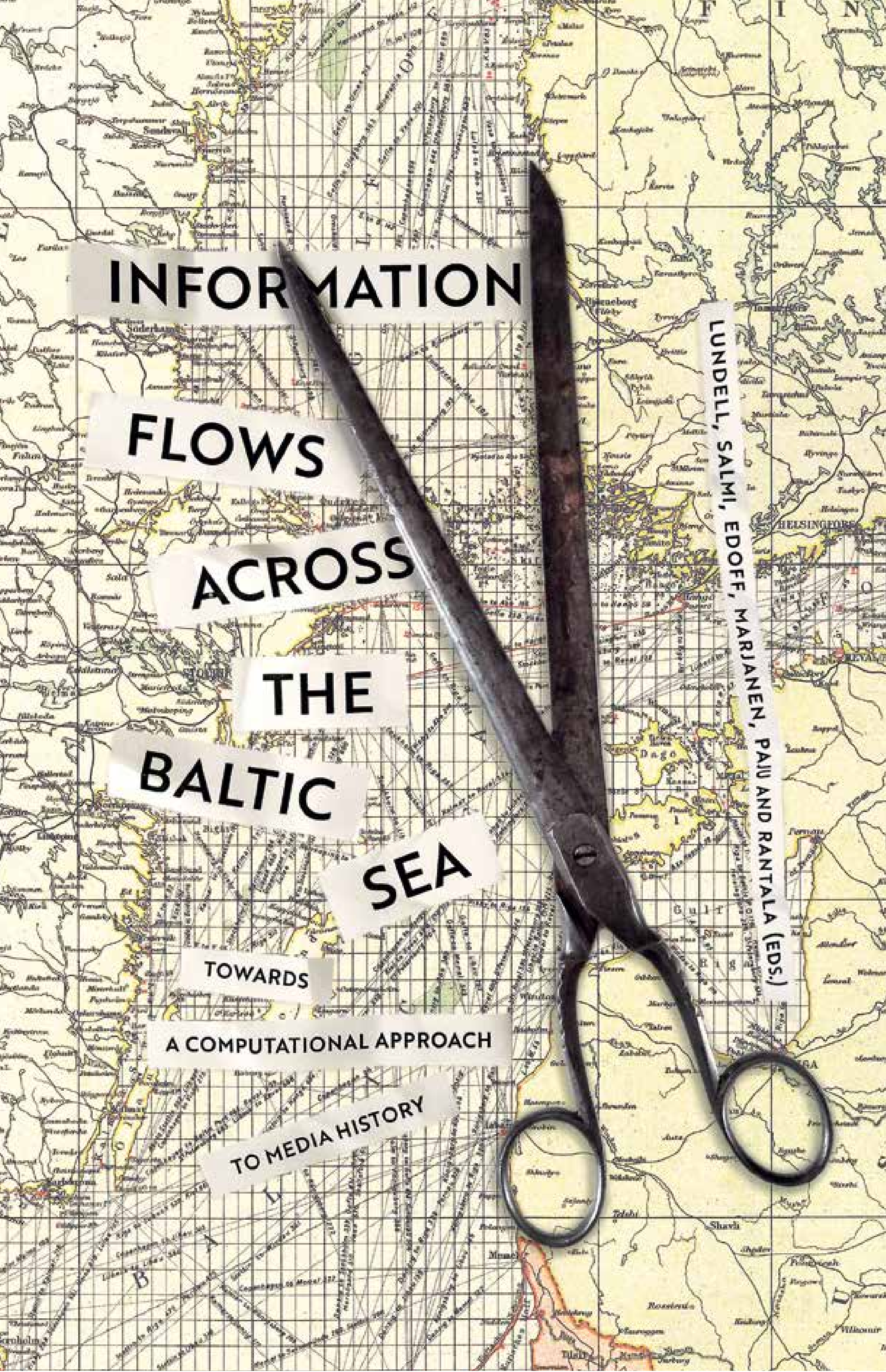
INFORMATION
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TOWARDS
A COMPUTATIONAL APPROACH
TO MEDIA HISTORY
LUNDELL, SALMI, EDOFF, MARJANEN, PAJU AND RANTALA (EDS.)

Information Flows across the Baltic Sea

Towards a Computational Approach to Media History

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PATRIK LUNDELL, HANNU SALMI,
ERIK EDOFF, JANI MARJANEN, PETRI PAJU
AND HELI RANTALA
(EDS.)

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The project *Information Flows across the Baltic Sea: Swedish-language press as a cultural mediator, 1771–1918* was funded by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland 2020–2023.

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Publisher: Föreningen Mediehistoriskt arkiv, Lund
MEDIEHISTORISKT ARKIV 56

Graphic design and cover: Johan Laserna
Image editing: David Laserna
Print: Livonia Print, Riga 2023

ISSN 1654-6601
978-91-985802-2-8 (print)
978-91-985802-3-5 (pdf)
https://doi.org/10.54292/s6au8axqht

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Acknowledgements

This book is an outcome of the research project 'Information Flows across the Baltic Sea: Swedish-language press as a cultural mediator, 1771–1918' (Informationsflöden över Östersjön: Svenskspråkig press som kulturförmedlare 1771–1918), funded by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS) from 2020 to 2023. It has been a joint effort by researchers from Helsinki, Turku, Örebro and Umeå. It has been led by Hannu Salmi (University of Turku) and participated by Erik Edoff (Umeå University), Patrik Lundell (Örebro University), Jani Marjanen (University of Helsinki), Petri Paju (University of Turku) and Heli Rantala (University of Turku). We would like to thank SLS for the opportunity of conducting this project and experimenting with digitised newspapers from Finland and Sweden. We are particularly grateful to Christer Kuvaja and Nina Edgren-Henrichson from SLS for their guidance during the project as well as to Lars-Folke Landgrén and Henrika Tandefelt for sharing their expertise at the advisory board meetings.

Thank you Johan Jarlbrink and Pelle Snickars, who participated in our session in Umeå in 2018, when we were sharing ideas for cooperation and sketching future projects. At that point, we could not anticipate that the project would finally take place during the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to the fact that we could not physically meet in a way that we originally planned.

We are particularly thankful to Aleksi Vesanto, who developed the method for detecting text reuse. He processed our datasets and constructed a database of text-reuse clusters. Thank you, Aleksi, for your effective work! We would also like to thank the CSC–IT Centre for Science, Finland, for computational resources and the National Libraries of Finland and Sweden for providing access to the digitised newspaper corpora. Martin Malmstedt and Jonas Ahlberg at the National Library of Sweden helped us obtain the latest digitisations from Sweden.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has been in preparation since the beginning of the project. We would like to acknowledge the support of the Åke Wiberg Foundation for contributing to the printing costs and thank Mediehistoriskt Arkiv for taking our collection into its respected series. Last but not least, our sincere thanks to everyone who has given us feedback and commented on our papers at conferences in recent years.

Shared and Parallel Histories of Swedish-language Newspapers: An introduction

HANNU SALMI, PATRIK LUNDELL, ERIK EDOFF,
JANI MARJANEN, PETRI PAJU
AND HELI RANTALA

In a letter, dated 31 July 1803, the bishop of Linköping, Jacob Axelsson Lindblom, complained that, apart from himself, none of his priests had yet – despite duly paid subscription and postal fees and several reminders by Lindblom personally – received a single copy of the Turku *Allmän Litteratur-Tidning*, also known as *Åbo Litteratur-Tidning*. The journal had been published twice a week since early January. In an obvious testimony to the obstacles, or downright failure, of efficient information dissemination, the episcopal bleat also tells of a perceived standard. Seven months was apparently not considered a reasonable time for receiving a periodical from across the Baltic Sea. *Allmän Litteratur-Tidning* was, in fact, after its one year of publication, closed down due to distribution problems – 'unexpected obstacles at the post offices', as it was called when its readership was notified. The real reason, however, was most likely that the censorship authorities threatened the paper with suspension and that the persons behind the journal chose the least conspicuous way out. After all, distribution had been bothersome. It should also be noted that, in the same letter, Bishop Lindblom lamented the information overload. Of all his duties, none was more haunting, more frequent – and less effective – than book offers. 'Not a monthly newspaper, or circular, where such advertisements do not occur, and that is precisely why the Public gets tired of them and neglects good and bad works alike'.[1]

1. Jacob Axelsson Lindblom to Carl Christoffer Gjörwell 31 July 1803, Brev till

In 1803, a newspaper or journal had to be physically transported from one place to another – in Lindblom's case, from Turku to Linköping. Seven months was an unreasonable delay, but the transport took time, regardless. Over the next century and on a global scale, the transnational connections changed dramatically. It still took time to move the material paper, but steamship and railway links made transport quicker. In addition, telegraph lines allowed newspapers to distribute their contents faster than ever before, without sending them physically with other kinds of cargo. When, on 16 June 1904, the Finnish nationalist Eugen Schauman shot Nikolay Bobrikov, the Governor-General of Finland who was regarded as responsible for the so-called Russification of the Grand Duchy, it was reported the next day not only in dozens of Swedish newspapers but also elsewhere in Europe.[2] In these hundred years, a tremendous change had happened in information flows.

The speed and supply of information are historically relative terms. Distribution is physical and a matter of expectations, perceptions and regulations; it is both hard and soft;[3] the infrastructure of communication – not only its contents – clearly matters. This book focuses on the shared Swedish-language newspaper texts and formats between 1771 and 1918. The period represents an era when present-day Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom until 1809 and, thereafter, a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire until the Independence in 1917 and the subsequent Civil War in 1918. Under these infrastructural and political conditions, we investigate what kinds of content moved across and what kinds did not; whether, or to

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Gjörwell, Ep.G.7:35, National Library, Stockholm. On the shutdown of *Allmän Litteratur Tidning*, see Lars Munkhammar, 'Allmän Litteratur-Tidning: Finlands första lärda tidskrift', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 52 (1977): 269 (quote from *ALT* no. 102, 1803), 276. For further discussion on noise in communication, see Michel Serres and Lawrence R. Schehr. 'Noise.' *SubStance*, 12, no. 3 (1983): 48–60.

2. See the news on Eugen Schauman on 17 June 1904 at Svenska dagstidningar, https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=Eugen%20Schauman&from=1904-06-16&to=2022-12-31&sort=asc; see also Mila Oiva, Asko Nivala, Hannu Salmi, Otto Latva, Marja Jalava, Jana Keck, Laura Martínez Domínguez and James Parker, 'Spreading News in 1904: The Media Coverage of Nikolay Bobrikov's Shooting', *Media History* 26, no. 4 (2020).

3. Susan Leigh Star and Geoffrey C. Bowker, 'How to Infrastructure', *The Handbook of New Media*, eds. Leah A. Lievrouw and Sonia Livingstone (London & Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2006); Marion Näser-Lather and Christoph Neubert, eds., *Traffic: Media as Infrastructures and Cultural Practices* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015).

what extent, communication was uni- or bidirectional; what hubs, divides and peripheries were encountered and how far information travelled and with what speed. The overarching theme is what these patterns say about the changing role of the Swedish-language press as a cultural mediator.

This book is based on the fact that news and other newspaper content moved in both directions, from Sweden to Finland and vice versa, and that the role of the Swedish-language press in Finland was changing and crucial in producing and converting media content from and to the Swedish language.[4] This process enabled further reuse and copying on a transnational scale. It can also be argued that there was an imbalance in the information flows between Finland and Sweden. For example, in the middle of the nineteenth century, it was noted in Finland that, after 1809, the Finnish press eagerly copied texts from Swedish newspapers, while the interest in reporting on Finland diminished in the Swedish press.[5] Our analyses of textual overlaps provide sharper contours to these asymmetrical conditions.

The joint starting point for the following chapters is in a computer-assisted method identifying text reuse – in this case, in more than 7.5 million newspaper pages. Newspapers constituted an important information technology for a broader public discourse. They are central in any narrative concerning the emergence and growth of the public sphere. A fundamental, but neglected, feature of the newspapers of the time-period was their cut-and-paste quality. To this can be added a style of debate with extensive quoting as well as more or less widespread advertisements and campaign texts. In other words, to a large extent, text items travelled from one paper to the next or to several papers simultaneously. Sometimes in long chains or with the ramifications spreading over large geographical areas, sometimes over shorter distances – sometimes fast, sometimes slower. The chapters of this book approach the question of textual traffic in various contexts and from different perspectives. With the vast number of text-reuse cases delivered by an algorithm – some 22 million – at the

4. Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, *Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988).

5. Max Engman, *Språkfrågan: Finlandssvenskhetens uppkomst 1812–1922* (Helsinki: Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2016); Jani Marjanen, 'Gränserna för det offentliga samtalet i Finland 1809–1863', in *Frie ord i Norden? Offentlighet, ytringsfrihet og medborgerskap 1814–1914*, eds. Ruth Hemstad and Dag Michaelsen (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2019).

base of these separate investigations, it is possible to shed new light on how content was used and recontextualised, that is, to understand the nature of the information flows across the sea.

Exploring information flows: Towards the study of text reuse

Harold Innis' modern classic *Empire and Communications* and a more recent so-called spatial turn in media studies have directed attention to the horizontal dimensions of information flows. Also, the recent scholarship in the history of knowledge has especially focused attention on how the circulation of knowledge transgressed borders. Still, the existing literature on the characteristics and contours of the information geography in the 1800s is relatively scarce.[6] The relevant qualitative research has investigated the economic, journalistic, political, rhetorical and technological frameworks and implications of new communications, nationally and globally.[7] Others have approached nineteenth-century communication technologies from the perspective of 'great power rivalries' and how they were used as 'tools of empire';[8] and yet others have pointed to the limitations of this perspective, as it fails to acknowledge the implementations in

6. Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Jesper Falkheimer and André Jansson, *Geographies of Communication: The Spatial Turn in Media Studies* (Gothenburg: NORDICOM, 2006); Johan Östling, Erling Sandmo, David Larsson Heidenblad, Anna Nilsson Hammar and Karin H. Nordberg, eds., *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).

7. Terhi Rantanen, *When News Was New* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Patrice Flichy, *Dynamics of Modern Communication: The Shaping and Impact of New Communication Technologies* (London: Sage, 1995); James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

8. Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

• Figure 1. Reading *Helsingfors Dagblad* in 1883. Victor Westerholm's oil painting *Ateljéstämning* (Studio atmosphere), 1883. Ateneum Art Museum. Photo: The Finnish National Gallery/Janne Mäkinen.


HELSINGFORS DAGBLAD

specific contexts. There are many case studies that have investigated the field.[9]

A fruitful perspective for the study of transborder flows is provided by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann's idea on *histoire croisée* and their agenda to empirically explore the intercrossings between societies and cultures.[10] The nineteenth century, especially, was an era of national borders. Still, it is essential to focus on the entangled histories and on the ways in which these borders were transgressed. As Marie Cronqvist and Christoph Hilgert point out, the 'transnational and transmedial dimensions of media and communication throughout history have not always been adequately recognised'.[11] This is particularly true of Finnish/Swedish media relations. The national historiographies of the newspaper business, *Svenska pressens historia* and *Suomen sanomalehdistön historia*, are open to the entanglements but have not adequately approached the issue of information flows.[12] In the Nordic realm, there are few attempts to write the histories of the Nordic nations as a shared history. Bo Stråth's *Union och demokrati*, on the shared history of the Swedish-Norwegian union in the nineteenth century, does this from the point of view of politics.[13] There are good reasons to argue that something similar could be done for Sweden and Finland in the nineteenth century, and the study of information flows across the Baltic Sea hopefully paves the way for such endeavours.

There is, of course, a wide array of scholarship on textual migration, both qualitative and quantitative, on an international level. The movements of texts have been traced, for example, in the study of mediaeval

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9. M. Michael Hampf and Simone Müller-Pohl, eds., *Global Communication Electric: Business, News and Politics in the World of Telegraphy* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013); Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius, 'Conclusion: Mediating the Nordic Brand – History Recycled', in *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

10. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 2006).

11. Marie Cronqvist and Christoph Hilgert, 'Entangled Media Histories', *Media History*, 23, no. 1 (2017), 130.

12. See, for example, Ingemar Oscarsson, 'Med tryckfrihet som tidig tradition (1732–1809)', in *Den svenska pressens historia, 1: I begynnelsen (tiden före 1830)*, eds. Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2000), 178, 206.

13. Bo Stråth, *Union och demokrati: De förenade rikena Sverige och Norge 1814–1905: Sverige och Norge under 200 år* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 2005).

manuscripts and their itineraries, in the study of the book trade and book publishing and in the study of quotation and paraphrasing practices. However, this book's interest in text reuse emanates from a desire to nuance the present-day assumptions of information virality related to digital media and from the previously somewhat-neglected fact that nineteenth-century press items were 'shared' and continuously republished to a considerable extent, eliciting a wide range of historical questions.[14] The *Viral Text Project* (VTP) in the US, the *Oceanic Exchanges*, as a cooperation between American and European universities and the *Computational History and the Transformation of Public Discourse in Finland* (COMHIS), as well as the newly launched *Information Highways of the 19th Century* in Sweden all work with large data sets to trace textual migration in time and space. The VTP investigated 'the great unread', the plentiful poems and short stories that circulated via newspapers, the recontextualisation of texts and the ways in which authorships were transformed as texts were copied and reprinted.[15] The Oceanic Exchanges examined information-flow patterns across national and language borders.[16]

The book at hand is a result of the project *Information Flows across the Baltic Sea*. It draws on the same algorithm as COMHIS,[17] which detects the

14. Karine Nahon and Jeff Hemsley, *Going Viral* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Cameron Blevins, 'Space, Nation, and the Triumph of Region: A View of the World from Houston', *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014); Johan Jarlbrink, 'Mobile/Sedentary: News Work behind and beyond the Desk', *Media History* 21, no. 3 (2015); Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspaper', *American Literary History* 27, no. 3 (2015).

15. Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting'; Ryan Cordell and Abby Mullen, '"Fugitive Verses": The Circulation of Poems in Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers', *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism* 27, no. 1 (2017).

16. Ryan Cordell, M.H. Beals, Isabela Galina Russel, Julianne Nyhan, Marc Priewe, Ernesto Priani, Hannu Salmi, Jaap Verheul, Raquel Alegre, Steffen Koch, Otto Latva, T. Hauswedell, Paul Fyfe, James Hetherington, Jana Keck, Elizabeth Lorang, Asko Nivala, Mila Oiva, Sebastian Pado, Martin Riedl, Leen-Kiat Soh and Melissa Terras, *Oceanic Exchanges: Tracing Global Information Networks in Historical Newspaper Repositories* (2017), project.

17. Hannu Salmi, Asko Nivala, Heli Rantala, Reetta Sippola, Aleksi Vesanto and Filip Ginter, 'Återanvändningen av text i den finska tidningspressen 1771–1853', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 103, no. 1 (2018); Hannu Salmi, Petri Paju, Heli Rantala, Asko Nivala, Aleksi Vesanto and Filip Ginter, 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish News-

textual overlaps and identifies the chains of fast-moving text-reuse cases and slow-moving text items and studies the Swedish-language press as a cultural mediator between and within Finland and Sweden. The main idea has been to collect all the digitised newspaper resources from both sides of the Baltic Sea, to combine these data sets and to detect the textual similarities. The algorithm can identify whether a passage of text is repeated at least once after its original publication. When the overlapping passages have been found, the texts can be clustered to make the chains of repetition explorable for researchers. The method has been described in detail elsewhere as well as the database based on these text-reuse clusters.[18]

With digitised newspapers and journals as its starting points, this book examines the overlaps and connections between data sets and interprets them as indications of cultural mediations. These mediations are viewed from above, as large-scale movements of information – advertisements and news, reports and literary texts – but they will also be portrayed from below, analysing the concrete historical cases throughout the timespan. The reuse clusters themselves do not indicate how these texts actually travelled or why they were reprinted. There are cases where texts have been spread *en masse*, for example, for advertising purposes, and cases where interesting news items have been republished out of editorial interests. By shifting between the macro- and microlevels, light is also shed on the question of agency in this flow of information. Through these means, this book blends quantitative methods with qualitative readings and offers a novel way of analysing the cultural reception between regions.

Methodologically, this book draws on the digital history under which

paper and Journals, 1771–1920: A Digital Humanities Perspective', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 54, no. 1 (2021); Asko Nivala, Hannu Salmi and Jukka Sarjala, 'History and Virtual Topology: The Nineteenth-Century Press as Material Flow', *Historein* 17, no. 2 (2018).

18. Petri Paju, Erik Edoff, Patrik Lundell, Jani Marjanen, Heli Rantala, Hannu Salmi and Aleksi Vesanto, 'Tidningstexter över Östersjön: En databas av delat innehåll mellan Finland och Sverige', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 107, no. 2 (2022); Petri Paju, Hannu Salmi, Heli Rantala, Patrik Lundell, Jani Marjanen and Aleksi Vesanto, 'Textual Migration Across the Baltic Sea: Creating a Database of Text Reuse Between Finland and Sweden', *The 6th Digital Humanities in the Nordic and Baltic Countries Conference (DHNB 2022), Uppsala, Sweden, March 15–18, 2022*. Eds. Karl Berglund, Matti La Mela and Inge Zwart. CEUR Workshop Proceedings, https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-3232/paper35.pdf.

the study of historical newspapers has become a particularly vibrant area of research. Digitised newspapers have certain heuristic problems that must be tackled. Often, newspapers have been scanned from microfilms, not the original paper prints, as in the case of the Finnish digital collection. Furthermore, the quality of optical character recognition (OCR) varies significantly, depending not only on the scanning method but also on the nature of the original material, the quality of the ink and paper and the typesets and layouts.[19] The data sets tend to be rather noisy. The benefit of our method is that it is tolerant of noise. Hence, text similarities can be recognised in those cases where the data includes several misrecognised characters and words.[20]

The press, its emergence and transformation

The newspaper business and the cultural practice of sharing news in general, was transformed by a wide array of factors, ranging from geographical borders, both the enabling and disabling features, to political circumstances, including external conflicts and internal restrictions, such as censorship conditions, for news sharing. From the perspective of the information flows between Finland and Sweden, it is important to note that the Baltic Sea was a medium in itself, establishing a channel for interaction, but, at the same time, it could, due to seasonal weather conditions, also become a non-medium, limiting news circulation. After 1809, the Baltic Sea also became a political border between Sweden and Russia, with the remaining parts of Finland being formed as a Grand Duchy on the Russian side. Prior to 1809, connections were close and regular across the Baltic Sea, but, during the nineteenth century, a distance emerged due to political reasons. Still, the Swedish-language press could draw on the journalism published on both sides of the sea.[21]

The pathways of Finland and Sweden diverged, but they also shared many features. The Freedom of the Press Act in Sweden from 1766 provided an impetus for the press in the kingdom, and it also inspired the foundation of the press in Turku, the intellectual centre of Finland in the

19. Hannu Salmi, *What is Digital History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2020), 45–52.

20. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts', 16–19.

21. On the history of the Baltic world, see Matti Klinge, *The Baltic World*, transl. by Timothy Binham and Willian Moore (Helsinki: Otava, 2010).

late eighteenth century. The political developments were obviously different, especially in Finland, due to the varied censorship conditions during the nineteenth century, culminating during the so-called Russification period at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Still, there were shared elements even towards the end of the period. Many international movements created similarities and affinities, from the temperance movement to the rising labour and suffragette activism. Furthermore, the newspaper business expanded on a global level, and both Finland and Sweden were connected to this globalisation of the news business.[22]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was an increasing wave of international news items that were published and debated in the Swedish-language press on both sides of the Baltic Sea. As a starting point for this book, and before focusing on the entangled histories of the Finnish and Swedish press, it is important to describe their distinct historical trajectories.

The Swedish newspaper history dates back to 1645, when the first issue of *Ordinari Post Tijdender* was published in Stockholm. The capital long remained the only place where newspapers and other periodicals were issued. The first newspaper published in Finland, *Tidningar Utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo* (1771), was part of a drawn-out, general expansion of the printing and newspaper towns within the Swedish kingdom from the mid-eighteenth century, gaining momentum especially after the Freedom of the Press Act of 1766. Turku was then added to Gothenburg (1749), Karlskrona (1754), Norrköping (1758) and Nyköping (1764) and soon followed by Uppsala (1772), Karlstad (1774), Lund and Vänersborg (1775), Gävle (1783) and Falun (1786). Another five towns were added in the politically turbulent first half of the 1790s: Kalmar (1790), Linköping and Örebro (1793), Skara (1794) and Västerås (1795). Following the gradually tightening control of the public sphere of his father, Gustav III (r. 1771–1792), the reign of Gustav IV Adolf (r. 1792–1809) was, apart from a short period of very liberal press laws, marked by the political repression and limited expansion of the newspaper geography.[23]

22. On the global connectedness, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

23. At some sites there were previous but short-lived attempts; the account is based on the more or less long-lived endeavours regarding what was conceived of as public newspapers; hence, so-called *stiftstidningar* (news of the diocese) or scholarly journals

Around 1800, newspapers were published in nineteen Swedish towns. Except for the relatively large and economically important port, trade and manufacturing city of Norrköping, all of them were seats of the county and/or cathedral towns, mirroring the fact that print shops, to a large degree, were based on the needs of the state and the church. The northernmost town with a newspaper was Gävle, located in the southernmost part of Norrland (geographically the northern 60 per cent of post-1809 Sweden).

After the secession of the remaining counties of Finland, the new constitution (1809) and the new Freedom of the Press Act (1810/1812), the number of newspaper towns in Sweden doubled up to the mid-nineteenth century, numbering about forty. The northernmost publishing site was now 900 kilometres north of Stockholm and only 100 kilometres south of the Arctic Circle, in Piteå, where the publication of *Nordpolen* (the North Pole) began in 1846. Although debated when it comes to details, this period is generally considered to be the period of the birth of the modern type of political newspapers, controlled by determined editors fighting for a specific political, usually liberal, agenda.[24] In the revised Freedom of the Press Act of 1812, Carl XIV Johan (r. 1818–1844, but with considerable influence already from 1810 as crown prince) introduced the right to seize a newspaper issue without a trial – in fact, without even revealing the cause of the intervention – and forbid the editor to continue any further publication. Early on, this was circumvented by the afflicted editor by engaging a front man and by slightly altering the name of the publication – in the early 1820s, *Argus* thus reemerged as *Argus den Andre* (the second), *Nya Argus* (new), *Nya Argus den Andre*, et cetera, each new title edited only officially by different persons. Easy as this may seem, it did still cost money and, often, days in jail. Therefore, when the procedure was abandoned by the government in 1838 and the system formally abolished in

are not included. For an overview of the developments of the press in Sweden, see Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, eds., *Den svenska pressens historia*, 1–5 (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2000–2003) and Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, *A History of the Press in Sweden* (Gothenburg: NORDICOM, 2010).

24. For different views on the emergence of the 'modern' press in Sweden, see, for example, Dag Nordmark, *Det förenande samtalet: Om norrländsk lokalpress och den borgerliga offentlighetens etablering under 1800-talets första hälft* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1989), Cecilia Rosengren, *Tidevarvets bättre genius: Föreställningar om offentlighet och publicitet i Karl Johanstidens Sverige* (Stockholm: Symposion, 1999) and Patrik Lundell, *Pressen i provinsen: Från medborgerliga samtal till modern opinionsbildning 1750–1850* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002).

1844, it was hailed by liberal editors as an important victory for the free press.

By the 1870s, the number of newspaper cities had doubled again, counting some eighty towns with one or more newspapers. The recession of the late 1870s and early 1880s brought a temporary halt to the expansion, though it subsequently picked up again. Important features from this period are the establishment of proper party-run newspapers, especially Social Democratic ones, and the launching of a few very inexpensive newspapers with relatively extensive circulations across the nation. The establishment of news agencies and the professionalisation of journalism further activated the newspaper business. At the same time, by the early 1900s, there was hardly a small town without a newspaper of its own; for the beginning of the twentieth century the database contains texts originating in 113 locations and 367 different newspapers.

The geographical expansion is, of course, central when focusing on newspaper-related information flows in time and space. Other dimensions of growth are also important to consider. The average newspaper copy grew in size, number of columns and pages (that is, in sheer textual content per issue), publication frequency and circulation. If the ordinary format around 1800 was a four-page quarto set in one column and published once or twice a week, a hundred years later, it was not unusual to encounter sixteen-page folios set in six or more columns and issued most days of the week. Although small-town papers, even at the end of the nineteenth century, could still survive with eighteenth-century-like circulations, that is, a few hundred copies, there were also papers approaching and even exceeding print runs that numbered 100,000. To this can be added that many cities – in the 1880s more than a third – eventually had two newspapers, some even three or more.

Important political conditions for this development, besides the press legislation already mentioned, were the Liberty of Trade Statute of 1864 – opening up not only the printing sector per se but the market generally and, hence, advertising – and the introduction of a bicameral parliament in 1866 – opening up public political life initially and formally for some 20 per cent of the male population, and from 1911 for, in essence, all adult males. In both Sweden and Finland, newspapers became a forum for debate on key social issues, such as women's voting right, which realised in Finland in 1907 and in Sweden in 1921.

Unsurprisingly, the development of Finnish newspaper publishing after

1809 followed the paths of expansion and regionalisation similar to those in Sweden. The same technological advancements in print technology characterised the Finnish development, though, as Timo Myllyntaus pointed out, there was a technological gap between the foremost industrial countries and Finland. Gradually, the old-fashioned printing presses were replaced with more modern ones, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, the gap had been considerably narrowed.[25] The widespread international adoption of the telegraph in the 1860s and 1870s connected the Finnish media landscape more intensively with the global scene. To return to the example mentioned in the beginning of this introduction, Eugen Schauman shot Nikolay Bobrikov on 16 June 1904 at 11 am Finnish time, and the telegram news on the event was already published by the morning of 17 June in Mexico City. In Finland, however, the censorship conditions influenced the way the story of the events could be told. Schauman had written a letter to Emperor Nikolai II, but it could not be published in Finland, at all. It was delivered to Sweden and printed in *Aftonbladet* on 20 June 1904 in Stockholm. This, too, became global news, via Sweden.[26]

During the nineteenth century, the censorship conditions were obviously different along the shores of the Baltic Sea. In Sweden up to the 1840s, there were many cancellations of papers, whereas, in Finland, there were only two cases, those of *Åbo Morgonblad* and *Saima*. Finnish newspaper publishing was characterised by self-censorship. This was the case even in the later nineteenth century. There were also periods of external censorship in Finland, for example, in the 1890s, when the freedom of the press was strongly restricted.[27]

Newspaper publishing in Finland was developed against the backdrop of the societal factors and political circumstances that differed from those in Sweden. What, in Sweden, meant the expansion of newspapers into the regional and local press, was, in Finland, also shaped by the issue of language. In the first half of the nineteenth century, newspapers began appearing

25. Timo Myllyntaus, *The Growth and Structure of Finnish Print Production, 1840–1900*. Communications of the Institute of Economic and Social History, University of Helsinki (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1984), 23.

26. Oiva et al., 'Spreading News in 1904', 391–407.

27. Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, *Sensuuri ja sanomalehdistö Suomessa vuosina 1891–1905* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1984), Lundell, *Pressen i provinsen*, Marjanen, 'Gränserna för det offentliga samtalet i Finland 1809–1863', Yrjö Nurmio, *Suomen sensuuriolot Venäjän vallan alkuaikoina vv. 1809–1829* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1934).

both in Swedish and in Finnish in the major towns, but, especially in the latter half of the century, the growth occurred especially through the introduction of Finnish-language newspapers and, increasingly, in smaller inland towns that did not host a Swedish-language medium. This created a channel for a large part of the population that had been excluded from media participation in public life.[28] For larger towns, the language question also created a particular dynamic for debate. In general, the towns that hosted more than one newspaper would often host one in both languages, to serve the audience. Newspapers also frequently translated texts from another language, which was a fundamental aspect of the creation of Finnish political culture, in both languages.[29] Further, the foundations of debate on the local level were initially set not by political or cultural divides, but by language. There is good evidence that readers quite fluently switched between languages, but once the Finnish-language publications advanced, they also functioned as a channel for the inclusion of a completely new readership that had a stronger sense of a primary language.

Setting the media landscape

To understand the nature of information flows and text reuse within the press, it is important to sketch a picture of the wider communication network within which they were realised, because information flows were never internal and limited to the medium of the press but circulated between different media forms. Traffic routes and postal services were the basis for news circulation. The Swedish post office was founded in 1636. Its system was based on appointed postal farmers whose duty it was to deliver mail; unlike other peasants, they were not obliged to transport travellers. Although the postal system was reasonably reliable, no substantial increases in speed occurred until the road network was improved and modern postal services were introduced in the late nineteenth century.

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28. Jani Marjanen et al., ‘A National Public Sphere? Analyzing the Language, Location, and Form of Newspapers in Finland, 1771–1917’, *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2019); Heikki Kokko, ‘Suomenkielisen julkisuuden nousu 1850-luvulla ja sen yhteiskunnallinen merkitys’, *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 117, no. 1 (2019).

29. Henrik Stenius, ‘The Finnish Citizen: How a Translation Emasculated the Concept’, *Redescriptions*: *Yearbook of Political Thought and Conceptual History* 8, no. 1 (2004).

The mail travelling by land had a top speed of about 7.5 kilometres per hour. It was about the same as two centuries earlier in continental Europe.[30] However, the regional differences were substantial, and information between Stockholm and Western Europe via Hamburg was considerably faster than communication in the more remote parts of the Swedish empire, such as Riga or Oulu.[31]

On the Finnish side of the sea, the post travelled according to the same system as that in other parts of the Swedish kingdom. The establishment of the Grand Duchy did not bring any changes to the system; the post was carried from Stockholm to Turku, across the sea, and further, to Helsinki and other places, in the same way as earlier. What changed after 1809 was the rising importance of the post line to Saint Petersburg. Moreover, via Saint Petersburg, Finland became connected to a new post route that stretched from Russia to central and western Europe. According to Päiviö Tommila, the post travelled via this route more or less at the same speed as when it was transported via Sweden.[32]

The mid- and late nineteenth century witnessed several technical innovations and breakthroughs that impacted communication. Railroads were introduced, and the shipping routes were speeded up by steam ships. Industrialisation started first in Sweden, and that meant increased economic and social exchanges over the borders, eventually enabling more transnational information flows.

The growth of the newspapers, not least regarding their distribution, is closely intertwined with developments in the physical and organisational infrastructure. With the Ystad–Stralsund steamboat connection in 1823, Sweden's first modern communication route to and from continental Europe was established. Generally speaking, the increased shipping, not least the steamships from the 1820s to the 1850s, led to substantial progress in the speed of the postal service in northern Europe. With regard

30. Örjan Simonson, 'När posten höll tempot i medielandskapet: Postväsendet kring sekelskiftet 1700', *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, eds. Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell and Pelle Snickars (Stockholm: National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images, 2008), 260.

31. On the postal services in the Kingdom of Sweden, see Magnus Linnarsson, *Postgång på växlande villkor: Det svenska postväsendets organisation under stormaktstiden* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2010).

