

Group Portrait of Institutions

The following text is a working document of my research that has, until now, led to two artworks: 'Valkeat' with Ahmed Al-Nawas in the exhibition *Finnish Landscape*, organised by Checkpoint Helsinki in Seurasaari Open Air Museum, and 'Unfolding Nordic Race Science' in the Swedish History Museum's exhibition *History Unfolds*, where artists were invited to collaborate with museum researchers and interact with their collections. Here, with the help of my notes, I aim to demonstrate that although it is commonly thought (and we are made to think) that racism is a spontaneous primitive emotion of uncultured people, driven by some kind of impulsive herd mentality, in reality it is an elite class of intellectuals and 'national artists' who invent and reproduce the ideology of racism by racialising the masses.

There is little, if any, common knowledge about how race science was practiced in Finland. The national institutions in Finland have kept quiet about that past, and even when addressing the issue, academic discourses have mainly evolved around how Finns were a subject of racist research.¹ In the prevalent theories of 19th century Europe, it was claimed Finns originated from Mongolians and were therefore excluded from the European family of races.² The Finns were defined as a short-skulled (brachycephalic) eastern and inferior race. The long-skulled (dolichocephalic) West European races were the best, and the Nordic/Aryan race was the ultimate superior human form, the 'master race'. According to the science of the time, skull shapes were linked to intelligence and behavioural qualities. While there is some research about racialising Finns, little has been said about how Finnish scientists actively racialised people.

This racialisation, supported by state institutions, included organising Finnish people from different regions into hierarchical categories of 'Finnish racial purity'. The Karelians were thought to originate from Arab Bedouins, while the Tavastians were the only pure Finns.³ The racialisation process also encompassed research about various ethnic groups in Russia who have linguistic and cultural ties to Finns. They were regarded as more primitive and less cultured compared to Finns who, next to these 'backward relatives,' were framed to look very advanced. Race science activities in Finland also included researching the Sami population, whose relatedness to Finns was categorically denied. The racist representations of the Sami that were produced in those days played, and still play, an important role in enabling their oppression and discrimination.⁴

By only focusing on histories in which Finns were racialised and ignoring racialising practices, researchers still to this day largely adopt a similarly defensive position and frame Finns as European/Aryan—they continue to perpetuate the race science practices of the 19th and early 20th century, albeit more insidiously. Another characteristic of how Finnish race science research is spoken about, is its belittlement via arguments that the bulk of the research and ideas can be traced to Sweden.⁵ It is true that some of the internationally leading race scientists were Swedish, the father and son Retzius and Herman Lundborg, to name two. But even if Finnish scientists were not pioneers in the field and followed rather than developed theories, they were productive in practicing the science, and continued their work well after the second world war, when the science was already beginning to look

suspicious and unfashionable in 1930s Sweden.

From 16 June, 2017 to 14 January, 2018, the National Museum of Finland hosts an exceptionally progressive and brave temporary photographic exhibition which interrogates the dark past of the Finnish nation. Titled *The Public and the Hidden Finland*, it is part of the *Suomi-100* official centennial celebrations of Finnish independence. Some of the 100 selected photographs on display are from the collections of the National Board of Antiquities, and speak about the history of fascism in Finland. Others speak of Finland's strict immigration politics, and yet others about executions and concentrations camps in the second world war. The overall tone of the exhibition directly confronts many old taboos about national unity. And what makes the exhibition so unusually progressive is that its wall texts—often critical toward the past—also trace the continuities of this thinking today.

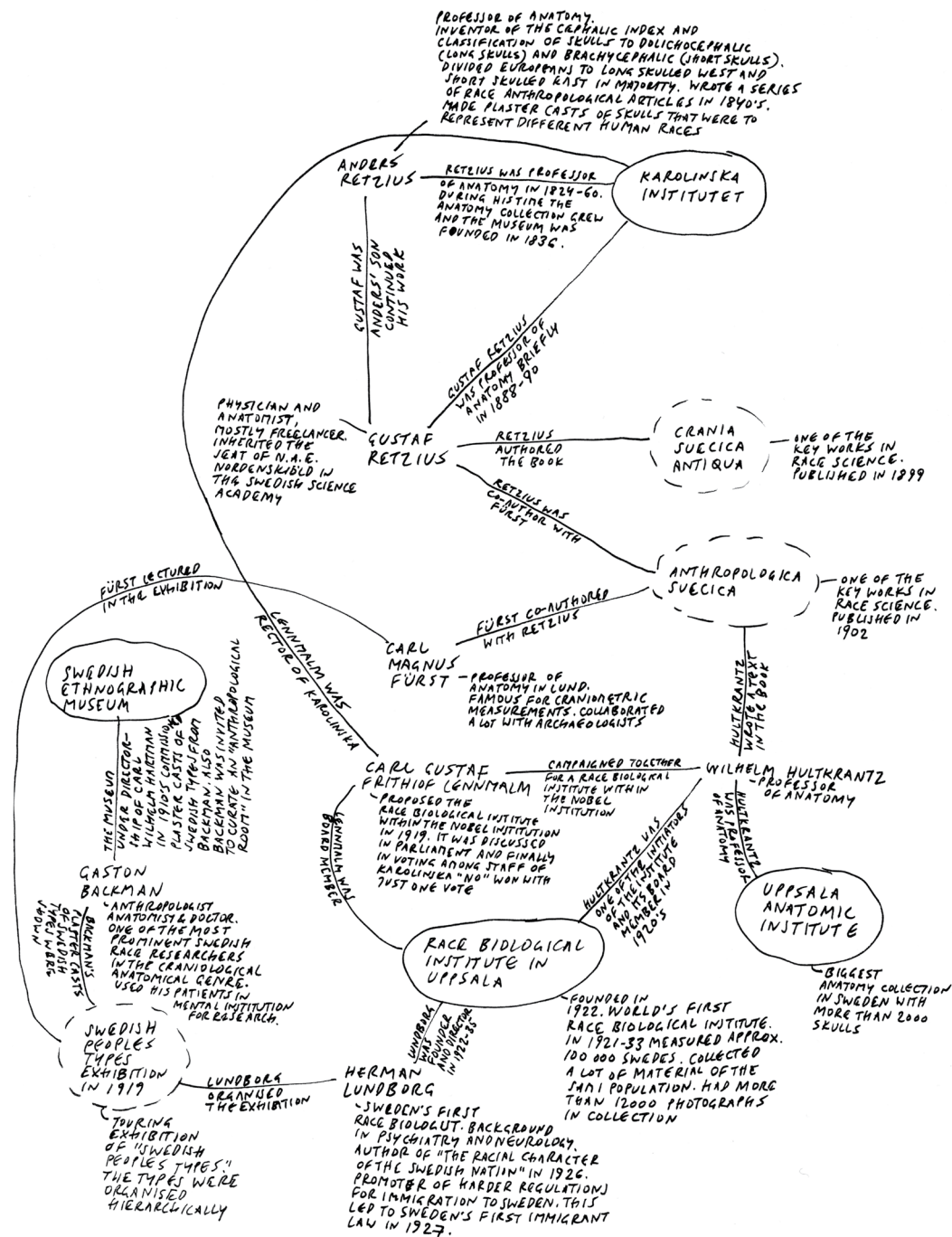
In our discussion, a museum invigilator said she doesn't remember any other exhibition in that museum, or in other museums, which had a similarly critical approach to Finnish national history. She then added that it is an emerging trend.

