right to acquire material it needed and this principle was, obviously, also applied with regard to the learned societies. At least, there are no mentions of the censorship in the minutes of the societies under study.<sup>1376</sup> The learned societies often had difficulties in finding premises for their book collections. For instance, the library of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters was at first housed in the university, later in the City Library; the library of the Medical Society in the clinics of the university and later in the library of the Students' Union. Gradually, the societies became tired of searching rooms for their constantly growing book collections and the idea of common premises for learned societies was presented in

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<sup>1374</sup> Wyatt 1997, pp. 191-194; Berninger 1997, pp. 7-8; McClellan 1985, p. 94; MacDonald 1996, p. 218.

<sup>1375</sup> Mäkinen 1997, pp. 117-123.

<sup>1376</sup> Silfverhuth 1977, pp. 77, 95; Hakapää 2008, pp. 186-204.

1891.<sup>1377</sup> The Federation of Scientific Societies was founded by the representatives of the most important societies and it made a plan for shared premises where the societies would hold their meetings, have their libraries and store their own publications. Each society would still have its own library, which it could independently accumulate, for none of the societies was willing to surrender authority concerning their libraries to any other institution. A building called Pöllölä (Owlery) was opened and the first librarian appointed, in 1899. The societies paid annual fees to the Federation but the activities were mostly funded by the state.<sup>1378</sup>

### 6.1.1 From a nomadic life to the Library of Scientific Societies

For the SFFF, the library was an essential part of its activities. It was founded in 1829 on a donation by President Sahlberg, who gave his own work *Dissertatio entomologica insecta fennica enumerans*.<sup>1379</sup> Purchases were made from time to time, including various Swedish handbooks which were useful in cataloguing the collections.<sup>1380</sup> The small library was located in the Botanical Museum of the University.<sup>1381</sup> Exchange material began to flow into the library in the 1850s, together with gifts from corresponding members,<sup>1382</sup> which diminished the need for subscriptions. The library was the responsibility of the secretary,<sup>1383</sup> whose workload became overwhelming after the first enlargement of exchanges in 1877. Next year the society decided to establish a post of a librarian to be responsible for the reception and cataloguing of the library material and of announcing acquisitions at the meetings.<sup>1384</sup> The first librarian, Ernst Evald Bergroth, tried to organise the lending of the library material, suggesting new rules allowing all members to borrow material for three months. This rule was considered too liberal, for some members were not willing to lend the material outside the capital and thought that three months was too long a time. Some others, for their part, considered that Bergroth's rules promoted the use of the library material, which was the interest of the society. The question was deferred and later transferred to a library committee whose actions were never registered into the minutes.<sup>1385</sup> The library was open for one hour, twice a week.<sup>1386</sup>

<sup>1377</sup> Krogius 1935, pp. 125, 261; Soininen 1956, pp. 131-132.

<sup>1378</sup> Kerkkonen 1949, pp. 5-11, 21; Korppi-Tommola and Heikkilä 2009, p. 3.

<sup>1379</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 27 November 1829 § 14. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 2. FNL.

<sup>1380</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 19 May 1831 § 7; 27 May 1836 § 11; 2 February 1838 § 7. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 1; 25 April 1834 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 2; 15 May 1840 § 9; 11 October 1844 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL.

<sup>1381</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 9 November 1838 § 12. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 1. FNL. Until 1903, the botanical museum was in the main building of the university. See Elfving 1921, p. 34.

<sup>1382</sup> Annual report of the SFFF 1850; minutes of the SFFF 25 October 1850 § 4; 22 October 1852 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3; 24 October 1862 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 4. FNL.

<sup>1383</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 28 November 1851 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 3. FNL.

<sup>1384</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 March 1878 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5; 1 December 1888 § 3. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL; Elfving 1921, pp. 198-199.

<sup>1385</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 5 February 1881 § 4; 5 March 1881 § 3; 13 May 1881 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 5. FNL; Elfving 1921, p. 199.

<sup>1386</sup> Minutes of the SFFF 2 April 1887 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

As the number of exchange partners and accordingly acquisitions increased, the rooms in the Botanical Museum of the University became inadequate. In 1883, when Bergroth requested the society to buy a new bookcase, Fredrik Elfving suggested depositing the library of the society in the University library where it would be more easily available to users and the society would be absolved of the duties of cataloguing, binding and lending the material. The majority of the members, however, disagreed with this idea, emphasising the importance of the library in the museum work and as the property of the society.<sup>1387</sup> Nevertheless, in six years, the library was again full and this time there was not enough room for new bookcases. Some of the new shelves ended in the attic of the university and irrelevant material was deposited in other libraries<sup>1388</sup> but the enlargements of exchanges in 1877 and 1892 multiplied the volume of acquisitions and further chaos ensued in the 1890s.<sup>1389</sup> Despite the overflow, the SFFF was not too enthusiastic about the idea of depositing its collections in the Library of the Scientific Societies when the first plan was presented in 1891,<sup>1390</sup> but gradually it accepted the idea of a common library and joined the Library of the Scientific Societies.<sup>1391</sup> Being a part of a bigger library rationalised the acquisitions to some extent<sup>1392</sup> but many overlaps in the exchange relations of the learned societies persisted. The room in the premises of the Library of the Scientific Societies quite soon became overcrowded and in 1931 the whole library was transferred to the House of the Estates.<sup>1393</sup>

Even for the dentists, the founding of their own library was one of the first things to do. The task of a librarian was mentioned in the first proposed rule of the FDS.<sup>1394</sup> At the beginning, the library acquisitions were based solely on the donations of the members.<sup>1395</sup> The idea of journal circulation was introduced in the FDS, in 1896, despite the less encouraging experience of the Medical Society of Finland, where this activity had proved too laborious. The FDS decided to subscribe to the journal *Verhandlungen der Odontologischen Gesellschaft von Berlin* and the following year, two new titles *Items of Interest* and *Österreichisch-Ungarische Vierteljahrsschrift für Zahnheilkunde*.<sup>1396</sup> Circulating the journals was probably too troublesome in the FDS, too.

1387 Minutes of the SFFF 6 October 1883 § 3; 13 May 1884 § 9. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6. FNL.

1388 Minutes of the SFFF 5 October 1889 § 5; 2 November 1889 § 5. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 6; 6 February 1892 § 18. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7. FNL.

1389 Report of the library of the SFFF 1894. In MEDDELANDEN 20 (1894), p. 81.

1390 Minutes of the SFFF 24 January 1891 § 1. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1 book 7. FNL; annual report of the SFFF 1891. In MEDDELANDEN 18 (1892), pp. 249-259.

1391 Minutes of the SFFF 7 October 1899 § 6. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:1. Book 7; Kerkkonen 1949, p. 25.

1392 Minutes of the board of the SFFF 2 April 1914 § 2. Archive of the SFFF. SLSA1162:2/20. Book 2. FNL.

1393 Annual report of the SFFF. In MEMORANDA 8 (1932/33), p. 326.

1394 Minutes of the FDS 25 May 1892 § 2-3. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

1395 Sivén 1943, p. 47.

1396 Minutes of the FDS 30 March 1896 § 3; 30 November 1896 § 5. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC; Krogius 1935, pp. 57-59, 123-126.



At least, in 1904, it decided that the new volumes should be brought to meetings so that the members had an opportunity to browse them there.<sup>1397</sup>

The bookcase of the society was initially located in its librarian's home. As in many other societies, the rapid growth of the collections surprised the librarian and in 1904, he suggested that the library would be transferred elsewhere. The recently founded Library of the Scientific Societies seemed to be a natural choice.<sup>1398</sup> Owlery had, however, already become overcrowded, for the accumulation of the library material had not been properly considered when planning the rooms. Unlike the SFFF, the FDS was not among the original members of the Federation of the Finnish Learned Societies and therefore it could not plead its own case.<sup>1399</sup> The problem was solved in 1907 with the help of its old benefactor, the firm Dentaldepot, which rented the FDS a room on its own premises. After two years, however, all the new bookcases in this room were full to overflowing, and the society approached the Library of the Scientific Societies anew, this time successfully. The library of the FDS was transferred to the attic of the House of the Scientific Societies, in 1911. It was one of the smallest collections, there – in all 28 meters of shelving.<sup>1400</sup> Obviously, the whole library was not transferred, for in the 1920s the society still lent material to customers. The keeping of loan statistics of the FDS in the Library of the Scientific Societies only began in 1931.<sup>1401</sup> Furthermore, the FDS developed some special activities. On the initiative of Per Gadd, it joined an interlibrary loan system developed by the *Fédération Dentaine Internationale*, which opened the libraries and archives of all member institutions to the other members of the *Fédération Dentaine Internationale*.<sup>1402</sup>

In the Library of the Scientific Societies, the lending office was open for one hour a day. In 1937, the library began to provide interlibrary loans. Regular and professional library staff made possible the increasing use of the libraries, which in the case of the SFFF meant 117-658 loans per year and for the FDS 31-84 loans per year.<sup>1403</sup> Despite the facilities the Library of Scientific Societies provided for the societies, the collections of two other societies did not end there.

### 6.1.2 The library of the FLS

At one of its first meetings in April 1831 the FLS appointed a librarian. The acquisitions policy was defined to cover all Finnish works, even the old and rare ones.<sup>1404</sup>

<sup>1397</sup> Minutes of the FDS 25 January 1904 § 9. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>1398</sup> Sivén 1943, pp. 48, 108; minutes of the FDS 28 November 1904 § 4. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>1399</sup> Kerkkonen 1949, pp. 26-27.

<sup>1400</sup> Sivén 1943, p. 108; Kerkkonen 1949, p. 28; minutes of the FDS 22 February 1909 § 6; 29 November 1909 § 3; 27 November 1911 § 6, attachment P. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 2. NARC.