32. Päiviö Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta ulkomailta Suomeen 1800-luvun alkupuolella', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 58, no. 1 (1960).

to newspapers, the connection between Sweden and Finland, it seems, relied less on the official post route via the Åland Islands, and more on the faster steamers running between Turku and Stockholm during the summer, making the time span between publication dates considerably shorter. The speed of communication was not only a result of technological innovations, but also of the information demand from both businessmen and society in general.[33]

The introduction of the railway happened roughly at the same time in Finland and Sweden. The first Finnish line opened in 1862 between Helsinki and Hämeenlinna. The same year, the line between Stockholm and Gothenburg went into operation. In both countries, several new lines were introduced during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In Sweden, these constructions culminated in the inauguration of the Main Line through Upper Norrland in 1894.[34] The postal system and the newspaper business benefited from the railways. The Swedish authorities also developed a system for distributing newspapers in the provinces. The subscription price for newspapers was not to be dependent on where the subscribers lived.[35] The readers of Stockholm papers in, for example, Örebro, were subsidised by the readers in Stockholm, and the remote subscribers were counted in the thousands. As a consequence, in the 1870s, the majority of the distributed mail in Sweden was newspapers, measured in the number of items and in weight.[36]

In 1870, the railway line from the Russian empire's capital, Saint Petersburg, to Helsinki, Finland, was opened. The railway connection enhanced the transport of mail, such as newspapers, and, thus, simultaneously boosted the spreading of news. According to previous research, the most important news channel for editors in Finland in the 1860s and 1870s was still other newspapers. The building of railways continued in Finland for decades to come, improving communications both within and

33. Yrjö Kaukiainen, 'Shrinking the World: Improvements in the Speed of Information Transmission, c. 1820–1870', *European Review of Economic History*, 5, no. 1 (2001): 8.

34. Arne Sjöberg, *Järnvägarna i svenskt samhällsliv* (Stockholm: Kungl. järnvägsstyrelsen, 1956), 14–15.

35. Sture M. Waller, *Den svenska pressens upplagor 1824–1872* (Gothenburg: NORDICOM-Sverige, 2001), 21–22.

36. Olov Bergling, *Posten och pressen: Postens distribution av tidningar fr o m 1645 med tonvikt på tiden 1955–1986* (Stockholm: Postens förlagstjänst, 1988), 18, 25, 27.

beyond national borders. Simultaneously, printing technology progressed, and the number of newspapers began to grow rapidly. Societal changes, in particular favourable economic developments that increased the number of advertisements and classified ads, supported and amplified the movement of texts.[37]

Although, as mentioned above, communication effectiveness increased before the introduction of the electric telegraph, this invention at least ideally separated information flows from the movement of goods. Even though shipping and railroads increased its speed and scope, information still travelled with the same speed as goods. In 1853, the first telegraph line in Sweden was constructed between Stockholm and Uppsala, and, in the following year, it expanded to Gothenburg in the west and Malmö in the south. In early 1855, an undersea cable was placed between Helsingborg and Helsingør in Denmark, connecting Sweden to the continental telegraph network of Europe. During the late 1850s, the whole coastline of Sweden, all the way to Haparanda on the border to Finland in the north, was covered by wire.[38] During the Crimean War, in 1855, the first telegraphs were introduced in Finland, and major cities were connected with Saint Petersburg. By 1860, a connection was made at Torneå–Haparanda, and Sweden, too, had a direct link to the Russian capital.[39]

The first international news agencies were founded during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Parisian-based News Bureau Havas (l'Agence Havas) operated from the late 1830s onwards, providing foreign news to Parisian newspapers but with subscribers also in Holland, Belgium, England and several German states. Another European news agency, Reuters, was established in London in 1851. Reuters benefited from the submarine telegraph cable between Calais and Dover, but the practices of the early news agencies included a hybrid of telegraph lines,

37. Marja-Liisa Suomalainen, 'Sanomalehtien uutiskanavista 1860- ja 1870-luvuilla', *Lehdistöhistoriallisia tutkimuksia 1*. Suomen sanomalehdistöhistoria -projektin julkaisuja (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1979); Lars Landgren, 'Kieli ja aate – politisoituva sanomalehdistö 1860–1889', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), 280–283.

38. Hans Heimbürger, *Svenska telegrafverket: Historisk framställning, 2: Det elektriska telegrafväsendet 1853–1902* (Stockholm: Telegrafverket, 1938).

39. Einar Risberg, *Suomen lennätinlaitoksen historia 1855–1955* (Helsinki: Posti- ja lennätinhallitus, 1959); Jukka-Pekka Pietiäinen, *Suomen postin historia* (Helsinki: Posti- ja telelaitos, 1988).

letters and pigeons.[40] In the late 1860s, the major news agencies – Havas, Reuters and the German Wolff – entered a treaty in which they divided the news markets between them. In this division, Wolff became the news supplier of the Nordic region, providing regular news feeds for the newspapers. Moreover, Wolff was involved in the opening of the Swedish telegraph office in 1867.[41] Local companies entered the market over the course of the century; the first Finnish news agency, *Suomen Sähkösanomatoimisto* (The Telegram Agency of Finland), the predecessor of the current Finnish News Agency (STT), started in 1887.[42]

From the seventeenth century onwards, newspaper publishing evolved in continuous flux during those centuries of great change. The conditions for delivering information across the Baltic Sea had similar features throughout the period, but they also transformed, especially towards the end of the nineteenth century. What we attempt in this book is to understand how information moved between newspapers, how texts were reused and what these flows of information can tell us about the cultural relations between Sweden and Finland. Many of these texts were news, but the term 'information' is often more appropriate, since newspapers shared various kinds of content, for example, advertisements, which were as important as news items or literary texts in the formation of cultural mediation.

The chapters of the book

This book consists of nine chapters, this introduction being the first. The second chapter, 'Crossing the Border: A bird's-eye view on information flows between Sweden and Finland', is a joint overview, written by several members of the *Information Flows* project. It offers a portrait on how information circulated within the Swedish-language press and brings forward new analyses that supplement earlier knowledge of cultural relations between Sweden and Finland in the nineteenth century. The chapter is

40. Michael B. Palmer, *International News Agencies: A History* (Cham: Springer, 2019), 6–18.

41. Jonas Harvard, 'Connecting the Nordic Region: The Electric Telegraph and the European News Market', in *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 65–66.

42. See, for example, Terhi Rantanen, '*STT: n uutisia' sadan vuoden varrelta* (Espoo: Weilin + Göös, 1987).

based on the results of the computational analysis of the Swedish and Finnish data sets of historical newspapers. What kind of information flowed, to where and with what speed? How did patterns change over time? And how are these flows and changes related to the general asymmetries, such as the different political conditions, between the two regions. The chapter also looks at the different types of text-reuse clusters found in the database. The following chapter, 'Forms of Information: The most reprinted border-crossing texts 1800–1899', by Erik Edoff, continues the bird's-eye view by concentrating on those texts that were most frequently published during the nineteenth century and that were also cross-border texts published in both Sweden and Finland. These texts include several categories of newspaper publishing, but it is obvious that this relationship was biased. Finnish papers were keener to publish texts originating from Sweden than the other way round.

In contrast to the bird's-eye view chapters, Patrik Lundell takes a worm's-eye view on the scissors-and-paste journalism in his chapter, 'Recontextualisations and Transformations in the Information Flows'. While large-scale text traffic can be characterised from a bird's-eye view by the usefulness of texts rather than their originality, a closer look at situated editorial practices reveals different degrees of agency along the lines of the individual cases of text reuse. In a fundamental sense, each instance of text reuse constitutes a recontextualisation, a fact that is certainly worthy of attention when trying to understand the meaning-making aspects of these processes. But there were several ways, intentional or not, in which texts were also literally transformed and their meanings changed. In other words, texts were not always repeated, but rather received and remade. Non-original texts could also be used in original ways. Since text-reuse detection matches texts that are only almost identical, our database is well suited to identify these cases of textual fluidity. The chapter identifies and analyses a wide range of recontextualisations and transformations, from those due to mistakes to those of audience adaptations and text-filling needs, to politically motivated changes.

The last five chapters are case studies that combine the analysis of the database results with close readings of the newspaper contents. They have different temporal foci and aim at exemplifying the research possibilities of the text-reuse database. Heli Rantala wrote the fifth and sixth chapter, which concentrate on the early nineteenth-century press. The chapter 'Fast News, Slow Connections' sheds light on the temporality of information flows by examining the travel times of text items circulated within the Swedish-language press. It concentrates on the fastest moving news traffic that crossed the Swedish-Finnish border and that was published on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Before the era of the electric telegraph and regular steamboat connections, the news spread first and foremost via post. The major post route between Sweden and Finland passed through the sea from Stockholm to Turku across the Åland islands. The chapter discusses not only the nature and quality of rapidly moving news items, but also the different material preconditions behind the early nineteenth-century print media.

The chapter 'On Prophets and Poets', discusses the literary connections between Sweden and Finland after the separation of 1809. The Swedish influence of the emerging Finnish culture has often been highlighted, while the Finnish-Swedish literary relations have received less attention. The chapter focuses on the visibility of Finnish literary activities in Swedish newspapers during the early decades of the nineteenth century. By drawing on the text-reuse database, the chapter also sheds light on the ways in which the Swedish-language press discussed two prominent, Finnish-born authors, Frans Michael Franzén and Johan Ludvig Runeberg. Through the elaboration of brief case studies on these nineteenth-century literary celebrities, the chapter suggests that, despite their shared literary tradition, there were different ways of interpreting Franzén's and Runeberg's importance in Sweden and Finland.

The chapter 'Inventing a New Industry in 1868: Newspapers and lichen alcohol in an era of famine', written by Petri Paju, takes a leap forward in time and illustrates the theme-based possibilities of text-reuse analysis by focusing on both technology and food, issues that were equally important on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Exploring the nineteenth century interest in using lichen as famine food, Paju identifies a considerable peak in the transnational text reuse in the infamous shortage year of 1868. Much of this text circulation regarded a new method of making lichen alcohol invented by the scientist Sten Stenberg in Stockholm. Although text reuse was, in many ways, biased, as shown in the second and third chapters, in this case, there seems to be a more balanced interest. The text-reuse clusters show that the invention aroused great curiosity in both countries. This symmetry of exchanges across the Baltic Sea was untypical. Further, newspaper editors eagerly participated in making the invention known in both countries that were in the middle of a severe food and nutrition crisis. Examining the text-reuse patterns involving lichen alcohol leads the author to revisit the little-known innovation process in detail and, finally, to understand that lichen alcohol in the late 1860s was a bigger business than has previously been assumed, though it lasted for only a limited time – in Finland and in Sweden, at least.

The two final chapters of the book examine cases from the very end of the period, from the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The chapter 'From Wax Cabinets to Early Cinema: Visual entertainment over the Baltic Sea', by Hannu Salmi, emphasises the role of advertisements and focuses on the emerging visual culture that came to challenge print media in the twentieth century. Visual entertainments, such as wax cabinets and panopticon shows, had drawn international attention, and they became a fashionable news item in newspapers, too. Obviously, the information flows between Finland and Sweden are only part of the bigger picture of the changing media ecosystems in the modern era, but the Swedish-language press, and text reuse within this corpus, can be employed to shed light on how new technologies and entertainment, such as early cinema, were exploited over the Baltic Sea.

The last chapter 'Medical and Miraculous Cures on Sale', by Petri Paju and Hannu Salmi, concentrates on the abundance of medical advertising. In the text-reuse database, many of the most repeated texts are advertisements, often ads for various products or cures that promised health benefits. The chapter focuses on a selection of the longest clusters, with typically 1,000 hits or more, and particularly examines two cases of humbug medicine sellers who approached their future customers using ad campaigns in the press. The text-reuse database includes Swedish-language papers, not only from Finland and Sweden, but also from the United States, which enables the exploration of the cross-border campaigns for patent medicines from North America. One of the case studies is about Dr James W. Kidd from Indiana, whose cure-all pills were first marketed widely in newspapers towards the Swedish immigrants in the USA but soon were also printed in Sweden and, somewhat later, in Finland. The other case study investigates the case of K.O. Neslo, who was a dubious Nordic businessperson. The chapter highlights how the newspapers in the Nordic countries became part of a wider international, even global, network of advertising by the early twentieth century.

Through these nine chapters, this book argues that the analysis of historical newspapers can successfully be conducted on a transnational scale by drawing on computational methods. It is important to add that the data sets that we have used comprise not only Swedish and Finnish material, but also a number of Swedish-language newspapers from the United States, which enables a transatlantic perspective on news flows, as exemplified in the last chapter. A fascinating prospect is that this research strategy could also be applied to data sets in other languages, for example, the German- or French-language press, on a global level.

First and foremost, our book contributes to the study of Swedish-Finnish cultural relations. It illuminates the cultural asymmetries and the many affinities and cultural engagements. What is evident is that this research has not exhausted the scholarly potential of text-reuse analysis of the Swedish-language press. The database includes millions of repeated texts, very likely also inspiring and illuminating texts that, hopefully, will be analysed by other scholars. Therefore, as a conclusion, we would like to invite the reader to explore our database, which is open for all users at textreuse.sls.fi, a site provided by the Society for Swedish Literature in Finland.

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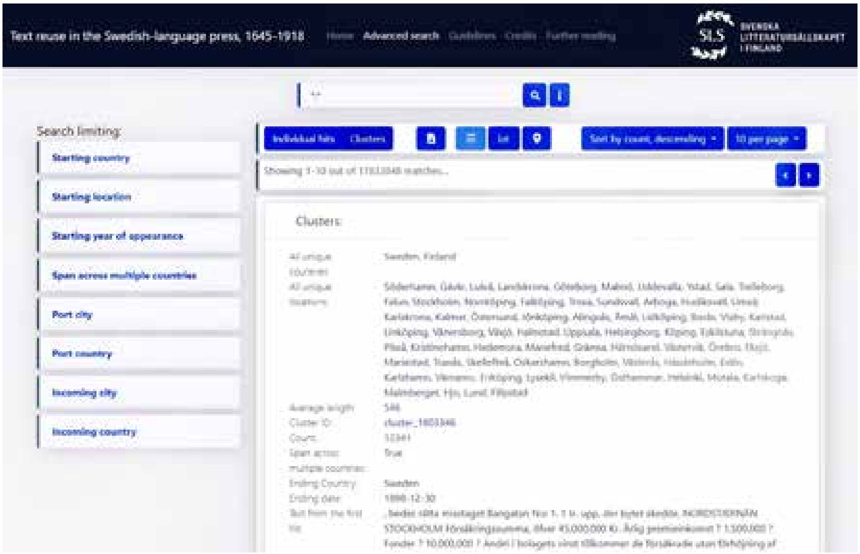
A short note on the database

In this book, the database *Text-reuse in the Swedish-language press, 1645–1918* (textreuse.sls.fi) is our key research material and its interface provides tools to search, explore and analyse that material (Figure 2). We have published separate articles on how to use the database and the interface to search and sort the results with multiple options, draw charts and map the results. The results can also be downloaded and analysed with other computational tools of one's choosing. The guidelines and example queries are available online via the database website; the database was constructed by Aleksi Vesanto.[43]

Here, it would be appropriate to highlight some key concepts that recur in most of the chapters. A *hit* is a single instance of a text passage repeated in the data set – basically, a text item from a page of a newspaper issue. Every newspaper page usually contains multiple hits that are parts of different clusters. A *cluster* refers to a group of hits that all share the same, or

43. See Paju et al., 'Tidningstexter över Östersjön'; Paju et al., 'Textual Migration Across the Baltic Sea'.



• Figure 2. The interface of the text-reuse database at https://textreuse.sls.fi/.

a similar, text passage, as recognised by the algorithm. In order to locate them in the database, each cluster has its individual identification number.

Based on these key terms, we use several other concepts. *Count* means how many hits there are in the cluster. If a cluster's count value is seventy-six, then there are that number of similar texts, or prints and reprints in the said cluster. *Timespan* refers to the length of the cluster in days – that is, how many days the text in that cluster circulated. *Span across multiple countries* refers to the text's transnational movement inside a cluster. For instance, a cluster that contains reprints from Sweden and the United States is said to have *crossed* national borders.

The text-reuse detection method applied is based on the Basic Local Alignment Search Tool, created at the National Center for Biotechnology Information in the US (NCBI BLAST). Initially, this software was developed for matching biological sequences, but it can also be used for tracing duplicated text passages from a corpus of scanned and OCR-recognized newspapers and journals. This application of BLAST, called the text-reuse BLAST, was realised by researchers at the Department of Computing, University of Turku.[44] To avoid boilerplate results in the reuse chains, the

44. On the technical details of BLAST and the processing of data, see Salmi et al.,

minimum length of the passages was set at 300 characters. The original OCR data were not segmented perfectly into articles, so elements such as page breaks or pictures in the original image can result in multiple clusters of similar passages. Therefore, the absolute number of identified passages does not necessarily reflect the actual level of reuse.

'The Reuse of Texts', and Aleksi Vesanto, Asko Nivala, Heli Rantala, Tapio Salakoski, Hannu Salmi and Filip Ginter, 'Applying BLAST to Text Reuse Detection in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1910', in *Proceedings of the NoDaLiDa 2017 Workshop on Processing Historical Language* (Gothenburg: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2017).

Crossing the Border: A bird's-eye view on information flows between Sweden and Finland

★

JANI MARJANEN, PETRI PAJU, HELI RANTALA AND HANNU SALMI

The end of the Swedo-Russian War and the consequent peace treaty in 1812 meant a loss of about one third of Sweden's territory and established a territorial border between Sweden and Finland. This did not mean an end to the cultural influences, borrowings and personal contacts across the border, but it did affect the dynamic across the Baltic Sea. A former centre-periphery relationship changed into an asymmetric relationship between the two countries. In Sweden, perhaps the strongest articulation of the new situation had to do with occasional expressions of revanchism on the one hand, and, more commonly, ideas about coping with the diminished geopolitical position of Sweden, on the other hand. The latter position gained its most powerful articulation in Esaias Tegnér's poem 'Svea', which included a passage about 'conquering Finland back within the borders of Sweden', that is, through increased productivity instead of military success.[1] In Finland, coping with the new situation meant conceptualising the fact that Finland had a Swedish heritage. This meant, on the one hand, underlining that Sweden was the source of laws and culture in Finland, but on the other hand, keeping a certain distance from Sweden in order to emphasise the novelty of the Grand Duchy and its institutions. Distancing Finland from Sweden meant ensuring a level of political autonomy, which, paradoxically, ensured continuity in political culture. Hence, crossing the border became an act of searching for inspiration and

1. Esaias Tegnér, 'Svea', in *Esaias Tegnérs Samlade dikter II, 1809–1816*, eds. Fredrik Böök and Åke K.G. Lundquist (Lund: Tegnérsamfundet, 1968), 66.

a possibility for subversive action.[2] Many key texts about Finland were, in fact, published in Sweden and many of the critical assessments of Finnish culture were based on an implicit or explicit comparison to Sweden. Swedish newspapers were heavily read in Finland and were regularly advertised in Finnish newspapers.[3] However, they were also the object of import restrictions when deemed politically problematic by the authorities.[4]

The cultural relations between Sweden and Finland in the nineteenth century have been studied from a number of different perspectives, most of them highlighting a kind of asymmetry between the countries. Jan Samuelson studied the networks across the sea and the sheer number of people who started new careers on the other side of the Baltic Sea.[5] Scholarship in intellectual history tends to emphasise the role of Finnish intellectuals, such as Adolf Ivar Arwidsson and Johan Vilhelm Snellman, who travelled to Sweden and garnered ideas, or, alternatively, Swedish professors, such as Daniel Myréen and Israel Hwasser, who gained positions in Finland.[6] The cultural and political relationship between the countries is, without exception, deemed important, but there are differences in degree, in the sense that some studies have underlined the long-lasting affinity between Sweden and Finland,[7] others, the sense of loss felt in Sweden after 1809,[8] some, the end to shared organisations and institutions[9] and some, most

2. Jussi Kurunmäki and Jani Marjanen, 'Catching up through Comparison: The Making of Finland as a Political Unit, 1809–1863,' *Time & Society* (February 8, 2021).

3. See, for example, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 20 December 1820, 2.

4. Yrjö Nurmio, *Suomen sensuuriolot Venäjän vallan alkuaikoina vv. 1809–1829* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1934); Yrjö Nurmio, *Taistelu suomen kielen asemasta 1800-luvun puolivälissä: Vuoden 1850 kielisäännöksen syntyhistorian, voimassaolon ja kumoamisen selvittelyä* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1947).

5. Jan Samuelson, *Eliten, riket och riksdelningen: Sociala nätverk och geografisk mobilitet mellan Sverige och Finland 1720–1820* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2008).

6. See, for example, Olavi Junnila, *Ruotsiin muuttanut Adolf Iwar Arwidsson ja Suomi (1823–1858)* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1972); Sakari Heikkinen et al., *The History of Finnish Economic Thought 1809–1917* (Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica, 2000); Henrik Edgren, *Publicitet för medborgsmannavett: Det nationellt svenska i Stockholmstidningar 1810–1831* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 2005).

7. Torkel Jansson, *Rikssprängningen som kom av sig: Finsk-svenska gemenskaper efter 1809* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009).

8. Edgren, *Publicitet för medborgsmannavett*.

9. Hanna Östholm, *Litteraturens uppodling: Läsesällskap och litteraturkritik som politisk strategi vid sekelskiftet 1800* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2000).

notably Matti Klinge and Max Engman, emphasised the common heritage of Sweden and Finland as a backdrop for the countries developing in different directions over the course of the nineteenth century.[10] Although there cannot be a decisive answer to the question of how Swedish-Finnish cultural relations developed in the nineteenth century, as there are simply too many aspects to cover, this chapter aims at contributing to our image of these relations by studying one dimension of the relationship, that is, the texts that travelled between the Swedish-language newspapers published on both sides of the Baltic Sea. In doing so, it emphasises the asymmetry in these relations by attempting to describe it both in raw figures and in the concrete news stories that travelled.

Newspaper publishing relied heavily on reusing material from other sources. Ryan Cordell has even claimed that it is reasonable to speak of a 'network author' constituted by the different strands of text reuse and modification.[11] While Cordell focused mainly on texts that did not have much editorial value and often did not have a signed author, but just circulated as information, we have a broader outlook. We include all types of texts that circulated and, for some of them, the notion of a network author makes sense, whereas, for others, for instance longer quotes with a clear origin or a commercial actor placing advertisements in a series of newspapers, it does not. As such, text reuse can be employed to discuss many different topics, ranging from the network author, to virality[12] and the reception and remediation of central texts.[13] In this chapter, text reuse is seen as a signal for different types of texts travelling for different reasons between different publications. We discuss how text reuse changed over the course of the nineteenth century, to which degree its topical focus

10. Matti Klinge, *Runebergs två fosterland* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1983); Max Engman, *Ett långt farväl: Finland mellan Sverige och Ryssland efter 1809* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009).

11. Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspapers,' *American Literary History* 27, no. 3 (September 2015). For an example from Finland, see Hannu Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920: A Digital Humanities Perspective,' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 54, no. 1 (2021).

12. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920.'

13. Ville Vaara et al., 'Eighteenth-Century English Versions of Pierre Bayle's Dictionary: A Computational Study,' accessed September 2, 2023, https://dhhbayle21.wordpress.com/1-introduction-2/.

varied from decade to decade, and how it relates to the cultural relations between Sweden and Finland.

While nineteenth-century newspaper publishing entailed the strengthening of national public spheres, the text-reuse cases inevitably also highlight the elements shared between the Swedish and Finnish texts, though those elements differed depending on the location. Early nineteenth-century newspapers from Turku (Sw. Åbo) had a closer affinity with Sweden than late nineteenth-century newspapers from Viipuri (Sw. *Viborg*, Ru. Выборг). In the grand scheme of things, the cases of text reuse show a pattern in which the entanglement of the Swedish and Finnish public spheres exists, but the Swedish interest towards Finnish texts seems to decrease, while the Finnish interest toward Sweden seems to grow. In the latter case, the bifurcation of the Finnish public sphere into Swedish-language and Finnish-language publications is enormously important, as the Swedish-language newspapers in Finland seem to have become more prone to reuse texts from Sweden at the same time that Finnish-language publishing became dominant in Finland and, consequently, less dependent on the Swedish-language press.[14]

As such, the text-reuse clusters cannot be seen as proxies for cultural relations between the two countries. Along with the changes in newspaper publishing, the nature of the text-reuse clusters changed, as well. In the more rapid newspaper cycle after the introduction of the telegraph and the birth of increasingly local newspapers in the latter half of the nineteenth century,[15] the kind of text reuse that made sense changed – at least, to a certain degree. Hence, text-reuse clusters are an imperfect metric, not only for the questions posed in this paper, but also for any question regarding the long-term development of the clusters, as their nature changed over time. At the same time, one should not disregard the clusters as part of the cultural relations. If reuse declined or increased, it did, very concretely, mean that the aspects of cultural influence changed. However, interpreting those changes requires discussing them in conjunction with other social,

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14. Jani Marjanen et al., 'A National Public Sphere? Analyzing the Language, Location, and Form of Newspapers in Finland, 1771–1917', *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2019).

15. Local publishing was vibrant already in the eighteenth century, but the regionalization of papers intensified in the nineteenth century. See Patrik Lundell, *Pressen i provinsen: Från medborgerliga samtal till modern opinionsbildning 1750–1850* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002); Marjanen et al., 'A National Public Sphere?'

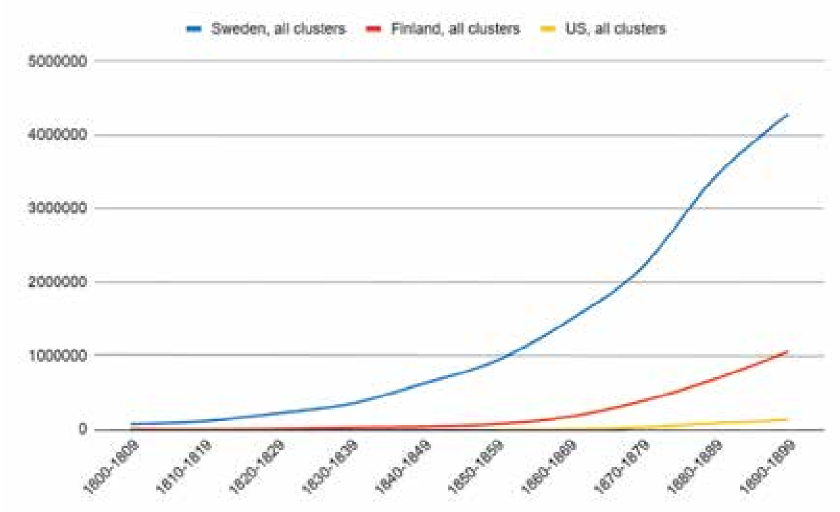
cultural and political changes in Sweden and Finland and entails just that – interpretation.

Another question of interpretation relates to whether or not the clusters should be seen as indicative of the agency of the newspapers themselves in a type of cultural mediation between Finland and Sweden. Based on an examination of a selection of clusters, it is clear that cultural mediation definitely took place and that newspaper editors were active mediators; however, at the same time, the majority of the text reuse clusters do not come across as active attempts to mediate culture. They point at influence and cultural relations, for certain, but much of those relations seem to be of an unarticulated and unintentional character. To assess those relations, we first examine the text reuse patterns between Sweden and Finland quantitatively, then move on to assess how different publication places are situated in the cross-border networks of text reuse. After that, we assess the different types of text reuse that took place.

A two-way traffic?

Any attempt to gauge the patterns of cultural influence, inasmuch as they are related to text reuse patterns, must start with the overall trends. The text-reuse clusters are easily quantifiable, though they do include an element of uncertainty, in that the clusters do not always coincide with actual articles or passages that were republished. Sometimes articles are split into several clusters, and this is particularly likely to happen when articles are long. Still, assuming that the mismatch between the clusters and actual articles or passages does not vary overly, the clusters offer a proxy for assessing the quantitative changes in text reuse over time.[16] Not surprisingly, text-reuse clusters increase almost exponentially in our database and seem to relate to the overall growth of material in the database. More newspapers produce more reuse. Figure 1 shows how the Swedish newspapers, Swedish-language newspapers in Finland and Swedish-American newspapers all highlight clear growth per decade in terms of the absolute numbers of clusters. Relative to the annual word count, there is likewise a gradual rising trend in the number of clusters. This trend is also consistent with the number of clusters in the Finnish-language newspapers in Finland.[17]

16. See the introduction for an in-depth discussion of what the clusters are.
17. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920.'

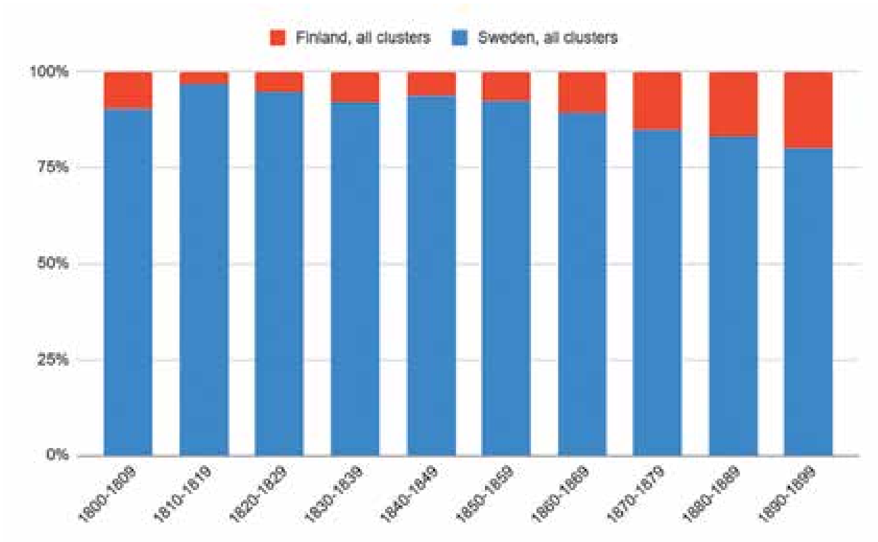


• Figure 1. Text-reuse clusters originating from Sweden, Finland and America per decade in the database, 1800–1900. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

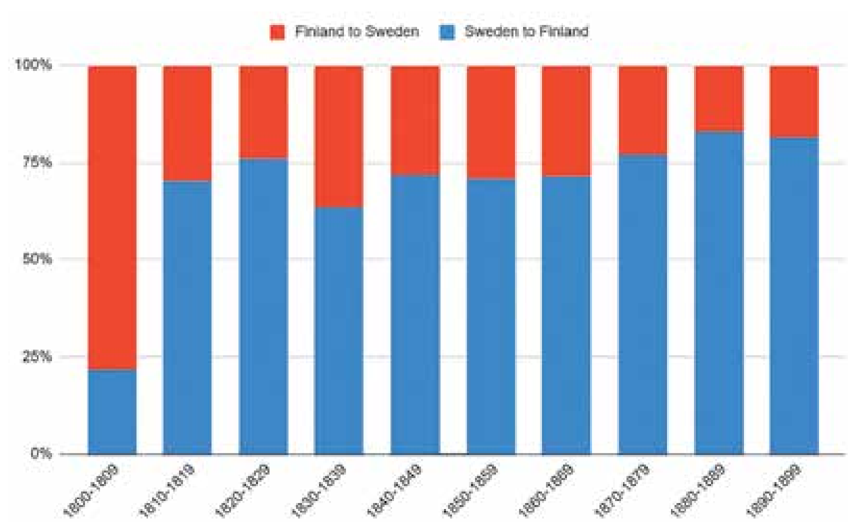
The increase in clusters is still not an indicator of continuity in the sense that text reuse would be a consistent feature in newspaper publishing and that it would occupy a similar position in public communication throughout the century. While text reuse increased with the general growth of newspapers, it also changed. The typical case of text reuse in the early nineteenth century is not the same as for the end of the century. This had to do with the general development of newspaper publishing and the technological developments in printing and the distribution of news (not least, due to the telegraph), and was due to journalistic changes in the sense that late-nineteenth century newspapers catered much more to commercial and regional interests than those of the early century.[18]

The numbers of clusters also shows how the Swedish-language newspapers in Finland lagged behind the newspapers published in Sweden. It is reasonable to think that, inasmuch as the concrete republishing of articles was a journalistic practice that was reflected upon, the editors in Finland could emulate the practices from Sweden.

18. Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, *Suomen lehdistön historia 1. Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988); Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, eds., *Den svenska pressens historia, 2: Åren då allting hände (1830–1897)* (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2001); Marjanen et al., 'A National Public Sphere?'



• Figure 2. Proportions of text-reuse clusters originating from Finland or Sweden, 1800–1900. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.



• Figure 3. Proportion of clusters originating from Sweden and Finland that crossed the Baltic Sea, 1800–1900. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

Proportionately speaking, the number of clusters increased more for the newspapers published in Finland. As with the absolute numbers of clusters, the proportionate figures seem to be largely a feature of the numbers of newspapers. More newspapers entailed more clusters, and, in the Finnish case, a majority of the growth in late nineteenth-century newspapers happened in Finnish, which is not visible in our database. Were we able to trace the text-reuse cluster across languages, we would most likely see proportions that would more closely reflect the number of words published in newspapers per decade in both countries. However, the picture would be skewed to a small degree by the fact that text reuse happened unevenly across the Baltic Sea.

A closer look at the clusters that crossed the Baltic Sea (Figure 3) indicates a different trend than one looking at all the clusters in the database (Figure 2). Here, the proportion of the share of clusters originating from Finland gradually decreases over the course of the century. While this trend is clear and suggests that there was a gradual decrease in the interest in reusing Finnish newspaper material in Sweden, there are some points that clearly complicate the story. The first of them has to do with the rupture of 1809 and the fact that a border was established between Sweden and Finland. For the entire period from 1800 to 1819, Finland or, more accurately, Turku, hosted only one newspaper (if we exclude a few literary journals).[19] This means there was little that the newspapers in Sweden could reuse and that there was little space in the Turku newspaper that could be used for republishing items from Swedish newspapers. Hence, the shares of clusters from Finland to Sweden were very high, especially in the first decade of the century. This coincided with a particularly strict regime of censorship in Sweden and a conscious attempt from the side of Turku intellectuals to produce newspaper and journal content that would also attract a readership in the other university towns in Sweden and Stockholm.[20] The high number of clusters in Sweden corroborates the contemporary claims that the ambitions of the Turku pundits were, to some degree, successful.[21] Some of the material clearly did not originate

19. Tommila, Landgren and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Suomen lehdistön historia 1* presented these in some detail.

20. Jani Marjanen, 'Gränserna för det offentliga samtalet i Finland 1809–1863', in *Frie ord i Norden? Offentlighet, ytringsfrihet og medborgerskap 1814–1914*, eds. Ruth Hemstad and Dag Michalsen (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2019).

21. For examples of contemporary claims and further evidence, see Lars Munkham-

from Finland, as the issues discussed related to topics from abroad, but some of the content, such as the texts originating from the newly founded Royal Finnish Economic Society, was quality text that was produced by Turku intellectuals and spread to Stockholm.[22] In this period, the text reuse clusters generally consisted of more learned texts than those from later in the century.

In the decade after 1809, the situation changed quite drastically, as is indicated in Figure 3, but this shift can be shown even more clearly with absolute figures. In the first decade of the century, the Turku newspaper was the source for 1,873 clusters that appeared in one form or another in another Swedish newspaper and, thus, had crossed the Baltic Sea; however, in the second decade, that figure halved to 937 clusters. Bearing in mind that we are still talking about only one newspaper, *Åbo Tidning* up to 1809 and *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* from 1809 to 1819, the change in reception with regard to the Turku paper is clear. The latter published a six-page issue (as opposed to a four-page issue) from 1812 onwards and had a more cramped layout, which means that the output in words grew slightly from the first decade. Still, there was less interest in reusing passages from the Turku paper.