Seurasaari Open Air Museum

In summer 2016, Ahmed Al-Nawas and I made 'Valkeat' in Seurasaari Open Air Museum, which is one of the National Museum's institutions. We took one of the buildings on Seurasaari island—Florin's Tea House—as our starting point to address the concept of 'people' in the construction of Finnish nationhood.

Florin's Tea House, an example of high urban and cosmopolitan culture,

Minna
Henriksson



was moved to the island from the Boulevard in Helsinki in 1912, and contains rare Parisian handpainted wallpapers from the mid-19th Century. When it was brought to the island, it was juxtaposed with Sami housing: civilised versus rudimentary. The tea house has remained permanently on the island, whereas the Sami goahti was only temporary and removed in subsequent years.

Our claim was that Finnish independence had been a bourgeois-democratic project in which the people had to be made to fit the nation.⁶ Here, eugenics became useful, and race science was one of the most respected scientific disciplines practiced by state institutions and promoted using state funds. Our intervention added information to the museum's text about the house, which does mention the wallpapers but keeps silent about Dr. Pehr Ulrik Florin and what else was done with his wealth in the same year that the Tea House was donated to Seurasaari Island.

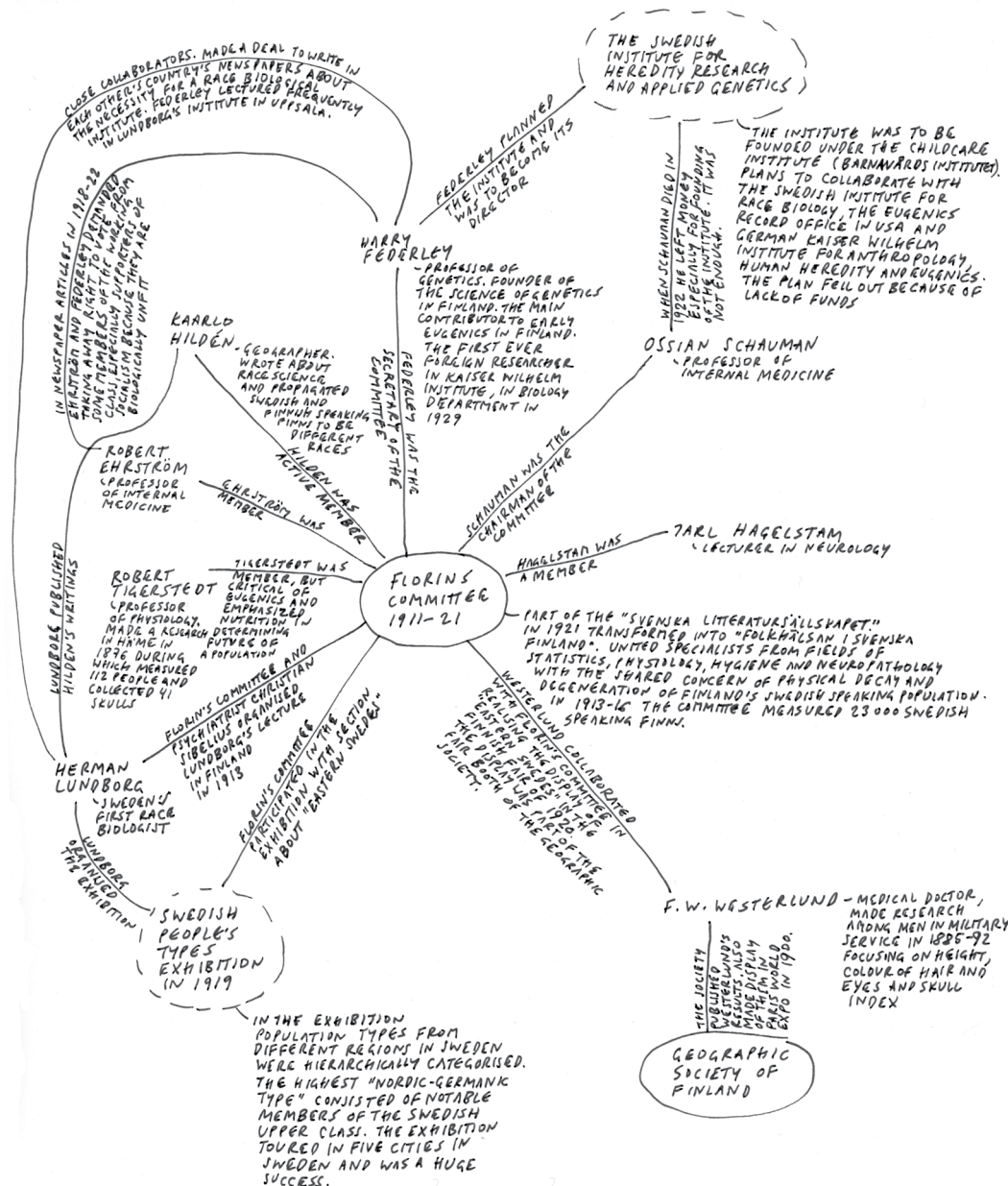
The bourgeois influence can be observed in the buildings of Seurasaari Open Air Museum as well. The museum was founded, as discussed in Parliament in 1909, with the purpose to make visible "the trajectory of development in material culture, from the primitive past to today. The purpose is to above all educate and cultivate—especially the common people—about the stages of cultural development of the Finnish people." The Seurasaari Open Air Museum claims that "at the museum, the traditional Finnish way of life is displayed in the cottages, farmsteads and manors of the past four centuries that have been relocated from all around Finland". With the exception of one cottage which was brought