<sup>1401</sup> Annual report of the FDS 1927. In *FÖRHANDLINGAR* 37 (1928), p. 148; Kerkkonen 1949, p. 39.

<sup>1402</sup> Minutes of the FDS 4 February 1928 § 5. In *FÖRHANDLINGAR* 37 (1928), 134; Per Gadd's memorandum. Archive of the FDS. 630:145. Kotelo (Folder) 10. NARC.

<sup>1403</sup> Kerkkonen 1949, pp. 25-30, 39; Hyvämäki 1987, pp. 28-31.

<sup>1404</sup> Minutes of the FLS 3 April 1833 § 5. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA.

A similar policy had been adopted in the University library as well, but the overlap was not considered a problem. Probably the fire of Turku, which had recently almost totally destroyed the collections of the University Library, encouraged maintaining similar collections in several libraries. During the first year, the collections were accumulated by donations only but the following year the librarian bought some books in an auction and, in 1834, the society decided to subscribe to all Finnish journals and newspapers, whose number was still limited.<sup>1405</sup> The acquisition policy was redefined in the new rules of 1840, which stated that the library would collect not only Finnish books but also works on history, poetry, ancient religions, geography, statistics and the language of Finland, whether they were written in Finnish or in foreign languages. The members of the society had the right to use the library.<sup>1406</sup>

From the 1830s until the 1860s, the bookcases of the society spent a wandering life in various locations – in the university, in the library of the students' reading association and in the vestibule of the University Library.<sup>1407</sup> The lack of space was a constant problem, although some material was given to the collections of the University. In 1868, the accountants responsible for the inventory of the library suggested that irrelevant books would be sold or donated to the University Library, the society retaining only manuscripts and some core literature. The proposal was accepted but, after a year, the selection process was interrupted and the society decided to retain its library and rent premises for it.<sup>1408</sup> In the 1880s, the number of acquisitions approximately doubled, due to the endowment of Elias Lönnrot's library and the increased volume of material from exchange partners and the corresponding members.<sup>1409</sup> Furthermore, the FLS added to its acquisitions programme literature on *Kalevala* and foreign research on Finnish folklore.<sup>1410</sup> The purchases were restricted to this *Kalevala* literature and to subscriptions to domestic newspapers.<sup>1411</sup>

At the end of the 1880s the society began to plan its own building, hoping to solve the problems of constantly accumulating library and archive material. The building was ready in 1890, making it possible to reorganise and modernise the library. The Fennica collection was considered its most valuable part – the one to be protected and to be presented to domestic and foreign audiences.<sup>1412</sup> Collecting Finnish newspapers,

<sup>1405</sup> Minutes of the FLS 4 April 1832 § 3; 16 March 1833 § 3; 8 May 1833 § 5; 9 October 1833 § 7; 11 November 1835 § 7. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 1. SKS, KIA; SKS Kirjaston kartuntakirja I. SKS, Kirjasto; Tommila 1988, p. 240.

<sup>1406</sup> Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Asetukset 1840. 1844, pp. 2-3, 13-14.

<sup>1407</sup> Sulkunen 2004, pp. 126-127.

<sup>1408</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 May 1868 § 10; 13 January 1869 § 8; 3 February 1869 § 7-8. In SUOMI II:9 (1871), pp. 400-402, 432, 439; 2 February 1870 § 7. In SUOMI II:10 (1872), p. 235; Sulkunen 2004, pp. 126-127.

<sup>1409</sup> Minutes of the FLS 12 January 1887 § 2. In SUOMI II:20 (1887), p. 396.

<sup>1410</sup> Minutes of the FLS 6 February 1889 § 12; 16 March 1889, librarian's report. In SUOMI III:2 (1889) pp. 411, 444-445; 21 September 1892 § 8. In SUOMI III:7 (1893), p. 40.

<sup>1411</sup> Minutes of the FLS 16 March 1893, librarian's report. In SUOMI III:7 (1893), pp. 117-120; 4 March 1896 § 8. In SUOMI III:13 (1897), p. 102; 3 May 1899 § 12. In SUOMI III:19 (1901), pp. 20-21; 5 April 1911 § 10. In SUOMI IV:12 (1911/1913), pp. 9-10; 6 February 1913 § 15. In SUOMI IV:13 (1913/1915), p. 63.

<sup>1412</sup> This attitude became obvious in planning the printed catalogue and the rescue plan of the library. See minutes of the FLS 3 June 1885 § 7. In SUOMI II:19 (1886), p. 215; 8 April 1891 § 3. In SUOMI III:6 (1893), p. 4.

however, was questioned in wartime, for the practice of maintaining two Fennica collections very close to each other seemed too risky then. Besides, the newspapers were rapidly filling all possible space in the library. Maintaining this collection began to seem pointless after the right to free copies had been granted to two new libraries, the scientific library in Jyväskylä in Central Finland and the University library in Turku.<sup>1413</sup> In 1920, the society decided to cancel its subscriptions to Finnish newspapers but to continue to acquire the gift copies.<sup>1414</sup> In 1925, the newspaper acquisitions were limited to the chief organs of the Finnish political parties<sup>1415</sup> and finally, the society was willing to relinquish even the beloved old newspapers which were deposited in the Turku University library in 1930.<sup>1416</sup>

A new acquisitions policy was presented as a kind of testament of the long-serving librarian, Eemil Aukusti Tunkelo, on his retirement in 1936. He proposed that the purchases be focused on Finnish literature research, folklore and ethnology and on Finnish and Finno-Ugrian linguistics. History and geography were subordinate to these four main categories. Besides, the collection of the old Fennica literature was still to be increased. Furthermore, Tunkelo proposed widening the exchange relations, especially with foreign institutions.<sup>1417</sup> The library committee was founded the same year. Among many other things, evaluating exchange relations was included in its responsibility but not much was done before the outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>1418</sup>

The rules for the librarian of 1848 stipulated that the library was to be kept open one hour every week.<sup>1419</sup> In the new building, the society could develop its customer service. The new library rules, of 1892, stated that the members were entitled to use the library while others had to apply for permission from the president or the librarian of the society.<sup>1420</sup> The opening hours were extended to one hour per day and later to three hours per day.<sup>1421</sup> The loan statistics were occasionally compiled. In the 1880s and 1890s the average number of loans per year was some 60 and in the early twentieth century some 230.<sup>1422</sup> The FLS, however, wanted to limit its clientele and in the 1930s still required that customers who were not members or otherwise known to the librarian present credentials written by a professor or some other well-known person.<sup>1423</sup> In exceptional cases the material was lent abroad, at least to Estonia, but under strict conditions, presuming that the local university would take the responsibility for the

1413 Minutes of the FLS 4 December 1918 § 6. In SUOMI IV:20 (1927), V, pp. 38-43. On the Jyväskylä scientific library, see Jokipii 1997, pp. 13-19.

1414 Annual report of the FLS 1921. In SUOMI V:1 (1927), II, p. 19.

1415 Minutes of the FLS 3 December 1924 § 9. In SUOMI V:5 (1928), II, p. 62.

1416 Annual report of the FLS 1931. In SUOMI V:11 (1931), IV, p. 13.

1417 Minutes of the FLS 4 March 1936 § 11. In SUOMI V:18 (1936), IV, pp. 88-91.

1418 Minutes of the board of the FLS 26 March 1936 § 1. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:7. SKS, KIA.

1419 Minutes of the FLS 7 June 1848 § 7. Historical archive of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder) 2. SKS, KIA.

1420 Minutes of the FLS 4 November 1891 § 8. Suomi III:6 (1893), 44; SKS.n kirjaston Lainaus-äännöt. The archive of the Library of the FLS. Kotelo (Folder 1). SKS, KIA.

1421 Minutes of the FLS 4 March 1903 § 3; 16 March 1903 § 9. In SUOMI IV:1 (1903), pp. 121-122; 2 November 1932 § 20. In SUOMI V:15 (1933), V, pp. 74-75.

1422 Lilja 2007, pp. 101-103.

1423 Minutes of the FLS 2 November 1932 § 20. In SUOMI V:15 (1933), V, pp. 74-75.

loan which would be consigned via the consulate.<sup>1424</sup> In 1927, the society considered it necessary to hire a part-time assistant, for the workload of the librarian had become excessive.<sup>1425</sup> The competence requirements were first announced in 1936, namely that the librarian had to have a master's degree and at minimum, one year's experience of research library or archive work.<sup>1426</sup>

The library work of the FLS began with an ambitious plan for building an extensive collection of Fennica literature – without suitable premises or paid staff! The society tried to follow this plan for decades. New forms of activity such as the exchange of publications and new needs, such as for folklore research emerged, widening the already remarkable acquisition programme. The society aimed at solving the problems by making rules for librarian and building premises for its collections. All solutions were temporary, however, until it relinquished the idea of its own Fennica collection. In the 1930s, library work became more professional. Experience, gained through the previous problems and the opportunity to use government subsidies, which in other societies were mostly invested in publishing, made it possible to develop library work to a comparatively high level. At the end of the interwar period, the FLS owned a library with its premises, qualified personnel, library committee and acquisition policy.

### 6.1.3 The library of the National Museum of Finland

The seeds for the library were already sown in the FAS in the first year of activity when its members donated 14 books.<sup>1427</sup> The secretary of the society, Johan Reinhold Aspelin, had a clear vision for a research library due to his visits to museum libraries in Sweden and Denmark. His ideas, however, did not arouse much discussion in the society in its early years. In January 1875 – a month after the first exchange proposals had been sent abroad – Aspelin suggested that all the archaeological literature of the society be deposited in the museum of the University. Other books might be donated to the libraries where they were the most useful. He obviously wanted to guarantee that the valuable exchange material would be available in the museum library. The society accepted this principle which was to determine future of the library of the society.<sup>1428</sup>

From 1884 on, another library was located in the Historical and Ethnographical Museum of the University – the bookcase of the Archaeological Commission. These collections were combined in 1893, when the State Historical Museum was founded. Both of these were available to the museum staff. The State Historical Museum was only an intermediate phase, on the way to the founding of a National Museum, whose building was completed in 1917. Thereafter the library of the FAS was a part

<sup>1424</sup> Minutes of the board of the FLS 11 December 1919 § 9. Historical archive of the FLS. Mf 1962:4. SKS, KIA.