If we focus on the movement from Sweden to Finland, we see that, for the first decade, the Turku newspaper included 600 clusters from other Swedish newspapers, whereas the number of clusters grew to a whopping 2,111 after a political border was introduced. There are arguments to be made that, after 1809, there was an, at least, tacit demand in Finland for content from Sweden as a way of keeping the connection alive in the new political situation. One explaining factor for the increase in text-reuse clusters lies in the fact that the Turku newspaper gained official status and began publishing foreign news.[23] This did not, however, entail a simple shift in which the Turku paper took over the foreign news published in the official newspaper in Stockholm, *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and, later, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*. In fact, many of the news stories printed in Turku in the 1810s were reused from other newspapers, predominantly *Stockholmsposten*. Although the Finnish press, in general, also began using

mar, 'Allmän Litteratur-Tidning: Finlands första lärda tidskrift', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 52 (1977).

22. *Åbo Tidning*, 13 January 1800, 4.

23. For a discussion of what officiality meant, see Osmo Apunen, *Hallituksen sanansaattaja: Virallinen lehti: Officiella tidningen 1819–1969* (Helsinki, 1970).

newspapers from Saint Petersburg as a source for news and other content,[24] the link to the Swedish print culture remained strong.[25] This was particularly evident due to the fact that, as late as the 1850s, there were more Swedish newspaper titles imported to Finland than titles published in Finland.[26]

A second rupture to the general trend in how Swedish-language newspapers from Finland were reused in Sweden occurred in the 1830s (see Figure 3). This rupture seems to relate to an increasing interest in Finnish matters in Sweden and to the end of the Swedish-Russian alliance in 1830.[27] The alliance had, in effect, made it difficult for Swedes to publicly express revanchist sentiments or even criticise the Russian government (in Russia and in Finland). In fact, publications that did this faced severe legal consequences, as was the case for the publisher of *Nya Extra Posten* in the 1820s, who had published A.I. Arwidsson's critical account of the political and economic situation in Finland. The text included a criticism of the civil servants and monarch in Finland, which was too much, even for the monarch in Sweden.[28] In the 1830s, the fear of revolutions had not disappeared from Sweden or Finland,[29] but there was still more space for a critical assessment with regards to Finland. Swedish intellectuals wrote about Finland touching on the issue of the loss of Finland in 1809 and even writing in a revanchist fashion.[30] At the same time, Finnish intellectuals began writing about Finland and publishing their texts in Sweden, of which the best-known cases relate to the so-called Kuoharinen-Kekälainen debate, which included in-depth discussions of Finnish state institutions and the state of political representation – both politically sensitive issues, particularly on the Finnish side of the Baltic Sea.[31] On top of this, Swedish

24. Tommila, Landgren and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Suomen lehdistön historia 1*, 104.

25. Marjanen, 'Gränserna för det offentliga samtalet i Finland 1809–1863'.

26. Nurmio, *Suomen sensuuriolot*, 60–64.

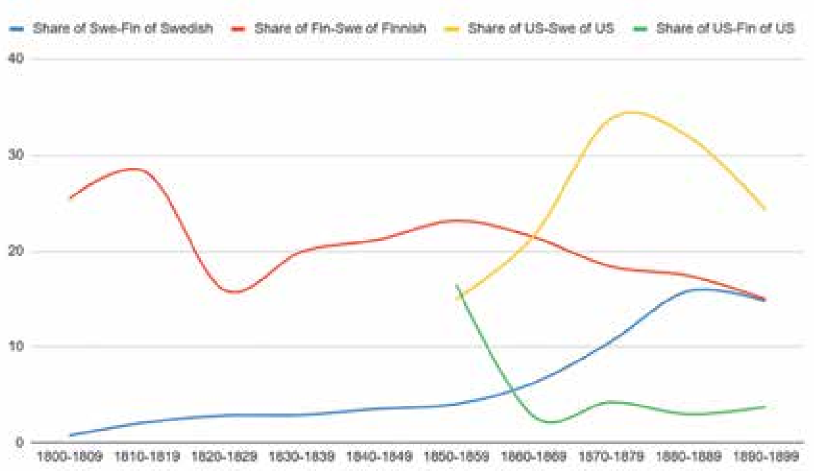
27. Lolo Krusius-Ahrenberg, 'Finland och den svensk–ryska allianspolitiken intill 1830/31 års polska revolution', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 21–22 (1946).

28. Nurmio, 133–42; Tommila, Landgren and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Suomen lehdistön historia 1*, 91–95.

29. Heli Rantala, 'Global "Revolution" in the Early Nineteenth-Century Finnish Press', *History of European Ideas* (January 2019).

30. Edgren, *Publicitet för medborgsmannavett*; Kurunmäki and Marjanen, 'Catching up through Comparison'.

31. Osmo Jussila, *Maakunnasta valtioksi: Suomen valtion synty* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987); Junnila, *Ruotsiin muuttanut Adolf Iwar Arwidsson ja Suomi (1823–1858)*.



• Figure 4. Share of border crossing clusters of all clusters in Swedish newspapers, Finnish newspapers and Swedish-American newspapers, 1800–1900. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

newspapers started reusing more material from Finnish newspapers. It would be far too simple to make the claim that this shift was directly related to revanchism or an interest in Finland; rather, it seems that the westward information flows were simply accelerating. Many of the stories originate from *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, but it is clear that the real origin of the texts is elsewhere, in the Russian empire. Russian sources were also used by other newspapers, such as a collection of smaller texts in *Helsingfors Tidningar* titled 'Åtskilligt från Ryska och Franska tidskrifter', parts of which found their way to *Linköpingsbladet* a month later.[32]

Although there is a slight uptick in the reuse of texts from Finnish newspapers in Sweden in the 1830s, the overall trend was in decline. This is perhaps most visible in an analysis of the shares of the clusters from all the clusters in the Swedish, Finnish and American data sets, respectively, that crossed the border (Figure 4). They point to a slightly declining trend of Swedish interest in Finnish material, especially in the latter half of the century, and a rising trend for the Finnish reuse of Swedish material. Perhaps consistent with this, there is a rise in the reuse of Swedish-American texts in Sweden and a decline in the reuse of Swedish-American texts in Finland.

There are a number of possible explanations for these trends, none of

32. *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 5 January 1831; *Linköpingsbladet*, 19 February 1831.

which can be proved in a straightforward way. First, the trends support the idea that Sweden, as a collection of people, debates and the public manifestations of ideas, turned away from Finland. This does not mean that interest toward Finland did not exist, nor that particular actors were not crossing the border, both concrete and metaphorically. For instance, the role of Finnish authors in the Swedish literary fields, such as Johan Ludvig Runeberg, is well documented.[33] However, on an aggregate level, the information flows from Finland to Sweden declined. Looking at the movement in the opposite direction, the trends suggest a sort of growing asymmetry in the relations. Finnish reuses of texts from Swedish newspapers gradually increased, which points to a consistent and growing cultural influence. However, on this point, it is crucial to keep in mind that the changes in the Finnish publishing landscape are not reflected in the database. Especially in the latter half of the century, it was Finnish-language newspapers that expanded the sphere for public conversation, and, in doing so, they brought with them a regionalisation of the newspaper medium. The links between Swedish-language and Finnish-language newspapers became gradually weaker. While it was common in the first half of the century for the same people to contribute to the conversation in both languages and, certainly, to read newspapers in both languages, by the end of the century the Finnish language began to grow more autonomous.[34] The language question, in itself, became one of the key political issues in the country, and, for many Swedish-language pundits, the link to Sweden became increasingly important as a reaction to the experience of becoming less central in the politics and culture in Finland.[35] Hence, the clinging to Swedish materials was not only about the Swedish influence in Finland, but also served the purposes of an emerging Swedish-language cultural and political movement in Finland.

33. Ernst Brydolf, *Sverige och Runeberg 1830–1848* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1943).

34. Marjanen et al., 'A National Public Sphere?'

35. Max Engman, *Språkfrågan: Finlandssvenskhetens uppkomst 1812–1922* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2016).

Regions, centres and peripheries

Judging from the movement of the text-reuse clusters, there is one centre in the landscape of newspaper publishing, and that is Stockholm. As an originating publication place, Stockholm dominates, both when it comes to all the clusters in the database and to the clusters that crossed borders. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, Turku is the main sending location when it comes to clusters originating from Finland, but, after that, Helsinki (Sw. *Helsingfors*) takes over and, as in the publication activity in general in Finland, the role of Turku gradually wanes.[36] The only decades in which Stockholm's dominance was, in a sense, challenged are the period 1800–1809, when Turku was the main originating location for cross-border clusters, and 1830–1839, when Helsinki and Stockholm were the first locations for roughly 2,800 clusters that spanned across the seas. This corresponds with the findings in Figure 3 above that noted these two decades as particularly strong when it comes to Finnish texts travelling towards Sweden. Although the main cities in Sweden and Finland consistently comprise more than fifty per cent of all the clusters (for the 1820s, Stockholm does this on its own), there is still more to the story in taking a regional perspective and focusing on individual towns.

As noted above, over time, the interconnectedness of the newspapers grew. This is also shown in the clusters. Late in the nineteenth century, the clusters include more titles and publication places than those from early in the century. Consequently, they are also more likely to span across many countries (in our case, Finland, Sweden and the United States). Splitting the data into three periods, 1810–1839, 1840–1869 and 1870–1899, we notice that, in the first period, 4.1 per cent, in the second, 6.7 per cent, and in the third, 17.0 per cent cross borders.

Some towns have very different profiles when it comes to cross-border clusters. Bearing in mind that the first hit for a cluster in our database need not always be the originating publication, we can still trace how the chains of text reuse starting from particular locations crossed borders. For instance, early in the century, in the timespan 1810–1839, of the clusters originating in Stockholm, only 2.6 per cent crossed borders, whereas, of the 113 clusters originating from Vaasa (Sw. *Vasa*), 37.2 per cent crossed

36. Marjanen et al., 'A National Public Sphere?'; Mikko Tolonen et al., 'A Quantitative Approach to Book-Printing in Sweden and Finland, 1640–1828', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 52, no. 1 (January 2019).

the border. At this time, geography clearly mattered, as Vaasa's location in Ostrobothnia and the good connections across the sea to Sweden made the travel of texts easier. On the other side of Finland, close to Saint Petersburg, of the 81 clusters originating from Viipuri, none were reused in Sweden. Of the 1,415 clusters originating from Gothenburg on the west coast of Sweden, under two per cent crossed borders, whereas Eskilstuna, Härnösand and Strängnäs, all with reasonable connections to Finland, all had shares of over more than ten per cent crossing borders. In most of these cases, the figures are rather small, and they are sometimes affected by longer articles being split into several clusters, but it is clear that proximity did matter for text reuse.

With the expansion of newspaper publishing and the modernization of the printing and circulation of news, geographical distance became less important, and the overall rate of border-crossing clusters increased. Even the texts originating in Viipuri or Gothenburg gained fair shares of transnationality. In terms of text reuse, the period from 1840–1869 is characterised by the gradual asymmetry between Sweden and Finland described above and is also about a fair number of smaller towns that were much more on the receiving end of the clusters. Mariehamn (Fi. *Maarianhamina*), Mikkeli (Sw. *St. Michel*), Enköping, Lindesberg and Söderköping all hosted papers with under ten cross-border clusters originating from them in this period. Similarly, in the period 1879–1899, Boden, Gällivare, Mikkeli, Sölvesborg, Torshälla, Haparanda, Parainen (Sw. *Pargas*), Sipoo (Sw. *Sibbo*) and Hämeenlinna (Sw. *Tavastehus*) remained under ten cross-border clusters. In these latter periods, the long tail of titles that were not at the centre of public communication, be it about newsworthy events or advertising mundane products, expanded.

Viral and long-term clusters and news circulation

An overview of the clusters in the database and, particularly, those clusters that crossed the border, provides a useful starting point, but the character of the cultural influences and links also needs to touch upon the content of the clusters. As noted, clusters can consist of rather different texts, and, as newspaper publishing evolved, the dominant types of text also changed. To approach the different types of texts in the clusters, the interface includes multiple sorting options. One can filter clusters according to values of count, virality score or span, or focus on for instance number of unique

Brand- och Lif-försäkrings-Aktie-Bolaget

SVEA,

Kapital: Tio Millioner Riksdaler

afslutar genom undertecknad, Bolagets befullmäktigade Agent i Söderhamn, *Brand-* och *Lif-försäkringar* på billiga och fördelaktiga vilkor.

Prospekter och nödige upplysningar meddelas.

(105) L. W. Brolin.

• Figure 5. Example of template text used for insurance company advertisements from *Nya Helsingen*, 23 March 1867.

locations or number of titles of newspapers. Each perspective offers somewhat different results.

In the database, there are clusters with a surprising number of reprints or high 'count' value. These so-called 'high-count' clusters consist of 100 or more hits (text passages), and some even have thousands of occurrences. In the ocean of text-reuse cases, they stand out in numbers and in character. For example, the cross-border cluster with the highest (count) value starts in the year 1884 in Sweden, crosses to Finland in 1886 (with only 43 hits there) and ends in 1898.[37] This single cluster has the amazing number of 13,078 hits. However, it is not what we customarily understand as text reuse. It is based on a text template that was used in marketing shipping lines for those evidently emigrating to North America and elsewhere and is, in fact, a collection of many different, yet similar-enough advertisements (or notices) by travel companies over about fifteen years. Also, this type of cluster is telling of the printing and marketing practices travelling between newspapers. Efficient communication entailed building on earlier templates. Among the clusters that crossed the border, this represents only one instance, but it should be noted that its presence in Finland was rather limited: 43 hits out of 13,078 is a tiny amount. This also seems to hold for the majority of other top-count clusters that consist of boilerplate content.

37. See cluster 30129984.

When they cross the border, they do so only in a limited capacity. Further, due to the limited transnationality of these clusters, there was very little that indicated to the readers that the texts had crossed borders (Figure 5.)

Compared with the vast number of all clusters, the high-count clusters are quite rare – especially those that crossed the border. Many of them fall into a few categories, such as text templates for administrative, business, informational or other purposes, that were reused decade after decade in the nineteenth century. The texts contain such minor changes that BLAST detected the similar template and clustered them. Among these high-count clusters, the above-mentioned templates, especially, are something that the computational method of BLAST produces or clusters together, rather than the material that the newspapers circulated. This difference is important to realise and understand, and, while they differ from what we might consider normal text reuse, they still tell us something about how newspapers were composed of 'standard' building blocks probably sent to editors by outside organisations and printed as they were. This reminds us that clusters can be many things.[38]

Another category of high-count clusters are texts with varying commercial content. Towards the end of the time-frame, these include a growing number of advertisements. They could be reprinted in the newspapers hundreds of times per year for many years in a row. One example of this is the mass marketing of medical products such as patent medicines. In this case, the dubious character of medicines that, in their time, were deemed ineffective or outright dangerous by medical professionals, created the motivation or need to find new markets overseas.[39]

The text-reuse clusters can also be approached from perspectives other than raw counts. The database allows filtering the results in other ways as well, including the timespan of the cluster, the number of distinct locations or titles and the virality of the cluster. Let us first consider the most viral chains of texts.

Our notion of virality is based on a simple calculation designed to assess how effectively a text travelled through the media network. To obtain this value, we first counted the number of unique newspapers/journals, the locations where the texts were printed and how many days it took for the

38. Petri Paju, Heli Rantala and Hannu Salmi, 'Towards an Ontology and Epistemology of Text Reuse', in *Digitised Newspapers – A New Eldorado for Historians?* eds. Estelle Bunout, Maud Ehrmann and Frédéric Clavert (De Gruyter, 2022).

39. See the chapter on 'Medical and Miraculous Cures on Sale' in this volume.

texts to travel. We then multiplied the number of newspapers/journals and locations by the inverse of the elapsed time. This penalised the value if the news was not widespread or if the spreading took time.[40] It is important to note that we excluded those hits that clearly differed from the dates of other hits so that the calculated value was not distorted by single outliers. This can happen, for example, in a situation in which the text spread quickly during a short timeframe, but a single text was published long afterwards. Finally, the values of all the clusters were normalised between 0–100 for clarity.

Since we are interested in transnational information flows, we selected all the clusters that span multiple countries, which amounted to 3,323,610 clusters from the year 1645 onwards. These results can be sorted by the virality score in descending order. The most viral cross-border cluster of the entire database originated in 1905. This cluster includes 167 hits and deals with the Swedish parliamentary discussion after Norway's Declaration of Independence. The news was published in 93 locations in Finland, Sweden and the United States in 36 days between 21 June and 27 July 1905.[41]

It is noteworthy that the majority of the most viral clusters are from the first decade of the twentieth century. There are at least two reasons for this. First, the Swedish material has been restricted by copyright resolution, which means that the last available year for our database is 1907. We have some additional data from the Swedish Language Bank from the 1910s, but the first decade of the twentieth century is the last decade that is comprehensively represented in the data set. Second, newspaper publishing in general experienced rapid growth throughout the nineteenth century, which explains why the most viral phenomena appear at the end of that period, when the number of newspapers and printed pages was the highest.

Therefore, an inspection of the viral clusters decade by decade provides a glimpse into how virality and, more broadly, newspaper publishing have changed. Figure 6 shows the most viral cross-border clusters from the 1820s to the 1900s.[42] The figure starts in the 1820s, not earlier, because

40. On the code, see https://github.com/avjves/cluster-viral-score.

41. See cluster 31223060.

42. Figure 6 shows text-reuse chains that started in a particular decade. However, there are clusters with only a few hits in the first decade, with the majority of hits occurring in later decades. The cluster 30327460, for example, focuses on Fredrik Schultz who behaved violently towards his subordinates in the army and was punished.

	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s
Theme	Schneider's Greek Lexicon	The bankruptcy of Jonas Evelius	King's opening of the Swedish Parliament	Crown Prince Carl's speech in the Swedish Parliament	King's speech in the Swedish Parliament	King's opening of the Swedish Parliament	Journal "Förr och nu"	News on Maltos-Cannabis	Swedish parliamentary reaction on Norway's independence
Genre	Advertisement	News	News	News	News	News	Advertisement	News	News
Cluster ID	30792274	30790908	31567598	31835706	31193905	30016314	31752097	30838724	31223060
Number of hits	27	13	51	70	74	93	93	106	167
Starting location	Helsingborg	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Gothenburg	Falun	Stockholm
Unique locations	20	11	32	52	51	57	50	61	93
Timespan in days	60	21	11	13	18	16	33	162	36
Ending location	Turku	Helsinki	Hjo	Åmål	Skellefteå	Luleå	Vimmerby	Turku	Chicago, IL
Virality score	0.37	0.66	2.45	7.81	12.82	19.06	39.88	60.75	69.42

• Figure 6. The most viral cross-border clusters decade by decade. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

the volume of the press was very limited at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is noteworthy that these cross-border clusters also include clusters that have outliers in the Swedish-American press. The figure indicates a rapid change in the capacity of the press in general. The numbers of hits and counts rise decade by decade, as does the virality score. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, texts circulated very widely and rapidly in the press.

The case from the 1820s illustrates the character of the early nineteenth-century press: An advertisement for a lexicon highlights the bookish character of newspapers. At that time, newspapers were part of the cultural ecosystem of books and reading. In the latter periods, the newspapers in Scandinavia began to focus more profoundly on news and gradually formed a forum of their own that was certainly not separated from learned life and books but was still autonomous from them. During the nineteenth century, from the 1840s to the 1870s, the speeches of the King of Sweden were among the most viral cross-border texts and were also printed regularly in Finland. The last decades of the century highlight the emergence of the transnational circulation of newsworthy events. Although the most viral clusters of those decades are advertisements and news from Sweden, the top viral clusters also include the Spanish-American War (the fifth most

The text was published only six times in the 1820s and was by no means viral at the time, but it was reprinted 36 times at the end of the century. Figure 6 is thus based on a close reading of the clusters, and those texts that became viral much later have been filtered out.

viral cluster of the 1890s) and the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union (several top clusters of the 1900s). It is obvious that many of these news items came from outside. For example, while in one of these clusters, our database points to a Helsinki-based literary magazine, *Euterpe*, as the source of the cluster, the original quote originated in Norway.[43] The quote was widely reprinted in several different news stories and commentaries in Sweden, Finland and the United States. *Euterpe*'s text is interesting in itself, but it was not the article that made the quote circulate; rather, it was the political events in Oslo that sparked interest. The quote as a viral phenomenon has thus left its mark on our database, as a sign of a transnational media event.

In addition to the speed of the textual flows, the text-reuse database also enables the analysis of both the synchronic and diachronic movements of information. In previous studies, it has been noticed that the Finnish newspapers sometimes reprinted very old material. Some texts were republished within a very long timescale; the longest reuse cases spanned over 140 years.[44] Therefore, in the construction phase of the Information flows database, we held the assumption that a similar type of reuse might also be found in the Swedish newspapers and in the reuse cases between Swedish and Finnish periodicals.

In the earlier text-reuse project of Finnish newspapers, the long-term reuse was defined as the circulation of texts that spanned several decades[45] or, at least, for 50 years.[46] As such, this kind of long-term reuse of texts is only a marginal feature of the Finnish newspaper corpus. In the text-reuse database of Finnish newspapers and journals (COMHIS), there are 289 clusters with a span of 100 years or more. The total number of clusters in this database is approximately 13.8 million. It should be remembered that the first Finnish newspaper (published in Finland) was published no earlier than in 1771 and that the database includes publications until

43. *Euterpe*, 23 June 1905, 5. See also cluster 31357551.

44. For example, Hannu Salmi, Heli Rantala, Aleksi Vesanto and Filip Ginter, 'The long-term reuse of texts in the Finnish Press 1771–1920'. *Proceedings of the 4th Digital Humanities in the Nordic Countries 2019*, Copenhagen, Denmark, March 5–8, 2019. http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2364/.

45. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920'.

46. Paju, Rantala and Salmi, 'Towards an Ontology and Epistemology of Text Reuse', 259–260.

1920. This means that, in principle, the longest possible time span in the Finnish database is 149 years.

In the case of Swedish newspapers, the situation is different, since the publication activities there started in the mid-1640s. Therefore, we anticipated that, when the Finnish and Swedish papers were merged together, we could find clusters that exceed the time span of the Finnish database. This turned out to be the case. In the Information flows database, the longest time span of a reuse cluster is 91,433 days – that is, 250 years. The text in question originated in *Posttidningar*, the first Swedish newspaper, in 1645.[47] Behind the cluster, there is a case from 1895 where two newspapers republished a text originating in *Posttidningar*. This new publication was produced by a Swedish and Swedish-American paper. According to the database, this text did not travel to Finland. However, clusters with this kind of extremely long time span are rare. There are only eight clusters with a time span of 200 years (or more) and 32 clusters with a timespan of at least 150 years. A search with a timespan of at least 100 years provides 1,882 results, of which 706 spanned multiple countries. Sweden is the starting country in most of these clusters – 1,523 cases. Most often, the starting locations have been Stockholm (in 752 clusters), Turku (359) and Gothenburg (263). Only in 19 cases is the starting year of a cluster in the seventeenth century.

If we extract the analysis from 100 years to 50 years, the picture changes. In 22,877 clusters, the timespan of reuse is at least 50 years. The majority of these clusters circulated within Sweden, since only in 10,031 cases the clusters spanned across the border (to Finland or to America). Again, Stockholm is the most dominant starting location of these clusters.

A large part of the long-term clusters with high count values contains advertisements, official notices or other kinds of texts with boilerplate content. Actually, this is very similar content to that in the more viral clusters. Newspapers could use templates of almost identical content throughout several decades, and they could also advertise, for example, the same book(s) for a very long time. However, some literal texts could also be republished dozens of times during a century or more on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Among these kinds of cases is the poem 'Förlorade saker' (Lost Things) by Anna Maria Lenngren from the late eighteenth century.[48]

47. See cluster 11280940.
48. See cluster 30057313.

Lenngren was well-acquainted with newspaper-style writing, as she wrote for publications like *Stockholmsposten*. The poem imitates the style of a newspaper announcement. It was originally published in 1795 and was republished in over 60 locations in Sweden, Finland and North America over 120 years. The poem, repeatedly printed in newspapers, thus became a symbol of repeated items in newspapers. It commented on newspapers as a medium, and it was a fixture in the newspapers, themselves.

Concluding remarks

To what degree the cultural connections between Sweden and Finland can be assessed by studying the text-reuse clusters published in the two countries is a matter for debate. When we measure their extent and spread, we encounter the vexing question of what the clusters represent, and, when we study the individual passages that were reprinted or printed in parallel, we are faced with the realisation that it is difficult to place individual clusters in a larger context. Since the content of the clusters ranges from advertisements to quotes presented in political speeches and, further, to poems and fictitious texts, they can hardly be seen as telling a unified story. There are varying reasons as to why these different texts circulated – some may have been widely topical, others were ways of filling the page and yet others were simply bought by advertisers.

Still, the clusters also make it clear that there are connections between Finland and Sweden that have not been unearthed before simply because historiography has not been able to immerse itself in the material in the same way as the text reuse clusters allow. That the connections are so diverse is possibly a problem for research, but it is also a testament to the richness of the dialogue (and sometimes lack of dialogue) across the Baltic Sea that is present in the newspapers.

Overall, the study of the clusters links to two major developments in Scandinavian culture: the transformation of the public sphere by means of a modernisation of newspapers as a medium and the strengthening of nationalism. The former transformation inevitably meant that the patterns of influence and text reuse changed over the course of the nineteenth century. The flows of text were faster and spread across more titles, and they also contained less academic content as the readership of newspapers expanded. The latter change affected the relations between Swedish and Finnish newspapers. Gradually, although far from completely, the content of Swedish-language newspapers was less interesting in Sweden due to it coming from a different national (and imperial) context. On the Finnish side of the Baltic Sea, Swedish-language newspapers experienced an opposite trend, as nationalism and the inherently linked language question in Finland made the Swedish literary culture more geared towards Sweden as a way of securing interests and privileges against the strand of Finnish nationalism that threatened them.

Judging from the individual clusters, be they the most frequently published ones, the most viral or those with the longest time span in reuse, it is clear that newspaper content spread widely amongst the different titles and across the Baltic Sea. A large share of the content was not unique to particular titles, but shared. Finnish newspapers drew from Swedish ones and vice versa, although not in the same way. Based on our analysis, it is impossible to describe in a precise way which type of content was more likely to not only go viral but also go viral across the border. The case studies in this book provide examples of crossing the border. The cultural, commercial and political reasons for texts to travel were manifold.

Forms of Information: The most reprinted border-crossing texts 1800–1899

ERIK EDOFF

The War of the Sixth Coalition, in which former sworn enemies Sweden and Russia, now brothers in arms, fought against Imperial France, was one of the most topical subjects in the shared Swedish-language newspaper content of the 1810s. Long and detailed news and war bulletins on the topic were eagerly reprinted. This particular example from September 1813 was published in sixteen newspapers in thirteen locations during a time span of a little over two weeks:

> The Russian and Swedish armies were drawn up in order of battle, and awaited the advance of the other enemy corps, in order to jointly attack them. General Winzingerode, who commanded the Russian army, was at the head of 10,000 cavalry, and General Count Woronzoff commanded the infantry. His Excellency Count von Stedingk commanded the Swedish army with the cavalry in reserve. The village of Ruhlsdorf, situated in front of his camp, was occupied with infantry, in order to maintain communication with General Bülow. As the other enemy army corps did not withdraw from the forest, the Russian and Swedish troops did not leave their positions. When, however, the enemy threatened the village of Ruhlsdorf, and had already advanced its tirailleurs against the light Swedish troops, who were stationed in front of the village, H.R.H. the Crown Prince ordered that some battalions, supported by artillery, should reinforce the outposts; and Colonel Cardell was commissioned to advance with a battery of mounted artillery, to engage the enemy in the flank. The so far known consequences of the battle at Gross-Beeren are: 26 captured cannons,

> together with 50 ammunition wagons, much baggage, 1,500 prisoners, of which 40 officers, among whom are the colonel of the Saxon Guards Uhlan and several French lieutenant colonels and majors.[1]

By contrast, texts on the Crimean War – the largest great-power conflict taking place on the European continent between the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War and often characterised as a large-scale mediated event – were hardly shared at all.[2] The only cross-border report from this conflict that makes it onto a top list of shared text items concerns a skirmish between the French navy and two Finnish boats sailing to Sweden around the Åland Islands. The Finns were attacked and one of the boats was sunk. The other was boarded, and the sailors were beaten, captured and hung. 'Such are the laws of war' was the laconic comment in the Swedish *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*.[3]

This chapter investigates the changing patterns in the content of the texts that crossed the border between Sweden and Finland and discusses what circumstances might have affected these changes. Text clusters with the highest count, that is, the texts with the highest number of reprints, are telling in terms of the dominating text types and themes. At the same time, these kinds of top lists are useful for discussing the changing function of the press as a mediator between the nations.[4]

Unsurprisingly, some of the most reprinted items are texts about events that have been canonised by posterity, such as the death of the Swedish King Carl XIV Johan, the 'Swedish Nightingale' Jenny Lind's visit to King

1. For example, 'Utrikes Nyheter', *Åbo Allmänna Tidning*, 18 September 1813 (cluster 31773070).

2. On the Crimean War as a mediated war, see, for example, Magnus Rodell, 'En "fortgående illustration i taflor": Krimkriget och den illustrerade pressen', in *1800-talets mediesystem*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Patrik Lundell (Stockholm: National Library, 2010), 203–204.

3. For example, 'Krigets moral', *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 12 December 1855 (cluster 31344517).

4. Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspapers', *American Literary History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 423, discusses a similar method in his study of the text reuse in antebellum American newspapers: 'While frequency of reprinting is not a perfect proxy for popularity or cultural importance, when taken as the locus of scholarly inquiry, it produces a hybrid, decentered set of bibliographies that highlight the prevalence of understudied or ignored genres of everyday reading and writing within antebellum print culture.'

Louis Phillipe or the pitched battles of wars.[5] Often, however, it was texts of a significantly more mundane character that were reprinted. A majority of the texts with the highest count are advertisements and other commercial material. Therefore, this approach also provides an opportunity to gain knowledge about the role of the Swedish-language press within a transnational market.

Nineteenth-century newspapers as pre-printed forms and content

As is discussed in the introduction to this book, the newspaper medium underwent major changes during the nineteenth century. From the beginning of the period, in which newspapers were often single-column book-like weekly publications with circulations rarely of more than a few hundred copies, they gradually transformed into mass-produced dailies with, in some cases, up to a hundred thousand copies.[6] It has been said that the newspaper played a crucial part in the commodification of life and information.[7] Ryan Cordell argues that the practice of cutting and pasting from each other made the newspapers of the antebellum United States function as a network author. By reading reprinted texts, the newspaper consumer felt connected to a larger public sphere. This was, he claims, more important than being able to read original texts. The aspect of information circulation in the newspaper network is thus highlighted, underlining the readers' awareness of the interconnected quality of papers from different places and the fact that they could get access to the network by reading their own or any other local paper.[8]

The nineteenth century has often been described as the most central period for the development of the so-called modern press. According to a Swedish standard work, the period between 1830 and 1897 constitutes

5. The notice about the death of the king (cluster 31817345) and the story of the famous singer's visit to France (cluster 31622384) are ranked forty and forty-five, respectively, of the top one hundred most reprinted cross-border texts during the 1840s.

6. See, for instance, Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, *A History of the Press in Sweden* (Gothenburg: NORDICOM, 2010).

7. Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1985).

8. Cordell, 'Reprinting', 434–436.

'[t]he years when everything happened'.[9] There has also been a general tendency in press historiography to study and accentuate the extraordinary and pioneering texts and the ground-breaking newspapers and actors.[10] One of the benefits of using digital methods is that such extraordinary items and events tend to disappear in the abundance of mundanities and that the continuities of history are given their fair share of attention.

Much of what travelled from one newspaper to the next can be counted as information in a narrow sense. So, Cordell describes the newspaper as an 'information broker [and] the newspaper's information literature as a kind of serialized and communally authored compendium of useful knowledge'.[11] Another way of understanding the information related to the newspaper press of the time is through James Mussell's concept of the newspaper as a form. By that, he means that the evolving notion of information as an immaterial commodity that could be transmitted without distortion was related to the press, as it functioned as a medium for structuring and providing the information to the public. The press offered access to information with origins outside of the newspaper itself. This made the paper appear as a 'medium at once independent of yet constituted by whatever it printed'. The demarcated sections of the medium, with their more-or-less specific genres, structured its function as a form. Hence, the idea of information as immaterial was, in a way, combined with the medium's way of organising the information. 'The newspaper, then, functioned like a pre-printed form, repeated issue after issue, that was filled in by the passing events that it reported.'[12]

To view the newspapers as a network of pre-printed forms makes sense in relation to the text-reuse perspective of this book. It underlines the newspaper page as a space for gathering, carrying and distributing information that originated somewhere outside of the newspaper itself, but which, at the same time, was dependent on the interconnected newspapers

9. Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén (eds.), *Den svenska pressens historia, 2: Åren då allting hände (1830–1897)* (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2001).

10. For instance, the hero par excellence of the Swedish press history, Lars Johan Hierta, and his founding of the liberal *Aftonbladet*, make 1830 the starting point of '[t]he years when everything happened', Gustafsson and Rydén, *Den svenska pressens historia, 2*.

11. Cordell, 'Reprinting', 426.

12. James Mussell, 'Elemental Forms: The Newspaper as Popular Genre in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History* 20, no. 1 (2014): 14.

in the network. That the newspapers of the nineteenth century actually functioned as a distribution network is shown not least by the many small-scale businesses that arose, which, on the one hand, were based on getting information circulating in the network, but, on the other hand, in various ways, attempted methods to limit the free flow of the same network. One such example is the metropolitan letters from Stockholm to subscribing newspapers in Sweden and Finland. They were supposed to offer original content to the provincial press, that is, material that could not be cut from the Stockholm papers. For instance, only one paper in a region could subscribe to the letters of a specific Stockholm-based writer, and, when published, they were often accompanied by a line stating 'reprinting prohibited'. This, however, did not stop their content from being cut and pasted by non-paying editors in the provinces.[13] There was a similar situation in England regarding the so-called London letters.[14] Encouraged by these practices, this chapter investigates the newspapers that circulated material as pre-printed forms that were negotiated by several actors, for example, editors, readers, potentates, markets and advertisers, who all contributed to forming notions of the press and the newspaper's role as a distributor of information between Finland and Sweden.

To approach the question of the general text circulation between the nations during the period, this chapter is based on the top lists per decade of the most reprinted texts published on both sides of the border. All the clusters in the database were sorted by highest count, and all the clusters that do not span across national borders, as well as those in which the number of hits in either country is less than one per cent of the cluster, were excluded. The time span used from the first to last publication date was set to a maximum of eight hundred days.[15] This was a way of excluding

13. Erik Edoff, 'Stockholm mot landsorten: Stockholmsbrev och 1800-talets landsortspress som nätverk', in *Spaningar i kultursektorn*, ed. Alf Arvidsson (Umeå: Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University, 2019).

14. Andrew Hobbs, 'The Provincial Nature of the London Letter', in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press: Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

15. Using the highest count with a time span window of a maximum of eight hundred days as the main variables has its consequences. One is that the speed or spatiality of the spread is not rewarded. The main feature is that the texts crossed the current national border and were reprinted many times. In practice, there is a bias towards a text type such as the advertisement. At least from the professionalisation of the advertising business towards the end of the period, it develops into a more repet-

many false positives.[16] The clusters were then arranged by the highest count per decade.[17] These were downloaded and analysed. The result was coded by type and theme.[18] This method is intended to provide insights into the shifts that took place in the most widely distributed material between the countries' newspaper press. The result contains text clusters with long temporal durations and limited spatial extent, for example, advertisements, as well as the opposite, fast-moving texts covering news events. In combination with the quantitative method, some of the most frequently reprinted texts were also analysed qualitatively to offer further insights into the significance of these most-reprinted texts.