to the museum in the 1980s, all the buildings belong to the bourgeoisie.

Svenska Litteratursällskapet and Folkhälsan

The Florin Commission was founded by Swedish-speaking Finnish scientists to preserve the racial purity of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland. The Commission was named after medical doctor Pehr Ulrik Florin, whose daughter Jenny Florin enacted her father's will and donated 100,000 Finn Marks to the Svenska Litteratursällskapet (Swedish-speaking Finns' literature association) to enable the founding of The Florin Commission in 1912.

The Florin Commission was active from 1912 to 1921, when it transformed to the Samfundet Folkhälsan. Folkhälsan remains an important private institution advocating for social welfare and health care for the Swedish-speaking community in Finland. One of the leading figures in The Florin Commission, Harry Federley, was an internationally renowned scientist who founded the discipline of genetics in Finland. He was also one of the strongest advocates for sterilisation laws in 1934, and dreamed of a Swedish Institute of Genetics in Finland under his directorship. In 1918 during the Finnish civil war, Federley was also vocal in claiming that supporters of socialism are a mass of souls incapable of individual thinking, who have an animalistic psyche closer to human-apes than cultured human beings. Therefore their right to vote should be removed.⁷ Between 1913 and 1916, The Florin Commission measured 23,000 Swedish-speaking Finns according to methods of physical anthropology. The Florin Commission promoted the idea that Swedish speakers in Finland are 'Eastern Swedes', part of



the long skulled 'Nordic master race'. The Florin Commission participated in exhibitions promoting the 'Swedish type', with photographs portraying the racial types of Swedish-speaking Finns.⁸

Enquiring after The Florin Commission archive material from the Svenska Litteratursällskapet, I was told they only have one folder containing physical anthropological research photographs of Swedish-speaking people, which was taken in a 1920 music festival by photographer Jens Peter Mouritzen. They added that unfortunately the folder is closed to researchers until December 31, 2020. The question arises of where are the rest, if not in the Svenska Litteratursällskapet? Probably in the Folkhälsan archives, which was the institution into which The Florin Commission transformed. But apparently the Folkhälsan's archive is unorganised and cannot be accessed now, at least not in the years to come. Although The Florin Commission were very productive in measuring vast amounts of the Swedish-speaking population, and organising public events such as photographic displays of the 'racial characteristics' of 'Eastern Swedes', there is no material available, and no way to access archival information about The Florin Commission.

Next to the eugenics activities of The Florin Commission (whose members were of a minority population), it is important to address similar eugenics and race science projects among the majority Finnish-speaking population as well. This included the *Finnish Female Type* competition, which was launched in 1926 by *Suomen Kuvalehti* magazine to find the best representative of the "Finnish female type": applicants had to submit a photograph along with

information about their hair and eye colour. In addition, information about family origins was requested. 1,268 applications were received. Although the competition was organised by *Suomen Kuvalehti*, the applications were to be addressed to Yrjö Kajava in the Anatomic Institute of Helsinki University, and they are still kept in the personal files of Kajava in the Institute's archives.

The context of Florin's Tea House also enabled us to speak about the still unpublished study by Marjo Liukkonen, which was in the news in spring 2016. She reveals the fact that 218 young women and girls, all urban factory workers, were executed in Hennala prison camp in 1918.⁹ She claims that the director of the camp, Hans Kalm, was influenced by the eugenics ideas of Lauri "Tahko" Pihkala and his brother Martti Pihkala, and Kalm ordered those women and girls killed for eugenics reasons. Before and during the Finnish Civil War of 1918, the Pihkala brothers had an active role in founding the White Guards and recruiting men to their ranks. Part of this was to spread their ideology, which included advocating for the elimination of the supporters of socialism, especially women.¹⁰

There was a rumour that the Museum would change their text about Florin's Tea House after our temporary intervention. This was however rejected by the museum director, who said that the space for museum texts is very limited.