<sup>1425</sup> Minutes of the FLS 2 June 1927 § 14. In *SUOMI V:8* (1929), III, pp. 35-36.

<sup>1426</sup> Minutes of the FLS 5 February 1936 § 13. In *SUOMI V:18* (1936), IV, pp. 79-84.

<sup>1427</sup> Minutes of the FAS 20 February 1871 § 5; 8 May 1871; annual report. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1*. 1909, pp. 50, 88.

<sup>1428</sup> Minutes of the FAS 4 January 1875 § 4. In *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1*. 1909, pp. 300-301. On Aspelin's visits to the Swedish and Danish museum libraries, see Chapter 4.4.1.

of the library of the National Museum of Finland.<sup>1429</sup> The library collections of the FAS accumulated gradually, mostly through exchanges and donations. Only seldom did it make purchases.<sup>1430</sup> When it moved to the National Museum, the collections of the FAS included some eight thousand volumes, whereas the book collection of the State Historical Museum was only half this number. In the interwar period, annual acquisitions of both these collections amounted to some 350 volumes.<sup>1431</sup>

The library work depended on part-time staff. In the early years the situation was at its worst, for the care of the library was one of the many tasks of the secretary.<sup>1432</sup> In the new rules of 1895, the task of archivist was established and included the distribution of publications, library work and cataloguing – in practice this also meant selling publications and bookkeeping of the stock.<sup>1433</sup> In the 1919 rules a special post of a librarian was established to take care of the library and to manage the exchanges while the former archivist attended to selling publications and bookkeeping of the publication stock.<sup>1434</sup>

In the description of the library on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary jubilee of the society, it was mentioned that it was available to the museum officials as well as the general public.<sup>1435</sup> No statistics on lending have been preserved, but a letter indicates that the library material was lent and even sent to other towns.<sup>1436</sup> The first guide to Finnish research libraries, which was published in 1950, states that the collections of the library of the National Museum were open to the general public but loans were given only to the officials of the museum and their acquaintances.<sup>1437</sup> Probably a similar restriction was already in force in the interwar period but, in practice, the circles of archaeologists, ethnologists and art historians were so small that the rule did not exclude many interested customers.

The library policy of the FAS was not as distinct as in the FLS. Aspelin did have a clear vision of a proper museum library, but it took over twenty years for the rules of the society to state anything on the library. Neither did the society define an acquisitions policy or a code for users. Nevertheless, the library was widely appreciated in the society. It was mentioned in speeches as well as in the petitions for government subsidies. Its importance was particularly conspicuous in the constant will to build new exchange relations.

1429 Lilja 1998, pp. 83-87.

1430 In 1893 it bought an illustrated work by Fr. Martini, who had collaborated with the society, and sometimes it paid conference fees to obtain their proceedings. Minutes of the FAS 9 May 1893 § 5. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2; 1 October 1903 § 8. Archive of the FAS. Ca 6; 7 March 1907 § 4. Archive of the FAS. Ca 7; minutes of the board of the FAS 3 May 1899 § 6. Archive of the FAS. Ca 3. NBA Archives.

1431 Lilja 1998, pp. 94-95.

1432 Minutes of the FAS 20 November 1888 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 2. NBA Archives.

1433 Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Säännöt. Vahvistetut Heinäkuun 18. p. 1895.

1434 Annual report of FAS 7 May 1925 – 7 May 1926. In SM 33 (1926), p. 84.

1435 Minutes of the FAS, jubilee meeting 1 October 1900 § 3. Archive of the FAS. Ca 4. NBA Archives.

1436 5 January 1912 Victor Englund to the FAS. Archive of the FAS. Ea 3. NBA Archives.

1437 Lilja 1998, p. 92.

All the societies under study had a more or less sentimental attitude to their libraries. Although some of their members were willing to give away the book collections, the majority insisted that libraries remain in the care of the societies – despite all the trouble they caused. Disagreements on lending policy also reflected the sentimental attitude. Some members aimed at wide availability of library material while some guarded the book collection possessively. The importance of their own libraries was also apparent in the Federation of the Scientific Societies, where representatives were unanimous that the societies should be owners and decision-makers of their libraries even in the new shared premises – despite the constant problems of overlapping acquisitions which exacerbated the lack of space.

## 6.2 CITATIONS TO EXCHANGE MATERIAL IN THE JOURNALS OF THE SFFF AND THE FAS

All the societies under study offered their libraries to users, at least to their own members. The availability of the material, however, did not guarantee that it would be used. In this chapter, the relevance of the exchange material for the Finnish societies is investigated by analysing the citations in the journals published by the SFFF and the FAS.

### 6.2.1 The Acta series of the SFFF

In the papers published in the Acta series of the SFFF (*Acta*, ABF, AZF), the exchange periodicals constituted almost a quarter of all cited material and some third of cited foreign literature. The division of cited material is analysed in Figure 6.1.

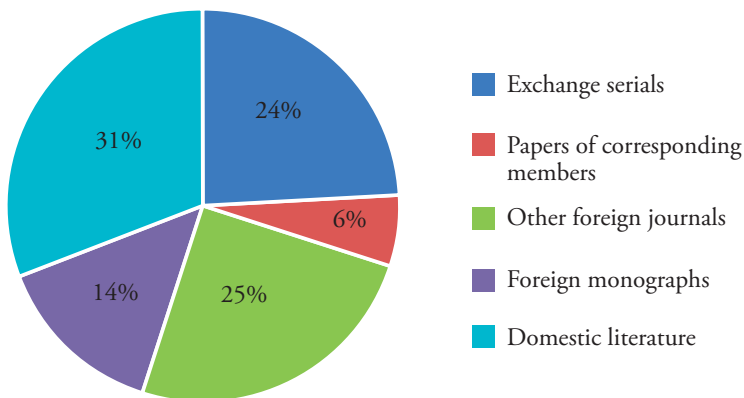


Figure 6.1. Distribution of the citations in the Acta Societatis pro Fauna et Flora Fennica in 1919-1939 (n=6038).

The largest category in the foreign citations was that of other foreign journals, the share of which was only one percent more than the share of the exchange publications. The majority of the journals in this group was commercially published, but among

them there were some serials which were received in exchange in other libraries such as the Swedish anthropological journal *Ymer*, which was acquired by the FAS. In science, journals had become the main forum for reporting research results as early as in the nineteenth century although some classical studies, such as Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, which required a long development of ideas, were still published as monographs.<sup>1438</sup> In the field of botany and zoology, various handbooks and catalogues were necessary, and therefore the role of foreign monographs (14%) was not insignificant. The share of the publications written by the corresponding members of the societies was minor. It should be noted, however, that if the text of a correspondent was published in an exchange journal, it was categorised as an exchange journal, here because it was the most probable way of acquiring this paper. The domestic material included both monographs and journals which were sometimes acquired by exchange with domestic partners, sometimes as gifts and sometimes purchased. The SFFF's own periodicals belonged to this category.

Figure 6.1 indicates that exchange was an important but not sufficient means of acquiring foreign publications. The share of exchange journals fluctuated remarkably in the various volumes. In theses, exchange publications were often abundantly used, probably because they were readily available and theses usually had a large number of citations in general. Botanical geography and hydrobiology were fields which were well represented in the exchange serials. Instead, the share of exchange publications was low in cell biology and ecology – fields which were effectively dominated by commercial publishers.

The next question is how the 1,448 citations to material received in exchange were divided among 1,474 exchange serials. This is examined in Table 6.1.

*Table 6.1. Distribution of the citations in the exchange serials of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica in 1919-1939.*

<b>Number of citations/ serial</b>	<b>Number of serials received in exchange</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
121-130	1	0,07 %
101-120	0	0 %
91-100	1	0,07 %
51-89	0	0 %
41-50	2	0,10 %
31-40	4	0,30 %
21-30	9	0,60 %
11-20	16	1 %
6-10	26	2 %
1-5	176	12 %
0	1239	84 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>1474</b>	<b>100,00 %</b>

<sup>1438</sup> Shaw 1980, p. 149; Meadows 1998, p. 69.

The citations were heavily concentrated on only a few journals. Four serials were quoted more than forty times while 84% of the exchange serials were totally left without citations. In this light, the criticism stating that exchange brings less relevant literature to libraries seems to be justified. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the list of exchange serials included material which was only occasionally cited but which could be useful in other ways, for example as comparative material to the activities and practices of the SFFF or the Botanical Museum of the University. Moreover, some titles in the list were quite old while some had been acquired only some years previously. Some 50 titles were received in 1938-1939 that is too late to be cited. The relation of cited, less-cited and non-cited material is steeper than the Bradford or Pareto laws would predict, for 80 per cent of the citations (i. e. 1,158 citations) fell on five per cent of titles.<sup>1439</sup>

Table 6.2 examines the most cited journals, including both exchange material and other journals.