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itive genre like the modern one. Had other variables been accentuated, such as a high virality score or many places of publication, other genres would have benefited, like fast-spreading news. Other advantages of the chosen method are that it captures something of the volume (in total, the 1,000 text passages that the survey deals with were published over 70,000 times, based on the beta version of the database – see footnote 17) and that it highlights the fact that the newspaper as a medium, in many respects, was very repetitive.

16. The database often creates clusters that are not really reprints but templates, that is, of standardised texts that are repeated, but in which, for example, names, dates, circumstances or numbers are unique. Examples of such cases are the budgets of the Riksdag, balance sheets of local savings banks or weather reports where the line-ups follow a model, announcements of bankruptcies and deaths or advertisements that are reused year after year but in which details are updated. This type of result should rightly be considered noise if one is interested in unique pieces of text and how these were spread geographically between different newspapers. If, on the other hand, one is interested in to what extent people in, say, Landskrona or Turku read the 'same' newspapers, not in the sense of identical content but of the paper as a form, the method is ideal. To avoid handling too many false positives manually, the *time span* of the clusters was limited to eight hundred days. By doing so, clusters of texts of the kind described above will be less likely to show up, and template clusters stretched over decades are filtered out.

17. The most time-consuming part of this work is to identify and exclude duplicated text items. The clusters do not contain duplicates, per se, but many longer newspaper texts are chopped up in several parts, which means that the same article ends up in different clusters. The investigation suffers slightly from being conducted mostly on the beta version of the database; since individual chains of text reuse are not in focus but are trends and patterns that, on the whole, are confirmed in the updated database, this is of no significant importance; all cluster numbers refer to the updated online database.

18. The themes were created inductively.

Text-type trends

The results of the survey are summarised in the tables below. As is discussed in the bird's-eye view chapter, there is, in general, a dominance of the Swedish material travelling to Finland, rather than the other way around. As Figure 1 shows, this is also the case with the top-count clusters. Over 90 per cent of them originate in Sweden each decade, with one exception, the 1800s, when the distribution is relatively even. What is taking place in the material is very much a one-way distribution of content. Therefore, it is more accurate to understand the results provided by the method applied in this chapter as mainly on text export from Swedish to Finnish newspapers.

	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	total
Sweden	54	99	91	91	97	99	94	93	92	96	906
Finland	46	1	9	9	3	1	6	7	8	4	94

• Figure 1. Country of origin, percentage of top-count clusters per decade. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

In Figure 2, the first three decades each show one more-or-less distinctive feature or dominating text type: announcements and official proclamations in the 1800s, political and military news from the European theatre of war in the 1810s and advertisements and commercial material in the 1820s. To the extent that there is news material in this latter decade, it concerns remarkable events and various types of useful texts. An example of the former is the story of a Polish woman who gave birth to ten children over the course of three years, and examples of the latter are texts on a plant suitable as a coffee surrogate or on buttered cloth, which supposedly could cure both intestinal ailments and colds.[19]

In terms of dominating text types, the 1830s is similar to the 1820s. Advertising material stemming from the printing industry – such as novels and lexicons for ancient and foreign languages – belongs to the items that were much reprinted. The popular so-called reading libraries, that is, of

19. For example, 'Exempel på en owanlig fruktsamhet', *Helsingborgsposten*, 18 May 1825 (cluster 4396745); 'Medel mot utwärtes åkommor', *Dagligt Allehanda*, 2 August 1827 (cluster 15472); 'Underrättelse om Kaffe-Wicker', *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 31 May 1820 (cluster 6101441).

periodically published novels often translated from French or English, were among the recurring advertisement categories. During the half century that followed, this tendency became even clearer.

Later, the advertising material grew to become the most reprinted material in the newspapers and displaced the lion's share of what can be called editorial material. To a large extent, this had to do with the changing character of the advertising business. In the earlier period, printed books were the mass-produced goods that were most commonly marketed in the newspapers. As the production of other goods was industrialised, more consumer and industrial goods began to appear repeatedly in the newspaper columns. With the mass-distributed press, a new reader also emerged, one that consumed mass-produced goods. High on the top lists are medically oriented consumer goods, such as Reverend Hägglöf's universal lubricant and Dr Sanden's electric Herculex battery, representing a category discussed in more detail in Petri Paju and Hannu Salmi's chapter in this volume. Other widely distributed advertisements were more financial in nature. Bond lotteries and insurance companies were frequent advertisers, dealing with capital protection and credits, the cornerstones of capitalism, with the added enticement of the possibility of becoming rich by chance in the premium bond lottery.

The dividing of the newspaper pages into different departments or sections is largely a nineteenth-century invention.[20] At the turn of the century in 1800, newspapers were, as mentioned, book-like. It is somewhat challenging to impose categorisations that could have been foreign to the contemporary actors. This chapter, however, uses five overarching text types: *news*; *proclamations*, including, for example, official commands or messages about bankruptcies or announcements from individuals that are not advertisements in a commercial sense; commercial *advertisements*; *fiction* in various forms and *information*. The latter term, inspired by Ryan Cordell, describes texts mainly by what they are not: they do not have the characteristics of news, neither are they of a commercial or legislative nature. The category contains educational, informative and advisory texts. Examples of these are reports on the nature and function of dancing, on potato blight or on the Lübeckian child prodigy, Christian Heinrich

20. Mussell, 'Elemental Forms'.

Heineken.[21] Such texts, according to Cordell, encouraged the press network to play an encyclopaedic role.[22]

Figure 2 shows the top one hundred clusters per decade divided by text type. For most of the century, advertisements were the most frequent type of text. The overall observations that can be made are that poetry and other forms of fiction in short form rarely belonged to the most reprinted text types and that advertisements gradually grew during the period to almost completely dominate, especially in the last third.

	News	Proclamations	Advertisements	Information	Fiction	
1800s	6	46	24	21	3	100
1810s	65		34	1		100
1820s	29	2	51	15	3	100
1830s	8		92			100
1840s	50	7	43			100
1850s	54	4	36	6		100
1860s	29		65	6		100
1870s	14		83	3		100
1880s	10		86	4		100
1890s	8		87	5		100

• Figure 2. Percentage of the top-count clusters by type and per decade. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

That the proclamations disappeared in the 1810s is explained by the fact that Sweden and Finland were administratively separated after 1809. There was simply neither reason nor authority for the Swedish official bodies to issue orders that would have any validity in Finland. The first decade examined is dominated by announcements, advertisements and information. This is partly explained by the fact that the decade was the culmination of a period when Swedish printing was increasingly controlled, which coincided with and culminated in the final phase of the Gustavian dictatorship in Sweden, during Gustaf IV Adolf's reign, and which ended in connection to Sweden's loss of Finland. The newspaper press was then

21. For example, 'Om Dans (Ur Åbo Tidning)', *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 18 February 1801 (cluster 6844964); 'Råd till jordbrukare', *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, 15 September 1846 (cluster 31675405); 'Det lärda barnet från Lübeck', *Åbo Tidning*, 8 July 1807 (cluster 4404098).

22. Cordell, 'Reprinting', 426.

exposed to extensive surveillance, prohibitions and detailed regulations.[23] Foreign news was largely non-existent.

Another notable deviation in the results concerns the 1830s decline for, especially, news, but also the disappearance of the three other categories. Regarding news, a gradual decline from the peak of two decades earlier can be discerned. During the regime of Grand Duke Nicholas (1825–1855), censorship increased in Finland, which possibly has some explanatory value. The political view on the role of the press seems to have importance for what was shared between Swedish and Finnish newspapers. In addition, at the time prior to the nations' divorce, there was only one newspaper town in present-day Finland, namely Turku.[24] These quiet news days are contrasted by the subsequent period, however, which was dominated by a relatively intensive sharing of political and military news from the continent, especially in the year 1813, when, as mentioned, Sweden and Russia (including Finland) fought together in the continental war. Then, the news from Europe's theatres of war was both numerous, comprehensive and rich in detail.

It is also obvious, from a close reading perspective, that the news genre experienced some change during the period, and the way it was distributed also affected its contents.[25] An illustrative example of this ongoing negotiation of news and that the evolving communications technologies did not always go hand in hand is demonstrated in one of the Swedish king's speeches that was published. At the opening and closing ceremonies of the *Riksdag*, the king always addressed the current state of affairs of the union. These speeches were reproduced in detail in most Swedish newspapers and often reprinted in Finland. In one of these cases, the communications infrastructure's impact on the network becomes obvious, since it is mentioned and explained in the columns. The speech was already reported in a Helsinki paper, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, through telegraph via Saint Petersburg, but deficient, according to the paper. Therefore, they had to wait for the Swedish post to arrive to be able to give a complete rendering of the

23. Ingemar Oscarsson, 'Med tryckfrihet som tidig tradition (1732–1809)', in *Den svenska pressens historia, 1: I begynnelsen (före 1830)*, eds. Karl-Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2000), 196.

24. Tommila and Salokangas, *Tidningar för alla*, 21–26.

25. Terhi Rantanen, *When News Was New* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), Chapter 4.

king's speech to the estates.[26] In this case, the telegraph supplemented the traditional way of circulating information and offered speed and conciseness, but could obviously not replace the established channels.[27] One might ask, did the boats from Sweden still carry *news* to Finland in the 1860s, or was the telegraph transforming it into another genre?

Figure 2 might also be said to indicate a general trend, namely that of the diminishing content diversity, at least when it comes to the most reprinted texts. From small-scale book-printers' operations depending on their local readership for text contributions of various kinds, the newspaper landscape developed during the course of the century into the mass-distributed press; newspaper enterprises were slowly becoming industrialised by rotary printing presses and professionalised by the newspapermen who were starting to organise and identify themselves as journalists.[28] At the same time, the mass-distributed press was an important prerequisite for the emergence of an industrialised and commercialised society that offered large readerships of consumers from which merchants and manufacturers could seek outlets. The mass-produced goods of the manufacturing industry, the table implies, were marketed in mass-produced advertisements by the mass-produced press. Thus, the content diversity of the early period had, to some extent, been replaced by a multitude of advertisements. If the early nineteenth-century book-like periodical, with the method used for this investigation, resembles a billboard of diverse content, it was gradually succeeded by a late-century streamlined broadsheet reminiscent of a department store window.

Variations of themes

In this section, I focus on the content in terms not of genres but of topics or themes. That is, I make no distinction as far as text type is concerned. Instead, from close reading of the texts in all the top-count clusters, the

26. 'Svensk post', *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 31 October 1862.

27. Jonas Harvard, 'Connecting the Nordic Region: The Electric Telegraph and the European News Market', in *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius (Burlington: Asgate, 2013).

28. Johan Jarlbrink, *Det våras för journalisten: Symboler och handlingsmönster för den svenska pressens medarbetare från 1870-tal till 1930-tal* (Stockholm: National Library, 2009).

best fitting theme is selected for each text. This means that an advertisement for Swedish magazines and newspapers is categorised as journalism/*publicistik* alongside reports from meetings of the Swedish Press Association (Publicistklubben). Similarly, the health/medicine category includes, for example, advertisements for electric belts and health spas, as well as a review of the German Franz Joseph Gall's anatomic theories. Thus, the categories are created heuristically and inductively. Every cluster is categorised by one main theme, meaning that, although, for example, an ad for a medicine or a novel can be considered to be about consumer products, here, they fall under the health/medicine or literature theme, respectively. The theme called as *consumption*, then, is restricted to consumption-related texts and advertisements that do not fit within any other theme. For instance, it includes advertisements for ready-made clothes and mass-produced products such as lamps, sewing machines and perfumes, and texts that foster a consumer culture, such as announcements for the fashion magazines *Freja* and *Iduns Modetidning*. With the same logic, advertisements for niche journals, like *Vitterlek*, which focused on fiction, are labelled, in this case, *literature*. Advertisements for business-to-business products or material are tagged as industry and reports on women's emancipation as *politics*. The most common kind of article in the *political* theme is exemplified by the above-mentioned speeches by the Swedish king to the *Riksdag* and the war bulletins from the wars of the 1810s, as well as reports on other issues being discussed in the parliament. *Capital/finance* is a broad category that includes texts on the interest rates offered in the *Riksbank*, advertisements for premium bonds and the published results from the draws in these lotteries and insurance or capital issues, such as properties for sale. One example encourages an increase in public debt to ease the burden of Swedish property owners.[29] *Communication* mainly concerns texts and advertisements regarding transports, in particular steamboat schedules, the forwarding of goods and the news on Sweden's establishment of telephone wires to promote the telegraphic connections. Even though they are not especially frequent, there are pieces on inventions, such as when the Sardinian engineer Borelli was reported to have a telegraphic apparatus able to copy and transmit both handwritten and printed texts. The correspondent commented on the machine in a typical spirit of progress: 'the most beautiful invention of our

29. Cluster 836958.

time […] which will make telegraphic correspondence to what it is meant to be.'[30]

	1800s	1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Health/medicine	7	3	4	1	1		8	9	17	26
Literature	11	16	11	19	11	4	8	3	14	3
Communication			1	11	12	3	6	10	5	7
Capital/finance	26	1	6	2	5	13	5	10	9	9
Politics/state business	11	64	7		25	37	13	8	6	3
Utility	22		15	6	8	2	6	3	2	3
Journalism/*publicistik*		11	9	1	6	7	19	19	10	11
Religion	2	1		6	2	3	5	1	3	1
Education/*Bildung*	10		36	42	5	9	7	2	10	4
Anecdote	3		4		11	5	1			
Industry					3	6	7	17	9	5
Consumption			2	1			3	15	9	18
Other	7	3	5	10	10	12	7	3	1	9

• Figure 3. Chart of the top-count clusters by theme and per decade.
Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

Thus, each cluster is categorised according to its best-fitting theme.[31] There is also one *other* theme, summing up the categories with only a few hits.[32] One of the themes that underwent the most profound change is *health/medicine*, which made up over a quarter of the clusters during the 1890s. The theme of consumption also gradually increased from the 1860s onwards, as did *journalism/publicistik*, although it is quite present throughout the period. As with consumer goods, which also increased in line with

30. For example, *Wiborg*, 1 September 1858 (cluster 31698406).

31. The themes were not decided upon beforehand but inductively established during the reading of the texts. A consequence of this was that there was quite a number of themes – in all, twenty. Some of them included only a few texts. One example was *trade*, with twelve hits. This category, together with the *property* category, was included in the overarching theme *capital/finance*. There was also a *war* category that was incorporated with *politics/state business*. *History* went into *education/Bildung*.

32. The themes in the *other* category are: *spectacle*, which included advertisements for shows of various sorts; *profession*, which mainly included job advertisements (like for a new sexton in a parish) or companies looking for local commissionaires; *event* and *pleasure* were two low frequency themes that, in the first case, included the opening of the coffin of Charles XII and the latter, for instance, an advertisement for a public steam wagon carousel.

the industry's need to market its products, the same was true of the many periodicals that began to circulate in large numbers at this time. Titles such as *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, *Hemvännen* and *Hemmet* all advertised frequently in both countries. So did Stockholm's daily press, and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, *Fäderneslandet* and *Svenska Dagbladet* advertised for keen news speculators in both Sweden and Finland. The *education* theme peaks during the first half of the century but is still a relevant theme throughout. The texts that are included in this theme are reviews of and advertisements for a variety of literature on popular science, history, languages and the like. But there are also texts concerning the establishment of new educational institutions as an initiative for educating the poor during the first decade and a foresting institute in the mid-century.[33] During the later period, a commercialisation of education can be observed, since the hits in this category, to a large extent, are advertisements for schools, both in trades and in general education. The *religion* theme includes published sermons, exegetics and questions regarding the *läsar*-movement (literally the Reader movement, a Swedish Pietistic revival movement), which encouraged reading and interpreting the Bible as well as other kinds of religious activities outside of the realm of the Swedish State Church.

The *consumption* and *industry* categories grew alongside one another. The *industry* category includes a large variety of texts, from news items on the inventor John Ericson's caloric engine in the 1850s to advertisements for galvanised sheet metal for construction by Galvaniserings AB and for standardised fasteners by Bultfabriksaktiebolaget in the 1870s.[34] The latter ones are examples of an advertisement category becoming more prominent at the end of the period, namely, business-to-business products of the Swedish engineering industry.

The category called *utility* is, in contrast to the industrial and consumption themes, more prominent in the earlier period. This theme resembles what Cordell describes as an important part of the text circulating in the antebellum American press. This is sometimes a sort of advisory and educational text often presented as scientific findings that were supposedly useful to the readers in their everyday lives. One such example is a text that circulated between 1802 and 1804 regarding the most efficient method for extinguishing fires: 'On Firefighting', first published in the

33. Cluster 4405527; cluster 6618774.

34. Advertisement for Bultfabriks-Aktiebolaget (today's Bulten AB) in, for example, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 28/2 1874 (cluster 30109323).

Turku paper *Åbo Tidning* on 1 September 1802. Similar texts from the same decade include a recipe for the nutritious Rumford's soup, recommended for use in poorhouses, advice on how to make textiles waterproof and the most reused text overall during the first decade of the 1800s, reprinted at least nineteen times, describing an investigation of the advantages of using potato instead of grain when producing hard liquor.[35] Although the utility theme decreases in scope in relation to other categories, there are many similar examples, especially during the first half of the century. One such text, first published in 1869, is a memorandum for farmers on what tasks must not be forgotten during the month of May.[36] Therefore, there is reason to regard the role of the press as a 'knowledge broker', to use Cordell's term, when circulating this sort of useful information over the border as an important function.

Texts from all these themes were meaningful or useful in a broad sense of the term; to satisfy the senders' need to spread messages and the readers' demand to take part of them has, of course, been essential since the dawn of periodical publishing. In the following, the theme labelled *anecdote* will be analysed in some detail by examining some examples and suggesting a way to understand the usefulness of such stories.

'Some time ago, an unknown person arrived in the city and checked into a place where travellers usually get lodging.' This is the introduction to a 'costly' story that was 'said' to be completely true. The item was one of the most reprinted texts during the 1840s and told the story of a traveller coming to Gothenburg and presenting himself to the innkeeper as a counterfeiter. He showed his landlord a forged 100 *Riksdaler* note. The problem was not in producing the bills – he could easily make more – 'the hard part was spending them'. The landlord was excited, urging the guest to make a 500 *Riksdaler* bill. He said that he could but that he would need a template for that. Happily dreaming of the riches he would garner through the relationship with his new friend, the landlord provided him with the money.[37] By this point in the story, most readers must have figured out the outcome. The unknown man was no counterfeiter but an impostor, and,

35. For example, 'Nytt förslag till fattigsoppa (Ur Åbo Tidning)', *Stockholmsposten*, 1 October 1807 (cluster 30793313); 'Carlscrona', *Linköpings Bladet*, 30 May 1807 (cluster 30793302).

36. For example, 'Minneslista för jordbrukare i maj 1872', *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 26 April 1872 (cluster 30984068).

37. For example, 'Utländskt', *Åbo Underrättelser*, 17 April 1847 (cluster 30835042).

of course, he absconded with the money. The covetous man was forced to pay for his greed.

The anecdotes, texts in the borderland between news items and tall tales, often have in common that they are deviant and sensationalistic. These are important characteristics of the traditional views of what constitutes news.[38] They are stories not dissimilar to those run by modern tabloids. Other pieces of this kind that were extensively reprinted during the period include one about a Parisian cobbler who was offered an ever-increasing price for the land where his workshop was located by the emperor who wanted to build a castle there for the king of Rome. The buyer finally withdrew his offer, luck turned for the shoe business and instead of the 50,000 *Francs* the shoemaker had declined, the property was sold for 150. Grasp all, lose all.[39] Another story is about a Dutch spinster who was left by her fiancé seventy years earlier when he sailed off to the East Indies. At the market, the woman mysteriously found her engagement ring in a flatfish and, later, received a letter telling her that her former husband-to-be died a rich man in the colonies and left her a fortune. She died on the spot from the shock![40] A fourth and last example of this sort of story is about a Lapland woman who encountered two bears, 'the archenemy of Laps', in the woods. Since she, 'according to Lap custom', was armed with a knife, the desire arose in her to slay them.[41]

These are culturally useful texts in the sense that they describe the misadventures of deviants, making the readers feel normal and reminding them of what is unacceptable behaviour. They are related to the way in which gossip is interpreted by Graeme Turner; it plays a role in evaluating behaviour and establishing community, for instance.[42] The Lapland woman showed strength and bravery in killing both bears, one with her

38. This is in line with the traditional view on events' newsworthiness according to Johan Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News', *Journal of Peace Research* 2, no. 1. 1965. Jesper Strömbäck, 'Journalistikens nyhetsurval och nyhetsvärderingar', in *Handbok i journalistikforskning*, eds. Michael Karlsson and Jesper Strömbäck (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2019).

39. For example, 'Snålheten bedrar wisheten', *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 17 March 1847 (cluster 31818951).

40. For example, 'Strödda underrättelser', *Calmar Tidning*, 30 May 1829 (cluster 976638).

41. For example, 'En Lappqvinna', *Eskilstuna Tidning*, 22 July 1837 (cluster 5163934).

42. Graeme Turner, *Understanding Celebrity* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2015), 126.

bare hands. But it was precisely the rage and brute nature that revealed her to be a savage and not an enlightened newspaper-reader. It is not surprising that these stories circulated. They were timeless and practical for the editor to add in the event of a lack of content but were likely also requested by the readers. These culturally useful texts and their circulation within the network contributed to the establishing of an imagined community, to use Benedict Anderson's terminology, because the readers of practically any paper of the Swedish-language press did share these moral stories and enjoyed the norms of exclusion/inclusion and the sense of the collective they reinforced.[43]

The shared newspaper content gradually moved towards the commercial area. Based on these top clusters, Finland emerges as a relevant outlet market for Swedish companies in the newspaper, manufacturing and health and spa industries. No fewer than six of the top clusters from the 1890s consist of advertisements for different health resorts, categorised here in the *health* theme, for example.[44] Trade between the nations was evidently extensive. One can get the impression that Swedish businesses advertised in the Finnish papers by mere routine or that the circulation of advertisements was a part of the connectedness between papers. A relatively expensively-produced ad could, for a small additional cost, attain far greater reach in pure numbers if Finnish papers were included. Making one's business name well known in the public was becoming ever more important at the end of the period, when trademarks were used for communicating between producers and consumers.[45] As a comparison, this sometimes was the case in the British nineteenth-century provincial press, as well. There, editors subscribed to partly pre-printed pages with

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43. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

44. For example, advertisement for Hjo Vattenkuranstalt, *Vårt Land*, 25 May 1892 (cluster 31020060); advertisement for Kneippvattenkuranstalten, *Östgöta Correspondenten*, 25 April 1898 (cluster 30526994); advertisement for Kärringöns Hafsbad, *Aftonbladet*, 5 May 1898 (cluster 30889369); advertisement for Medevi Helsobrunn och Badanstalt, *Åbo Underrättelser*, 27 April 1895 (cluster 30345386); advertisement for Helsobrunnen 'Helsan', *Wiborgsbladet*, 16 April 1890 (cluster 30487826); advertisement for Sandefjord Svovl- og Söbad, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 22 April 1899 (cluster 8673288).

45. In Sweden, the first trademark law was issued in 1884; see Roger Qvarsell, 'Att sälja hälsa', in *Reklam och hälsa: Levnadsideal, skönhet och hälsa i den svenska reklamens historia*, eds. Roger Qvarsell and Ulrika Torell (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2005), 18–19.

spaces left blank for them to add their local news and advertisements.[46] When the influential Stockholm paper *Aftonbladet* (the Evening Paper) advertised in Finland for its new morning edition, the Helsinki office added a remark to the advertisement. These morning papers would not be of any real gain for Finnish subscribers, ‘not even during the sailing period’, because as far as the commentator was concerned ‘the steamers leave Stockholm shortly after 2 am in the morning, and by that time no morning editions are ready’.[47]

Conclusion

A truism about newspaper publishing and a linchpin of the mass-distributed press, at least since the days of Émile de Girardin as editor of the Parisian *La Presse*, is that a newspaper’s circulation will finance itself if it is only large enough and sufficiently distributed, because the advertisements can then be sold at a higher price.[48] The consequence of this is that the owner is not primarily selling his or her newspaper to the readers, but s/he is selling readers to advertisers. Variations on this theme have later been theorised by Marxist scholars, who reasoned that the audience is constantly performing work to repay the advertisers, thereby providing them a return on their investment.[49] All the material that is not advertisements or otherwise paid for is added to attract readers to read the newspaper and work for the advertiser in a relationship where the newspaper is only an intermediary.

When one considers the most reprinted texts during the nineteenth century, such an interpretation is close at hand. In the press-historical literature, it has been common to view old newspapers’ cut-and-paste practices of editorial content from elsewhere as a supplement to the essential content: the advertisements. There is, however, another way of interpreting the press’s role as a catalyst in the economic system that was

46. Andrew Hobbs, ‘When the Provincial Press Was the National Press (c. 1836–c. 1900)’, *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 5, no. 1 (2009).

47. ‘De svenska stora bladen’, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 22 December 1864 (cluster 205945446).

48. Otto Sylwan, *Den moderna pressen* (Stockholm, 1906), 18–20.

49. Dallas W. Smythe, *Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness, and Canada* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1981), Chapter ‘On the Audience Commodity and its Work’.

being established during the nineteenth century that can be illustrated by the expansion of the railroad in Sweden. In 1877, the newspapers reported from the *Riksdag*, where the railroad question was being discussed. Of several different suggestions, the government's proposition was eventually decided upon. The main lines were to be developed and maintained. How this was to be financed, however, was yet to be decided.[50] The next year, a proposition concerning the matter was passed. The National Debt Office would issue railroad premium bonds.[51] The newspaper readership was, of course, invited to participate in this major concern by reading about it, but it was also invited, via the newspapers' advertisements, to take part in the financing of it by lending money to the state through the purchase of bonds, attracted by the possibility of instant wealth.

It has been argued that, historically, what is more important than the invention of financial instruments is their integration with improved communications and transport.[52] The example regarding the railway question's circulation in the press emphasises the press's fundamental role as a network for circulating financial information and fostering the movement of goods and capital. This is an obvious point to be made from the standpoint of the *finance/capital* theme in Figure 3. Throughout the whole period, this was an important category among the top clusters. There are examples of texts regarding the trade in estates and capital goods, such as steamers and factories, implying that Sweden and Finland, at least to some degree, formed a common capital market. Regarding advertising, it is, as mentioned above, obvious that this is so. There are several examples, mainly from the later part of the century, supporting the interpretation that the text circulation in the press also maintained an integrated consumption market, both through global companies like Singer, selling sewing machines with the same advertisements in both countries, and by Swedish businesses looking for a disposal market in Finland.

The results show that it was largely the Finnish newspapers that imported texts from Sweden, and not the other way around. This is mainly explained by the bias of the quantity of Swedish newspapers in relation to those in Finland, since most circulation was, of course, intranational. A

50. 'Sverige', *Morgonbladet*, 9 March 1877 (cluster 3681930).

51. For example, 'Stockholmskorrespondens till Norrköpings Tidningar', *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 15 April 1879 (cluster 3570134).

52. Andrew Leyshon and Nigel Thrift, *Money/Space: Geographies of Monetary Transformation* (London: Routledge, 1997).

well-circulated text in Sweden was likely to be picked up by some of the Finnish papers, as the Swedish papers were an important source. Were it the other way around, that a well-circulated text in the Finnish press was picked up in Sweden, it might not be with a high enough count for it to reach the top one-hundred list. One must also bear in mind that the Swedish-speaking population in Finland had a desire to maintain its cultural ties with Sweden.[53] And the commercial and financial side of the press apparently played a significant role in maintaining these bonds.

However, often enough, Sweden and Finland could be seen as one newspaper region, since both countries were targets for identical advertisements from global companies, such as the above-mentioned Singer, or continental ones, such as German insurance companies and Italian bond lotteries. Nevertheless, in some thematic areas, some ramifications of the network were occasionally cut off. The lack of texts on the Crimean War shows that the censorship by Russian authorities obviously affected what kind of political news could travel from Finland to Sweden.[54] The story of the French navy's harsh treatment of Finnish sailors, which was spread broadly, was a kind of war story that the Russian propaganda appreciated. At the same time, Swedish newspapers mainly got their war stories from the capitals of Western Europe and not from Russia.[55] These stories were not likely to be printed in Finland, given that they provided the enemy side of the story. These political and infrastructural contexts apparently affected how well-integrated the press network could be on particular subjects during particular periods.

To conclude, the Swedish-language press apparently maintained extensive relations in both countries in many areas throughout the nineteenth century. The results, however, are naturally biased, since they do not show what was not shared. However, from analysing the top-count clusters, it is obvious that content from several areas was shared throughout the press. The press of Finland, this survey confirms, were keener on publishing material originating from Sweden than the other way around. If looked upon as a form that needed to be filled with information, from the Finnish

53. Max Engman, *Språkfrågan: Finlandssvenskhetens uppkomst 1812–1922* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2016).

54. The same lack of foreign news and bulletins from Sweden's war against France and Russia during the first decade of the 1800s in the Swedish (Finland being then a part of Sweden) press is an equivalent.

55. Rodell, 'En "fortgående illustration i taflor"', 210.

perspective, the Swedish newspapers were an abundant well from which to draw. From the point of view of the advertisers, the cost of also printing advertisements in Finland was not extensive. *Aftonbladet* probably knew they could not get many subscribers for its morning edition in Finland, yet the gains from showing its presence in the Swedish-language community were obvious. It also must be considered that the circulation network was so well-established that it was performed routinely. Furthermore, the importance of being visible as part of the network strengthened the network itself.[56] When Swedish newspapers advertised in Finnish papers, they proclaimed to readers that they belonged to the same information network as the paper that was being read. The relationship was, of course, also fruitful for the Finnish paper, since it displayed its connection to the other titles of importance. The relationships that were upheld by the circulation of information throughout the papers in the Swedish-language area not only strengthened the newspaper network but may also have reinforced an awareness of Swedish-Finnish relations after the countries were separated.

56. Cordell, 'Reprinting', 434–435.

Recontextualisations and Transformations in the Information Flows: A worm's-eye view through the temperance question

PATRIK LUNDELL

'The Successor to Liquor' is a more than full-page opinion piece in *Helsingfors Tidningar* from 5 October 1853. 'The age of temperance societies is over', the author claims, but, thanks to the good judgement of his fellow countrymen, this idea had never really taken root in the same way that it had in Sweden. Nevertheless, that there was a serious problem is acknowledged, and the reader is provided a vivid picture of the horrors associated with the excessive consumption of spirits. The real message of the text, however, is this: Since alcohol use cannot be eradicated – in the cold Nordic climate, 'liquor is a need' and 'teetotalism an absurdity, a nonsense' – things would be much improved were liquor replaced by beer.[1]

Starting with the Stockholm paper *Aftonbladet* from 13 October 1853, at least nine Swedish newspapers reprinted the text verbatim, with or without

1. The text also mentions that 'since the last two or three years almost every second city in Finland has or soon will have its own brewery, several of which on a large scale'. Among many advertisements in the same year for different kinds of beer, the readers of *Helsingfors Tidningar*, for example, on 9 March, were also tempted to buy booklets, such as *Den rationelle ölbryggaren* (The stable beer brewer) and *Bajerska Ölbryggerikonsten* (The art of Bavarian beer brewing). The large-scale production, especially of what was often called Bavarian beer, was expanding at the time, facilitated by new cold-storage possibilities, and beer was quite often promoted as a temperance beverage; see Patrik Lundell, 'Nykterhet i provinsen: Om nykterhetsföreningar och press i Östergötland vid 1800-talets mitt', *Spiritus* 3 (2001): 21–22, and, 'The triumph of the Bavarian breweries', Peter Sandberg, *Svensk bryggerihistoria: Öltillverkning under 200* år (Lund: Historiska media, 2022), 51–56.

introductory comments and usually with a reference to the Helsinki paper as their source. But there were exceptions down the line of text reuse. *Westerviks Weckoblad*, 19 November 1853, did not indicate the Finnish origin but, instead, referred to and used the same headline – 'Away with the Liquor!' – as did the Stockholm paper *Folkets Röst*, which had borrowed only parts of the original piece a week earlier. In fact, not a word was cited in small-town Västervik on the death of the idea of temperance associations, on the natural need for alcohol or on the blessings of beer. While adding bold type to some key words and silently transforming 'the nation' to refer to Sweden instead of Finland, it omitted all but a brief and poignant description of the plight of liquor.[2]

If the scale and contours of the scissors-and-paste journalism of nineteenth-century newspapers – their shared content – has been somewhat neglected, this is no less true when it comes to its everyday editorial practice. There is, however, an increasing interest in understanding more complex reuse practices than the term scissors-and-paste might suggest.[3] This

2. *Westerviks Weckoblad*, 19 November 1853, 3, refers to 'F.R.' as its source. The Stockholm paper *Folkets Röst*, 12 November 1853, 1, has the same heading, reuses the Finnish text in the same meaning-changing way, albeit with a longer quote, and does not provide a source. The text-reuse chain is represented in clusters 30869010, 30869012 and 30869013.

3. Although focused on a short story by a canonised fiction author, an inspiration for this approach is Ryan Cordell, 'Taken Possession of: The Reprinting and Reauthorship of Hawthorne's "Celestial Railroad' in the Antebellum Religious Press', *DHQ: Digital Humanities Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2013). Here, Cordell also studies a broader spectrum of paratexts, including in media forms other than newspapers, which is out of scope here but not directly transferable to the kind of texts in focus. Ryan Cordell and Abby Mullen, 'Fugitive Verses: The Circulation of Poems in Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers', *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism* 27, no. 1 (2017) traces recompositions and recontextualisations and is also a source of inspiration. Some other inspiring studies are, for instance, Stephan Pigeon, 'Steal it, Change it, Print it: Transatlantic Scissors-and-Paste Journalism' in the *Ladies' Treasury*, 1857–1895', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 22, no. 1 (2017); M.H. Beals, 'The Role of the *Sydney Gazette* in the Creation of Australia in the Scottish Public Sphere', in *Historical Networks in the Book Trade*, eds. Catherine Feely and John Hinks (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017); Will Slauter, *Who Owns the News? A History of Copyright* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), Chapter 3 'Scissors Editors: Cutting and Pasting in Early America'; and Marianne Van Remoortel, 'Scissors, Paste, and the Female Editor: The Making of the Dutch Women's Magazine *De Gracieuese* (1862–64)', *Women's History Review* 30, no. 4 (2021), on the 'formative input' of editors and scissors-and-paste journalism as 'a creative tool'.

chapter takes a worm's-eye view on the information flows and discusses situated text reuse and the agency of reception, that is, recontextualisations and transformations that, intentionally or not, changed the meaning of a text when it was reused. This could be the result of any kind of framing or rewriting or any sort of lexical or stylistic alteration: where the text was fitted on the page, in the paper as a whole or into another text; attached introductions; added insertions of phrases and glosses; made substitutions or deletions of single words or whole paragraphs and so on.[4] Of course, every instance of reprinting, no matter how literal, purports a recontextualisation and, thus, a transformation of the message, since the text is framed by a new and different context in time and space. This chapter discusses a variety of recontextualisations and transformations, with its focus on the more conspicuous ones. They are interesting in their own right but can also be seen as instances where it is easier to detect and understand media-specific and historically conditioned logics and strategies that were often, if not always, involved in reprinting processes.