Helsinki University Anatomic Institute

Like the Florin Commission documents, those relating to Helsinki University's Anatomic Institute remain sequestered and out of reach, especially those that provide evidence of its collaboration with Germany in the 1940s. In the

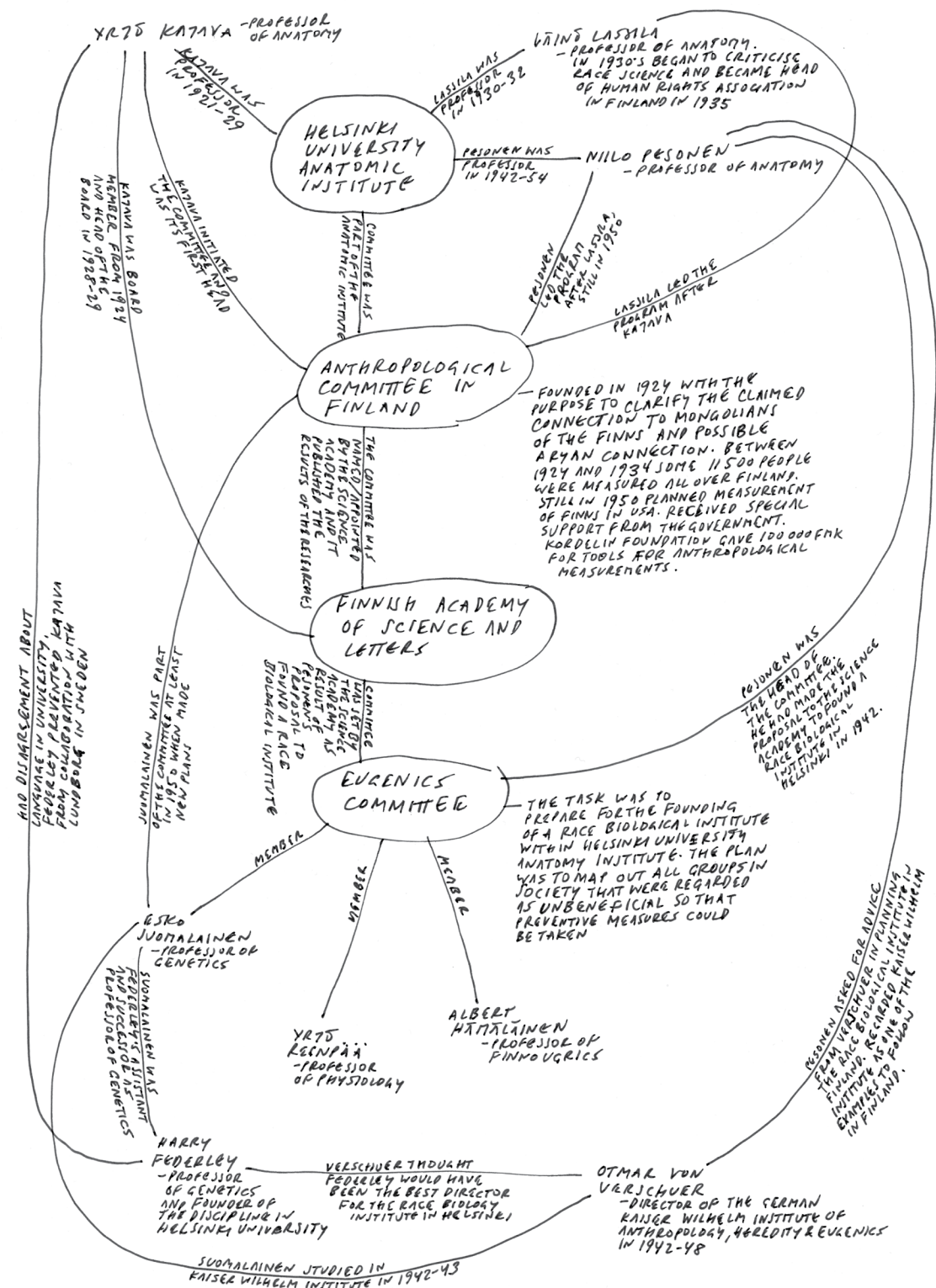
archive of anatomy professor Niilo Pesonen in the National Archives, there is a document where we can learn that there were plans within the Helsinki University Anatomic Institute to found a Race Biology Institute in 1942. The plan was initiated by Pesonen himself. This led to the founding of an Eugenics Committee in 1942, with Professor of Genetics Esko Suomalainen, Professor of Physiology Yrjö Reenpää, and Professor of Finno-Ugrics Albert Hämäläinen holding seats, chaired by Pesonen. The task of the committee was to map out all the groups in society that were regarded as 'unbeneficial', so that preventive measures could be undertaken. However, the plan for the institute was never realised due to Germany's defeat in the war.¹¹

Researcher Lars Westerlund, who specialises in the Finnish–German collaboration during the second world war, writes that the copies of the memo produced in 1943 by the Eugenics Committee have probably all been destroyed after the end of the continuation war. Westerlund writes (my translation): "The Science Academy's archive has been cleansed from all the most burdensome material relating to the Third Reich. Also at the latest in autumn 1944, all the key actors destroyed not only their most discriminatory correspondence with race specialists in Germany, but also their diaries from the war period. A copy of the memo is not in the archives of the doctors' association Duodecim either."¹²

Professor of Anatomy Niilo Pesonen became the head of the Anatomic Institute in Helsinki University in 1942. He was preceded by Professor Yrjö Kajava and Professor Väinö Lassila as Professors of Anatomy and leaders of the Finnish Anthropological