A Finnish biologist, M. Rosengren, has described the information needs of biologists, stating that they are somewhere between those of humanists, for whom old studies are often the most relevant and chemists and physicists who read only the recent volumes of the top journals in their respective specialities. The information needed by a biologist may often be published in minor, provincial journals or in the so-called grey literature, as conference publications although specialised international journals are also used.<sup>1440</sup> Her description matches the Top Twenty list of the SFFF very well. In the list, two categories emerge. Two Swedish journals stand out against all others with their remarkably high number of citations. In the list, there are six Swedish periodicals, five of which received by exchange and furthermore two journals from the Baltic countries, likewise exchange publications. No wonder that the journals published in Nordic and Baltic countries were the most important for Finnish biologists, for a remarkable share of their publications focused on the Finnish fauna and flora and the geo-ecological borders of Finland.<sup>1441</sup> Comparative material was needed, especially from neighbouring countries. Russian material, instead, was not as widely cited, probably due to difficulties in understanding the language. Another category consists of German or Austrian commercially published journals which were represented by eight titles. *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, which held the third position was a typical case in this category. It had been launched by the Leipzigian Professor Victor Carus in 1878 but later adopted by the Deutsche Zoologische Gesellschaft. Despite this adoption, the journal was published by a local commercial publisher, Engelmann.<sup>1442</sup> Journals of this kind were widely used – and practically impossible to acquire via exchange. The only British journal on the list was also a commercial

<sup>1439</sup> Meadows 1998, pp. 217-219 states that Bradford law is akin to the 80:20 rule of Pareto, i. e. 80 per cent of usage is aimed at 20 per cent of library stock. See also the case study by Fjällbrandt 1984, p. 82.

<sup>1440</sup> Rosengren 1987, p. 91. See also Tammekann 1997, pp. 34-35. On the concept of grey literature, see Hovi and Liinamaa 1982.

<sup>1441</sup> The research on geo-ecological borders is presented in a manuscript of a forthcoming book by Anto Leikola *History of Zoology*.

<sup>1442</sup> Shaw 1980, pp. 163-164; Zeitschriften Datenbank, record *Zoologische Anzeiger*. <http://dispatch.opac.d-nb.de/DB=1.1/SET=2/TTL=5/SHW?FRST=5> (cited 6 June 2011)



publication. Somewhere in between these two categories were the exchange serials from some central publishers which were willing to exchange their journals – *Internationale Revue der gesamten Hydrobiologie und Hydrographie*, which catered for the needs of hydrobiology and the *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, which was widely used even in cell biology.

Table 6.2. Twenty most cited serials in the Acta Series of the *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* in 1919-1939.<sup>1443</sup> (The numbers indicate how often an individual serial was cited)

Serial	Number of citations	Acquired by exchange
Svensk botanisk tidskrift	121	x
Botaniska Notiser, Lund	96	x
Zoologischer Anzeiger	48	
Entomologisk tidskrift / Entomologiska föreningen i Stockholm	44	x
Korrespondenzblatt des Naturforschenden Vereins zu Riga	42	x
Arkiv för botanik / K. Svenska Vetenskaps Akademien	40	x
Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft	40	
Entomologist's monthly magazine	40	
Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Botanik	40	
Internationale Revue der gesamten Hydrobiologie und Hydrographie	39	x
Pflügers Archiv	38	
Kungl. Svenska vetenskapsakademiens handlingar	37	x
Protoplasma	35	
Biologisches Centralblatt	32	
Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich	31	x
Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Zoologie	31	
Meddelanden från Kungl. Lantbruksstyrelsen	30	
Botanisk tidsskrift / Danish Botanical Society	29	x
Sitzungsberichte der Naturforscher-Gesellschaft bei der Universität Jurjew (Tartu)	29	x
Archiv für Hydrobiologie	28	

<sup>1443</sup> The list and the numbers of citations differ in some respects of the top ten list published in Lilja 2010, p. 262 due to the different limitations of citing journals.

### 6.2.2 The Journal of the FAS

In the papers published in the *Journal* of the FAS, the exchange publications had a remarkable role as source material. They covered about a third of all citations and almost half of citations to foreign material. Unlike in the papers of the SFFF, other foreign journals were not widely used while the share of foreign monographs was bigger. Figure 6.2 supports the generally recognised fact that the humanities are more dependent on books than the natural sciences.<sup>1444</sup> The share of domestic literature is smaller than in the citations of the SFFF, probably partly due to the shorter research tradition of Finnish archaeology, ethnography and art history and partly the focus on East European prehistory.

In light of Figure 6.2, exchange seemed to be an excellent way to acquire research literature, for almost every third cited paper was acquired by exchange. Unlike in the SFFF, where some fields of study were more dependent on the commercial journals,

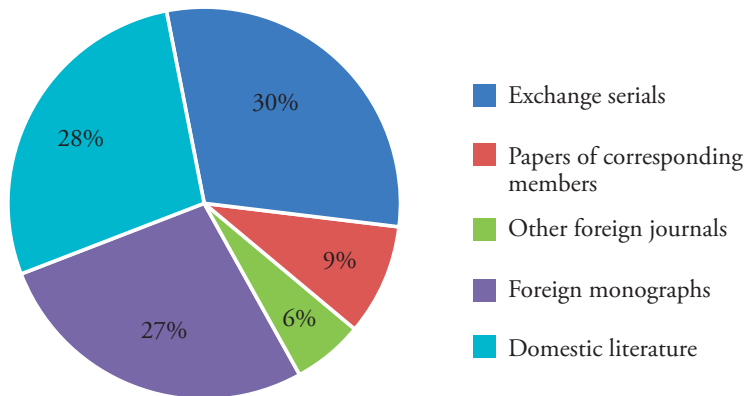


Figure 6.2. Distribution of the citations in the Journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1919-1939 (n=1764).

there were no remarkable fluctuations among the volumes of the *Journal* of the FAS. Another question is on which serials the citations concentrated and how great was the share of uncited material in exchange journals. This is examined in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 seems to be a classic case of the cumulative advantage with very few successful periodicals, absorbing tens of citations, a minority of moderately cited periodicals and a long tail – 572 periodicals (again, 84 per cent!) having no citations at all. The overall situation thus seems similar than in the SFFF. The exchange really produced abundantly less pertinent material, but similar mitigating factors should be considered. In the periodicals list of the FAS, there were some 30 titles which were received only from the year 1938. Furthermore, there was material which might be useful in other ways, like the annual reports of museums and societies, which offered an opportunity to benchmark what was going on in other countries.

<sup>1444</sup> Meadows 1998, pp. 68-69.

Table 6.3. Distribution of the citations in the exchange serials of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1919–1939.

Number of citations/ serial	Number of serials received in exchange	Percentage
51-60	1	0,1%
41-50	0	0%
31-40	2	0,3%
21-30	2	0,3%
11-20	9	1%
6-10	8	1%
1-5	89	13%
0	572	84%
Total	683	100%

The top twenty list of the FAS includes only 19 titles because there are three journals sharing the twentieth position i. e. having eight citations. The list presented in Table 6.4 reveals interesting features, some of which differ remarkably from the top journals of the SFFF.

In archaeology, ethnology and history of art, all frequently cited periodicals were exchange publications, except one, namely the German *Mannus Zeitschrift*. Another common feature on the list is, that almost all of these were old exchanges, already received before the First World War. Thus they were either followed actively or included some seminal papers which were cited over and over again. The most interesting feature on this list is the geographical distribution of the most cited journals. Only two of them came from scholarly centres – the German journals *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* and *Mannus*. All the others were published in similar societies or institutions in the Nordic countries, Russia or Estonia – areas which matched the research interests of the FAS. Russia was the most important country providing material for comparative research, whereas the Nordic countries offered both methodological expertise and material. The list indicates that the FAS managed to establish exchanges with most key publishers in its field of studies – something which had proved impossible for the SFFF.

The geographical focus is similar in all periodicals cited more than five times. No British, American, French or other Mediterranean countries were represented, neither periodicals from eastern Europe, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium or the Netherlands. The FAS built a wide exchange network but only some core areas were of remarkable value.

*Table 6.4. Most cited serials in the Journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1919–1939. (The numbers indicate how often an individual journal was cited)*

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Number of citations</b>	<b>Acquired by exchange</b>
Fornvännen	58	x
Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie	36	x
Materialy po arheologij Rossij	35	x
Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft = Õpetatud Eesti seltsi toimetused	23	x
Fataburen : Nordiska museets och Skansens årsbok	21	x
Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Leipzig	16	x
Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj Kommissii	15	x
Otčet" Imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj Kommissii	15	x
Aarsberetning / Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmaerker Bevaring	14	x
Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige	14	x
Kongl. Vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitetsakademiens månadsblad	14	x
Zapiski Otděleniâ russkoj i slavânskoj arheologii Imperatorskago Russkago arheologičeskago obšestva	13	x
Oldtiden: tidsskrift for norsk forhistorie	11	x
Skrifter af det Kongelige Norske Videnskabernes Selskab. II. Hist.-filos. Kl.	11	x
Bergens museums årbok	10	x
Kungl. Vitterhets-, historie och antikvitets akademien handlingar	10	x
Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Arheologičeskago obšestva	10	x
Mannus Zeitschrift	10	
Izvēstiâ Obšestva arheologii, istorii i ètnografii pri Imperatorskom" Kazanskom" universitete	9	x

### 6.2.3 Conclusions on the citation analysis

According to the analysis, the exchange of publications covered some quarter of the citations in Finnish botanical and zoological research. The importance of exchange was greater in the traditional branches of biology, while the modern fields of study, such as cell biology relied more on commercial journals, which it was impossible to acquire by exchange. Probably these journals were the same ones which rejected the overtures of the SFFF in its enlargement projects. Due to the increasing volume of commercial publishing in biology, the exchange became a somewhat conservative system not easily adaptable to paradigm shifts. Some new branches, like hydrobiology, however, were well represented among the exchange partners. The networks of the *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* promoted the internationalisation of science, but they did not supply all the foreign literature that was needed.

For archaeologists and ethnologists, the exchange provided some 30 % of their citations material. No similar division into the modern or conservative field of studies was discernible. The other dominant category was not other foreign journals but rather foreign monographs. The commercial publishers did not influence the success of exchange in the humanities but a lot of important material was published in book form.

The share of the cited texts written by corresponding members was less than ten percent in both societies. The comparison between the categories of journals and papers of corresponding members is slightly problematic, for the number of papers written by one scientist was much smaller than the number of papers published in one journal.