Locating recontextualisations and transformations

Although the forms of adaptation other than direct alterations certainly are of interest, the text-reuse database around which this book is centred is apt for spotting them. The forgiving BLAST algorithm is a prerequisite for matching text items in so noisy a material as digitised nineteenth-century newspapers, but this also means that it matches texts that in fact and already from the beginning (and not only in the OCR sense) were merely *almost* identical. The meaning could have been changed to its opposite from one publishing event to another, but the texts might still be clustered together.

There is, on the other hand and for the same reason, no easy way to filter out these instances of textual fluidity from literal reprints in the vast number of text-reuse clusters. Choosing the temperance issue as the entry point is partly arbitrary and stems from my general interest in and knowledge of the topic. However, the choice is also based on the assumption that the theme is potentially rewarding for understanding certain aspects of everyday newspaper work as well as the cultural transfer across

4. Compare Theo van Leeuwen, *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), who distinguishes four main categories of transformations: substitutions, deletions, rearrangements and additions.

the Baltic Sea, including locating examples of innovative or meaning-changing text reuse.

The topic was acknowledged as such by contemporaries, that is, as *the temperance question*.[5] This makes it relatively easy to capture and box in with word searches in the text-reuse database. In this sense well-defined, the temperance issue was nevertheless complex and contested. It could be advocated on primarily economic, medical or moral and religious grounds, or on a combination of these, and it could also be refuted from the same perspectives. In economic terms, the individual lives of the poor would primarily be considered, but so could the loss of man-hours in the manufactories; spirits could, if well-dosed, be regarded as vital for a sound digestion but also as nothing but a severe health problem; from a religious perspective, it could be advocated from a revivalist point of view as well as from within the established church, from which, on the other hand, warnings of fanaticism were often heard, and so on. The very meaning of sobriety was contested, with positions ranging from moderation when it came to spirits to teetotalism regarding all forms of alcohol use. There were organised and, eventually, centralised, yet geographically dispersed and often divided, associations. Therefore, questions relating to *from above* versus *from below* and to mainstream conservative or liberal sentiments versus radicalism – to governing versus empowering, to disciplining versus self-disciplining, to centre versus periphery – are inherent in the temperance question.[6] Last, the temperance question was long-lived and,

5. Sw. *nykterhetsfrågan* (the temperance question); other common terms were *nykterhetssaken* (the temperance cause/issue) and *nykterhetsväsendet* (the temperance organisation). In Sweden, this was the case from the early 1830s, with the terms used more frequently from the end of the decade, when *nykterhetsrörelsen* (the temperance movement) also appeared more frequently. The first evidence of the employment of these terms in Finland are from 1853, 1844, 1838 and 1865, respectively. The year of first usage of the terms in Finland is understood as the result of fuzzy searches in all text kinds in *Digital Collections*, digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi, and is, hence, only an indication.

6. The literature on the temperance movement is vast. A few representative examples from the Swedish case are the following: Torkel Jansson, *Adertonhundratalets associationer: Forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningsformer mellan två samhällsformationer c:a 1800–1870* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1985) interprets the early associations as a kind of municipal institutions established at the initiative of the authorities with the aim of controlling the populace. Against this interpretation, Sidsel Eriksen, 'Vækkelse og afholdsbevægelse: Et bidrag til studiet af den svenske og danske folkekultur', *Scandia* 54, no. 2 (1988),

for substantial parts of the nineteenth century, high on the agenda. To this can be added that the Swedish and Finnish developments, as already suggested in the example above, had quite different trajectories.[7] It is reasonable to assume that all these tensions and differences provided a favourable environment for the creative use of the texts that circulated. Furthermore, the organised movement focused, to a considerable degree, on the formation of opinion through the dissemination of texts.[8]

This investigation begins with a bird's-eye view to identify and characterise the most reprinted temperance text items, since they assumably, as Ryan Cordell argues, 'reflect the values of the larger culture'.[9] This serves not only to gain an understanding of the temperance traffic in general but also to provide an historical context to the instances of meaning transformation. The approach also makes it possible to carry out the exploration of recontextualisations and transformations with some degree of systematicity, and, not least, enhances the chances of finding interesting and relevant

has argued that the movement was an expression of Anglo-American revivalism, by no means in cahoots with the authorities. The Anglo-evangelical influence is central also in Hanna Hoadacs, *Converging World Views: The European Expansion and Early-Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Swedish Contacts* (Uppsala: Department of History, 2003). The movement has further been seen as a protest towards the old authorities arising from urbanisation and industrialisation (Sven Lundkvist, *Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850–1920* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1977)), as a means of disciplining the workers (Björn Horgby, *Den disciplinerade arbetaren: Brottslighet och social förändring i Norrköping 1850–1910* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986)), and as a workers' self-disciplining (Inge Bundsgaard and Sidsel Eriksen, 'Hvem disciplinerede hvem? En kommentar til Poul Porskær Poulsens artikel: Afholdsbevægelsen som disciplineringsagent', *Fortid og Nutid* 33, no. 1, (1986)). An overview of the Finnish development is Irma Sulkunen, *History of the Finnish Temperance Movement: Temperance as Civic Religion* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1990). Also useful is Henrik Stenius, *Frivilligt, jämlikt, samfällt: Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland fram till 1900-talets början, med speciell hänsyn till massorganisationsprincipens genombrott* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1987).

7. To my knowledge the relation between Finland and Sweden regarding the temperance question has not been thematised in the literature. Comparisons are, of course, often made as well as statements about, for example, the early Finnish attempts having been inspired by the Swedish.

8. On temperance advocates' strategic uses of the media system, see Patrik Lundell, 'Nykterhetsfrågans mediala förutsättningar och karaktär', in *1800-talets mediesystem*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Patrik Lundell (Stockholm: National Library, 2010).

9. Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspapers', *American Literary History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 425.

examples, since wide reuse and long text chains are more likely to house them. If to be widely reprinted indicates a cultural impact or importance, then it is also true, of course, when information flows are viewed from a meaning-changing perspective. Drawing on Franco Moretti's observation that *usefulness* was a central value to bourgeois culture in the nineteenth century, the usefulness of these text items has a double meaning.[10] They were, indeed, part of a culture in which the pervasive reprinting system and 'the network author', to use Cordell's apt term, lent authority to individual newspapers' publications and in which texts were favoured not primarily for their originality but for their usability.[11] However, these non-original text items could, at the same time, be put to work in original ways. Individual end-usage could thus be backed by a collective credibility that readers only imagined.[12] Ultimately, this perspective underscores the importance of being wary of purely quantitative interpretations of information flows delivered by computational methods and, for that matter, of any naïve notions of linear circulation. To know what was actually transferred from one context to another often requires careful close reading.

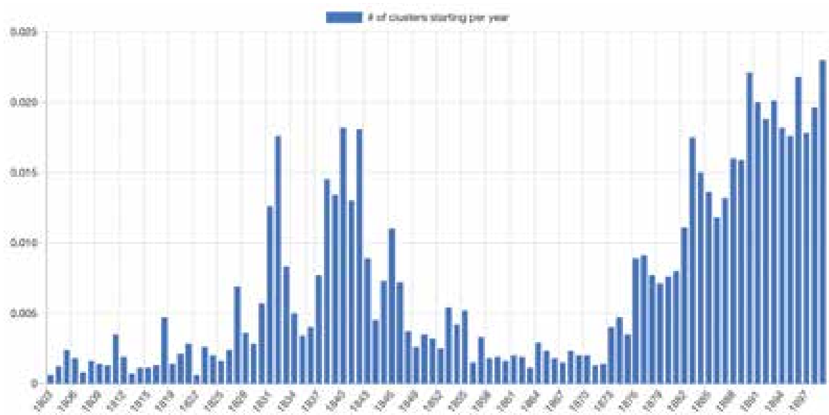
A bird's-eye view on the temperance textual traffic

Focusing not on absolute numbers but on the trends of relative topicality, searches on the individual hits for each country generate the results shown in Figures 1 and 2. The two phases of Swedish temperance history are clearly visible, as is the Finnish phase, gaining momentum only slightly later than the second Swedish one. While the first Swedish phase was intense, the second phase displays an even more frequent occurrence in instances of reused text items. All this is expected from what is known about the history of the temperance issue in the nineteenth century, and, if anything, it indicates that the text-reuse database on the macro level actually mirrors historical trends.

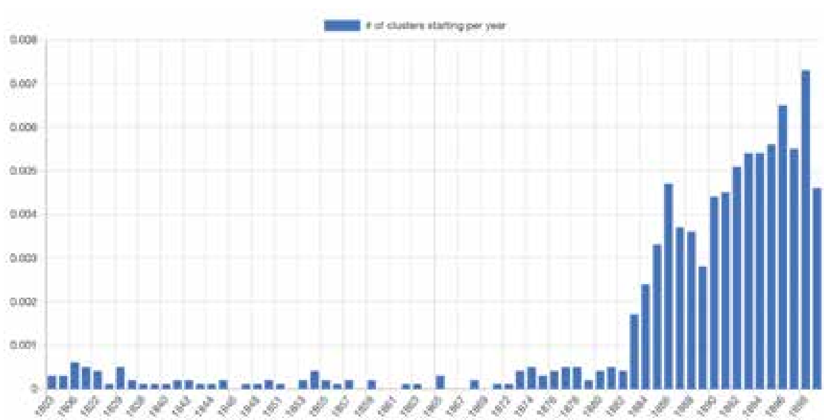
10. Franco Moretti, *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature* (New York: Verso, 2013), Chapter 1.3.

11. Ryan Cordell, 'Reprinting'.

12. Compare Theresa Lillis, 'Imagined, Prescribed and Actual Text Trajectories: The "Problem' with Case Notes in Contemporary Social Work', *Text & Talk* 37, no. 4 (2017).



• Figure 1. Temperance topicality in Sweden. Search word: *nykterhet** – hits, country of publication Sweden, 1800–1899, normalised. Searches on *nykter**, *nykterhet~* and so on give different numbers, of course, but very similar shapes. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.



• Figure 2. Temperance topicality in Finland. Search word: *nykterhet** – hits, country of publication Finland, 1800–1899, normalised. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

A look at how many of the total number of temperance-related clusters are cross-border cases and in which country the text chains start is also illuminating. The share of cross-border cases in general, that is, of the total number of clusters in the database (the numbers in parenthesis in the first column in Figure 3), is much higher in the latter part of the seventy-year period than in the earlier part. To what degree this reflects a newspaper press more inclined to cross-border text reuse – having a more international, or at least neighbourly, interest and outlook – or if the numbers simply mirror that the asymmetry between the two countries in terms of the number of newspaper titles is diminished cannot be decided and is not of importance per se.[13] A comparison with the share of the cross-border clusters of the total amount of temperance clusters is, nevertheless, telling as a measurement of the temperance question's cross-border topicality. The only decade in which the traffic of temperance items was markedly above average is the 1850s. In the 1840s, the 1880s and, even more so, the 1890s, the textual temperance exchange across the border was, instead, distinctly less intense than what might be expected from the average level of text traffic. However, and perhaps counterintuitively, this should not be interpreted as a disinterest in temperance writings across the sea but, rather, indicates that the intensity, the sheer amount of local, regional and national circulation trumps cross-border traffic, which, taken by itself, is considerable. One followed what was happening and borrowed from across the sea but saw no need to reprint more than a small portion.

As for the numbers on origin (displayed in columns 2, 3 and 4), one clear development is that the difference between the temperance clusters and the clusters in general decreases and almost vanishes. The fact that the Swedish-originating temperance clusters are close to 100 per cent in the 1830s and then decline reflects the fact that there was nothing comparable happening in Finland in the beginning. The increasing share of Swedish-originating clusters in general *also* mirrors the growing number of Finnish newspapers, that is, the growing number of potential importers of text items.

So, what can be said of the content of these clusters? I have assessed top-count clusters decade by decade, and I will provide a qualitative summary supported by examples, when deemed appropriate. The overview is chronologically divided into two parts, based on the distinct phases.[14]

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13. See also this book's chapter 'Crossing the Border: A bird's-eye view on information flows between Sweden and Finland'.

14. My primary search is *nykter**, cross-border clusters, decade by decade, meaning that I assess and register metadata for clusters with a starting date 1830 to 1839, 1840 to 1849, etcetera. For the first four decades, since they are limited to 501, I manually review all these clusters and register the relevant ones, that is, those concerning temperance as a social issue and with hits in both Finland and Sweden. What qualifies as

	% all cross-border	% from Sweden	% from Finland	% from the US
1830s	3.8 (4.3)	97.5 (63.9)	2.5 (36.1)	– (–)
1840s	3.2 (5.3)	84.4 (74.9)	15.6 (25.1)	– (–)
1850s	7.9 (6.4)	85.5 (72.4)	14.5 (27.3)	– (0.3)
1860s	8.4 (9.0)	87.2 (73.3)	8.5 (25.0)	4.3 (1.7)
1870s	15.0 (15.1)	83.0 (78.4)	8.1 (18.0)	8.9 (3.7)
1880s	13.7 (20.5)	83.7 (81.8)	9.9 (13.9)	6.4 (4.3)
1890s	9.5 (19.6)	84.0 (80.9)	12.5 (14.8)	3.5 (4.3)

• Figure 3. Shares of cross-border cluster, temperance-related and in general. First column: percentage cross-border *nykterhet**-clusters of all *nykterhet**-clusters; in parentheses, percentage cross-border clusters of all clusters, regardless of content. Second, third an fourth columns: percentage cross-border *nykterhet**-clusters originating from Sweden, Finland and the United States, respectively; in parentheses, percentage cross-border clusters originating from Sweden, Finland and the United States, respectively, of all cross-border clusters, regardless of content. The decade for cross-border here refers to the starting date, not the reception date; most clusters are not very long-lived, but, for obvious reasons, the number of drawn-out text-reuse chains increases over time. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

What dominates during the first four decades, 1830 to 1869, both in general and when it comes to the clusters with the highest counts, that is, the number of unique publication instances, are anecdotes, humour and news of the sensational or odd kind. The cluster with the highest count (thirty-nine) and most unique locations (thirty-two) concerns the death of 'a fake temperance preacher', who had been operating with 'fake testi-

relevant is, of course, open to interpretation. I do not, by default, register, for example, ads for sober staff, the mentioning of a lawbreaker being sober at the time of the crime or that good naval charts and a sober crew are essential in shipping. Such instances can, of course, be relevant. However, I am generous in the sense that any mention in passing in, for example, fiction of, say, the term *temperance association* is noted. Admittedly, there is no clear line here. It is rather a question of historical judgement related to what one is more precisely looking for. There are also non-relevant clusters of a completely different nature; due to segmentation errors in the OCR process, the relevant word can occur in one specific hit, while the cluster consists of a text item where the word or, more importantly, the topic is not present at all. For the last three decades of the century, numbers begin to rise dramatically – already, the 1870s has 1192 clusters – so, from then on, I evaluate for each decade enough clusters to be able to assess the top twenty relevant ones in terms of count.

monials and recommendations, and a hunch and a growth on the belly for pity that turned out to be fake'. The text originated in southern Sweden in the Karlskrona paper *Blekinge-Posten* on 14 April 1855, and was reused in Finnish Turku in *Åbo Tidningar* on 26 April 1855.[15]

Regarding the 1830s, almost half of the top-count cross-border clusters have content originating in the United States, often reaching Sweden and Finland via the UK, reflecting the fact that the temperance question as a specific social issue was largely an Anglo-American invention. In cluster terms, however, they all begin in Sweden, exemplified by the very first of this kind, when *Aftonbladet*, 18 April 1835, reported that 'The Times tells us that the temperance societies in America have invented quite an effective remedy against drunkenness for the promotion of temperance', which was printed a few months later in Finland in *Helsingfors Morgonblad* on 20 July 1835. Only one of these clusters from the 1830s begins in Finland. The lengthy 'Brief Overview of the State of Affairs in the Political World at the End of 1838' in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 1 February 1839, is not focused on the temperance question. What qualifies it here is a short remark, stating that 'the Temperance Associations have had better success in Sweden than anywhere else in Europe; but they are also not likely to have been called upon out of any comparable necessity in any other country'. From the 1840s, clusters starting in Finland become more common, strikingly many of them with texts on Russian matters.

To tentatively compare these findings to what also circulated in the national context of Sweden – to identify nationally well-circulated texts that did not necessarily cross the border – I made searches without restricting them to cross-border cases.[16] Several high-count clusters in the national context also crossed the border, and there are many of the same kind that migrated, such as amusing or horrifying anecdotes with substantial national dissemination, but were not picked up in Finland. More interesting is that texts on meetings – from the local to the regional to the national, from invitations to reports and comments – are much more conspicuous in the strictly Swedish circulation than in the cross-border cases. When looking at the top-count clusters limited to Swedish circulation, it is, from the texts on meetings, for example, impossible not to register that Peter

15. Clusters 30932351, 30798431 and 7982050.

16. These searches are on *nykterhet**. Using *nykterhet* instead of *nykter* risks missing relevant cases but has the benefit of quickly delivering almost solely relevant hits, and this from a much larger number of possibly relevant clusters.

Wieselgren was a very prominent advocate for the temperance cause during the entire first phase of Swedish temperance history. However, in the cross-border clusters (at least those identified in my various searches), he is absent.[17] Nevertheless, searches in all text types in the Finnish *Digital Collections* indicate that the temperance man Wieselgren was far from unknown in Finland. A telling example is found in *Åbo Underrättelser*, 22 July 1865. The text is not on the temperance issue or Wieselgren, per se, but reports at length on a recent agricultural meeting in Turku – an assembly, it is claimed, marked by such a sober audience and atmosphere that it 'could have been attended by Wieselgren himself'. Apparently, Wieselgren's temperance work and fame did circulate, but not foremost via cross-border text reuse of the kind registered in the database. At the same time, as shown above, a significant part of temperance-related matters that did circulate across the border in the form of text reuse was made up of news foreign to both Finland and Sweden, not least from the US and Russia. A possible interpretation is that much temperance-related information spread in Finland via the direct consumption of Swedish print. That would have made it less relevant to reuse text items on ordinary, day-to-day matters. The odd or foreign items were, on the other hand, picked up.

During these first four decades, the number of unique locations in Finland was quite modest. Most of the cross-border clusters have only one instance of reuse in Finland, and this includes the top-count clusters, that is, the text items with a relatively large circulation in Sweden. The first case with two unique locations in Finland is from the mid-1840s and concerns an opinion text advocating temperance from an economic perspective. The first Finnish reuse was in Turku, *Åbo Tidningar*, 14 December 1844, and the second four months later in Porvoo, *Borgå Tidning*, 19 April 1845; in Sweden the cluster counts eight unique locations.[18] While the number of newspapers in Finland was modest compared to that in Sweden, these low numbers of reuse locations – most often a single place – can, perhaps, still be said to account for a modest interest in Swedish temperance activities. On the other hand, they could also reflect the fact that there was a plethora of texts from Sweden to choose from and that Swedish-language Finnish

17. A search on *Wieselgren~ AND nykter** in the text-reuse database and for these first decades delivers 182 clusters, all of them starting in Sweden and none of them crossing the border.

18. Cluster 4374226.

editors subscribed by default to some Swedish papers and, therefore, had no need to use them second-hand from domestic papers.[19]

The top-count cross-border clusters for the last decades of the nineteenth century is still dominated by anecdotes, humour and news of the sensational or odd kind, although the share of less spectacular news items and opinion texts increases. If, among these clusters, those with a relatively high count in Finland – that is, text reuse in more than the occasional paper on the east side of the Baltic Sea – are considered, another trend becomes even clearer, namely, that the content stems less frequently from beyond the Nordic countries. This was still the case in the beginning of the period, in the 1870s, when a top-count piece quoted from the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* referring to how American doctors ever more commonly used Peruvian bark (also known as cinchona bark and best known for treating malaria) as an effective remedy for intemperance, was seen in at least twenty-six Swedish, three Finnish and one American location, and thirty-six papers in total.[20] However, the top cluster during the 1880s – on the blessings of hot chocolate as a workers' temperance beverage, described, among other things, in a text titled 'The Composition, Value and Price of Food Articles' – which stretches over almost five years and counts 144 hits on sixty-nine unique locations, including eight in Finland and one in the US, is definitely of Swedish origin; initially a public lecture in Uppsala by Professor August Almén, it was also published separately as a booklet.[21] From the 1890s, a prominent cluster of this kind – that is, with a relatively high count also in Finland – is difficult to type in terms of genre, since it sometimes reads as a news item and sometimes as political advertising. It originates in Sweden and consists of the party programme of the newly founded liberal Folkpartiet (The people's party), of which one item is 'The promotion of temperance through legislation'; the cluster counts 237 hits on seventy unique locations: sixty-six in Sweden, four in Finland.[22]

For the previous period, I also compared the cross-border temperance flow to that which circulated more exclusively in the national context of Sweden, or, in other words, what was often-repeated in absolute numbers but did not cross the border. This method is less fruitful for the

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19. On Finnish editors' subscriptions to Swedish papers, see Yrjö Nurmio, *Suomen sensuuriolot Venäjän vallan alkuaikoina vv. 1809–1829* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1934).

20. Cluster 30411077.

21. Cluster 31078891.

22. Cluster 30368408.

latter part of the nineteenth century, since top-count clusters are heavily dominated by local repetitions, not least in the form of ads, mirroring a different kind of commercial landscape and new advertisement practices compared to those of the mid-century. For Sweden, this is the case from the 1870s, while, for Finland, this bias begins to dominate from the 1890s. And when more relevant texts turn up on the top-count lists, they often overlap with cross-border examples, indicating that historical text-reuse cases not seldom must be understood as being represented by several clusters in the database.

Therefore, considering nationally limited top lists based on the number of unique locations is more rewarding for tracking what did not migrate across the sea. In the Swedish case, there were many advertisements for booklets and more-or-less specialised temperance newspapers and magazines, reaching at least thirty-five locations in the 1870s and eighty-one in the 1890s.[23] Another top category is constituted of so-called letters from Stockholm. These were texts produced by professional Stockholm-based writers and subscribed to by many provincial newspaper editors (in this case, almost thirty) summing up recent events in the capital.[24] The examples of such letters captured by my searches – among a wide range of other topics – refer to temperance activities of various sorts in Stockholm. Yet another kind of content appearing in these Swedish-exclusive top charts deals with petitions, that is, formal written requests signed by many people appealing to the authorities for some change with respect to the temperance cause.[25] Some of these texts can be read as ads or notifications attracting attention to the fact that this or that petition was now being circulated, while others urge that signed lists should be sent in, and yet others are news items dealing with a petition's eventual legislative effects (or lack thereof).

In addition to the occasional Russian news, the Finnish equivalent lists also contain a few advertisements for temperance publications. However, in the 1870s, what dominates and mirrors the Swedish case of the earlier decades are informative texts on the establishment of an association in a

23. For example, clusters 30979756 and 30035928.

24. For example, cluster 30456393. On letters from Stockholm as a specific newspaper genre, see Erik Edoff, 'Stockholm mot landsorten: Stockholmsbrev och 1800-talets landsortspress som nätverk,' in *Spaningar i kultursektorn*, ed. Alf Arvidsson (Umeå: Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University, 2019).

25. For example, cluster 31281949.

particular town for a gradually increased focus on the activities of these associations – meetings, fundraisings and the like. A few cases on these top lists contain an explicit wish to be duplicated. Temperance preacher G. Liljeroth, according to the first hit in *Åbo Underrättelser*, 28 November 1879, 'wishes that all Swedish newspapers [that is, Swedish-language newspapers in Finland] would reproduce' his retelling of the blessings of a water course he had recently come across in the *New York Sun*. And schoolman Oskar Dannholm, critical of the association frenzy (for 'animal protection, temperance or any other virtue') when it came to school children, ended his text published in the Helsinki paper *Nya Pressen*, 14 November 1895, like this: 'It is humbly requested that other newspapers are also willing to provide their columns for these lines.' Whether the newspapers that responded to these requests published only the notice by itself or included the request varied.[26]

The asymmetrical conditions – the number of newspapers and newspaper locations; the relatively greater tendency of the Swedish-speaking Finnish editors compared to their Swedish colleagues to subscribe to newspapers from the neighbouring country; the domestic topicality of the temperance question – are evident in terms of both the scope and content of the temperance text flows. The gradually decreasing asymmetry resulting from the expansion of the Finnish press and the increasing topicality of the temperance issue is also visible. The obvious should also be emphasised: The direction, scope and content of the flows are primarily about reception, not dissemination. Of course, the position and prestige of the sender affects what the receiver not only picks up but receives in the first place. However, perceived usefulness and tellability is always a factor. Anecdotes and jokes with generic qualities and news from further west or east, respectively, are more useful than nationally or even locally anchored activities, as long as they do not contain spectacular elements. This is particularly true of Finland, where the direct consumption of both Swedish newspapers and other print media was significant. And of course, it must be remembered that the kind of information flows captured by the database covers far from everything, regardless of the direction of travel across the Baltic Sea.

26. Clusters 17339529 and 17995415.

Cases of creative text reuse

One must be wary that historical text-reuse chains sometimes result in more than one computer-generated cluster.[27] In addition, word searches, apart from not identifying everything due to poor OCR quality, also return non-relevant clusters because of segmentation errors; the relevant word might occur in only one hit, while the cluster consists of a text passage in which the word and, more importantly, the topic is not present at all. And of course, in such a vast material originating from two national repositories with different digitisation histories, there are also errors related to metadata.

This means that lists must be carefully curated. Such thorough washing sometimes also reveals variations of a different kind, namely those that were there from the start: added comments, exchanged words or deleted sentences. The reasons behind these alterations can be anything from mistakes and misunderstandings to layout matters, to readership considerations and political purposes. A usage in a different time and place may have required adjustments in the form of explanations or simplifications. Other cases are best described as appropriations.

As there is more temperance material in the entire body of earlier newspaper publications in the full newspaper archive in the late nineteenth century, and as the time horizon expands, long-term chains of text reuse become both more frequent and more protracted. Given that Finland had nothing equivalent to the early Swedish temperance frenzy, the dominating direction of these historical text loans is equally obvious. Anecdotes and humorous items are also found in this category, often with minor changes that situate or appropriate them culturally, such as when the English-sounding 'Mr Brandy-toddy', in a joke from 1873, became 'Herr Tuting' (Mr Shot/Dram) twelve years later and earlier references to 'an American newspaper' as the origin were no longer made.[28]

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27. There are at least two basic kinds of duplicates: identical duplicates (containing the same newspaper issues and referring to the same articles) and cases where several clusters (with differences in newspaper issues) represent one historical chain of text reuse. There are also duplicates that are combinations of these kinds. Duplications are unevenly distributed. Many clusters have no duplicates, some only one and others several; I registered eleven when curating the temperance top lists.

28. Clusters 30740702 and 4186504. The modification, camouflaging, and re-presenting of American content to pass as British is analysed in Pigeon, 'Steal It.' On jokes, specifically, see Bob Nicholson, '"You Kick the Bucket; We Do the Rest!': Jokes

When it comes to more serious texts, there are at least two different kinds of long-term reuse: one decidedly historical usage and another making no acknowledgment at all of the fact that the text is old.[29] An example of the former sort – not selected for being especially widespread but as rather suggestive in terms of editorial practices – is when the Porvoo *Borgå-Bladet*, 9 August 1890, explicitly cites or, as it is phrased, 'reprints' most of a long, critical text from the Uppsala-based *Correspondenten*, 30 August 1832, with the heading 'A Statement on Temperance 60 Years Ago', and ends it with an explanatory note on the historical context: 'In order to understand the above, one should recall […]', on the Swedish legislation regarding the distilling for household requirements from 1787 to 1854. No reader could escape the historicity of the publication. In fact, the Porvoo editor also informed his readers that the Uppsala paper had borrowed the text from *Journalen*, published in Stockholm, a condition not mentioned in *Correspondenten*.[30] Why the author didn't cite directly from *Journalen* is not easy to say; however, that he had first-hand knowledge of Swedish periodicals almost sixty years past – and used this knowledge and displayed it to his readers – is obvious. The second type is exemplified by the medical lecture 'The Ability of Spirits to Induce Disease, Whether Enjoyed in Moderation or in Excess' given by Professor Magnus Huss at a meeting for the Swedish Temperance Society in 1843, which was first reprinted in Finland thirty years later with no reference to when the speech was delivered.[31] It could be argued that both these borrowings are cases of meaning-changing recontextualisation – but of quite different sorts.

As noted above, the texts on meetings and the like did not often travel across the sea. One exception was the call for a temperance summer meeting in Vaasa, Finland that also appeared in Sweden. However, this recontextualisation meant a change of genre. It was first published in *Wasabladet*

and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012).

29. Compare Hannu Salmi, Heli Rantala, Filip Ginter and Aleksi Vesanto, 'The Long-Term Reuse of Text in the Finnish Press, 1771–1920', Proceedings of the Digital Humanities in the Nordic Countries 4th Conference (DHN, 2019), Copenhagen, Denmark, March 5–8, 2019, *CEUR Workshop Proceedings*, 2364, http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2364/, where the habit of reprinting old texts is discussed in terms of bridging and stressing differences, respectively.

30. Cluster 3585010. Also, *Samlaren*, 15 September 1832, 1–3, and 22 September 1832, 2–3, published the piece and only credited *Correspondenten*.

31. Clusters 30739936 and 4183709.

on 12 February 1887, and the text ends with the following request: 'It is hoped that all newspapers published in the country would take up this call.' An advertisement of sorts, this is probably still very much a case of literal text reuse encouraged by its initiators to save labour and money. The text was reprinted in eleven Finnish papers, in most cases verbatim and without further ado.[32] The only Swedish paper in the cluster is *Reform*, 10 March 1887, published by the Swedish branch of the Independent Order of Good Templars, which settled on a few short excerpts from the original text, thus transforming it to a news item, a piece of information on temperance doings in Finland, rather than an actual call for its readers to attend in Vaasa. In *Reform's* own words: It is a call 'to every temperance association and every individual temperance friend in Finland to gather in Vaasa'.[33] Hence, the cluster qualifies for the top chart not as an example of a particularly broad cross-border information flow but due to good dissemination in Finland. And while it is a case of literal text reuse across the border, it is not best described as an example of scissors-and-paste journalism but rather of the practice of quoting a source for evidence within an editorial text. It should also be noted that the only paper to find it newsworthy on the other side of the Baltic Sea was solely dedicated to the temperance issue.

To dig somewhat deeper into what might have migrated from Finland to Sweden in a wider public discourse, I also made searches for cross-border clusters limited to Finland as the starting country, however, the results are sparse; most of the clusters longer than two or three hits do (most likely) not originate in Finland but represent texts that were independently copied by both Finnish and Swedish papers from a third country. One exception, though, displays a familiar pattern: what was often picked up was foreign news and, when the direction was from Finland to Sweden, the content often originated in Russia. This specific case started in the Helsinki paper *Nya Pressen*, 12 July 1899, and is interesting not so much for its content, per se, but for how it travelled and was recontextualised in different ways. In extenso, it reads:

32. The exceptions were the local Vaasa competitor, who, nearly a month later, printed the text under the heading 'To the Editorial Staff of Wasa Tidning' in *Wasa Tidning*, 8 March 1887, 3, and the Helsinki paper *Finland*, 24 February 1887, 4, that marked the text as a letter to the editor with the heading 'From the public'.

33. Cluster 4006344.

> *Strict measures against drunkenness*. To [Sankt-]Pet[erburgskie] Vedomosti is communicated from Kazan that the city's chief of police submitted a proposal for measures against drunkenness to the local temperance association. According to the proposal, all persons found in a highly intoxicated state would be sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment or a fine not exceeding 25 roubles, after which their names would be published in the 'Governorate Gazette' and other local newspapers. Furthermore, the chief of police suggests that the temperance association should petition the Ministry of the Interior for the reintroduction of an old remedy against drunkenness, consisting in the fact that persons arrested for drunkenness, regardless of class or social status, would be required to participate in the work of cleaning the city's streets and squares. The temperance association has accepted the proposal and applied to the Ministry of the Interior for permission to apply the proposed measures.

The text was reused more than fourty times and printed in at least two other Finnish, twenty-eight Swedish and four American locations over a period of forty-one days.[34] For all its insignificance, it is a good example of the potentially tangled routes and practices of text reuse. To begin with, the level of detail or specificity varied and, basically, deteriorated when the text was reused in Sweden. Obviously, some of the details were not regarded as relevant for the Swedish readership. For example, the named source, *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, reportedly Russia's oldest newspaper, became 'Russian newspapers' in the first instance of reuse in *Aftonbladet*, 17 July 1899. Shortly thereafter – in *Gotlands-Posten*, 19 July 1899 – such references were dropped altogether, and the text instead begins with its actual message about the doings of the Kazan chief of police. On the other hand, the Swedish audience was sometimes given further elucidations, as when the temperance paper *Reformatorn*, 3 August 1899, explained that twenty-five roubles were the equivalent of approximately fifty Swedish kroner and that the practice of street cleaning as punishment was also known in some US states.

Another difference between the various instances of reuse is in how the text was framed in terms of headings and placement within the paper. For example, when first reused in *Aftonbladet*, the text was placed in the tidbit section, competing with pieces such as 'How is Princess Margareta Related

34. Cluster 30969451.

to her Mother?' and 'Zola and His Little Dog'. When next reused, in the Malmö-paper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* on 19 July 1899, the heading was the more serious 'From Russia', and, without any further comments, it reads like any piece of foreign news. In one sub-branch of the cluster, starting with *Gotlands-Posten*, a tendentious 'of course' has been inserted in the text's last sentence: 'The temperance association has *of course* accepted the proposal […]' (my italics). So, what was, at one end of the spectrum, an amusing curiosity, on the other end, became news reporting with an angle – an item meant to inspire or to stress its absurdity.

The second Finnish hit of the Kazan cluster, that is, the first instance of reuse in Finland, is from *Wasabladet* on 27 July 1899, when the text item had already been seen in some twenty-five Swedish papers. The spellings and minor word changes indicate that the text was not borrowed domestically, from the original Helsinki publication, but from Sweden. In other words, the text returned to Finland rather than having travelled within the Finnish borders. Furthermore, the third and fourth Finnish hits, in *Wasa-Posten*, 1 August 1899, and the Kokkola-based *Österbottningen*, 4 August 1899, are also loans from Sweden, but not from the same source as the second. The two Swedish-originating sub-chains are thus represented in one Finnish location, Vaasa. The four cases of American reuse also borrowed from at least two different Swedish sources.

As it happens, *Aftonbladet*, the paper that first reused the text, printed it a second time on 22 July 1899, only five days after its first publication and now under the heading 'From the Camp of the Friends of Temperance' – this time possibly borrowed from another Stockholm paper, namely *Dagen*, 21 July 1899, which might have taken it from the above-mentioned *Gotlands-Posten*, thus with the inserted 'of course'. This duplication, with a slightly different meaning due to content and placement, is probably best understood as unintended, reflecting an industry in constant need of massive volumes of texts. What makes this case somewhat special is the fact that *Dagen*, a so-called low-cost newspaper (*billighetstidning*), albeit with its own editorial staff, was owned and run by *Aftonbladet*. The Jönköping paper *Småland* also published the Kazan story twice, on 22 and 27 July 1899. The second publication is found in its special weekly edition, and the text is located at the right bottom of the last page, making it plausible to assume it was employed as a filler.