Committee, which prior to the second world war, measured 15,000 Finns all over Finland, and also extended their research to the Finnish-speaking population outside national borders, at least to Livonia. Professor Yrjö Kajava started the project in 1924 with the purpose to clarify the claimed connection between Mongolians and Finns, and a possible Aryan connection. In other words, his aim was to scientifically prove that Finns do not originate from Mongolians nor from Slavs, but that they are part of the Aryans. The Anthropological Committee was part of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, and it received special support from the Finnish government. Also the Kordelin Foundation—which in 2016 weathered a scandal supporting a novel by an openly racist and misogynist writer—funded the start of the project in 1923 with 10,000 Finn marks for tools for anthropological measurements.¹³

It was Pesonen in 1941 who finally achieved what so many scientists (and also artists and other cultural figures)¹⁴ in Finland had tried to do for decades—convincing scientific circles of a Finnish–Aryan connection. Just before Operation Barbarossa, Pesonen's scientific article about Finns belonging to the German and Nordic race was published widely in German newspapers. It was convenient for Germany to now include the Finns in the category of pure Nordics, as they needed their military collaboration. Therefore the previously scientifically–proven "brachycephalics" suddenly became "dolichocephalics". In 1946, Pesonen spent eight months in prison, as the Allied Commission sentenced him for sending corpses of Russian war prisoners to the Helsinki Anatomy Institute to be used for medical purposes. In the biography of Niilo



Pesonen in the Finnish Literature Association's National Biography Centre, it is however suspected that he received the sentence because of participation in the German-led "international scientific committee" to investigate the 1942 massacre by the Red Army in Vinnytsia, where Germany's motivation was clearly to present the Red Army as having committed war crimes, and the German military as appearing to operate according to internationally-agreed rules. The biography also mentions that while in prison, Pesonen taught medicine to other prisoners and improved prison health care. Much is also written about Pesonen's other good deeds towards the Finnish national medical system, whereas the whole era of the 1940s receives a cursory glance.

In Pesonen's personal archives in the National Archive, one can read a memo from a Finnish Anthropological Committee meeting dated 1950, where its board members—Esko Suomalainen, Kaarlo Hilden, Kustaa Viikuna and Niilo Pesonen—planned anthropological measurements of the Finnish population in the USA. Although some revealing documents exist in Pesonen's archive, overall one can conclude that it is riddled with holes. For example, there is nothing about his correspondence with any notable German race scientists, although it is known that he kept in close contact with scientific circles in Germany. He was a guest of the Nordische Gesellschaft, directed by Alfred Rosenberg, and in 1942 toured 10 German cities lecturing about Finnish race science. He also had contact with Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, a famous twin researcher and director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, whose

expertise he turned to in planning the Race Biological Institute in Finland in 1942. It seems that a few random documents from those days have remained almost accidentally, and the rest have been systematically destroyed. But we know that the involvement of Pesonen and many of his colleagues in the type of race science that was promoted by Germany in the 1930s and '40s was far deeper than it seems, if we only stick to the remaining documents. The problem with much academic history writing is precisely this need to have those documents as proof for the facts.¹⁵ Another problem is that many of the central protagonists of racist race science practices became important figures in post-second world war Finnish academic circles: Pesonen first became the Dean of the Medical Faculty, then the Vice-Rector of Helsinki University in the early 1950s, then the head of the Medical Board in Finland in 1954, continuing in this post until 1969. He was also the spokesperson of Finland's delegation to The World Health Organisation (WHO) from 1954 to 1969. Thanks to him, Finland has a state-run health system and university hospitals in Oulu and Kajaani. Still, contemporary books about race science in Finland stop before Pesonen, or mention him in passing. This is probably because his influence in the Finnish field of medicine has been great, and he only died in 1993. Thus there must be many influential doctors around who were his apprentices, and preserve his memory in good light.¹⁶

Natural History Museum

The Anatomy Institute's focus on race science did not start in the 1920s with the anthropological committee, as the text in *The Public and Hidden Finland* falsely indicates. It started with anatomist, zoologist and doctor

Evert Julius Bonsdorff, who was the Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in Helsinki University from 1841 to 1871. He began collecting bones for the University's anatomic collections, and founded the Anatomic Museum within the Anatomic Institute. Funds were raised for the collection by charging an entrance fee to public lectures on anatomy. Bonsdorff had studied with the famous race scientist Anders Retzius in the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm from 1838 to 1839. These were formative years for Bonsdorff, who then turned to comparative anatomy influenced by Retzius' race theories. Bonsdorff and Retzius were exchanging skulls—probably, among others, skulls of Sami people. And even Samuel Morton, a notorious USA physician, received skulls from Bonsdorff via Retzius.

The cranium collections started by Bonsdorff and continued by many anatomy professors until the 1930s now contain almost 1600 skulls kept in cardboard boxes in the attic of the Natural History Museum, in a room named after Gallen-Kallela.¹⁷ It seems that the Natural History Museum does not have a plan for the collections, other than to store them behind closed doors. They were previously kept in the anatomy department of the Biomedicine Faculty until 1998, when a committee was formed by the rector of the University of Helsinki to propose the correct way for dealing with the collections. The committee was led by Mikael Fortelius from the Natural History Museum, and the practical work of indexing the skulls was undertaken by committee member and forensic dentist Helena Ranta, and researcher Niklas Sjöholm (currently working for the National Bureau of Investigation). The Sami bones were moved to the Sami Museum in Inari, Lapland. In a memo,

the committee specifically mentioned the bones of indigenous peoples from Hawaii, Australia, Indonesia and other (unspecified) places, predicting that when word spread globally among researchers, it would be possible that representatives of indigenous peoples will demand repatriation. From such a statement, one can conclude that Helsinki University was not planning to proactively contact anyone about repatriation, and they hoped no-one would contact them either.