An interesting feature in both societies was their heavy dependence on foreign literature. Over two thirds of citations were focused on foreign material. Thus, these national disciplines were internationalising noticeably.

Clearly the great majority of the exchange publications was less pertinent while the citations cumulated strongly on a few journals. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that in the exchange journals, the success was inverse with regard to the Matthew effect in science as it is usually understood: the success accumulated, but not to the central scientific institutions – i. e., to those which were already successful. Rather the minor publishers from the northern edge of Europe received the majority of citations. Even the countries which had recently achieved their independence and which were not highly appreciated in the exchange markets could provide highly cited serials for these Finnish societies. As an acquisition method, the exchange of publications had the advantage of opening channels for receiving literature from less known scientific institutions. For a scientific publisher, it offered an opportunity to find interested readers abroad, even though this was not guaranteed and the risk that the volumes left on the shelves to gather dust, was quite high. The links between minor or peripheral institutions created by exchange were important because in the commercial world the publishers of this kind of literature had problems in distributing their publications, as witnessed by the selling activities of these four Finnish societies.

The citations in the journals of the Finnish societies reveal nothing about the success of these Finnish journals in the reference lists of foreign studies. Further research would be needed to confirm to what degree Finnish journals were cited and whether in some areas these journals were cited more than other areas. This, however, is not possible within the scope of this study

# 7 THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS OR THE MATTHEW WORLD?

## 7.1 DISCUSSION ON THE RESEARCH RESULTS

This study aimed at enhancing the picture of the era when the scholarly community transformed from the open and egalitarian Republic of Letters to an arena of a scientific competition. Many historians have discussed the decline of the Republic from the point of view of politics, nationalism and professionalisation of science. Sociologists and bibliometricians for their part have focused on the regularities and mechanisms of the scientific competition which have often been described by the term coined by R. Merton – the Matthew effect in science. As a concept of a sociological theory of accumulation of advantage, the Matthew effect is somewhat unhistorical, leaving open the questions on contradictions between the Matthew effect and the Republican heritage as well as potential counterforces which may have mitigated the impact of the Matthew effect in the course of history.

The exchange relations of learned societies served here as a research topic that made it possible to build a bridge between the concepts of historians, on the one side and sociologists, information scientists and bibliometricians on the other. The main question was:

*was the Matthew effect mitigated by non-commercial means of distributing academic publications, an idea and practice inherited from the Republic of Letters, in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century?*

The question was approached by analysing the exchange relations of four Finnish learned societies: the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica (SFFF); Finnish Literature Society (FLS); Finnish Antiquarian Society (FAS); and Finnish Dental Society (FDS). Their efforts in linking themselves to the international scholarly community were meant to shed light on the heritage of the Republic, on the one hand and on the emerging Matthew world on the other.

The main question was divided into five research questions. The answers to these questions are discussed in this chapter. The first question considers the prerequisite for the exchange of publications – the development of academic publishing.

*(1) To what extent did these societies really aim at international networking and distribution of their publications to foreign exchange partners, or did they rather work for a domestic audience?*

The findings indicated that the motives and aims concerning publishing activities were not similar in these four societies. The fundamental principle in the publishing activities of the FLS was to produce books and papers in Finnish. Its journal *Suomi*

was launched in 1841 as a review, including many kinds of papers, but in the 1850s it was modernised according to models found in German academic journals. It was developed to meet international scholarly standards, e.g. by adopting a peer review policy, but this was not done to convince potential foreign readers. Despite the fact that the cosmopolitan ideals of science were well known to the society, the FLS decided that only papers in Finnish were to be accepted for publication in *Suomi*. The decision meant confining the readership to the domestic audience, except for papers concerning Finnish linguistics whose target group obviously understood the Finnish language, even abroad. At the end of the period under study, the FLS started to show a slight interest in an international readership but the policy of publishing in Finnish remained a cornerstone even during the interwar period. Those who wanted to write for a wider audience had to find their forums elsewhere.

The other society which did not actively promote international publishing was the FDS. Its reasons were quite different, however. Its journal *Proceedings of the FDS* (*Suomen Hammaslääkäriseuran toimituksia*), launched in 1904, was mostly funded by the subscriptions of the members and therefore they were considered the most important target group. Besides, the extensive use of the Swedish language made the journal interesting for Scandinavian dentists. The editorial work of the *Proceedings* was quite inconsistent before the First World War and fixed procedures for reviewing the papers were not established. The guarantee for the quality of papers seemed to be in the medical qualifications of the writers. The papers were not expected to include novel results of scientific research because the descriptions of various treatments and techniques were interesting enough for the readers, who were mostly dental practitioners. During the interwar period, an active member of the society, Per Gadd, did his best to raise the standard of the *Proceedings* to meet those of the international scientific journals. The board of the society was more cautious in implementing his plans but as the academic odontological education and research progressed, more research papers were submitted and the publishing in foreign languages became common.

The two other societies under study, for their part, promoted international publishing almost from the beginning although they had to tread a fine line between domestic membership, which included many amateurs, and an international academic audience. The first journal of the SFFF, *Notiser ur Sällskapet pro Fauna et Flora Fennica Förhandlingar* (*Notices*), was meant as a forum for observations shedding light on the Finnish Fauna and Flora but the use of Latin and Swedish made the papers somewhat intelligible outside Finnish borders. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, zoology and botany were based mostly on observations rather than experimentation and comparative material from a wide area was welcomed in many libraries. In the course of the century, the volume of scientific journals increased and the competition in publishing became tougher. Natural history developed into various branches of biology. The decision of the SFFF to divide its journal into two new serials, informative and current *Meddelanden* (*Bulletin*) and scientifically high-standard *Acta* with large illustrated volumes aimed at meeting this challenge. The ambitions to meet the international standard of scientific journals were also apparent in the well-defined peer review process adopted in the 1880s and 1890s. The national pressure to use the Finnish language was subjected to international aims by the authors themselves, for they wanted to publish their papers in the most accessible way. In the interwar period,

the publishing activity of the SFFF increased remarkably. Two serials were divided into four new periodicals along with which the society prepared some handbooks. Dividing the old *Acta* into new botanical and zoological serials was intended to meet the increasing demand for more specialised journals.

The situation in the FAS was quite similar. Due to the nature of archaeological and ethnological research, comparative material was needed which encouraged the society to distribute its publications abroad. An international audience was mentioned already in the first opinions on the publishing activities but these ambitions had to be compromised in the face of the national aims and poor resources. The early volumes of the *Journal* of the FAS consisted mostly of amateur papers written in Finnish or in Swedish but the share of academic papers written in foreign languages began to increase at the turn of the century when academic education in archaeology and ethnology became established. Founding the new monthly magazines was an effort to separate the domestic and popular material from papers meant for an international academic audience. The editorial policy, however, was quite vacillating. The dreams of a proper international journal were not realised until in the interwar period when a new periodical *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (ESA) was launched by a private enterprise of Arne Michaël Tallgren and Uno Taavi Sirelius and supported by the FAS which could also use it in exchanges. The old *Journal* continued mostly with domestic authors who, however, published more and more papers in foreign languages. The favourable economic conditions, together with the increased experience in academic publishing, led to a more systematic publishing policy where different materials were published in different forums.

The efforts to reach an international audience were an important but not the only factor in raising the scientific/scholarly standard of the journals. The academic position of the respective disciplines also greatly influenced the practices of publishing. As long as research was based on observations, the review of papers was light and amateurs were welcomed as writers in the learned journals. When the professorial posts were established, the ambitions to develop the disciplines increased, which affected the journals – at least when the first generation of students became mature enough to write papers. Then the review practices were tightened even in the journals which were aimed mostly at a Finnish-speaking audience. The interest in international competition led adopting other new practices, such as promoting the papers in foreign languages and dividing the serials into more specialised journals. The internationalisation of journals often meant compromising the welcoming and collegial spirit which had been the *primus motor* when these societies were founded.

(2) *How was the idea of exchanging publications adopted and what were the main motives of the societies when they undertook initiatives for this activity?*

The societies had domestic models for the exchange of publications because this acquisition method was used in the University Library already in the eighteenth century. However, most of them started to establish their own exchange relationships only after having received exchange offers from foreign societies. Obviously, the letters from similar societies were more encouraging than the acquisition procedures of the big library. Only the SFFF made the first move in this area but even it had previously been given some journals of foreign societies and furthermore, it had participated via its members in various exchanges of seeds and specimens. The new exchange relation-



ships were initially announced with pride at the meetings. If criticism was voiced, it was not recorded in the minutes, not even in the FLS and the FDS, which otherwise remained quite passive in the field of exchange. New relationships were encouraging signs that the society aroused interest even in distant countries.

Different motives were emphasised when the societies justified their exchange activities in reports, statements and petitions for government subsidies. In the SFFF, the crucial reason for establishing exchanges was the interest to distribute its publications internationally. It was willing to consign its journals to such central institutions which did not even intend to send their own publications to Finland but which held an authoritative position in the scientific community. In the interwar period, the SFFF became thoroughly aware of the competitive character of the scientific community and it did not think too highly of its own standing in this arena. Exchange was considered a proper way to strengthen its position. In the FAS, instead, interest in enhancing the library acquisitions was a more important motive right from the beginning. The first offers were sent to publishers whose journals the secretary had found relevant when writing his thesis. During the interwar period the members seemed still to have a constant hunger for books and journals though the distribution motive was also mentioned every now and then. Furthermore, the society emphasised the goodwill promoted by the exchange, supposing that the links created by the consignments of books and journals would open the doors to European museums and libraries for Finnish students and researchers. The networking interest was also manifested in some exchange offers of the FLS.