To sum up the case: Once the text was imported to Sweden from Finland, there seem to have been two distinct paths of dissemination, with one of them split into two sub-routes. With content originating from Saint Petersburg, the starting point, in terms of Swedish-language chains of text reuse, was Helsinki. But the hub of the wider distribution – or where Finns, Swedes and Swedish-Americans alike turned to for this text loan – was most likely Stockholm. And in the process, the text was transformed and adapted to Swedish audiences.

Finally, I will account for a decidedly political case of text reuse. On 12 December 1838, *Borgå Tidning* (Porvoo, Finland) published a piece on the standing of the temperance question in its neighbouring country called 'Om nykterhets-väsendet i Sverige'. The word *väsendet* is ambiguous, meaning either something that is organised, a system, or ado. It begins like this:

> No topic has occupied the plurality of Sweden's newspapers for the current year to so great an extent as the necessity, progress, dispensability or ridiculousness of temperance associations. Even since the recent unrest in Stockholm and the events caused by it have begun to occupy the newspapers, several of the provincial newspapers devote at least half of their columns to this subject.[35]

The text's composition is complex, and the provenance of its elements is not immediately revealed either by the text-reuse database or, even less so, by the text itself. Therefore, I will first describe these three levels of cited sources: what the text explicitly claims, what the database indicates and what can be added or subtracted through close reading and other sources. Then, I will address the issues of recontextualisations and transformations.

Albeit not the most systematic of its kind, the piece can be placed in the popular genre of newspaper review. On the textual level, explicit attributions are made to an unspecified 'South-Swedish newspaper', the Uppsala *Correspondenten*, a letter to the editor of the Lund-based *Skånska Correspondenten* and a nameless 'English newspaper'. There are also more imprecise citations: 'in another place one reads' (whether this refers to the quoted letter or somewhere else is not obvious), 'a traveller', the Stockholm paper *Freja*, 'the sober ones', 'several capital newspapers' and 'many provincial papers'. Whether these references express the editor's first or

35. The 'unrest in Stockholm' refers to the lèse-majesté conviction and the following so-called Crusenstolpe or Rabulist riots there in June of the same year.

second-hand knowledge is unclear. Allegedly, quotes were borrowed, extracts were made or information was drawn from all these sources. What adds to the uncertainty – for the historian and, likely, for the contemporary reader – is that the first explicit reference, to the so-called South-Swedish newspaper, is also a newspaper overview, 'Review of the Newspapers with Regard to their Position on the Temperance Reform', while the Porvoo text's own headline instead echoes the only other heading mentioned in the text, 'What Are We to Think of this Temperance Ado/Organisation, if We Want to Have Faith in Common Sense?', which is the title of the letter to the editor. A paragraph about the opinions on a text on Swedish drunkenness, written by the Scottish Stockholm-based Methodist preacher George Scott and published 'in English newspapers', further enhances the impression of the editor as being connected to a broad information network. Apart from initially referring to 'the current year', the only indication of time in the text – 26 September – refers to events in London, adding time- and space-wise to the sense of connectivity.

Viewed through the text-reuse database, the Porvoo article includes elements that constitute the final instances in four different clusters. The oldest two start with *Skånska Correspondenten*, 29 January 1838; these are snippets from the same text but split up in the segmentation.[36] The next originates in *Lunds Weckoblad*, 31 January 1838.[37] The third cluster starts in the Uppsala *Correspondenten*, 2 June 1838, but also includes *Skånska Correspondenten*, 23 July 1838, before ending up in *Borgå Tidning* in December.[38] Supplementary searches in the text-reuse database – on starting locations and port cities in relation to Porvoo as the incoming city over a three-year period – establish with some certainty that the editor in Porvoo subscribed to *Skånska Correspondenten* but probably not to the Uppsala *Correspondenten* and possibly not to *Lunds Weckoblad*, either.[39]

36. Clusters 4387467 and 4387469.

37. Cluster 30790531. This cluster includes *Carlshams Tidning*, 9 February 1838, 3.

38. Cluster 4387468.

39. For the years 1837 through 1839, Lund is top ranked among port cities, where Porvoo is the incoming city (121 clusters, Stockholm is second with 120 and Uppsala is in seventeenth place with fourteen); during the same period, Lund is second to Stockholm as the starting city (ninety-one clusters, Stockholm 325, and Uppsala is in ninth place with twenty-three). Of the two Lund publications, *Skånska Correspondenten* accounts for 79 per cent (starting city) and 92 per cent (port city), respectively. In cases where Lund is both a start city and a port city and the clusters have only two counts, all but six of the fifty-three clusters are from *Skånska Correspondenten*; among

When comparing the full texts in the newspapers, there is little doubt that the Uppsala item reached Porvoo via Lund. It comes as no surprise that the unnamed South-Swedish newspaper was *Skånska Correspondenten*. The text-reuse database's quantitative indication that the direct role of *Lunds Weckoblad* in producing *Borgå Tidning* was limited, if not non-existent, is further strengthened by the fact that the text item represented in the database as shared between them is also found in numerous other Swedish papers from January and February 1838, several of which are occasionally cited in Porvoo.[40] This piece of text concerns the events in London purportedly cited from 'an English newspaper', and it is literally presented as 'an appendix' to the article, which seems reasonable enough, given that the topic is the temperance issue in Sweden. In Porvoo, on 12 December 1838, these events are dated to 26 September, implicitly of 1838, while all the identified Swedish instances date them to 26 December 1837.[41] It is entirely possible that the nine-month misdating in Porvoo was deliberate to appear updated and connected.

The London 'appendix' aside, what remains of the Porvoo text in terms of information flows? What the text-reuse database identifies as shared with two issues of *Skånska Correspondenten* seems historically correct. To this can be added several passages, reproduced verbatim or paraphrased, that are shorter than 300 characters (and therefore cannot have been registered in the database), originating from these two and, at least, three other issues of the Lund paper.[42]

Thus, the whole body of the article was composed from using one single newspaper. Given the connected and networked impression it conveys, this is highly creative. There are features that can be described as deceitful. Why, for example, refer to an unspecified South-Swedish newspaper, while at the same time being specific in other citations from the very same paper? There is, however, no need to moralise. All the nodes in a network

the six from *Lunds Weckblad*, there are duplications.

40. Word searches in *Svenska dagstidningar* reveal that the item was published in at least *Götheborgs Allehanda*, 31 January 1838, 2, *Götheborgs Tidningar*, 1 February 1838, 1, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 16 February 1838, 3, and *Telegrafen*, 24 February 1838, 3–4.

41. Some of the papers date the English newspaper issue referring the London events to 5 January 1838.

42. Many of the shorter passages are found more-or-less verbatim in *Skånska Correspondenten*, 19 and 26 February 1838, 2–4 and 1–2, respectively, in another letter to the editor responding to the first one. A passage in the beginning of the Porvoo text is a rewrite of one in *Skånska Correspondenten*, 27 August 1838, 1–2.

are connected, albeit not directly; Porvoo was online, in this case, through its connection to Lund. And all in all, the mode of reference followed the conventions of the time. Texts would be too weighted down, long and cumbersome to read if the secondary sources were constantly presented as such. The explicit references signalled collective credibility and provided authority, but, in such a textual environment, so did the implicit ones.

However, the message in the borrowing *Borgå Tidning* was certainly not the same as in the lending Lund paper. Concluding that the whole text was composed of parts from one source does not mean that there were no other sources in play. Intertextuality is, of course, more complex than that. *Skånska Correspondenten* was one of the keenest supporters of the temperance strivings in Sweden at the time. During 1837 through 1839, it was occasionally edited by none other than Peter Wieselgren, often (back then and still today) referred to as the number one temperance advocate of the early Swedish movement.[43] Most parts of the Porvoo article are verbatim quotations or accurate extracts from the Lund paper. Nevertheless, it can best be summarised as being amused to being critical of the fuss in Sweden. But it is not polemic specifically against any named individual newspaper, certainly not *Skånska Correspondenten*. This is largely an effect of the somewhat hazy multivocality of its references, of the heading, of course, and of the opening lines. Indeed, the very first sentence, quoted above, frames what follows as possibly superfluous or ludicrous, a possibility that is further emphasised by the fact that this is what has kept the Swedish newspapers busy despite the concurrent domestic political turmoil. For example, what is presented in Lund as an implicitly impressive increase in the number of associations ('more than 30') and vows of temperance ('at least fifteen thousand') can easily and without additional comments be interpreted in Porvoo as absurdities and fanaticism. However, there are also explicit statements from or reading instructions by the editor. So, the so-called appendix on the London events is justified by the fact that the temperance associations 'sometimes also exhibit a ridiculous side'. And George Scott's description to an English audience of the socially widespread drunkenness in Sweden, is bluntly called 'the apparent exaggeration', a judgement certainly not found in Wieselgren's platform.

A quite cunning feature of the Porvoo text is this: The extract from the

43. On Wieselgren as occasional editor, see Bernhard Lundstedt, *Sveriges periodiska litteratur: Bibliografi, 3, Landsorten 1813–1899* (Stockholm, 1902), 240.

letter to *Skånska Correspondenten* in January, which is critical to the movement, is inserted into the July overview in the so-called South-Swedish newspaper. In connection not to this specific letter, but to remarks on readers' contributions, the alleged text reuse is downright misleading. Summing up the South-Swedish overview, this part of the text begins thus: While some newspapers are indifferent and some critical, most of the provincial papers are keen supporters of the temperance cause. The reader is then informed that even the most ardent friends of the temperance movement publish critical texts, and they do so – and this is reportedly a quote – '1. to fill their columns, 2. to have something to refute'. However, this comment on editorial strategies is not in the original July overview nor in the January letter. Instead, what can be found and is wilfully cited, is an editorial note attached to the letter with a completely different meaning. Because so little is published on the temperance issue, this gloss argues, writings both for and against, even those contrary to the editor's views, benefit the cause, since 'all truly good will eventually prevail'. In contrast to the tendency of *Skånska Correpondenten*, the reader of *Borgå Tidning* was given the impression that the paper in southern Sweden was critical of the temperance movement, and, instead of conveying its editor's Enlightenment-ringing declarations, a rather cynical view on the movement's publishing strategies was mediated.[44]

To end this long, philological account of one specific case of innovative text reuse, a bird's-eye view on *Borgå Tidning's* connections is illuminating. For the years 1837 to 1839, few papers trump *Skånska Correspondenten* in terms of text loans. However, the issue of temperance, with which the newspaper in Lund was overflowing, is, overall, non-existent in the Porvoo paper.[45] Nine months after the publication of 'On the Temperance Organisation/Ado in Sweden', on 21 September 1839, Peter Wieselgren

44. On the protracted and conflict-filled change in the editorial ideals during this period – from an open, civic ideal to an opinion-forming ideal that excluded opponents – see Patrik Lundell, *Pressen i provinsen: Från medborgerliga samtal till modern opinionsbildning 1750–1850* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002); a brief English version is found in Lundell, 'From Enlightened Participation to Liberal Professionalism: On the Historiography of the Press as a Resource for Legitimacy', in *History of Participatory Media: Politics and Publics, 1750–2000*, eds. Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich, Frans Lundgren and Per Wisselgren (New York: Routledge, 2011).

45. A search on *nykt** OR *nykter~* in *Borgå Tidning* 1837–1839 in the Finnish *Digital Collections* returns hits in only four relevant issues; the equivalent search in *Skånska Correspondenten* in *Svenska Dagstidningar* gives 160 hits.

was explicitly attacked in one of the very few articles on the topic. In particular, the appropriateness of using churches for his gatherings was questioned, and the editor speculated on whether this was sanctioned by the Church: in the future, priests may 'find it difficult to deny almost any enthusiast' the use of its premises. Zooming out further, one may also notice that in the clusters originating in Stockholm, no paper rivals *Freja* when it comes to sharing text items with *Borgå Tidning*.[46] *Freja* was one of the most critical voices against the temperance movement. In the newspaper review in *Skånska Correspondenten*, *Freja* is characterised as 'the last fighter at Thermopylae, left alone to tell the story of the defeat'. Apparently, at least the Porvoo editor was listening and made a different interpretation of the battle.

Conclusions

Text borrowing, even if on a scale that justifies a discussion of dependency, does not necessarily imply ideological impact. In this chapter, I have tracked trends in the temperance topic as represented in newspaper text reuse, and, specifically, I have focused on recontextualisations and transformations in these processes – that is, emphasising the agency of reception, or, as it were, the *utilise*-aspect rather than the *again*-side in these instances of re-use. Understanding the temperance question, per se, has not been my main aim; instead, I employed it as a test case and an entry point.

Information flows as they are represented in the text-reuse database provide good guidance on trends, even within more narrowly defined themes. Imbalances between the two countries, though gradually diminishing, are evidently reflected in the scope, directions and content of the textual temperance exchange. And while the position and prestige of the sender mattered, the perceived usefulness to the recipient clearly did too.

If the scale of the sharing culture of the nineteenth-century newspaper press has been somewhat neglected, it is even more apparent when it comes to its actual, situated practice. Focusing on a contested topic, I have assumed, is a fruitful way of finding instances of creative text reuse and of understanding a layer of usefulness beneath what may seem apparent on

46. Of 325 clusters starting in Stockholm and where Porvoo is the incoming city, *Freja* is found in 150, followed by *Aftonbladet*, *Dagligt Allehanda* and *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* in 77, 63 and 53, respectively.

the surface. There may be more effective ways to do this. Nonetheless, I have identified a wide range of recontextualisations and transformations, from those resulting from mistakes to audience adaptations and text-filling needs, to politically motivated changes. This has not been about mapping trends and frequencies, but rather about finding ways to study an almost ubiquitous phenomenon.

Fast News, Slow Connections: News travelling over the Baltic Sea during the early nineteenth century

HELI RANTALA

> 'This place consists of nothing more than a single post-house, built by Government about twenty years ago; near which is stationed Telegraph. It serves also to travellers as an inn, although the worst in all Sweden'.[1]

In mid-December 1799, an English traveller and scholar, Edward Daniel Clarke, was journeying from Stockholm to Turku by the post route across the Åland islands, located between the Stockholm and Turku archipelagos. He had arrived in the village of Grisslehamn, situated on the Swedish coast and the starting point for the sea crossing. The problem, however, was that the sea was stormy, and the mariners refused to put off to the sea. It was also very cold; Clarke's bread had frozen, and the Madeira wine would not flow from the bottle.[2] The only thing Clarke could do was to wait.

Clarke's journey over the sea serves as an example of the practice of post-delivery between the Swedish mainland and Finland. Before the era of the modern information networks enabled by the telegraph and the effective use of steam power, the speed of information travel was heavily dependent on the forces of nature: for example, favourable winds and the muscle power of horses and humans.

How fast did the news travel between Sweden and Finland? What kind of information crossed the sea so speedily that it could be printed in papers within a couple of weeks on both sides of the Swedish-Finnish

1. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Part the third: Scandinavia. Section the second* (London: T. Cadell, 1823), 300.

2. Clarke, *Travels*, 299–301.

border? This chapter sheds light on the temporal aspects of information flows between Sweden and Finland and within different regions of the countries during the first half of the nineteenth century. This chapter concentrates on the quickly moving – that is, within a few weeks – text items that circulated within the Swedish-language press. However, this information movement will be examined in the context of those historical circumstances and practices that enabled and/or hindered the movement.

The practice of delivering news by copying it from other newspapers is familiar and has been discussed in several earlier studies. Researchers have also calculated the travel time of news, for example, from continental Europe to Sweden and Finland.[3] Before the large-scale digitisation of newspapers, however, these kinds of studies were based on particular illustrating examples rather than on a more thorough examination of newspapers' publishing practices. In this case study, the text-reuse database serves as a tool that provides information on the larger scale movements within the Swedish-language press but also as a starting point for more in-depth studies, for example, in the case of specific news items. Through the elaboration of cross-border news traffic, this chapter sheds light upon the temporality of news, discussed earlier by Terhi Rantanen and others.[4]

The time scale of this study stretches from the early nineteenth century until the end of the 1840s.[5] Methodologically, my point of departure is the text-reuse database, its potential for locating the news traffic and its temporality. In order to filter in the relevant clusters from the database, I have searched for those reuse chains that crossed the border from Sweden to Finland and vice versa. I have examined each decade separately; otherwise, the results could be biased by those from later decades. Moreover, I have searched for those clusters with two different timespans: of 14 days and 28 days. Further, I have sorted the results by count value and concentrated on those texts that received the most widespread distribution. In order to filter the results of the database for a more careful examination, I have concentrated on a closer reading of those clusters that have the highest count number. In this way, I sifted through the content of the top clusters

3. For example, Päiviö Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta ulkomailta Suomeen 1800-luvun alkupuolella', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 58, no. 1 (1960): 77–86.

4. Terhi Rantanen, *When News Was New* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

5. In the database searches, I have used the year 1809 as a starting point, since this was the year the Baltic Sea became a border between Sweden and Finland.

from each decade. I complemented this database material with information from digital newspaper collections in Sweden and Finland. For example, in a specific news case, the newspaper collections offer the possibility to cross check the coverage of the cluster information.

Sledges, post boats and other information connections

In principle, the delivery of mail was quite simple at the turn of the nineteenth century. In practice, the smooth distribution of information could face various challenges. Clarke noticed this during his passage across the sea. In Grisslehamn harbour, he was forced to wait six days for the sea to calm so that he could board a local post boat – he had actually tried to cross the sea but had to turn back due to bad weather. According to Clarke, there were 18 post boats in Grisslehamn and another 18 boats on the Åland side in Eckerö taking care of the post route.[6] Clarke refers here to the transportation system organised by the local peasants who were responsible for carrying the post.[7]

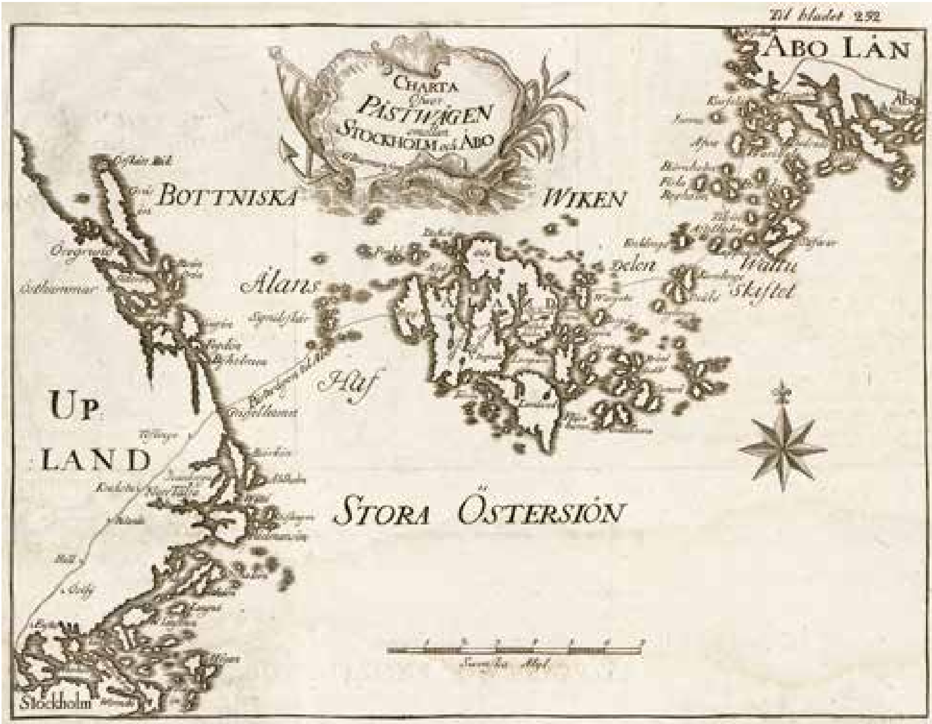
When Clarke and his group, including his servants and an interpreter, finally headed to sea, they found themselves in the middle of a storm. They had taken Clarke's cargo aboard the boat, which made the crossing even harder. However, the group managed to land in Eckerö, as planned. In Åland, Clarke noticed that the ground was covered with snow and ice. Clarke's wheeled carriages were impractical compared to the sledges used by the locals. His carriages needed to be pulled by six horses and, later, had to be disassembled in order to be carried across the ice towards Turku on four sledges.[8]

In his travel account, Clarke wrote in detail on the practice and hardships of wintertime travelling in Åland. For him, this was an adventure under extreme circumstances; for locals, it was a part of their daily lives. During his trip across the Åland islands, Clarke travelled with the mail boats. In Eckerö, Clarke's group met another boat that was carrying post from Ostrobothnia. Along his way, Clarke also made the acquaintance of

6. Clarke, *Travels*, 302–307.

7. On this duty, see for example Christer Kuvaja, 'Postvägen över Åland och dess betydelse 1809–1914', in *Maritimhistorisk konferens: Bottnisk kontakt XVI. Huvudtema: Kontakter och/eller konflikter*; eds. Niklas Huldén and Kasper Westerlund (Korpo: Korpo Kulturgille r.f., 2012): 91–98.

8. Clarke, *Travels*, 307–311, 314–315, 320–321, 323.



• Figure 1. A map of the post route between Sweden (Stockholm) and Finland (Turku). Georg Biurman (1749). Doria repository (National Library of Finland).

a Russian colonel who carried diplomatic mail directly from the Emperor to the Swedish court.[9] The post route had functioned according to the same principles for centuries (Figure 1).[10] Post was carried across Åland twice a week – across the northern route via Torneå once a week – but, during wintertime, in cases of bad weather, the post travelled across the Åland islands only once a week.[11]

The travel time for the Åland post route has been examined in previous studies. In principle, post could be carried from Stockholm to Turku, or

9. Clarke, *Travels*, 310–312 and passim.

10. On the Swedish post system, see, for example, Magnus Linnarsson, 'Från bondestafett till järnväg: postväsendet som exempel på infrastruktur och förvaltning i Sverige 1600–1870', *Temp – Tidsskrift for Historie* 9:18 (2019): 62–78.

11. Kuvaja, 'Postvägen över Åland'. See also Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta', 77–86.

vice versa, in 4 to 5 days during the early eighteenth century.[12] Päiviö Tommila counted the travel time of some private letters from Stockholm to Helsinki between the 1810s and 1840s. The majority of the letters moved from Stockholm to Helsinki in between 11 and 20 days, but many of them journeyed longer: from 21 to 30 days and, in some cases, even longer.[13] The speed of movement was unpredictable and there were seasonal variations in the transportation of information. Still, in the 1820s and 1830s different kinds of variations were an integral part of the overseas connections.[14] The circumstances of the crossing of the sea remained challenging. As late as in the late 1850s, the Finnish postmaster described the Åland post route as the most dangerous route in Europe.[15]

In the above-mentioned quote, Clarke refers to a telegraph he saw in Grisslehamn. The telegraph in question was an optical one: the so-called semaphore telegraph developed in the late eighteenth century. This early form of telegraph is best known as an invention of the French Claude Chappe,[16] but, in Sweden, A.N. Edelcrantz (born Clewberg) developed his own version independent of Chappe. The first telegraph line was brought into use between Stockholm, Grisslehamn and Eckerö (Åland) in 1794.[17] This was the telegraph Clarke saw in December 1799.

The telegraph operated under a postal system, and some news was delivered using it,[18] but there is no knowledge of this connection having any practical importance in the circulation of newspaper information. The telegraph was mainly used by the military. This was also the case in France, where the telegraph was seen, most importantly, as an instrument

12. Eino Jutikkala, *Suomen postilaitoksen historia 1638–1938: Osa 1, Ruotsin vallan aika* (Helsinki: Posti- ja lennätinhallitus, 1938), 265–266.

13. These are letters received by Councillor of State J. A. Ehrenström. Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta', 81.

14. Yrjö Kaukiainen, 'Shrinking the World: Improvements in the Speed of Information Transmission, c. 1820–1870', *European Review of Economic History*, 5, 1 (2001): 6.

15. Yrjö Nurmio, *Suomen postilaitos vuosina 1808–1870: Suomen postilaitoksen historia 1638–1938. Osa 2.* (Helsinki: Posti- ja lennätinhallitus, 1938), 278.

16. See, for example, Patrice Flichy, 'The Birth of Long Distance Communication: Semaphore Telegraphs in Europe (1790–1840)', *Réseaux: French Journal of Communication* 1, no. 1 (1993).

17. Nurmio, *Suomen postilaitos*, 292.

18. Nurmio, *Suomen postilaitos*, 293.

of war.[19] When the war between Russia and Sweden broke out in March 1808, the news about the attack of the Russian troops was delivered via optical telegraph.[20] While waiting in Grisslehamn for the sea to calm, Clarke became acquainted with the Swedish telegraph system. According to him, the telegraph delivered practical notices between Grisslehamn and Eckerö about travellers; when they were expected to arrive, what kind of boats would be needed and so on. Clarke also had the opportunity to observe how the telegraph worked in practice. The operator of the machine, who was also a postmaster, delivered Clarke's message from Grisslehamn to the Åland side: 'We sent an order by it, to have a dinner prepared in a warm room, and five horses ready for starting'.[21]

Fast circulation in figures

Although the ideal travel time for such a challenging route as the Stockholm-Turku post route could be as short as 4 to 5 days in the early eighteenth century, in practice, the movement of people and information was more complicated, as has already been mentioned. Moreover, different parts of the countries were not connected to one other at the same time. A quick look at the maps of Sweden and Finland gives the idea that the news originating in southern Sweden, in Malmö, for example, was probably not delivered quickly to Oulu, which is located in the northernmost part of the Gulf of Bothnia.

During the entire period studied, only a small portion of rapid circulation in the text-reuse material consisted of cross-border movement; approximately one to two per cent of rapid circulation crossed the sea.[22] This means that those texts that were republished by several papers within a short period of time were mostly circulating domestically. As such, this is not surprising. For example, the same news could arrive to editors in different localities within a few days, or a text (for example, an official notice)

19. Flichy, 'The birth of long distance communication', 85–86.

20. Päiviö Tommila, 'Yhdestä lehdestä sanomalehdistöksi 1809–1859', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), 81.

21. Clarke, *Travels*, 301–302.

22. According to the database, within two weeks, only one per cent of text-reuse material crossed the sea. If the timespan is set to 28 days, the cross-border cases consist of approximately two per cent of the total number of text-reuse cases.

could have been sent to several papers simultaneously. In cross-border cases the travel of information simply required more time and effort.

There is variation, for example, in the dominant starting locations of cross-border clusters from decade to decade.[23] During the 1810s and 1820s, Stockholm was the dominant starting location for fast-moving text items. Especially in the 1820s, Stockholm's dominance is very clear: no other city is even close to Stockholm as a starting location.[24] Another characteristic of the 1820s was the clear decrease in the number of texts travelling from Finland to Sweden.[25] From this very uneven direction of circulation, the situation changed in the 1830s to a more balanced distribution: in 1,897 cases, the origin of the reuse chain is Sweden and, in 1,576 cases, is Finland. Among the starting locations of these clusters, Helsinki and Stockholm – in that order – are the most common ones, followed by Turku and Gothenburg.[26] During the 1840s, the cross-border circulation was again dominated by Swedish texts.[27] Stockholm and Helsinki remained the dominant starting locations in the 1840s,[28] while other cities were peripheral, compared to these two hubs.

The dominant role of these locations is not surprising. Stockholm's importance as the starting location of cross-border reuse chains is evident. Major Swedish newspapers were published in the city, and Finnish readers were already accustomed to ordering the papers of the capital by around 1700.[29] Moreover, despite the physical challenges of the sea, the distance between Stockholm and the Finnish coast (Turku) was relatively short, and the transport connections were regular. From the early 1820s onwards, the leading Finnish newspaper was published in Helsinki, the capital of the Grand Duchy.[30]

23. The following information has been collected from database searches with the timespan of 28 days; this means that the focus is on those text items that circulated across the border within four weeks of time.

24. Top starting locations: Stockholm (4,171), Gothenburg (296), Helsinki (296) and Turku (200). Total number of clusters is 5,314.

25. Only 496 clusters originate from Finland and 4,818 from Sweden.

26. Helsinki (1,059), Stockholm (1,015), Turku (503), Gothenburg (277).

27. Clusters originated from Sweden (4,860) and from Finland (2,943).

28. Stockholm (3,501) and Helsinki (2,137).

29. Ilkka Mäkinen, *'Nödvändighet af Lainakirjasto': Modernin lukuhalun tulon Suomeen ja lukemisen instituutiot* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), 130–131.

30. Although Helsinki had been the official capital of the Grand Duchy from 1812

The text-reuse database offers a tool for examining how quickly information could move across the sea and be printed in a newspaper. In the case of cross-border clusters, this information can be found by looking at the 'incoming date' of a text chain. This refers to the date of the first reuse case on the other side of the border. For example, if we limit the examination to the 1810s and look for a reuse-case that received the widest circulation (18 counts) within two weeks, the database displays a wartime news case – an official statement by the crown prince of Sweden – from 1814. In this case, the same text was published within two weeks in 14 different locations in Sweden and once in Finland (Turku). The starting date of the cluster is 31 May in Gothenburg, after which, there are republications of the same text within a few days in several other Swedish locations. The 'incoming date', that is, the publication date in Finland, is 14 June. Although the port city offered by the database is Visby (on 11 June), it is more likely that the Turku paper received the information from the Stockholm-based *Inrikes Tidningar*, which had published the same text on 1 June.[31] It should be noted, though, that, in the above-mentioned news case, it is misleading to discuss reuse (only), since it is likely that the Swedish newspapers received the official statement via routes other than the copying of it from paper to paper.

This case represents a more general pattern of cross-border reuse cases: A text was published in several Swedish locations, after which, the same text was published once in Finland with a delay. During the 1810s, the travel time for the fastest cross-border texts seems to have been 11 to 14 days.[32] There is one exception, in 1813, where the timespan of the cluster is only 9 days.[33] A closer look at the cluster reveals that the case is a report from the Leipzig headquarters during the time of the European war, and the same information had apparently been sent from the German territory to Sweden and Finland, suggesting that the 'reuse', in this case, means the

onwards, during the 1810s, the administration had continued working from Turku. However, in 1819, the administration moved to Helsinki and, along with this change, the official newspaper received a new location.

31. Cluster 30805240. This statement by the head of state concerns Sweden's war campaign against Norway.

32. This observation is based on the looking for timespan value of the 50 most widely spread cross-border clusters from the 1810s. In most of the cases, the ending country of the cluster is Finland.

33. Cluster 1536805.

publication of the same news item, not the circulation it from Sweden to Finland via newspapers.

According to the database, during the 1820s, around 10 to 11 days were often needed for across-the-sea movement. There are faster-moving clusters, but it seems that at least some of them belong to the same category as the case mentioned above, where a close reading reveals that the publication of the same text is not actually a result of circulating information from one newspaper to another.[34] However, there are some cases where the information spread quite rapidly. For example, in the early 1820s, one news item travelled from *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* (Stockholm) to *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* (Helsinki) in 8 days.[35]

In the case of the 1830s, the database demonstrates some differences compared to the beginning of the century. While, in the 1810s, Finland (Turku) was usually the ending location of the fastest clusters, in the 1830s, this was not the case.[36] This means that Finland (usually Helsinki) is one of the printing locations of a cluster but not the last one publishing the same text. In some cases, the information crossed the border quite quickly. For example, in June 1838, the Turku-based *Åbo Tidningar* reported on the arrival of the Russian imperial steamship *Herkules* in Stockholm only five days after the information had been published in Stockholm.[37] According to the cluster information, *Åbo Tidningar* published this news before the newspaper in Gothenburg.

In the late 1830s, the post connections between Sweden and Finland were improved. In 1836, a regular steamship line was opened between Stockholm and Turku, and, in 1839, this line received permission to carry post, as well.[38] According to Yrjö Kaukiainen, the time lag between Sweden

34. It seems that in some cases the actual source (newspaper) is not included in the cluster (for example cluster 30792737 and 30792652). Moreover, there are some advertisements or notices in the results (for example, cluster 4396541 and 4397892), which means that the same information apparently had been sent to several newspapers from one source.

35. Cluster 10733219.

36. Those texts that spanned across the border in 14 days.

37. Cluster 31034991.

38. Sven Andersson, *De första ångbåtarna Åbo-Stockholm: Ett hundraårsminne*. Meddelanden från Sjöhistoriska museet vid Åbo Akademi 2 (Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 1936); Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta', 79. Kaukiainen argued that the steam boat connection enabled the quicker travel time between Sweden and Finland during the 1820s. However, as mentioned, this connection was not a

and Finland in the late 1840s was often only four days. This observation is based on a sample study from 1848 with one Turku-based paper.[39] Based on the database information, this estimation seems a bit too optimistic. I made a sample search focusing on the same year, 1848, on those clusters that originated from Sweden and had a hit in Finland during the time-span of 14 days. According to this information, the timespan greatly varies, but the average is much more than only four days; in many cases, the time lag between Sweden and Finland is at least a week.[40] However, in my search, I included all the possible locations, not just the coastal city of Turku, as in Kaukiainen's case.

The theme of the seasonal variation in travel time for post and news has also been examined in previous studies. In the case of Finland, Päiviö Tommila made a sample study on the travel time of foreign news by examining how long it took before a news item published in a foreign newspaper appeared in the Helsinki-based *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*. His sample is from 1830. According to Tommila, the average time for news items to travel from a Stockholm-based paper to Helsinki was 11 days in the summer and 16 days in the winter.[41] A consultation of the database confirms the observations made by Tommila on the seasonal change in the travel time of news. Still, in the beginning of the 1830s, the seasonal change clearly affected the travel time.[42]

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regular one before the 1830s.

39. Kaukiainen, 'Shrinking the World', 8. According to Kaukiainen, the sample study was made by a student in 1999. It is hard to estimate the reliability of the study, since, apparently, it has not been published.

40. Cluster search with the timespan of 14 days for the year 1848 gives 627 results. In 52 cases, the time lag is from 0 to 3 days, which indicates that the clusters (text passages) in question have not actually moved across the sea this fast. Instead, it can be assumed that there is a common source for these cases of reuse outside the clusters. In 87 cases, the time lag is from 4 to 6 days. The rest of the clusters (488) have span values (time lag) of 7 days or more.

41. From Paris or London, the time lag during summer was 24–25 days, but, in winter, it was over a month (37 days). Tommila, 'Havaintoja uutisten leviämisnopeudesta', 83.

42. By using the year 1830 as an example, it can be observed from the database that the fastest moving cases are from the summer months, which is no surprise. However, the variation between the clusters and their timespan is significant, which is partly due to several possible starting locations of the reuse clusters. Therefore, a simple comparison to Tommila's figures is not relevant here. One could, of course, limit the cluster search to only a couple of locations (such as Stockholm and Helsinki). For the

Wartime news and royal weddings

On 2 November 1813, *Stockholmsposten* published news on the victory of the allied troops over Napoleon in the Battle of Leipzig, which had ended on 19 October.[43] The paper reported that the news was received via a courier, Cavalry Master (*ryttmästaren*) Baron von Engeström, which was usually the fastest possible way to deliver important information during the early decades of the nineteenth century. One week later, this same news was published in Finland (Turku) by *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* on 9 November. At this point, the inhabitants of Turku had already been discussing the victory for some days.[44] Thus, the rumours had spread faster than the newspaper could print the news.

During the 1810s, the dominant content of cross-border texts was connected to the war. All those news cases that received the widest circulation in a short period of time are from 1813 or 1814.[45] This is no surprise, since the scenes of the Napoleonic Wars were witnessed in Europe during the autumn of 1813. The cluster with the highest count number is the aforementioned cluster with 18 counts.[46] Behind the cluster number is an official statement sent from Lübeck in May 1814 and signed by Crown Prince Karl Johan. In this bulletin, the crown prince addressed the Swedish soldiers on the eve of the Swedish-Norwegian war. As mentioned before, this text was apparently sent to several newspapers simultaneously.