Ateneum

Evert Julius Bonsdorff, who initiated the skull collections of Helsinki University, was also teacher of anatomy in the Finnish Art Association's Drawing School in the 1860s, which later on became the Fine Arts Academy. It was not uncommon at the time for anatomy professors to be teachers in fine arts academies. In the Royal Art Academy in Stockholm, Anders Retzius also taught anatomy to artists, as did his successor at the Karolinska Institutet for Medicine, Gustaf von Düben, and physician and balneologist Carl Curman. The Royal Art Academy had a special anatomy room where they received one corpse each year from the Karolinska Institutet's Department of Anatomy. From the art students' drawings and paintings, it is clear that anatomy professors Retzius and Düben, along with Curman, transferred their ideas of the hierarchies of races to their students. And perhaps this exchange was reciprocal—art influencing race science—as we know that much of science relied on appearances, representations and visual preselections rather than scientific accuracy; that this was pseudo-science is undoubtable.

Bonsdorff was a close collaborator with the von Wright brothers,

renowned artists in Finland. Magnus von Wright, who worked as conservator in the Natural History Museum, illustrated Bonsdorff's scientific studies. Wilhelm von Wright illustrated Retzius' study of a girl named Refina, who was member of the indigenous Charruas-Pampas-Indians. Wilhelm Von Wright's illustration was published in one of the key works of Retzius, *Ethnologische Schriften* from 1864. There are suspicions, but no proof yet, that Wilhelm von Wright's illustration of 'Refina' would have ended up in the 1853 racist ethnographic exhibition by Robert Gordon Latham in the Crystal Palace.

The Von Wright brothers were central in founding the Finnish Art Association's Drawing School. I hit a brick wall when inquiring after the anatomic drawings of the von Wright brothers from the researchers at the Ateneum National Gallery, (where a huge retrospective exhibition of their oeuvre will open in October 2017)—apparently, nothing could be found. There are also many books featuring the work of the von Wright brothers, but nothing about their anatomic drawings. Perhaps their anatomic drawings have not been considered of equal artistic importance as their bird paintings, which they are known for. For now, we are left to speculate about the nature of the von Wright brothers' involvement with race science.

The Von Wright brothers also studied in the Konstakademien in Stockholm. Some of most celebrated Swedish painters like Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn studied there during the anatomy teachings of Carl Curman. It is known that Curman taught the racial theories of Retzius to the art students. In the work of Larsson and Zorn, as well as in their activities, we can trace the influence of their professor. Similarly,

I think that race science principles can be identified in many "masterpieces" of the Finnish art, not least in the Aino-triptych of Akseli Gallen-Kallela.¹⁸

National Museum

Addressing the historical context of the Florin's Tea House allowed Ahmed-Al Nawas and I to speak about the race science practiced in Finland. Initially it was not very well received by the museum; obviously they were not prepared for their national narrative to be challenged. Now the museum staff are voicing exactly the same things through their latest exhibition, almost with the very wording and sentences that we composed. It seems that the museum is attempting to catch up with the upcoming trend of rewriting dominant narratives. But it seems to be done unwillingly and clumsily: even when the exhibition information text tries to speak about racist continuities, the exhibition promotion text speaks only about past difficulties in the early years of the Finnish nation, over which we have long since triumphed. The promotion text states: "The pictures illustrate Finland's journey as it becomes a land of equality, wellbeing and togetherness." The online exhibition text lists six themes: education, war, race, relationship to nature, communality, and equality and democracy. "*Behind each theme's success story lies some phenomena that we might have wanted to forget or hide.*" I wonder what kind of a 'success story' the topic of 'race' includes.

The National Museum's critique towards the national past does not extend to looking at its own racist representations of the nation.¹⁹ Just a year ago, its permanent collection included, *The Land and its People*, a room full of mannequins wearing

folk costumes from different regions of Finland, whose features were based on race science understandings of the typical inhabitants of different parts of Finland. These dolls were originally commissioned from sculptor K. A. Söderman for ethnographic dioramas by the Students Unions in the 1876 *Arts and Industrial Exhibition* in Helsinki's Kaivopuisto park. These were later inherited by the National Museum, along with the Student Unions' rich ethnographic collections. Söderman lived in Stockholm and studied in the Royal Arts Academy from 1856 to 1864, when anatomy was taught there by Retzius and von Düben. Söderman made similar mannequins of Swedish peoples types commissioned by Arthur Hazelius for the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Söderman also collaborated with Retzius and drew copies of photographs Retzius had taken in 1873 Karelia during his anthropological study of Finnish 'racial types'. These drawings were used as illustrations in Retzius' race science publications. I haven't found any real 'evidence' that Söderman based his mannequins on Retzius' 1873 study, but lacking documents that would suggest otherwise, I think it is a completely valid presumption.