The FLS and FDS, which were quite passive in the field of exchange, had different reasons for not using it as a means of distribution or book acquisitions. The focus of the FLS was on the Finnish language and folklore, national culture and national history. This emphasis was apparent in its library policy, where foreign literature was always considered subsidiary to the Fennica collection. The international distribution of its publications was better organised via corresponding members whose number by far exceeded the number of exchange partners. Corresponding and honorary members were carefully selected and usually they could understand or even speak Finnish, and were therefore able to disseminate information on the work and publications of the FLS in their home regions. The FDS also had a wide network of corresponding and honorary members. Furthermore, the close co-operation with Scandinavian dental societies created a sense of belonging to an international professional community. The information needs of dentists, for their part, were satisfied by subscribing to some central odontological journals which were probably sufficient for most of the members. Besides, foreign novelties and literature reviews were presented in the *Proceedings*.

Both of these societies, which were passive in exchange, aimed at selling their publications efficiently, the FLS widely to Finnish readers and on a lesser scale to foreign booksellers, the FDS mostly as membership subscriptions which in the 1930s were extended to Scandinavian dentists. Although they managed to cover a remarkable part of the publishing costs by selling their publications, the foreign sales remained quite modest and the number of copies sold abroad hardly ever exceeded the number of copies distributed as gifts to corresponding members. Because of regular government subsidies, the societies were not obliged to develop the sales of their publications. Especially in the SFFF and FAS, this activity remained marginal although some efforts

were made. International book markets were too demanding for those who could not hire capable personnel to attend to sales and marketing.

3) *How did the Finnish societies succeed in their efforts to distribute their publications and through this activity, to link themselves into the international networks?*

The quantitative answer to this question is given in Table 7.1, which combines the results of the tables presented in Chapters 4 and 5. The initiators of established exchanges are described first and rejected offers made by the Finnish societies in the last two columns. The exchange offers made by foreigners and rejected by the Finnish societies are not included because they were not numerous.

*Table 7.1. Summary of established and rejected exchanges of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica, Finnish Literature Society, Finnish Antiquarian Society and Finnish Dental Society 1833-1939.<sup>1445</sup>*

Society / Period	Initiators of established exchanges					Total of estab- lished ex- changes	Rejected offers made by the Finnish societies	Share of offers rejected
	Finnish society (SFFF/ FLS/ FAS/ FDS)	Foreign ex- change partner	Both	Me- diator	Un- known			
SFFF 1821-1914	120	168	18	1	56	363	100	42 %
SFFF 1915-1939	123	237	6	0	7	373	365	74 %
FAS 1870-1914	108	53	3	3	7	174	57	34 %
FAS 1915-1939	42	69	3	1	27	142	6	12 %
FLS 1831-1914	4	31	1	0	3	39	2	29 %
FLS 1915-1939	2	17	0	0	2	21	0	0 %
FDS 1892-1914	1	5	0	0	1	7	Un- known	Un- known
FDS 1915-1939	4	15	0	0	26	45	Un- known	Un- known
Total	404	595	31	5	129	1164		

<sup>1445</sup> The share of rejected offers is counted by dividing the number of rejected offers by all offers made by the Finnish society, including the columns: Both; Finnish Society; Rejected. The rejected offers of the SFFF, that is 365 during 1915-1939, is an estimate based on a somewhat imprecise numbers announced in the reports of the library of the SFFF 1926 (180 offers minus 75 accepted exchanges) and 1937 (some 300 offers minus some forty accepted).

The four societies established a total of 1,164 exchanges.<sup>1446</sup> Of these, 35% (404) were initiated by them and 51% (595) by the foreign partners. In 11% of the cases, the initiator was unknown. This result gives quite a positive image on the opportunities of these Finnish societies to link themselves into the international exchange network. The fact that about half of the exchanges was initiated by foreign societies and institutions could easily be considered as evidence of avid international interest in Finnish publications but this was not always the case. Although some of the foreign offers indicated a genuine interest in the research of these Finnish societies, other interest was more or less random. Many societies and institutions sent tens or hundreds of proposals to publishers they had found in various indices, library catalogues and exchange lists without knowing much about their publications. Active exchange policy increased international visibility. The share of the foreign offers made to the SFFF and the FAS rose remarkably in the interwar period. However, even these societies were absorbed into the exchange networks by foreign societies and institutions.

The figures of the two active societies indicate that in the world of natural sciences, the competition was intensifying much faster than in the world of humanities. Both the SFFF and the FAS scanned the international field of publishing and developed their journals to respond to modern requirements. However, the SFFF had more difficulties in establishing exchanges: 74% of the offers it made during the interwar period did not lead to an exchange relationship. Actually, it had succeeded much better in the prewar era when its journals still were more nationally focused because the international field was still more open. To reach the most prestigious publishers, the Finnish scientific societies made collective exchange offers which included the publications of many societies but not even arrangements of this kind were always sufficient. The FAS, for its part, improved its position in the interwar period. Partly this was due to its ability to exploit its special expertise in eastern archaeology but partly the reason lay in the softer world of the humanities. In the field of science, many leading journals were brought out by commercial publishers which usually were reluctant to exchange them. In archaeology and ethnology, the majority of the principal research results were published by societies or museums which mainly were willing to exchange their journals.

Little can be concluded about the passive exchange societies, especially of the exchanges of the FDS, whose initiators were mostly unknown. A special feature in the exchanges of the FDS was that it managed to establish contacts with commercial journals. In the field of odontology journals could be funded with advertisements, which made it possible to sell them at a low price or to exchange them – something which was unusual in commercial publishing in other disciplines where subscription fees were necessary to cover printing and other costs and the profit of the publisher. In the case of the FLS, the small number of its own exchange offers makes the statistical analysis somewhat vague. It did not suffer from the increasing competition because it did not actively aim at finding new foreign partners. However, the inequality of

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<sup>1446</sup> The figure of 1,164 exchanges includes some overlaps. For instance, the SFFF established an exchange with the Musée d'histoire naturelle of Paris in the first period, and again in 1925 because obviously the consignments had ceased in the meantime. Some Russian institutions were ceased after the Revolution and recreated in the Soviet period. The number of the exchange partners of this kind was not significant.

the scholarly community is manifest in the material of the FLS, too. Some foreign partners, like the Smithsonian Institution, estimated some partners were more valuable than others and sent them more expensive books than they did to the minor ones but also from the point of view of the FLS, the partners were in different positions, some of them being closer and more informal, the others more remote and formal. Usually the former group received more valuable books than the latter. In the case of the FLS, the intimacy of an exchange relationship did not depend on the scholarly or institutional authority of an exchange partner, or the number of publications it provided. Rather it was based on the common research interests, common traditions or personal acquaintanceship of those of the partner institution. During the interwar period, the FLS succeeded in establishing exchanges with relatively high ranking institutions but they did not work very well. The big actors like *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* did not send the central and relevant journals desired by the FLS. Instead, the most reliable areas were Sweden, Estonia, Hungary and the United States.

Different institutions had different status in the scholarly world. On the top level there were famous research institutes, international organisations, specialised societies of national or international level and academies which were gradually losing the ground to more modern research institutes. Local societies which welcomed amateurs and published journals focusing on regional topics usually had to work harder to attract the interest of exchange partners. The geographical location also affected the position of an institution. National societies in Germany, France and the United Kingdom enjoyed much more authority than the respective societies in eastern Europe or South America. Geographical structures were not stable, however. In the nineteenth century, the American institutions were peripheral from the European point of view. They were very active in creating contacts, which became apparent in the numerous offers to the Finnish societies which, for their part, showed less initiative. The American policy proved successful. At least, the interest of Finns in American science and scholarship began to increase already in the interwar period – even before Hitler made his famous gift to the Anglo-American world by expelling Jewish scientists.

*(4) How did the political upheavals such as the Russian Revolutions or the emergence of Nazism affect existing exchange relationships or establishing new ones?*

Before the First World War, political questions seldom affected the international activities of the Finnish societies, although at the end of the period some signs appeared of the decline of the spirit of the Republic. For instance, the French partners commented on the use of the German language in the Finnish publications. The Finns ignored these political messages and continued their co-operation with both parties. The domestic question of the so-called Russification politics occasioned more discussion in these societies. Growing dislike of Russian politics did not manifest in establishing new exchanges but it had an effect on nominating the new corresponding and honorary members.

The First World War changed the situation in many ways. During the war, fraternisation with enemies was forbidden by the Russian authorities and the learned societies and institutions from the Allied countries contacted Finns, trying to work for their cause. This raised no enthusiasm in the Finnish societies, which were reluctant to condemn German or Austrian scientists. The fame of German science and scholarship

had not withered. After the war, however, this scientific superpower was economically ruined, politically isolated and ideologically disintegrated, which strengthened the position of neutral countries and newly independent countries. The new structure of the scholarly community was visible in the exchange letters of the Finnish societies. Their German exchange partners openly expressed their gratitude for the willingness of the Finns to continue co-operation. Naturally, this raised the self-esteem in the Finnish societies but it had practical consequences, too. In the 1920s they succeeded in establishing exchanges with some prestigious German institutions which had previously declined their exchange offers. For a short time, even commercial journals were acquired via the exchanges with *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*, but this was only a temporary benefit.

Politics affected the exchanges so that the Finnish societies benefited from the weak position of German science. However, its other effects were not remarkable. The ideals of the Republic were still visible in the suppressing of political attitudes with regard to exchanges. The societies were unanimous in their dislike of the Soviet system. Furthermore, many of their leading members expressed their suspicions regarding the course science and scholarship took in Nazi Germany. However, exchange offers were never rejected for political reasons. The Soviet Union was the biggest exchange country in all societies except in the FDS. Conversely, the ideological motives were only seldom the sole reasons for establishing exchanges. In the 1930s the kindred peoples' ideology inspired the FDS to establish some contacts with Hungarians and Estonians but not much was achieved. Usually the societies emphasised that academic contacts were based solely on scientific reasons and tolerance was necessary in promoting them. This policy was not only idealistic but also entailed practical benefits by guaranteeing the availability of foreign material in the libraries of the societies.