Many of those news cases that received wide circulation are directly connected with the Napoleonic Wars during the autumn of 1813. In several cases, the origin of news is a bulletin sent directly from continental Europe.[47] For example, a bulletin dated 13 August 1813 in Oranienburg reported that Crown Prince Karl Johan had arrived at the headquarters

purposes of this chapter, however, this kind of comparison is not the main point.

43. The Swedish troops had participated in the final battle.

44. At least one person, the student Anders Johan Sjögren, mentions the news that had been circulating in the city before the local newspaper published the information. Anders Johan Sjögren, 9 November 1813, *Allmänna Ephemerider: Dagböckerna 1806–1855*, eds. Michael Branch, Esko Häkli and Marja Leinonen (Helsinki: National Library 2020), 1372. https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/177355.

45. This observation was gleaned from searching the high-count clusters within the time-span of 14 and 28 days. The news cases are more-or-less the same.

46. Cluster 30805240. The same text also appears in some other clusters, such as in 30792881 and 5394828.

47. For example, in clusters 30792939 and 31262823, this is the case. Moreover, several clusters seem to be variations of the same news case.

of the alliance. According to the database information, the first Swedish newspapers to publish this information came out on 21 August. In Finland, the news was published on 2 September.[48]

What about texts moving from Finland to Sweden? It is no surprise that the travel of texts in this direction was limited, since there was only one newspaper in Finland, and the direction of European news flows was from Sweden to Finland, not vice versa. However, there is an interesting case of reuse from 1812 that highlights the new direction of news arriving in Finland. On 12 September 1812, *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* published a news item apparently originating from Saint Petersburg (on 2 September).[49] The text begins without any introduction but with the following words: 'The barbarous and cruel behaviour of our enemies in all the places through which they pass, also reveals the violation of the churches'.[50] The text continues by explaining the behaviour of the 'enemy' – the French troops – in Russia. This news was also published in *Stockholmsposten* on 21 September and in *Fahlu Weckoblad* on 26 September. *Fahlu Weckoblad* reported that it had taken the news from *Stockholmsposten*. During the autumn of 1812, this news was followed by a detailed report on the disgraceful actions of the French troops in Moscow. Moreover, the Finnish newspaper published several wartime declarations by the Tsar or his generals during 1813–1814.[51] In this way, the readers of the Finnish newspaper and those of some Swedish newspapers were offered a Russian perspective on the Franco-Russian war.

In the 1820s, there were several advertisements among those texts that received the most widespread printing. The translation of Friedrich Rühs's *Geschiche Schwedens* was advertised in 15 different locations in Sweden and Finland.[52] In 1824, the steamship *Stockholm*'s routes and schedule were advertised both in Stockholm and Helsinki, though the ship did not operate regularly in Finland.[53] In this way, a new technology began to appear in

48. Cluster 30792939.

49. Cluster 6839600.

50. *Åbo Allmänna Tidning*, 12 September 1812.

51. Juhani Paasivirta, *Suomi ja Eurooppa: Autonomiakausi ja kansainväliset kriisit 1808–1914* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1978), 58; Heli Rantala, 'Global "Revolution" in the Early Nineteenth-Century Finnish Press', *History of European Ideas* 45, no. 5 (2019): 6.

52. When looking at the top count results of texts that were circulated within four weeks, all the top matches concern this advertisement.

53. Cluster 8058013.

the newspapers. Apart from the steamship schedules, several widely circulated texts concerned reports on the marriage of Prince Oscar (19 June 1823). While *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* reported on this occasion on the very next day, the readers of *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* could read about the event only later, on 1 July.[54]

There are, however, also international news cases among the texts circulating from paper to paper. An interesting case illustrating the transnational information network provided by European newspapers is a chain of news from 1822. This news case concerned rumours about Ali Pasha of Ioannina (1740–1822), also known as the 'Lion of Yannina', a ruler of the so-called Albanian Pashalik within the Ottoman Empire. For contemporaries, Ali Pasha was famous as a wealthy brigand leader. In late April and early May 1822, several Swedish newspapers published the news on the alleged arrival of Ali Pasha in the island of Mahon (Menorca) in Spain.[55] On 27 April, for example, *Jönköpings Tidning* reported on this news. The source information of the news offered by *Jönköpings Tidning* reveals the multi-layered 'origin' of this kind of international news case. The Swedish newspaper referred to 'Nurnberg 13 April' as the source of information but explained that the news came from the 'border of Switzerland 8 April' and was based on 'a letter from Barcelona'.[56] Apparently, the source was a German-language newspaper. Different rumours on Ali Pasha, including news of his death, had already been published in the Swedish newspapers before this publication.[57] Ali Pasha had, in fact, already died in early February 1822.

King's speeches, accidents and comets

During August 1839, Swedish newspapers circulated a story about a peculiar accident that took place in Jämtland, Sweden involving two travelling officers from Prussia. This story concerned a shooting accident with a happy ending; a shot in the chest turned out to be a minor injury. According to the first (it would seem) publisher, *Norrlands Tidning*, the newspaper received the information in a letter.[58] This text experienced

54. Clusters 10733214, 4398379, 4398381 and 4398384.

55. This information can be found from at least the clusters 2196180 and 10132696. These clusters include Finland (Helsinki) as one of the publication locations.

56. *Jönköpings Tidning*, 27 April 1822.

57. For example, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 9 April 1822.

58. *Norrlands Tidning*, 10 August 1839.

wide publication in the Swedish press, and, within 20 days, it was also published in Finland. Interestingly, the only Finnish newspaper publishing the text appears to be *Borgå Tidning*.[59] Also widely circulated was a notice on the quarantine instructions imposed on ships sailing from Russia and Finland to Sweden in 1831.[60] The reason for the quarantine was the fear of cholera. Among the rapidly circulated (14 days) cross-border texts that originated in Sweden, there was a report from the academic festivities held in Uppsala in 1833,[61] information on the king's domestic journey during the summer of 1835[62] and news on Halley's comet, which was observed in Stockholm during the autumn of 1835.[63]

As previously mentioned, during the 1830s, the directions of rapid cross-border reuse cases were well-balanced between Sweden and Finland. Compared to the previous decade, the change is clear. In practice, most of the texts originating from Finland did not receive wide publication in Sweden, and, in many cases, the texts are notices or ads, not actual news or journalistic texts. Moreover, especially in the case of advertisements, the actual source might be Sweden, since advertisements were published within a wider timespan than a couple of weeks.[64]

A characteristic of these above-mentioned reuse cases from the 1830s is that they do not contain much foreign news. It seems that these kinds of news cases are 'hidden' in those clusters that have more modest count numbers. By browsing the results, one can also find international news cases. For example, a relatively low count cluster (count number 5) contains interesting references to the ways in which the news had travelled. On 8 August 1835, when *Helsingborgsposten* in southern Sweden reported on the assassination attempt of king Louis Philippe I, it was reported that the news had been delivered from Paris through couriers and telegraphs

59. According to the database information, this was the widest circulated case (other than advertisement) within the time-span of 28 days. Cluster 31798059, 17 unique printing locations.

60. Cluster 30792065.

61. Cluster 30791721, count 17.

62. Cluster 31443311, count 17.

63. Cluster 30791099, count 17.

64. This means that, in a way, a very short time-span cuts the cluster. The same goes for notices, at least in some cases. For example, the above-mentioned notice on the risk of cholera; when the results are narrowed to 14 days, it seems that the text originates from Finland. The widening of the timespan to 28 days, however, reveals that the source is actually in Sweden.

('genom stafetter och telegrafer'). The incident had taken place on 28 July 1835. Two days after *Helsingborgsposten's* report, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* published the same news but mentioned that the news had been delivered via London. On 15 August, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* also published the news.[65]

In the 1840s reuse cases, the count values of clusters are often much higher compared to those of the previous decades. However, this does not mean that the texts would have received a wider circulation in Finland. As during the previous decades, in the 1840s, a text originating from Swedish papers usually received one reprint in Finland. One obvious explanation for this is the strong position of the official Helsinki-based newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* as a publisher of foreign news material. Another general observation is that, as in the 1830s, many of the widely circulated texts deal with Swedish domestic issues. For example, the opening speech of the king at the Swedish parliament in 1847 was printed within 11 days in at least 30 different locations, including Finland.[66] However, this is not an actual news case copied from paper to paper but more of an official notice (with one source).

In terms of transnational news flows and breaking news of the late 1840s, it is a bit surprising that the outbreak of the February Revolution of 1848 does not seem to be included in the most widely circulated text items. However, this does not mean that the Swedish and Finnish newspapers were not reporting on the outbreak of the revolution in Paris – they certainly did.[67]

In Sweden, the newspapers began publishing news on the upheaval in Paris during the early days of March. For example, *Aftonbladet* reported on the 'great mass movement' in Paris on 3 March.[68] Similarly, on 3 March, *Helsingborgsposten* published an extra volume in which it announced, rely-

65. Cluster 6643693.

66. Cluster 31567598, count number 51. This is the text that received the widest circulation within the timespan of the study. Also, several other high-count clusters are variations of this same case or other speeches of the Swedish king.

67. On these news reports, see, for example, Paasivirta, *Suomi ja Eurooppa*, 146; Heikki Kokko, *Kuviteltu minuus: Ihmiskäsityksen murros suomenkielisen kansanosan kulttuurissa 1800-luvun puolivälissä* (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2016), 115–118; Heli Rantala and Heidi Hakkarainen, 'The Travelling of News in 1848: The February Revolution, European News Flows and the Finnish Press', *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 7, no. 1 (2022).

68. Rantala and Hakkarainen, 'The Travelling of News in 1848', 23.

ing on news from Hamburg 28 February, that 'The monarchy is overthrown and Republic proclaimed in France'.[69] In Finland, the news of the Paris revolution broke out in newspapers on 11 March.[70] So, although these kinds of dramatic news cases are not included in those clusters with the highest count value, it does not mean that political news is entirely absent in the database. In the case of Finland, it is also known that many active readers ordered not only Swedish but also other foreign newspapers.[71] In this way, they were able to read much of the news directly from these sources before the Finnish paper was able to print the news.

When searching for those texts that originated in Finland, the widest- and fastest-circulated cross-border case is a text from 1848 dealing with illnesses, including cholera, in the surroundings of Turku. Nine Swedish newspapers republished the text within two weeks.[72] If the search is widened to four weeks, one finds a news case that circulated from Finland to Sweden and was republished within 16 days in 15 different locations. The news is from 1849. On 12 April, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* reported on the hardships along the postal route between Grisslehamn and Eckerö. According to the local postmaster, a heavy wind had prevented the post from travelling for several days. Moreover, there had been a severe accident by sea. Post carrier Herlin and five seamen (*matroser, båtsmän*) had disappeared in the storm while sailing back home from their post-carrying duty.[73]

Conclusions

This chapter examined the travel of fast-moving information between Sweden and Finland in the Swedish-language press. My purpose has been to highlight not only the nature and quality of rapidly moving news items but also the different material preconditions behind the early nineteenth-century print media. In the case of information travelling between Sweden and Finland, the sea played a crucial part. It both enabled and hindered

69. *Helsingborgs-Posten* (extrablad), 3 March 1848. Cluster 13743735. In order to find these kinds of specific news themes from the database, one can find results (hits or clusters) with search terms (in this case, for example revolution* AND Paris).

70. Paasivirta, *Suomi ja Eurooppa*, 146; Rantala and Hakkarainen, 'The Travelling of News in 1848', 23.

71. See, for example, Tommila, 'Yhdestä lehdestä sanomalehdistöksi', 207.

72. Cluster 30621049.

73. Cluster 4366392; count 19, 15 unique locations, timespan 16 days.

the movement of information. As such, this is no surprise. However, while focusing on communication in general or news in particular as an abstract flow, one might forget the past realities under which these 'flows' took place. It was the endurance of the peasant carriers of post that allowed the news to travel in the first place. In addition, in many cases, it was varying natural conditions, such as the wind, that affected the speed of movement.

During the early nineteenth century, the travel of news was limited by material conditions. Moreover, news always had a place of origin and/or different transit stations through which it moved. Newspapers situated in various localities played an important role in passing on the information. During the course of the century, these limitations were overcome when new technologies, such as railway connections and electric telegraphs, created a new kind of 'placelessness' of news and an experience of simultaneity.[74]

This chapter has shown that the news that travelled rapidly between Sweden and Finland included a variety of information, from wartime reports to book ads and the undertakings of the Swedish royal house. Several examples examined here are far from 'breaking news'. There is a certain paradox in the challenging conditions of the Åland post route and the quality of the news that was printed quickly on both sides of the sea. One might assume that, after all the possible hardships the mail carriers could face, they would at least transport something very important. For the peasants carrying the post sacks and sailing the boats, however, it did not matter what kind of news they were bringing – their duty remained the same in any case.

The fresh cross-border content of the newspapers examined here was evidently the result of a combination of different conditions, of which the quality of news was only one aspect. Moreover, it should be remembered that early nineteenth-century newspapers had several functions, of which the delivery of the latest news was only one. In terms of the shared experiences and cultural bonds between Sweden and Finland, it was just as important to deliver reports on the undertakings of the Swedish royal family (such as weddings) or to share information on books, for example, as it was to publish dramatic news.

74. These changes are discussed in the introduction of this book.

JOHAN LUDVIG RUNEBERG

On Prophets and Poets: Finnish-Swedish literary connections in the nineteenth-century press

★

HELI RANTALA

On 2 October 1880, the Stockholm-based newspaper *Aftonbladet* published an essay titled 'Fennoman prejudices' (*Fennomanska fördomar*) as a reaction to the writings of the Finnish *Morgonbladet*.[1] In the text, *Aftonbladet* criticised the 'Fennoman', that is, Finnish nationalist, interpretations of Swedish-Finnish relations and stressed the special emotional bond Sweden had with Finland. In eloquent terms, *Aftonbladet* described how Sweden and its inhabitants have grown to sympathise with Finland. According to the newspaper, due to centuries of shared history, these sympathies were deeply rooted in the 'temperament of the Swedish people'.[2]

The contemporary context surrounding the text connects it with the political debates in Finland on the rising role of the Finnish language. Another strand in the discussion concerned differing interpretations of history. *Aftonbladet* criticised *Morgonbladet* and the Fennomans for downplaying the 'Swedishness' of Finland's history. In its critique, *Aftonbladet* referred to the time when the literary field in Sweden and Finland was still a shared one. Due to this special historical relationship, 'Sweden would not be what it is' without the Finnish contribution. 'The country that gave us Franzén and Runeberg, the university[3] where Kellgren laid the foundations of his education, are still at this moment spiritually closer to us than any foreign country'.[4]

1. *Aftonbladet's* writing was a part of the larger debate with the Finnish newspaper.
2. *Aftonbladet*, 2 October 1880.
3. Academy of Turku/Åbo where a prominent Swedish author and journalist Johan Henric Kellgren (1751–1795) studied.
4. Translation from Swedish.

The turmoil of 1808–09 left Finland with a modest infrastructure for print culture and literary activities. In 1809, the newly established Grand Duchy boasted only two printing houses, one newspaper, a couple of bookstores and a handful of reading clubs in a few towns.[5] During the early decades of the nineteenth century, these conditions for print culture were slowly developing. In 1880, *Aftonbladet* reminded its readers of the historical and cultural ties Sweden had with Finland and stressed the shared scholarly and literary tradition of the countries. But how was 'the land of Franzén and Runeberg' represented and discussed in the Swedish press during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the separation of Finland from Sweden was still a fresh incident?

This chapter will elaborate on the Finnish-Swedish literary connections by examining the overlapping publishing trends in the early nineteenth-century Swedish-language press. The Swedish influence on the emerging Finnish culture has been studied from several perspectives in previous research. Finnish-Swedish relations, however, have received considerably less attention. In Sweden, research has focused on the war of 1808–09 instead of the long-term effects of the separation.[6] An exception to this trend is Torkel Jansson's *Rikssprängningen som kom av sig* (2009), in which he argues that, culturally, the separation never really took place. According to Jansson, nineteenth-century Swedish-speaking Finnish authors like Runeberg or Topelius can be considered to be a part of the Swedish literary tradition, too.[7] Moreover, Krister Nordberg has elaborated on how the loss of Finland was addressed in early nineteenth-century Swedish poetry.[8]

In this chapter, the literary connection between Sweden and Finland will be examined by focusing on the visibility of Finnish literary activities in Swedish newspapers during the early decades of the nineteenth century,

5. On the infrastructure of book culture in Finland, see, for example, Tuija Laine, *Kolportöörejä ja kirjakauppiaita: Kirjojen hankinta ja levitys Suomessa vuoteen 1800* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006); Jyrki Hakapää, *Kirjan tie lukijalle: Kirjakauppojen vakiintuminen Suomessa 1740–1860* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2008).

6. Mikael Alm, 'Revolutionsåret 1809 ur ett fågelperspektiv', in *Svenskfinska relationer: Språk, identitet och nationalitet efter 1809*, eds. Maria Sjöberg and Birgitta Svensson (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2011), 30–31.

7. Torkel Jansson, *Rikssprängningen som kom av sig: Finsk-svenska gemenskaper efter 1809* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009).

8. Krister Nordberg, *Såret vill blöda ännu: Finland i svensk dikt 1808–1848* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2009).

when the literary field in Finland was being developed. For example, did Swedish newspapers republish the content of the few Finnish literary papers that existed during the first half of the century? This chapter will also introduce a test case on the visibility of the most prominent Swedish-speaking Finnish author, J.L. Runeberg, in the nineteenth-century Swedish press.

After this, the chapter will elaborate on a more specific case study that explores a fresh view of the mid-nineteenth-century literary relations between Sweden and Finland. In 1847, several Swedish and Finnish newspapers reported on the death of Frans Michael Franzén (born in 1772), a well-known scholar and author belonging to the intellectual and literary history both in Sweden and Finland. Franzén was born in Oulu (Uleåborg), educated in Turku (Åbo) and Uppsala, held a professorship in Turku and was nominated as a member of the Swedish Academy in 1808. At the turn of the century, Franzén was also the editor of the Turku-based *Åbo Tidning*. From 1811 onwards, Franzén lived permanently in Sweden. At the time of his death, Swedish-language newspapers published obituaries with shared content on both sides of the Baltic Sea. But what can be said about the memory of Franzén in the two countries? To what degree was this memory a shared one?

It is well known that nineteenth-century media, and the press in particular, enabled celebrity culture on a transnational or even global level. Artists like Niccolò Paganini or Franz Liszt were known not only for their musical virtuosity but also as star-like physical figures radiating an extraordinary charm recognisable to those who never saw them perform.[9] Also, in the Nordic countries, there were literary celebrities, such as August Strindberg, Henrik Ibsen or J.L. Runeberg, who were widely known to the public, for example, through the press. Especially towards the end of the century, these kinds of celebrities were admired to a degree that it bordered on cult adoration.[10] In this chapter, my focus is not on celebrity culture, as such, but on the role of the press in communicating and amplifying the fame of certain celebrities known on both sides of the Baltic Sea.

9. On the celebrity culture around Paganini and Liszt, see Hannu Salmi, 'Viral Virtuosity and the Itineraries of Celebrity Culture', in *Travelling Notions of Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Hannu Salmi, Asko Nivala and Jukka Sarjala (New York: Routledge, 2016), 135–153.

10. Andreas Nyblom, *Ryktbarhetens ansikte: Verner von Heidenstam, medierna och personkulten i sekelskiftets Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 50–56 and passim.

The chapter benefits from the *Text reuse in the Swedish-language press* database and the collections of digitised newspapers in Sweden and Finland. I have used a combination of word searches within the database and the newspaper collections in order to trace, for example, the appearance of texts mentioning Franzén. In the following examination, I will provide more detailed information on the individual searches and their premises.

Svea's farewell

In December 1809, several Swedish newspapers published a poem dedicated to Finland. The poem was titled 'Svea's farewell to Suomi' (*Sveas afsked till Suomis*), and in it, Sweden (personified as Mother Svea) mourned the loss of Finland. Svea was 'stretching her arms across the sea' towards Finland and asked whether 'he will forget me'.[11] During the war, several so-called war poems or songs had already been published in Swedish newspapers. These wartime poems had a certain propaganda value.[12] 'Svea's farewell' could, in a way, be considered to continue this tradition of poems dedicated to the war. On the other hand, it was an early representative of those poems that discussed the outcome of the war and the different sentiments attached to it. Esaias Tegnér's 'Svea' from 1811 is a well-known example of this kind of poem, but not the only one.[13] Apparently, these poetic reflections of war were not published in Finland. This is no wonder; during the war, Finland was a partly occupied war zone, and the developments of the war were not discussed in the Turku-based newspaper.[14] However, the Finnish readers who ordered Swedish newspapers would have had access to the poems, anyway, since many of them were published in major newspapers, such as *Stockholmsposten* and *Dagligt Allehanda*.[15]

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11. In December 1809–January 1810 the poem was published at least by four newspapers; see cluster 1515702. In 1856 the poem was again republished by several newspapers.

12. Nordberg, *Såret vill blöda ännu*, 29–40.

13. Tegnér's poem was not published until 1817 but it won the prize of the Swedish Academy already in 1811. In fact, the published version differed from the original one, which was considered as too daring in the contemporary political situation. Nordberg, *Såret vill blöda ännu*, 81–86.

14. Päiviö Tommila, 'Yhdestä lehdestä sanomalehdistöksi 1809–1859', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), 80–81.

15. Nordberg, *Såret vill blöda ännu*, 29–40 and passim.

Finland did not forget Sweden. As the Finnish historian Max Engman put it, Finland's farewell to Sweden was a long process. Swedish historian Torkel Jansson, for his part, argued that Sweden and Finland never actually 'lost' each other, so strong was the cultural bond between the countries.[16] It should be remembered, though, that this bond or connection was not a balanced one. One important binder of the connection was the Swedish language, which was spoken and written by a small number of Finnish inhabitants. Moreover, in terms of print volume and publishing sites, the situation in Sweden and Finland differed greatly.[17] During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the production of books – especially other than academic dissertations, etcetera[18] – was still low in Finland (in any language). When a person in Finland read books written in or translated into Swedish, these books were most likely produced in Sweden, not in Finland. Swedish newspapers and periodicals were still ordered and read in Finland after 1809. During the 1810s and 1820s, over 40 different titles of Swedish periodicals are known to have been ordered from Sweden and delivered to Finland.[19] Moreover, especially the younger generation of scholars was actively following the latest developments in the Swedish literary field, including the strife between the so-called old school and the new school, the Romanticists.[20] Publications of the romantic school, such as *Phosphoros* and *Poetisk Kalender*, were well known in Turku.[21]

16. Jansson, *Rikssprängningen*, 323–340 and passim. The elaboration of Jansson's view goes beyond this study.

17. Large-scale view on book-printing practices, Mikko Tolonen, Leo Lahti, Hege Roivainen and Jani Marjanen, 'A Quantitative Approach to Book-Printing in Sweden and Finland, 1640–1828', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 52, no. 1 (2019): 57–78.

18. The dominant printing house was, to a great degree, serving the university.

19. Yrjö Nurmio, *Suomen sensuuriolot Venäjän vallan alkuaikoina vv. 1809–1829* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1934), Table 1 (after page 64).

20. This distinction was made by the Romanticists, themselves, who defined the established literary taste represented by the Swedish Academy as the 'old school'. The Romanticists wanted to renew the Swedish literary field. Petra Söderlund, *Romantik och förnuft: V.F. Palmblads förlag 1810–1830*. Skrifter utgivna av avdelningen för litteratursociologi vid litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen i Uppsala 43 (Stockholm: Gidlunds förlag, 2000), 23, 35, 37.

21. See, for example Jukka Sarjala, *Turun romantiikka: Aatteita, lukuvimmaa ja yhteistoimintaa 1810-luvun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2020).

During the latter half of the 1810s, Turku scholars initiated some new publications. The first one was called *Aura*,[22] a literary publication that came out in only two volumes in 1817 and 1818. In Turku, the publication was compared to the Swedish *Phosphoros* – at least according to A.I. Arwidsson, one of the scholars behind the publication. In January 1817, Arwidsson expressed his excitement about the new publication in a letter to his friend in which he said that the typesetting of the first volume of *Aura* was about to begin. 'There are already rumours circulating in the city on the publication of new Phosphoros', he wrote.[23] In Sweden, *Phosphoros* was an important organ of the Romantic school, striving to pave the way for a new literary era.[24] Apparently, expectations around the new Finnish journal were high.

In 1819 *Mnemosyne* came out, a literary journal published by a group of Turku scholars, or Turku Romanticists, as the group was later called. In addition, in 1821, Arwidsson published his *Åbo Morgonblad*. Both *Mnemosyne* and *Åbo Morgonblad* represented a new kind of journalism in Finland that benefited from debates and a polemic style. In *Mnemosyne* these debates were primarily literary, while *Åbo Morgonblad* also touched upon more political issues, such as press freedom.[25] Advertisements of these Finnish publications appeared in Swedish newspapers during the turning of the 1810s and into the 1820s. *Aura* was available in several Swedish bookshops,[26] and

22. The name referred to the river that runs through the city of Turku.

23. Arwidsson's letter to Crohns, 14 January 1817. Quoted by G. Heinricius, *Selma-förbundet: Några bidrag till dess historia*. Öfvertr. ur Finsk tidskrift 67 (1909), 7.

24. Paula Henriksson, 'En gigantisk Journal – om utgivningen av Phosphoros', Litteraturbanken. Trycket ursprungligen i Svenska Vitterhetssamfundets och Svenska litteratursällskapets utgåva av Phosphoros (Stockholm, 2010), XXVI–XXX.

25. See, for example, Clas Zilliacus & Henrik Knif, *Opinionens tryck: En studie över pressens bildningsskede i Finland* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1985), 71–90; Henrik Knif, 'Mnemosyne, ett slagfält för debattörer', in *Finlands svenska litteraturhistoria. Första delen: Åren 1400–1900*, ed. Johan Wrede (Helsinki/Stockholm, The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland/Atlantis, 1999), 211–215; Jani Marjanen, *Ekonomisk patriotism och civilsamhälle: Finska hushållningssällskapets politiska språkbruk i europeisk kontext 1720–1840* (Helsinki: Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, 2022), 231–236.

26. Since *Aura* is not among those periodicals that are included in the text-reuse database, I have searched for the mentions of this periodical from the Svenska dagstidningar digital collection. The publication was advertised at least in *Dagligt Allehanda*, *Inrikes Tidningar*, *Posttidningar* and *Stockholmsposten*, but also in *Christianstads Weckoblad* and *Fahlu Weckoblad*.

the possibility to order *Mnemosyne* was advertised in *Stockholmsposten* and *Dagligt Allehanda*.[27] At least one bookstore in Stockholm also advertised *Åbo Morgonblad*.[28] Moreover, *Mnemosyne* was available in the library of the Uppsala reading club.[29]

However, it is difficult to estimate how widely these publications were read in Sweden. One finds few references to the content of these early Finnish publications in the Swedish newspapers.[30] Therefore, it is difficult to discern what the Swedish audience thought about the literary debates published in *Mnemosyne* and *Åbo Morgonblad*. The debates concerned, for example, the teaching of the Russian language in Finland and the question of Finland's national language.[31] The texts examining the latter theme argued openly that the long dominance of the Swedish language had caused much damage to Finland's original national language, Finnish. Due to centuries of Swedish domination, it was argued, Finland had lost its own national character.[32] It is surprising that the Swedish newspapers did not in any way react to these kinds of polemic views presented by Swedish-speaking scholars in Finland. One must remember, though, that literary papers are mostly excluded from the digitised collection of Swedish newspapers. Therefore, it is possible that the response is 'missing' partly due to this fact. On the other hand, one could assume that the topic aroused some kind of feedback among the wider Swedish audience. In any case, it seems that the first literary journals published in Finland during the 1810s and 1820s did not arouse any wider commentary in Sweden.

This example on the low visibility of Finnish journals in Sweden suggests that shared discussions require more than just a common language. Moreover, literary connections are based not only on the abstract movement of thoughts but also on different material conditions. The examina-

27. Clusters 6102489, 6102490 and 8109739.

28. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 27 July 1821.

29. For example, cluster 187241.

30. I have traced some extracts of these texts both from the text-reuse database and the collection of Swedish newspapers with different kinds of word searches, including the journal names and the essay titles.

31. Zilliacus and Knif, *Opinionens tryck*, 71–77.

32. These views were expressed, for example, by Johan Gabriel Linsén in his 'Om Finsk Nationalitet', *Mnemosyne*, numbers 60 and 61 in 1819 and Erik Gustav Ehrström in 'Finska Språket, betraktad såsom Nationalspråk', *Åbo Morgonblad*, numbers 12, 14, 19, 22, 35, 37 in 1821. Ehrström wrote very directly on the negative effects of the Swedish period on Finland.

tion of these conditions goes beyond the scope of this study, but it should be mentioned that, for example, the regulations on imported goods did play a role in the literary connections between Finland and Sweden.

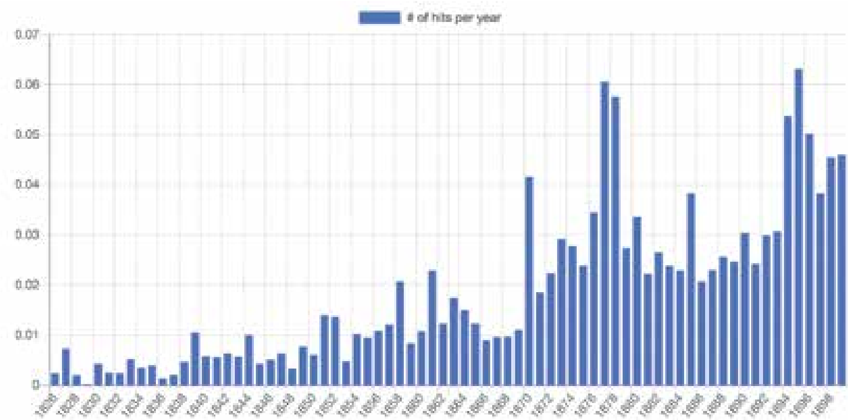
In the mid-1820s Sweden introduced a special import duty on Swedish books that were printed outside Sweden. Apparently, the tax was directed against Danish piracy products, but it primarily harmed the import of books printed in Finland. In the 1820s, there were not many works that could be imported from Finland to Sweden, but, in the 1840s, the situation was different. In 1840, several prominent Swedish-speaking Finnish authors made an appeal on the matter to the Minister-Secretary of State, the highest ranking official in nineteenth-century Finland, hoping that the situation could be somehow changed for the better through diplomatic means. In the end, however, a special import tax was introduced for Swedish books in Finland.[33] In some cases, these kinds of concrete obstacles to the free movement of books and literary influences may have caused damage to the visibility of Finnish literature in Sweden. Nevertheless, there were authors who managed to break through in Sweden.

On Runeberg, Sweden and the 'Swedishness' of Finnish poetry

There is no Finnish poet comparable to Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877) in terms of the fame and praise he received during his lifetime within and outside the borders of nineteenth-century Finland. As a Swedish-speaking author, the marketing field of his works was not restricted to Finland only. Runeberg's fame and the life of his works both in Finland and Sweden has been evaluated thoroughly.[34] In this chapter, my intention is not to contribute to this field of study, as such, but simply to test the potential of the database in the case of literary subjects and well-recognized authorships.

33. Max Engman, *Ett långt farväl: Finland mellan Sverige och Ryssland efter 1809* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009), 152–153; Pia Forssell, *Författaren, förläggarna och forskarna: J. L. Runeberg och utgivningshistorien i Finland och Sverige* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 2009), 51–52.

34. Ernst Brydolf, *Sverige och Runeberg 1830–1848* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1943); *Sverige och Runeberg 1849–1863* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1966); Forssell, *Författaren, förläggarna och forskarna*.



• Figure 1. Hit search for the search word runeberg*, country of publication Sweden, 1826–1899, normalised. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

Thus, Runeberg is the most obvious example of a Finnish literary figure who was certainly known in Sweden. Therefore, I chose to trace the visibility of Runeberg in the text-reuse database. Runeberg made his debut as a poet in the 1820s and early 1830s and published most of his works before the 1850s.[35] In the database, the first hits concerning J.L. Runeberg and his works in Swedish newspapers are advertisements by bookstores from the 1830s. Figure 1 shows hits for 'runeberg' (any runebergs) in Swedish newspapers from 1826 until 1899.[36] The clearest peaks appear in the 1870s, the most considerable one in 1877 (the year of the poet's death).

This kind of simple hit search is, of course, of limited value as evidence on how well Runeberg was actually known and discussed in Sweden. From previous studies, we know that Runeberg's early works were, indeed, noticed in Sweden. His first poem from 1826 was published in Swedish newspapers and his early works also received positive reviews.[37] However,

35. First published poem ('Till solen') in *Åbo Tidning* in 1826, debut work (collection of poems called *Dikter*) in 1830.

36. The search was made by searching all possible hits for 'runeberg*' and narrowing the search to the years between 1826 and 1899, that is, starting from the year of Runeberg's literary debut and stretching the search until the end of the century. Hit search gives 141,499 matches, of which 64,192 are in Sweden. First hits for J.L. Runeberg are from the early 1830s (clusters 7939730; 10788607; 10855934).

37. Brydolf, *Sverige och Runeberg 1830–1848*, 121–122; Forssell, *Författaren, förläggarna och forskarna*, 54. Brydolf has examined Runeberg's reception in Sweden in detail.

this kind of overall view offered by the database does demonstrate that the quantity of texts dealing with the name Runeberg rose significantly during the 1870s and stayed on a fairly high level several decades after Runeberg's death. This tells us something about Runeberg's fame. In Runeberg's case, his fame as a person was not necessarily linked to his works, although his poems were familiar to many contemporaries. Runeberg was a celebrity whose fame lasted and even grew, despite the fact that during his later years he was severely ill and could not write.

The database offers the possibility to do a similar search in reuse clusters. A cluster search for 'runeberg' between 1826 and 1877 provides 7,710 results, of which 1,139 clusters have spanned multiple countries. This means that, in most cases, the reuse clusters dealing with 'runeberg' have not crossed the border. A search that looks for clusters with their start in Finland, reuse in Sweden and 'runeberg' in the content during his lifetime provides 535 matches (clusters), of which only a small number of cases (45 clusters) originate from the first half of the nineteenth century.[38] The first matches are from 1836 and 1841.[39] A closer look at the results shows that the case from 1841 seems to be the earliest example in which Runeberg's authorship is being reviewed. The cluster is about an essay published in *Helsingfors Morgonblad* (4 November). The text touches upon Runeberg's work *Nadeschda*; the essay examines a critique Runeberg had received in 'a well-known' Swedish newspaper under the pseudonym 'O.O.' *Helsingfors Morgonblad* quoted some passages from the Swedish critique. In Sweden, *Svenska Biet* published the same text on 19 November.[40] By republishing (a Finnish) text that included parts from an earlier Swedish text, *Svenska Biet* was, in a way, double-quoting a source.

Another example from the 1840s where a Swedish newspaper has clear-

38. This search was made with the following search options: cluster search for 'runeberg*' between 1826 and 1877; span across multiple countries; starting country Finland, reuse in Sweden. Of these results, 45 clusters have originated between 1826 and 1850. For the purposes of this small sample study, I focused my examination on these clusters.

39. In addition, there are two other early matches from the 1830s, but, in these cases, the reuse in Sweden has taken place several decades afterwards.