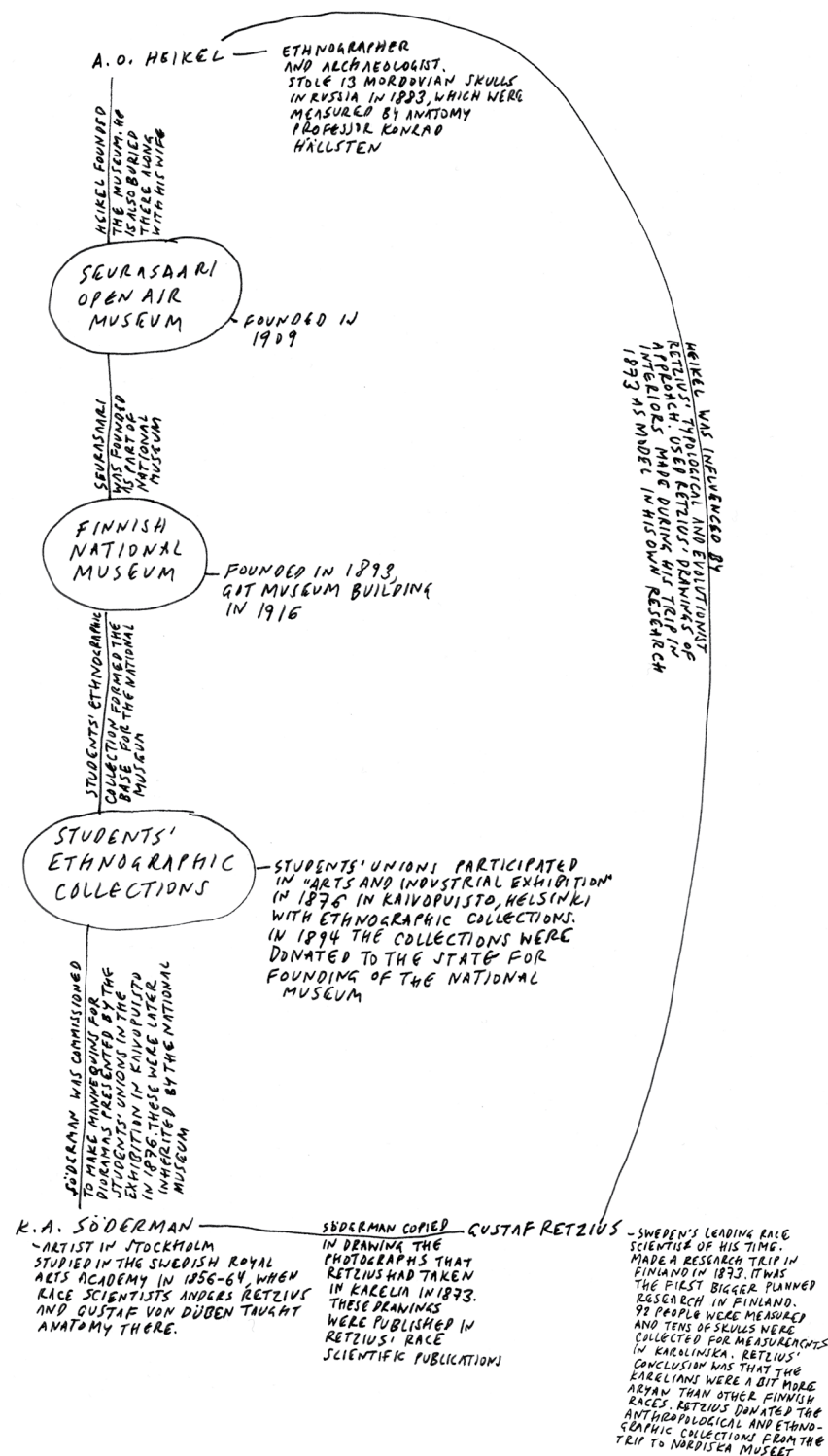
For some time, the National Museum had obviously not considered it problematic to display mannequins likely based on race science, however earlier this year, that part of the permanent displays was silently closed due to a major stage-by-stage refurbishment process. Interestingly, in the recent *Land and its People* exhibition, representations of Sami people were still not included in the same room with the representations of Finns, but were displayed in an adjoining room along with objects representing traditional customs and

sources of livelihood. An interesting difference to an otherwise similar display in the Folk Museum in Oslo is that in Helsinki, nothing was mentioned about Sami struggles for land and cultural rights. The mannequins representing the Sami people date from the 1910s or 1920s, and are made by Emil Filén. They are short and robust with disproportionately large heads, grim-faced with eyes downturned; the 'Finns' in the next room gaze happily into the distance with wide eyes and slim necks, smiling.

I have tried to find out more about the dress dolls in the archives of the National Board of Antiquities, which hosts the archives of the National Museum. I have not found anything about their production history there. My conclusion is that because they are regarded as house furniture, such as sculpture plinths and vitrines, they have not been written into the archives as artefacts. And perhaps that is partly the reason why they have escaped critical viewing up until recent times.

Fortuitously, the "emerging trend" the invigilator referred to also encompasses the removal of racist mannequins. But racist practices in history and the present need to be seriously addressed. It is not enough to silently hide their existence by moving objects that embody racism to the cellars or the attics, as is the case with the skulls and now the mannequins.

These histories are shared by major national institutions in Finland, which served an important purpose in promoting the ruling ideology, as they still do today. The elite ruling class, which built the nation and its institutions, propagated race science to



demonstrate its own self-proclaimed superiority. Although we have taken a critical look at the racist practices of collecting skulls and measuring populations, we also have to see

beyond that obvious racism, and look to the insidious ways that histories are neutralised, and how the premises that enact this become whitewashed.

1 Most notably by historian Aira Kemiläinen in her publications in the 1990s such as "Finns in the shadows of the 'Aryans'", *Studia Historica* 59, 1998.

2 Such was the Turan Theory advocated among others by Joh. Fr. Blumenbach, Count Gobineau, Sven Nilsson, Rudolf Keyser and Anders Retzius.

3 These conclusions were made by, among others, Yrjö Kajava, professor of anatomy in Helsinki University in 1924-29.

4 Perhaps the first study about the racialisation of the Sami by Finnish scientists was in 'Kumma Kuvajainen' by historian Pekka Isaksson, *Kustannus Puntsi* 2001.

5 For example the cultural anthropologist Tapio Tamminen's book "Kansankodin pimeämpi puoli", Atena, 2015, describes race science in Sweden but silences similar histories in Finland. The book received the Finlandia literary prize for nonfiction in 2015.