(5) *To what extent were the periodicals received in exchange used by Finnish researchers?*

The societies had different means of offering their library material to users: the FLS with its own building could establish its own library. The FAS, which collaborated closely with the National Museum of Finland, deposited its exchange material there. The SFFF and the FDS mostly used the premises and services offered by the Library of the Scientific Societies. All these libraries were open to the members of these societies, mostly even to other customers. The use of exchange material was investigated with a citation analysis focused on the journals of two most actively exchanging societies – the SFFF and the FAS.

The citation analysis indicated that only 16% of the exchange periodicals received were cited in the periodicals of the SFFF and FAS, in the period 1919–1939. This fact provides further support for the criticism that exchange tends to bring less relevant material to libraries although it should be noted that the material might also be used without being cited, for instance, for browsing, to keep up to date. Furthermore, the results of the analysis seem to confirm the Matthew effect because the citations were strongly accumulated on a few journals. Interestingly however, the success of the exchange journals was the inverse of the Matthew effect as it is usually understood, i. e. predicting the accumulation of success on already successful actors. In exchange journals, the citations did not accumulate on the serials of major and renowned learned institutions. Rather the periodicals of minor publishers in minor countries received the majority of citations. The British and French exchange journals were not

represented at all and only some German exchange journals appeared on the lists of most cited serials. The situation looks different, however, when commercial journals are included. Among the twenty most cited journals in the publications of the SFFF, the position of German commercial journals was strong. The list included eight German journals which were not available via exchange. This sheds light on the large share of rejected exchange offers in the statistics of the SFFF. Although the lists of exchange offers have not been preserved from the interwar period, there is reason to suppose that the SFFF tried to receive in exchange important commercial journals. This proved to be impossible because the firms were seldom interested in offering their publications in exchange. The situation was very different in the field of archaeology. In the top twenty list of the FAS, the commercial journals had an insignificant role since the list included only one commercially published periodical. Private publishers had not occupied the humanities journals as extensively as the scientific ones.

The exchange material covered some quarter of all citations and 34% of foreign citations in Finnish botanical and zoological papers published by the SFFF. The importance of exchange was greater in the traditional branches of biology, which were based on botanical and zoological observations, whereas modern fields based on laboratory work, such as cell biology, relied more on commercial journals. Some new branches, like hydrobiology, were represented in highly cited exchange publications, however. In the papers of the FAS, the exchange provided some 30% of all citations and 41% of foreign citations. No similar division into the modern or conservative fields of study was visible. Instead, a lot of important material was published as monographs which was and continues to be typical for the humanities.

Commercial publishers were quicker to embrace new and developing fields in biology, while exchange turned to be a somewhat conservative system which was not easily adapted to the shifts in paradigms. Instead, exchange had the advantage of opening up opportunities to receive literature from less known scientific institutions which probably had difficulties similar to those of their Finnish partners in distributing their periodicals in commercial markets. Hence the exchange created links between minor or peripheral institutions which sometimes provided much used journals and prolific collaboration. However, it must be admitted that when establishing new exchange relations, the risk of receiving less pertinent publications was relatively high.

## 7.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The empirical findings shed new light on some conceptions of the nineteenth century scholarly community. First and foremost they indicate that the manners and ethical codes formulated in the Republic of Letters in the seventeenth century survived throughout the nineteenth century – at least as an ideal if not always as a practice. The implicit requirement of giving assistance to fellow scientists or the ethical code of reciprocity aided the small, young and peripheral societies in linking themselves to the scholarly community. Their ways of linking were different, for some societies preferred the exchange of publications and some the network of corresponding members, but both of these means originated in the Republic. Even in the early twentieth century, when the scientific competition was intensifying, the heritage of the Re-

public encouraged the Finnish societies to consolidate their position by establishing more contacts. The material of this study, together with research literature, indicates that a similar policy proved successful in the United States, too.

The Republican heritage was visible even in the ideals of cosmopolitan and neutral science and scholarship. The Finnish historians have often emphasised that the international contacts of Finnish scientists were mostly directed to Germany and the Nordic countries. (The last mentioned are usually considered to be somewhere between domestic and foreign due to the long common history with Sweden and the common language.) The maps on the exchange relations reveal, however, a much wider network with foci not only in Germany and Nordic countries but also in the United States, Baltics and Russia/the Soviet Union. The ideal of neutrality made it possible to sustain contacts even with institutions in politically problematic countries, as the numerous exchanges with Soviet institutions indicate. Political opinions did not have a remarkable effect on exchanges. The source material of this study makes it obvious that during the Nazi era, the contacts with Germans were made despite the politics, not because of it. Although science in Nazi Germany and in the Soviet Union was highly politicised, German and Soviet institutions usually subdued political tone in exchange correspondence, thus conforming to the rules of the Republic. The French, instead, openly advocated their cause, which obviously annoyed these Finnish societies. Yet there is not enough evidence to indicate that the diminishing share of French exchange partners during the interwar period was caused by the disapproval of the political tone of their letters. The French journals were not on the most cited list so that it is possible that their research was losing its relevance in Finland. It was not only idealism or high morals that guided the scientific co-operation. The Finnish societies also benefited from their neutrality, particularly after the First World War when they had an opportunity to strengthen contacts with some outstanding German institutions.

The survival of these traits of the Republican ethical codes explains how they ended in Merton's norms of science – universalism and communism (communalism) though Merton himself was not interested in the concept of the Republic of Letters. These ideals were still living when he wrote his paper *The Normative Structure of Science* (1942). During and after the First World War, the ethical codes had been violated but they were still commonly recognised ideals which could be appealed to in problematic situations.

The living heritage of the Republic of Letters becomes visible in the written material – speeches, letters and reports, whereas the quantitative material in this study supports the generally accepted conception of intensifying competition in the nineteenth century and even indicates that the Matthew effect was gaining ground at the time. The first societies, the SFFF and FLS, had easy access to the international scholarly community, despite the domestic nature of their publications but in the course of the nineteenth century the Finnish societies realised that many of their offers were rejected. However, the Matthew effect was not an inexorable power. The societies developed new strategies to survive in the international exchange markets. These strategies were more successful in the humanities than in the natural sciences.

These four Finnish learned societies illuminate the general context of scientific publishing because societies had similar characteristics and functions all over the

world. These cases indicate that when publishing the findings of their members, the societies had to consider various readerships – domestic as well as international. To disseminate their publications abroad they had to make economic and ideological sacrifices which sometimes led to strong personal controversies. On the other hand, they had a lot to win since international renown was the best prize to have. It satisfied scholarly, national and personal ambitions.

The time span ending at the Second World War leaves open many interesting questions such as the new role of the United States and its influence on the exchange policy of American institutions; the scholarly co-operation which managed to pass the Iron Curtain; and the emergence of new independent states in Africa and Asia and their opportunities for networking in the scholarly community. In Finland, the dissolution of the Library of Scientific Societies in 1979 is still an unresearched subject which would exemplify the contradiction between the Republican heritage and the new efficient Matthew world. The Open Access movement would likewise be an interesting area for study by information scientists, historians and from the ethical point of view. Other questions would emerge if the scope were widened from the perspective of the Finnish societies to other parts of the world. An interesting multinational project would be to examine the role of exchange or Open Access publications in the citations of the journals published in peripheral, poor or politically strictly controlled countries and on the other hand, in central countries.



## 8 CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this study was to investigate if the Matthew effect in science was mitigated by non-commercial means of distributing academic publications, a practice inherited from the Republic of Letters. This question was meant to shed light to the world of scholarly communication in the nineteenth and early twentieth century from the perspective of young societies of modest premises.

The results indicate that the norms and practices of the Republic supported the newly founded Finnish societies in their efforts to create links to the international scholarly community. The exchange of publications was a relatively easy and steady way to maintain contacts with other societies and institutions interested in the same topics. Furthermore, it increased the visibility of the Finnish societies because their journals became available in the libraries all over the world and their titles were often published in the lists of exchange material and library catalogues of their partners. Such publicity did not, as such, mean that the Finnish societies became outstanding publishers in their respective fields but it increased interest in Finnish science and scholarship and helped to build new contacts. Furthermore, the international opportunities, provided by exchange encouraged the Finnish societies to develop their serials. On the other hand, the large share of rejected offers indicates that the main actors were not reached, at least in the field of biology. Many prominent research findings were published in German commercial journals which were not available via exchange. Although these journals absorbed a remarkable share of citations in the papers published by the SFFF, they did not occupy the whole category of often cited periodicals. There were also exchange journals published by minor societies, far away from the centres. The emphasis on peripheral areas was even more visible in the citations of the *Journal* of the FAS, for in the field of archaeology and ethnology the research interests linked the Finnish, Nordic, Estonian and Russian institutions closely together. In the humanities, the role of commercial publishers was not as remarkable as in science which made exchange a well-functioning system.

The increasing competition in the field of science and scholarship since the second half of the nineteenth century is undeniable. The existence of the Matthew effect is indicated convincingly enough in this study. It was, however, mitigated by the traditions of the Republic, which made it possible for the young and peripheral societies to find partners interested in the same topics, to benchmark their journals against foreign publications and find their place in the international scholarly community. It therefore seems justified to claim that the Republican heritage succeeded in challenging the statement of St. Matthew by aiding these four peripheral and relatively poor Finnish societies in making and distributing internationally interesting academic publications and hence promoting the scientific success of their country.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I. THE EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE FINNISH LITERATURE SOCIETY 1833-1914

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<b>Country</b>	<b>Initiator</b>				<b>Total</b>
	<b>FLS</b>	<b>Exchange Partner</b>	<b>Both</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	
Denmark	0	1	0	1	2
Estonia	0	7	0	0	7
France	0	1	0	1	2
Germany	0	6	0	0	6
Hungary	1	0	1	0	2
Italy	0	1	0	0	1
Latvia	0	1	0	0	1
Norway	0	2	0	0	2
Poland	0	0	0	1	1
Russia	0	4	0	0	4
Sweden	3	4	0	0	7
The USA	0	4	0	0	4
Total	4	31	1	3	39



APPENDIX 2. THE EUROPEAN EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE  
SOCIETAS PRO FAUNA ET FLORA FENNICA 1848-1914

Country	Initiator					Total
	SFFF	Exchange Partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
Austria	6	5	0	0	2	13
Belgium	4	1	0	0	0	5
Czechoslovakia	2	3	1	0	0	6
Denmark	4	4	0	0	0	8
Estonia	0	0	0	0	1	1
France	19	12	1	0	11	43
Germany	27	26	3	0	13	69
Hungary	1	3	0	0	2	6
Ireland	0	0	0	0	1	1
Italy	11	13	0	0	3	27
Latvia	1	0	0	0	0	1
Luxembourg	0	2	0	0	0	2
Norway	0	5	0	0	1	6
Poland	0	1	0	0	0	1
Portugal	0	1	0	0	1	2
Romania	1	3	1	0	1	6
Russia	5	22	0	0	1	28
Spain	0	1	0	0	1	2
Sweden	5	6	1	0	1	13
Switzerland	10	3	1	0	0	14
The Netherlands	6	1	1	0	1	9
The United Kingdom	5	3	1	0	2	11
Yugoslavia	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	107	116	10	0	42	275

APPENDIX 3. THE EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE SOCIETAS PRO  
FAUNA ET FLORA FENNICA 1848-1914, OUTSIDE EUROPE

Country	Initiator					Total
	SFFF	Exchange Partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
Algeria	1	1	0	0	1	3
Argentina	0	3	1	0	2	6
Australia	1	2	0	0	1	4
Brazil	1	1	0	0	0	2
Canada	1	0	1	0	0	2
Chile	0	1	0	0	0	1
Costa Rica	0	1	0	0	0	1
Egypt	0	1	0	0	0	1
India	0	0	0	0	1	1
Jamaica	1	0	0	0	0	1
Japan	1	3	0	0	0	4
Mexico	0	1	0	0	0	1
The USA	7	37	6	1	9	60
Uruguay	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	13	52	8	1	14	88

APPENDIX 4. THE EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE FINNISH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY 1872-1914

Country	Initiator					Total
	FAS	Exchange partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
Austria	3	1	0	0	0	4
Belgium	5	0	0	0	0	5
Canada	0	1	0	0	0	1
Czechoslovakia	1	3	0	0	0	4
Denmark	1	0	0	1	0	2
Estonia	2	3	0	0	0	5
France	14	2	0	0	0	16
Germany	34	11	1	1	1	48
Hungary	2	0	1	0	0	3
Italy	2	1	0	0	0	3
Latvia	1	0	0	0	2	3
Norway	5	3	0	1	0	9
Poland	3	2	0	0	0	5
Romania	1	1	0	0	0	2
Russia	6	8	1	0	3	18
Sweden	14	7	0	0	0	21
Switzerland	2	3	0	0	0	5
The Netherlands	3	1	0	0	1	5
The United Kingdom	6	0	0	0	0	6
The USA	0	3	0	0	0	3
Uruguay	0	1	0	0	0	1
Yugoslavia	3	2	0	0	0	5
Total	108	53	3	3	7	174

APPENDIX 5. THE NEW EUROPEAN EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE SOCIETAS PRO FAUNA ET FLORA FENNICA 1915-1939

Country	Initiator				Total
	SFFF	Exchange partner	Both	Unknown	
Austria	3	2	0	0	5
Belgium	5	4	0	0	9
Bulgaria	2	2	0	0	4
Czechoslovakia	0	10	0	0	10
Denmark	2	1	0	0	3
Estonia	0	4	0	0	4
France	5	5	0	0	10
Germany	17	12	0	0	29
Greece	0	1	0	0	1
Hungary	1	5	0	1	7
Ireland	1	0	0	0	1
Italy	8	14	0	1	23
Latvia	0	5	1	0	6
Lithuania	1	1	0	0	2
Luxembourg	1	0	0	0	1
Norway	0	3	0	0	3
Poland	2	13	0	0	15
Portugal	0	4	0	0	4
Romania	2	2	0	0	4
Spain	4	4	0	0	8
Sweden	1	4	1	0	6
Switzerland	4	2	0	1	7
The Netherlands	2	0	1	0	3
The Soviet Union	2	64	0	1	67
The United Kingdom	6	1	0	1	8
Vatican City State	0	1	0	0	1
Yugoslavia	0	4	0	0	4
Total	69	168	3	5	245

APPENDIX 6. THE NEW EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE SOCIETAS  
PRO FAUNA ET FLORA FENNICA 1915-1939, OUTSIDE EUROPE

Country	Initiator				Total
	SFFF	Exchange partner	Both	Unknown	
Argentina	0	1	0	0	1
Australia	7	4	1	0	12
Brazil	2	7	0	0	9
Canada	5	7	0	0	12
Chile	2	1	0	0	3
China	0	4	0	0	4
Colombia	1	0	0	0	1
Egypt	1	0	0	0	1
India	2	0	1	0	3
Indonesia	2	0	0	0	2
Japan	4	9	0	0	13
Malaysia	1	0	0	0	1
Manchukuo	0	4	0	0	4
Mexico	1	3	0	0	4
Morocco	1	0	0	0	1
New Zealand	1	1	0	0	2
Pakistan	0	1	0	0	1
Palestine	0	2	0	0	2
Paraguay	1	0	0	0	1
Peru	1	0	0	0	1
Philippines	0	1	0	0	1
Singapore	1	0	0	0	1
South Africa	6	1	0	0	7
Sri Lanka	0	1	0	0	1
The USA	14	21	1	2	38
Uruguay	1	0	0	0	1
Venezuela	0	1	0	0	1
Total	54	69	3	2	128

APPENDIX 7. THE NEW EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE FINNISH LITERATURE SOCIETY 1915-1939

<b>Country</b>	<b>Initiator</b>			<b>Total</b>
	<b>FLS</b>	<b>Exchange partner</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	
Austria	0	1	0	1
Estonia	0	3	0	3
France	0	1	0	1
Germany	0	2	0	2
Hungary	0	2	1	3
Italy	0	1	0	1
Poland	0	1	0	1
Sweden	1	2	1	4
Switzerland	0	1	0	1
The Soviet Union	1	3	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>21</b>

## APPENDIX 8. THE NEW EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE FINNISH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY 1915-1939

Country	Initiator					Total
	FAS	Exchange partner	Both	Mediator	Unknown	
Austria	2	1	0	0	1	4
Bulgaria	1	0	0	0	1	2
Canada	1	0	0	0	1	2
Czechoslovakia	0	2	0	0	0	2
Denmark	3	2	0	0	0	5
Estonia	1	0	0	0	0	1
France	0	0	0	0	2	2
Germany	5	13	1	0	4	23
Hungary	0	2	0	0	0	2
Iceland	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ireland	1	0	0	0	0	1
Italy	0	1	0	0	0	1
Japan	0	1	0	0	0	1
Latvia	1	1	0	0	0	2
Lithuania	0	2	0	0	0	2
Norway	2	0	0	0	1	3
Poland	1	6	0	0	0	7
Romania	0	0	1	0	0	1
Spain	0	1	0	1	0	2
Sweden	12	7	0	0	8	27
Switzerland	1	0	0	0	2	3
The Netherlands	1	1	0	0	0	2
The Soviet Union	2	21	1	0	5	29
The United Kingdom	5	0	0	0	0	5
The USA	2	3	0	0	1	6
Turkey	0	1	0	0	0	1
Vatican City State	0	1	0	0	0	1
Yugoslavia	1	3	0	0	0	4
Total	42	69	3	1	27	142

APPENDIX 9. THE EXCHANGE PARTNERS OF THE FINNISH DENTAL SOCIETY 1915-1939

Country	FDS	Initiator		Total
		Exchange partner	Unknown	
Argentina	0	1	1	2
Austria	0	0	1	1
Belgium	0	1	0	1
Canada	0	0	1	1
Denmark	0	1	0	1
France	0	1	3	4
Germany	1	2	3	6
Hungary	0	0	1	1
Italy	1	0	1	2
Japan	0	2	1	3
Mexico	0	0	1	1
Norway	0	1	0	1
Poland	0	1	0	1
Spain	0	0	1	1
Sweden	0	2	2	4
Switzerland	0	0	1	1
The Netherlands	0	0	1	1
The Soviet Union	0	1	0	1
The United Kingdom	0	0	2	2
The USA	2	2	6	10
Total	4	15	26	45



## APPENDIX 10. TRANSLITERATION SCHEME OF CYRILLIC CHARACTERS (ISO 9)

А	а	А	а	П	п	Р	р
Б	б	В	в	Р	р	Р	р
В	в	В	в	С	с	С	с
Г	г	Г	г	Т	т	Т	т
Д	д	Д	д	У	у	У	у
Е	е	Е	е	Ф	ф	Ф	ф
Ё	ё	Ё	ё	Х	х	Н	н
Ж	ж	Ж	ж	Ц	ц	С	с
З	з	З	з	Ч	ч	С	с
И	и	И	и	Ш	ш	Ш	ш
Й	й	Й	й	Щ	щ	Ш	ш
І	і	І	і	Ъ	ъ	"	"
К	к	К	к	Ы	ы	У	у
Л	л	Л	л	Ь	ь	'	'
М	м	М	м	Э	э	È	è
Н	н	Н	н	Ю	ю	Û	û
О	о	О	о	Я	я	Â	â

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