6 We brought to the museum island another concept of independence as well, in the second of a two-part intervention. That is the liberationist independency, which we borrowed from James Morris Blaut's "The National Question: Decolonising The Theory of Nationalism", Zed Books, 1987. This can be observed in the countries struggling to liberate from colonisation. We took Algiers as an example, where the sentence "Un seul héros le Peuple" (People are the only heroes) reveals that in the liberationist concept of independence, the people were in the centre of the concept and the nation was to be made to fit the people, and not vice versa. Of course this necessitates also the transfer of possession of the means of production from the bourgeoisie (the oppressor) to the hands of the people (the oppressed).

7 Markku Mattila, *Kansamme Parhaaksi*. Rotuhygienia Suomessa vuoden 1935 sterilointilakiin saakka. *Bibliotheca historica* 44, 1999 p. 101.

8 At least the highly successful, even blockbuster touring exhibition "Swedish Folk

Types" by Herman Lundborg in 1919 and they organised a display in the Helsinki Fair in 1920. More in Markku Mattila (1999) p. 65, p. 206.

9 Marjo Liukkonen 'Hennalan nais-murhat 1918', *Vastapaino*. Forthcoming, announced by the publisher to come out in October 2017.

10 Today Lauri "Tahko" Pihkala is a celebrated national hero in Finland. He is the inventor of the Finnish national sport pesäpallo. Among others, he is remembered as one of the 375 humanists celebrated by the University of Helsinki in their internet project in 2015. A postal stamp was made commemorating him in 1988. Interesting is that in 1988, a bronze statue of Pihkala was erected in front of the Olympic Stadium in Helsinki next to street named after him. Especially interesting is the fact that earlier there had been an attempt to erect a statue for the White Guards in Helsinki. The mayor of Helsinki at that time, Raimo Ilaskivi, was one of the people behind the campaign, but a debate about the statue arose in the city board, because the White Guards were deemed a fascist organisation by the Allied Commission. In 1986, the campaign for the White Guard monument was rejected by the city board. Instead, the city of Seinäjoki, 300 km from Helsinki, erected a statue for the White Guard. Two years later, a statue of Pihkala was erected, and he is portrayed wearing the White Guard uniform. So eventually, Helsinki got their White Guard statue, embodied by a supporter of eugenics. The statue was made by sculptor Nina Sainio, who is most known for her statues of the Lotta Svärd, the voluntary female White Guard forces, and another organisation banned by the Allied Forces. About the revealing of the statue, see: <https://yle.fi/aikhe/artikkeli/2010/10/11/pihkalan-patsas-tahko-ja-tahko>. Also noteworthy is that in the exhibition "Hidden and Public Photos from Finland" Paavo Nurmi is presented as an example of a sportsman affected by racial ideas, in lieu of Pihkala, who would likely have had a similar athletic-racial profile and photo material existing as well. But Paavo Nurmi was perhaps a less problematic example.

Also, about the national hero status of Lauri Pihkala speaks the fact that the book "Suomalaiset Fasistit", WSOY 2016, Oula Silvennoinen, Aapo Roselius and Marko Tikka, is completely silent about Lauri Pihkala, although they extensively mention his brother's fascist activities. The brothers represented similar world views, were both influential, and worked together.

11 Marjatta Hietala, *Tutkijat ja Saksan suunta* in *Tutkijat ja Sota*, SKS 2006 p. 128.

12 Westerlund, "Ulkomaalasten sotilaiden lapset Suomessa 1940–1948 Osa I, The Children of German Soldiers / Children of Foreign Soldiers in Finland 1940–1948 Volume I", Nordprint 2011.

13 See Isaksson, 2001, p. 234. The grant application to the Kordelin Foundation was written by Kai Donner on behalf of Kajava. Donner made anthropological measurements during his trips to Karelia in 1921–23. The National Museum of Finland had an exhibition of Kai Donner in 2014–15, "Adventures in Siberia", where he was presented as a heroic figure risking his life in harsh conditions. The exhibition did not mention his activities with race science nor his activities within the fascist Lapua movement.

14 For example, my reading of the first version of Gallen-Kallela's Aino-triptych is that it was motivated by aims to include the Finns into Aryanism through combining Finnish mythology, representations of the Finnish 'race' and the Aryan swastika-symbol. See Rab-Rab 1. Also Wäinö Aaltonen's sculptures, especially 'Lilja' in Turku, were interpreted by art historian Onni Okkonen to embody the 'East-Baltic race'. This category for Finns as an Aryan-related race was coined by writer and race scientist Rolf Nordenstreng in 1926.



15 Composer Jean Sibelius' diaries from the time of the war are also missing. Therefore it is difficult to even discuss his Nazi-affiliations, as the composer's protégés immediately dismiss the discussion due to lack of documents. See: <http://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000002844734.html>

16 In the Finnish Doctors' Association Duodecim, the obituary of Pesonen was written by his previous student Lauri Autio, who says (my translation): "The roots of the Finnish basic values of Niilo Pesonen reached deep. [...] Pesonen volunteered to be imprisoned to save the Finnish juridical system [...] After life has passed, Niilo Pesonen reclined in his death bed like a monument carved in stone of a Finnish patriot." (<http://www.duodecimlehti.fi/lehti/1994/4/duo40069>) The Duodecim Association annually celebrates doctors with "Big Niilo" and "Small Niilo" awards.

17 For more about artist Gallen-Kallela see my text in Rab-Rab issue 1. Due to discussion that arose, in 1995, 95 Sami skulls were reburied in Inari in Lapland.

18 See Rab-Rab 1. A curious fact supporting this argument is that Gallen-Kallela was not happy with the first version of the Aino-triptych, which he painted in Paris and used Parisian models. In the second version he was back in Finland and could use Finnish models, and was pleased with the outcome.

19 In 2014–2015, the Museum's *Adventures in Siberia* exhibition was a celebration of the explorer Kai Donner, continuing problematic ethnographic representations of Donner and silencing his fascist right-wing connections.