40. Cluster 4381882. Search from the digital collection of Svenska dagstidningar shows that Runeberg's *Nadeschda* was advertised quite widely in the Swedish newspapers. Keyword search with 'Nadeschda'. A well-known Swedish paper was *Aftonbladet*, which published a review on *Nadeschda* on 12 August 1841. Behind the pseudonym O.O. was, apparently, Oscar Patric Sturzen-Becker, alias Orvar Odd.

ly copied passages from a Finnish review is from 1844 and deals with Runeberg's *Kung Fjalar*. In Finland, *Helsingfors Morgonblad*'s review started with some discussion on Runeberg's 'Finnishness', stating, for example, that his poetic style clearly differs from the contemporary Swedish style. Interestingly, when the Swedish *Den Konstitutionelle* was republishing long passages of the review it did not include this part of the text in its own publication.[41] Maybe this part of the review was not considered interesting from the perspective of Swedish readers.

Although this search focusing on the actual reuse cases offers only a limited view on the Swedish discussion on Finnish poetry, it offers interesting information on the larger-scale textual patterns. For example, it can be stated that text-reuse cases dealing with Runeberg were, for the most part, circulating only domestically in Sweden or Finland and did not cross the border. This suggests that the discussion on Runeberg was not characteristically a shared one between Finland and Sweden, at least if we understand this connection as simple text traffic between the countries.

Furthermore, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, those discussions on Runeberg that took place within the Swedish press were only rarely based on direct loans from the Finnish newspapers. Although the Runeberg-related text-reuse cases presented here are only examples from a cluster material mostly stretching towards the second half of the nineteenth century, my point here is to illustrate that a close reading of clusters is needed in order to be able to say anything on the actual content of text traffic.

Among those Runeberg-related reuse clusters that can be found in the database, there is an interesting case that opens a view to the complexity of Finnish-Swedish relations in the mid-nineteenth-century literary field. On 4 April 1850, Helsinki-based *Morgonbladet* published a text of the account of Peter Wieselgren's overview of Swedish literature (*Sveriges sköna litteratur*).[42] *Morgonbladet*'s text begins with the observation that the knowledge of Finnish issues in general is poor in Sweden. This also holds true in literary matters. Moreover, Finnish-Swedish (Swedish-language) literature was often seen to belong to the Swedish literary tradition. As an

41. Cluster 105989045. *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 18 July 1844; reuse by *Den Konstitutionelle*, 23 August 1844.

42. Wieselgren's work came out in several volumes. Apart from his activities as a literary historian, Wieselgren was active in the Swedish temperance movement; see Patrik Lundell's chapter in this volume.

example of this (twisted) understanding, *Morgonbladet* quotes some passages from Wieselgren's work. According to the Finnish paper, Wieselgren not only demonstrates his lack of awareness concerning Runeberg's literary motives but also treats him as a Swedish author – in fact, as an author that could be 'conquered' by Sweden as some others before him.[43] These 'conquered authors' referred to literary personalities who had permanently moved to Sweden.

It has been noted already by Ernst Brydolf that the question of Runeberg's nationality became an issue in mid-nineteenth-century Sweden. In Sweden, it was common to count Runeberg among the Swedish authors. Moreover, from the Swedish perspective, it was somewhat hard to understand the rising importance of the national project in Finland.[44] On the other hand, from the Finnish perspective, treating Runeberg as Swedish – or as someone soon to be conquered – was an insult against the growing national sentiments and the will to define Finnish nationality through literature (both in the Swedish and Finnish languages). Thus, in Finland, the question of Runeberg's nationality was a crucial issue. Runeberg was the pride of Finnish literature not to be hastily judged by others, particularly by the Swedes. This defensive attitude can be seen in some of the Finnish comments on Runeberg's works.[45]

In the above-mentioned text from *Morgonbladet*, the question of ownership of certain Finnish authors was mentioned. In the text, Frans Michael Franzén was used as one example of a Finnish-origin author who later became a part of the Swedish literary tradition. As mentioned before, Franzén had been born and educated in Finland at a time when Finland was still a part of the Swedish realm. Runeberg, for his part, who was

43. Cluster 31134978; *Morgobladet*'s text was republished at least by the Swedish *Stockholms Aftonpost*, *Morgonposten* and *Bore*. In 1850, some Finnish newspapers also reported on the reprints of Runeberg's works in Sweden, which was considered as literary theft. Several Swedish newspapers reprinted these texts, adding that, in fact, also in Finland something similar was going on, since the Swedish novels were reprinted in Finland. See, for example, clusters 4362293 and 31134929.

44. Brydolf, *Sverige och Runeberg 1830–1848*, 63–64.

45. For example, Fredrik Cygnaeus, a notable figure in the Finnish literary circles, was clearly offended by the review written in Sweden by C.J.L. Almqvist. Although the review was a positive one, Cygnaues was disturbed by some elements of it and wrote a response titled 'A protest against the Swedish review of Finnish poetry and poets'. *Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning*, 1 April 1850, 'Protest emot Svenska omdömen om Finsk Poesi och Finska poeter'.

born in 1804, lived in the Swedish kingdom only for the first five years of his life. I will next examine the discussion surrounding Franzén's person and authorship in the Swedish-language newspapers by focusing on his death in 1847.

'A gift of the former brotherland' – death of a poet in the newspapers

On 19 August 1847, *Hernösandsposten*, a newspaper in the Swedish Västernorrland region, published a death notice about one of Härnösand's notable persons, the bishop Frans Michael Franzén. He died on 14 August at 'a quarter to 12, at the age of 75 years, 6 months and 5 days. Mourned by wife, seven children, twenty-three grandchildren and three great grandchildren', as the newspaper reported.[46] Apparently, the first papers to deliver the news on Franzén's death were the aforementioned *Hernösandsposten* and the Stockholm-based *Aftonbladet* and *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, all of whom published the news on 19 August.[47] Within a couple of days, the news reached Sweden from southern Malmö to Norrbotten. The news travelled from paper to paper and orally via people who were on the move, as some of the newspapers reported that they received the news directly from travellers coming from Härnösand.[48] During the latter half of August 1847, at least thirty Swedish newspapers or periodicals published different kinds of texts on the account of Franzén's death.[49]

In Härnösand, Franzén's death was both a local loss and one that touched the whole country. Franzén and his family had lived in Härnösand for over a decade. Therefore, it is no surprise that his death was noticed by the local paper. Moreover, *Hernösandsposten* published a separate obituary dedicated to Franzén. The text provides a fairly detailed overview of Franzén's life and activities. A few days later, this obituary was published in Uppsala, Sundsvall and Västerås and, in early September, in Falun and

46. *Hernösandsposten*, 19 August 1847.

47. To trace the texts dealing with Franzén's death, I combined searches from the digital newspaper collections and the text-reuse database. To find hits or clusters with Franzén in the content, I used the search word 'franzén' in the database.

48. For example, *Dagligt Allehanda*, 20 August 1847. ('Resande från Hernösand berätta…')

49. This observation is based on searches made within the digital collections of Svenska dagstidningar with a search word 'franzén'.

Stockholm. In mid-September, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* republished the obituary in Finland.[50]

As mentioned, in *Aftonbladet*, Franzén's death was first reported on 19 August. The text itself was a short one, beginning with the following lines: 'Once again the Swedish muse mourns one of her favourites. Franzén has laid down the lyre that has so often charmed us and gone to see the New Eden he has so heavenly painted'.[51] Here, the paper referred to Franzén's poem 'The New Eden' (*Det nya Eden*), from 1795. The style in which *Aftonbladet* wrote on Franzén hints that he was a literary figure who needed no introduction; the newspaper assumed that the readers knew his work. Indeed, Franzén's poems had already been published in Swedish newspapers in the 1790s. During the same decade, he was rewarded by the Swedish Academy for his poetry.[52] Whether the readers were actually familiar with a fifty-year-old poem by Franzén is uncertain, but *Aftonbladet* clearly implied that they ought to be. Within a few days, at least fourteen other Swedish newspapers republished this piece of text.[53] *Aftonbladet* honoured Franzén with a more thorough obituary published on 20 August.[54]

Swedish newspapers published quite widely on Franzén. Several texts circulated from one paper to another, and some of these texts were also published in Finland.[55] Many of them included remarks on Franzén's personal qualities, such as his amiable character, but the texts also reminded the readers of his importance for Swedish literature. Newspapers

50. Cluster 4370635. The Finnish paper actually published the text in two parts and added a note that it wanted to publish the text for those Finnish readers who did not have access to Swedish newspapers. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 and 15 September 1847.

51. *Aftonbladet*, 19 August 1847. Translation from Swedish. In the translations, I have benefited from the machine translation (DeepL) in the raw translation of texts, which I then reworked.

52. One of Franzén's best-known poems, 'Människans anlete', was published in Kellgren's *Stockholms Posten* in 1793 along with a few other poems. Carina Burman, 'Upplysningens tidevarv', *Finlands svenska litteraturhistoria. Första delen: Åren 1400–1900*, ed. Johan Wrede (Helsinki/Stockholm: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland/Atlantis, 1999), 167–168; Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc, *Den svenska litteraturen, 1: Från runor till romantik: 800–1830* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1999), 471.

53. Cluster 30770021.

54. The text differs from the obituary published by *Hernösandsposten*. *Aftonbladet*, 20 August 1847.

55. For example, cluster 4368967; in the reuse chain there are five Swedish newspapers and two Finnish ones.

published obituaries of varying content, apparently written by several authors.[56] On 21 August *Örebro Tidning* published its own obituary. This text begins with the following words:

> One after another, our 'Prophets and poets' leave this earthly world. Scarcely have Tegnér and Geijer passed away, that, already, the morning mail brings news of yet another great loss. Frans Michaël Franzén has also passed away, and soon there will be no one left of those rulers of poetry who, for half a century, have been the honour and pride of Sweden.[57]

'Prophets and poets', or seers and poets (*Siare och skalder*), refers to Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom's (1790–1855) work *Svenska siare och skalder, eller Grunddragen af svenska vitterhetens häfder*, which was a monumental overview of Swedish literary history published in several volumes during the 1840s and 1850s.[58] The other 'prophets and poets' the newspaper referred to were Esaias Tegnér, who had died in late 1846, and Erik Gustav Geijer, who had passed away in March 1847. In a similar manner, *Hernösandsposten* placed Franzén alongside authors like Tegnér and Johan Olof Wallin (1779–1839) and declared that, with Franzén's passing, the triad of the Swedish Church and poetry had now fallen.[59] Both Tegnér and Wallin had been bishops, like Franzén.

In these texts, Franzén, Wallin and Tegnér were highlighted as representatives of an era that was fading away. Also, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* emphasised Franzén's importance, especially, as a forerunner for a new literary style in Sweden:

> In Swedish literature, there is no name that obscures Franzen's. He was the herald of a new era in the education and taste of the Swedish

56. I haven't been able to identify all the different texts or variations.

57. *Örebro Tidning*, 21 August 1847. The same text was republished by *Lidköpings Tidning* (28 August) and *Carlstads Tidning* (28 August). See cluster 1330686. It seems that also *Wenersborgs Weckoblad* republished the text on 26 August. Original text: Svenska dagstidningar database. Translation from Swedish.

58. Lotta Lotass, 'Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom', *Litteraturbanken*, https://litteraturbanken.se/f%C3%B6rfattare/AtterbomPDA (accessed on 1 Feb 2023).

59. *Hernösandsposten*, 19 August 1847. The newspaper uses the word 'trewäppling' (shamrock) in a metaphoric meaning stating that Franzén had been the last leaf of this shamrock.

> people, and it is perhaps from him that the more beautiful, more romantic direction that characterises nineteenth-century poetry in Sweden originated.[60]

The text ends with the statement that the 'whole fatherland' deeply feels the loss of Franzén. The land that mourns its beloved poet is here – Sweden. However, the newspapers did not forget that Franzén had been born and educated mainly in Finland. In the different texts honouring his work, Franzén's activities, for example, as the editor of the Turku-based newspaper and professor at the Academy of Turku, were mentioned and remembered. As *Örebro Tidning* put it: 'Franzén was, like so many other of Sweden's great men, a gift from the former brotherland, Finland'.[61]

The variety of Swedish periodicals publishing texts dedicated to Franzén was vast. In September 1847, even *Stockholms Mode-journal*, a fashion magazine, published a text elaborating on Franzén's work and character. According to the paper, Franzén's early education in Turku included 'a special Finnish character', due to his teacher Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804). Later, especially after his long European journey (1795–1796), Franzén's ideas became 'more universal'.[62] In Sweden, Franzén was thus seen as a gift from the other side of the Baltic Sea. In the obituaries and other texts, Franzén clearly belonged to the first class of Swedish poets.

Franzén's memory in Finland

Franzén had been active at the academy of Turku from 1785 until 1811 – first as a brilliant student, then as a young scholar who held the title of docent at the age of 20 and became a professor in *historia literaria* in 1798.[63] In 1811, when Franzén decided to move away from Finland, a group of scholars soon founded a literary club to honour him. The club was named after Franzén's poem 'Selma'. This was the club that published *Aura* in

60. *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 19 August 1847. Translation from Swedish.
61. *Örebro Tidning*, 21 August 1847.
62. *Stockholms Mode-journal*, 15 September 1847.
63. Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Frans Mikael Franzén*. Verkkojulkaisu 2005 https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/henkilo.php?id=10162 (accessed on 7 Feb 2023).

1817–18.[64] Later in 1840, when the Finnish university (from 1828 onwards in Helsinki) was celebrating its 200-year jubilee, Franzén travelled to Finland and participated in the festivities as an honorary guest.[65] This was the only time Franzén visited Finland after 1811.

How, then, was Franzén's death discussed in the Finnish press? Apparently, the first Finnish newspapers to deliver the news were *Åbo Tidningar*, *Åbo Underrättelser* and *Helsingfors Tidningar*, all of whom published it on 25 August 1847. *Åbo Tidningar* had a longer text, while the two other papers reported on the incident with only a few lines. However, the text *Åbo Tidningar* published was, for the most part, taken from the Swedish *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*. The editor of *Åbo Tidningar* had chosen some passages from a longer obituary published by the Swedish newspaper. The first of these text clips underlined Franzén's importance as a scholar in Finland:

> He has benefited his fatherland more than most other poets, and his influence on Finland's not only humanistic but scientific learning has been deeper and wider than was known and recognised in Sweden during his later years.[66]

On the following day, when the Helsinki-based *Morgonbladet* informed its readers of Franzen's death, it chose to publish the entire obituary taken from the *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*.[67] On 28 August, after several other papers had already published the news, the so-called 'official newspaper', *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, published a short notice on Franzén's death as the 'latest news'.[68] On the same day, *Helsingfors Tidningar* published the same obituary that *Morgonbladet* had published two days earlier. Finally, in mid-September, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* also republished the same obituary.[69] It seems that, in Vaasa/Wasa or Porvoo/Borgå, the local news-

64. Heinricius, *Selma-förbundet*, 1–2, 6–7; Juha Manninen, 'Uudestisyntynyt Aura? Huomioita romantiikan polun valmistelijoista Suomessa', in *Historia – teoria – praksis. Pertti Karkaman juhlakirja*, eds. Aimo Roininen and Kari Sallamaa (Oulu: Oulun yliopiston kirjallisuuden laitoksen julkaisuja, 1986).

65. Matti Klinge, 'Keisarillinen yliopisto', in *Helsingin yliopisto 1640–1990: Toinen osa, Keisarillinen Aleksanterin yliopisto 1808–1917*, Matti Klinge, Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola and John Strömberg (Helsinki: Otava, 1989), 124.

66. *Åbo Tidningar*, 25 August 1847. Translation from Swedish.

67. *Morgonbladet*, 26 August 1847.

68. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 28 August 1847.

69. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 and 15 September 1847. In addition, on Novem-

papers did not publish any notices on Franzén. Apparently, these local papers considered it to be sufficient that readers had found the information in other newspapers.

It is a bit surprising that there were no original texts by Finnish editors published on Franzén in Finnish newspapers. It seems that all the longer texts that were published in Finland during 1847 were re-publications from one Swedish source, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*. There were no texts celebrating Franzén's importance as a poet or scholar, or his role in the field of newspaper publishing as one of the first editors of *Åbo Tidning(ar)*. A possible reason for this silence is that the Finnish newspaper field was not particularly active in reflecting its own, rather short, history at this point. Later, in 1871, the situation was different; the centenary anniversary of the 'first Finnish newspaper' was reflected in the press in several ways – for example, by re-publishing extracts from the first issue of the 1771 newspaper.[70]

Moreover, it seems that, at this point, Franzén was simply seen as a literary figure who was somewhat distant in Finland. Zacharias Topelius wrote that university students were not that touched by the news of his death. The reason for this, according to Topelius, was that Franzén belonged to another time and another land.[71] Also, the editor-in-chief of the *Litteraturblad*, Johan Vilhelm Snellman, who followed the Swedish publishing field very carefully and was eager to comment on it, wrote very little on Franzén during the autumn of 1847.[72] In the December issues of the *Litteraturblad*, however, he published an essay on 'Swedish literature' (*Svensk litteratur*) in which he touched upon the recent losses of Tegnér, Franzén and Geijer – the same group of 'prophets and poets' that the Swedish newspapers had mentioned.

> How could one still talk about Sweden's literature in 1847 without being reminded again of the great names it has lost within a year.

ber 1, *Morgonbladet* published a long text by Gustaf Henrik Mellin. The text was based on a speech given in Stockholm and touched upon Franzén, together with Tegnér and Wallin.

70. Heli Rantala, '"Porthanin Lehti" ja otteita sen myöhemmästä elämästä', *Auraica* no 9 (2019): 59–65.

71. *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 29 September 1847. Topelius referred to Franzén in his so-called 'Leopold letters', which were essays presented in a letter form.

72. Snellman had also lived in Stockholm for some time and worked for the liberal journal *Freja* at the turn of the 1830s and into the 1840s.

> Tegnér, Franzén, Geijer, this brilliant trio of the Swedish Academy, has now left the circle of the Eighteen – –.[73]

Snellman goes on to state that, although the names of these beloved authors live on, their literary works belong to the past. However, in literary terms, 'the poor Sweden is rich', writes Snellman, since it still had contemporary names like P.D.A. Atterbom and C.J.L. Almqvist. Snellman continues by stating that no Swede would hesitate to add Runeberg's name to this group. 'A Finn should be excused if he spares his own country's literature its only name in both genius and taste', he adds.[74]

For Snellman, it could be said, Franzén belonged to the tradition of Swedish literature, not Finnish. His comment on Runeberg suggests, with a hint of humour, as is common in Snellman's writings, that the Swedes could leave Runeberg to the Finns.

The situation in 1872 was different from that in 1847. Finland honoured Franzén's centenary anniversary in various ways in his birth town of Oulu, in Turku and in Helsinki. In fact, there was even a bit of a competition for the festivities, since all three places could, in a way, claim a certain degree of 'ownership' of Franzén.[75] On Franzén's birthday, on 9 February, there was a celebration at the Helsinki university for Franzén. A speech in honour of the occasion was given by Fredrik Cygnaeus, a historian and professor (emeritus) in literature who was also a driving force behind the celebrations. For Cygnaeus, it was obvious that Franzén was a Finn and belonged both to the Finns and to the Swedes.[76]

73. Translation from Swedish. 'Circle of the eighteen' refers to the number of members in the Swedish Academy. Johan Vilhelm Snellman, 'Svensk litteratur', *Litteraturblad* no 13 (1847), in *Samlade arbeten VI 1847–1849*, editor in chief Raimo Savolainen (Helsinki: Statrådets kansli, 1996), 65.

74. Snellman, 'Svensk litteratur', 65–66. Translation from Swedish.

75. In Turku, for example, it was argued in *Åbo Underrrättelser* that, although Franzén had been born in Oulu and the city, therefore, wanted to celebrate him, it was in Turku that he had studied and worked as a scholar. *Åbo Underrättelser*, 4 January 1872, 'En minnesfest'. It seems that, in Helsinki, the preparation of festivities was being initiated only after there had been some discussion on the matter in the newspapers. On 8 January, *Morgonbladet* wondered why the capital was not honouring Franzén.

76. Cygnaeus argued, for example, that Franzén's early poetry derived from the same source as the 'genuine Finnish' folk poetry. This source was in Karelia. Fredrik Cygnaeus, 'Teckningar ur Frans Michael Franzéns lefnad, framställda vid åminnefesten den 9 februari 1872 i finska universitetets högtidssal', in Fredrik Cygnaeus, *Samlade arbeten IV: Litteratur-historiska och blandade arbeten*. Andra bandet (Helsinki:

Why had the situation changed from that in 1847? Likely, the answer lies partly in the rising popularity of anniversaries and festivities attached to celebrity culture.[77] In Finland, there were few options in terms of commonly renowned figures whose centennial birthdays could be celebrated in the first place. The remembrance of Franzén's 'Finnishness' and his importance for Runeberg, for example, was a way to show that Finland had produced a talent whose legacy was still alive, even though Franzén had once left Finland.

However, there was also some debate in the Finnish newspapers on the nature and scale of the celebrations, for example, that dealing with whether there should be a monument for Franzén or not. According to *Helsingfors Dagblad*, only Oulu could celebrate Franzén with a statue, not Finland (Helsinki, the capital), since Franzén belongs 'mainly to Sweden'. Moreover, not even Runeberg had a statue in Helsinki.[78] In Sweden, several important monument projects had been completed during the 1850s.[79] In Finland, the first monument dedicated to a person was a statue of Henrik Gabriel Porthan, unveiled in Turku in 1864.[80] Porthan was an early candidate for the role of being celebrated as a national figure in Finland.[81] During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, there were new candidates for this purpose, of which Runeberg was the most obvious. The celebration of his person was so intense that it is legitimate to discuss the idea of a cult of personality surrounding him.[82] In 1885, an impressive statue was erected to Runeberg in Helsinki.[83] Two other national figures from Runeberg's generation, Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) and

G.W. Edlund's förlag, 1884), 335.

77. These kinds of festivities dedicated to literary figures were common in other Nordic countries, too. Nyblom, *Ryktbarhetens ansikte*, 51–52.

78. *Helsingfors Dagblad* 13 January 1872.

79. See, Magnus Rodell, *Att gjuta en nation: Statyinvigningar och nationsformering i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2002).

80. Porthan was a scholar at the Academy of Turku interested in folk poetry and the history of Finland. During the nineteenth century, his memory was honoured in many ways. Apart from the monument project, there was also a cantata composed to honour his life and work. See, Hannu Salmi, 'Fredrik Pacius ja Porthanin perintö: Kantaatti Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1860)', *Auraica* 10 (2019): 16–30.

81. In this spirit, Porthan's 100th anniversary was celebrated at the Helsinki university in 1839. Klinge, 'Keisarillinen yliopisto', 120–121.

82. See, Yrjö Hirn, *Runebergskulten* (Stockholm: Schildt, 1935).

83. The sculptor was Runeberg's own son.

Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), received monuments in Helsinki during the early twentieth century. In Finland, the celebration of Franzén and his memory never reached the level of those tributes dedicated to Runeberg, Lönnrot or Snellman. However, in terms of homages casted in bronze, Franzén's remembrance represents an early phase of Finnish public monumental art. His statue was unveiled at his birth place of Oulu in 1881.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have pursued the Finnish-Swedish literary connections through examples culled from the Swedish-language newspapers and their shared content in Finland and Sweden. In this case study, the text-reuse database has functioned as a tool to benefit this study, along with the digitised newspaper collections. In this kind of thematic study, the use of the text-reuse database alone offers a limited view. Since the reuse clusters of the database do not have a thematic sorting option, the discovery of specific themes can be accomplished with different kinds of word searches. In the case of this study, the results of these searches were combined with similar searches in the digital newspaper collections, which I found to be necessary. Thus, the database functioned as a starting point for more thorough elaborations of the newspaper material.

What, then, can be said about the literary connections between Finland and Sweden on the basis of this examination? This case study offers, of course, only a limited view on the Swedish-language press, but I believe it has managed to raise some relevant points. In the case of Runeberg, for example, it can be argued that, despite Runeberg's fame in both Sweden and Finland, it is worth noting that there might have been different veins of interpretation in the two countries. My brief sample study on Runeberg shows that there were differing ways of reading his works and, most importantly, of contextualising his authorship in Sweden and Finland. From the Finnish perspective, the question of whether Runeberg belonged to the Swedish or Finnish literary tradition was not a minor issue. Although Runeberg was read and praised in Sweden, it was Finland that had the 'ownership' of Runeberg.

In Franzén's case, there was no similar issue regarding his belonging. Especially by the late 1840s, Franzén clearly belonged to Sweden. When the poet died, there were no claims in Finland to somehow win him back from Sweden. Some twenty years later, in 1871, the situation was at least partly different. Franzén's centenary anniversary was recognised and celebrated in Finland in various ways. This rising interest can be explained by the intensified national interest in Finland in finding heroes of the nation. On the other hand, also in 1871, there was ambivalence regarding the classification of Franzén's place in the Finnish literary tradition.

The two literary celebrities used as a starting point for the case studies in this chapter represent authors with long-lasting fame and influence in the Finnish and Swedish literary culture. It can be stated, in the spirit of Torkel Jansson, that these kinds of authors are proof of the shared literary tradition – enabled by the Swedish language – in the two countries. However, in this chapter, I have argued that, despite this common ground, there can also be nationally specific lines of interpretation intertwined with these authors. To overlook these differences would be a simplification of the Finnish-Swedish or Swedish-Finnish literary connections.

According to Torkel Jansson, some of Franzén's psalms/hymns written in the early 1810s are still widely known in Sweden. As Jansson puts it, these hymns are among the 'most Swedish' in this musical tradition.[84] In Finland, Franzén's work does not have this kind of visibility in contemporary culture. In this sense, it could be said that Finland did, indeed, lose Franzén to Sweden.

84. Jansson, *Rikssprängningen*, 249.

Inventing a New Industry in 1868: Newspapers and the lichen alcohol in an era of famine

PETRI PAJU

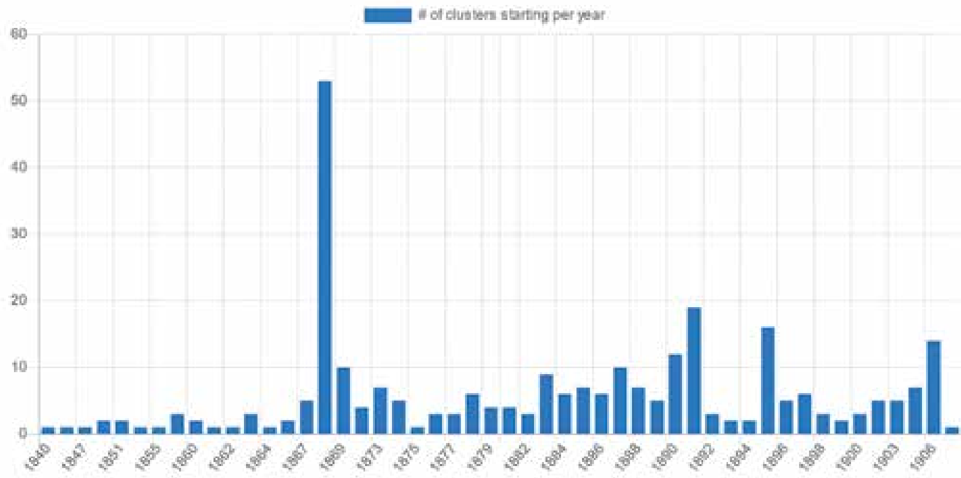
> 'Until now, people have *eaten* lichen and *drunk* liquor prepared from grain. People could now start to *eat* the grain and prepare from lichen the unfortunately not indispensable drink'.[1]

The worst catastrophe of the nineteenth century hit the Nordic countries in the late 1860s when famine killed a significant number of people and animals in Finland, northern Sweden and beyond. The disaster and starvation culminated during 1868. In the end, eight per cent of the population of Finland died during that year because of famine and diseases.[2] One remedy, a lesson from earlier food shortages of the century, was to use lichen flour for baking bread. Moreover, in the middle of the crisis of 1868, a new and surprising way to utilise lichen for making alcohol was invented. As introduced by the editor of *Helsingfors Dagblad* in the above citation, this invention also involved newspapers.

Lichen had long been a famine food, and, in previous research, it was found that, in hard times, newspapers repeatedly printed old and new texts,

1. 'Nytt uppslag till bränvinstillverkningen', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 March 1868, 1. Originally: 'Man har hittills *ätit* lafven och *druckit* det af säd beredda bränvinet. Man skulle nu komma att *äta* säden och af lafven bereda den tyvärr icke umbärliga drycken.'

2. Marie C. Nelson, *Bitter Bread: The Famine in Norrbotten 1867–1868* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1988); Tuomas Jussila and Lari Rantanen, 'Nälällä on aina historiansa', in *Nälkävuodet 1867–1868*, eds. Tuomas Jussila and Lari Rantanen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018); Magnus Västerbro, *Svälten: Hungeråren som formade Sverige* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2018).



● Figure 1. Chart from the search *renlaf** OR *renmoss** from cluster search, only including clusters that crossed the border, and highlighting the year 1868. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

from at least the 1830s onwards, advising how to use lichen in various ways for food and other purposes. This reprinting continued in Finland until the crisis of 1917–1918.[3] With this background in mind, I wondered if the text-reuse database could offer new perspectives on lichen and its cultural ramifications.

A search for reindeer lichen in the database (*renlaf** OR *renmoss**) provides a coherent view of the theme. Contemporaries also used other words for lichen but not as consistently, and, in the search results, these might mix with other expressions. According to the text-reuse database, texts mentioning reindeer lichen were occasionally circulated throughout the nineteenth century but usually only nationally. Suddenly, in 1867 and, especially, 1868, newspapers circulated lichen topics both nationally and across the Baltic Sea (see Figure 1). It was this special, transnational interest of the press focused on a particular year that drew my attention.

A closer look at the clusters from that period reveals that many texts discussed lichens as famine food in 1867, but this soon changed. Beginning

3. Petri Paju, 'Jäkälän paluu: Jäkälävalistus ja tekstien uudelleenkäyttö historiallisen tutkimusteeman jäsentäjänä', [Return of the Lichen. Lichen propaganda and studying text reuse to outline a historical research topic, in Finnish] *Ennen ja nyt* 19, no. 2 (2019).

the following year, the press began circulating texts regarding something else: a new invention related to lichen – namely, a method of producing lichen alcohol. Equally unexpected, perhaps, the invention created much discussion in Sweden and Finland during a short time period of unusual circumstances – a time during which the famine was still ongoing.[4] To better understand this phenomenon, I studied the clusters and explored the development of the interactions surrounding lichen alcohol in 1868 and thereafter.

The key questions here are: When and how did the newspapers circulate information about lichen alcohol across the Baltic Sea? Since the invention originated in Sweden, was the movement of texts unidirectional, from Sweden to Finland, as one might expect, or more complex than that? What information about lichen alcohol was most exchanged – was likely considered most relevant for the readers by the editors? The aim in this chapter is to learn more about the effects or repercussions of reprinting such texts, especially on the little-known lichen alcohol business, and the roles of the press in the transnational spread of an innovation at this time of crisis.

To answer these questions, this chapter focuses on the most reprinted texts regarding lichen alcohol that crossed the Baltic Sea or other borders during 1868. Relevant clusters were found with a few different but related keywords. This timeline of reprinting events was complemented by searching in the original digital collections for more lichen alcohol discussion and a close reading of the findings.

Earlier research related to this specific topic is scarce and antiquated, but nevertheless helpful. In his doctoral thesis published in 1950, Uuno Tuominen examined the alcohol policy in Finland from the late 1860s until 1886. Among other things, he wrote about the enthusiasm aroused in Finland by Sten Stenberg's use of lichen in liquor production in Stockholm. Based on a selection of domestic newspaper articles and archival evidence, Tuominen briefly covered the short-lived story of lichen alcohol production in Finland.[5]

Lichen alcohol has been acknowledged generally in the historiography of the nineteenth-century famines, but it has received limited attention. This is probably because it has been considered to have been unrelated

4. See Västerbro, *Svälten.*

5. Uuno Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka 1866–1886* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1950), 185–186.

to deaths and survival. Historians of science and technology have all but forgotten it.[6]

Students of lichen's historical use in Sweden have discussed Stenberg's undertakings in the context of the propaganda for new food items. Using rather limited evidence, they have estimated that lichen alcohol production 'never appears to have been on a large scale'.[7] However, based on a review article, they mentioned that production continued successfully for much longer in Russia.[8] All in all, this entire story is not well known.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned research, the transnational character of this innovative process has been largely overlooked, which is understandable given the previously laborious nature of using the national press, not to mention newspapers from multiple countries, as a historical source. Precisely within this border-crossing aspect, the database of text-reuse between Finland and Sweden can be of great help. Through this case study, I sought to learn more about lichen alcohol and how information regarding inventions travelled between Sweden and Finland, in addition to how Sweden functioned as a model in the former eastern regions of the kingdom.

The invention and its promise start spreading

Sten Stenberg, the inventor of lichen alcohol production, was a Swedish chemist living in Stockholm (Figure 5). He was born in 1824 and was in his forties at the time of the 1860s famines. He was a doctor of medicine,

6. Nelson, *Bitter Bread*; Ingvar Svanberg and Marie C. Nelson, 'Bone Meal Porridge, Lichen Soup, or Mushroom Bread: Acceptance or Rejection of Food Propaganda 1867–1868', in *Just a Sack of Potatoes? Crisis Experiences in European Societies, Past and Present*, ed. Antti Häkkinen (Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992); Kenneth M. Persson, 'Ett bidrag till den svenska bränneriteknikens historia', *Daedalus: Tekniska museets årsbok*, 62 (1994); Jukka Vornanen, '"Pettu vanha tuttu": Perinteisen korvikeruokakulttuurin ja jäkäläleipävalistuksen yhteentörmäys', in *Nälkävuodet 1867–1868*, eds. Tuomas Jussila and Lari Rantanen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018). See also Stephanie Pain, 'Desperate Measures', *New Scientist* 186, Issue 2504 (2005).

7. Nelson, *Bitter Bread*, 158.

8. Marie Clark Nelson and Ingvar Svanberg, 'Lichens as Food: Historical Perspectives on Food Propaganda', *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift 1986–1987* (1987): esp. 37. See and cf. Georg Albert Perez-Llano, 'Lichens: Their Biological and Economic Significance', *The Botanical Review*, 10, no. 1 (1944): 39–40.

and, as a professor of chemistry and pharmacy at the Karolinska Institute, he and his associates studied lichens as a source for famine food and energy. They were responding to and inspired by earlier study results reported from northern Sweden in 1867 considering lichens' surprisingly rich nutritive value. To add to the transnationality of this case's background, the main researcher of lichens in Norrbotten, Jacob Widgren, was a local pharmacist in Råneå and of Finnish origin.[9]

Stenberg's results from the topical research project performed during late 1867 were published in the early days of 1868. Soon after Stenberg separately published the first results on lichen alcohol in January 1868, information and promises regarding the invention began to spread. Articles on both themes were printed in a few different versions, which resulted in varying clusters in the database; as in the following case, these two themes were also misleadingly combined.

One of the longest early clusters consists of 20 prints in the database, but it is a collection of quite different articles that, regardless, share similar text regarding Stenberg's research results about lichens and their use. The cluster starts on the 4th of January in three Stockholm newspapers with an article titled 'Nödbrödsämnen', (famine or emergency bread ingredients) – basically a text copied from a public notice by a state body.[10] This was repeated overseas, for instance, in Vyborg (Viipuri) on 25 January. Moreover, the same cluster includes an actual news story in *Dagens Nyheter* that, a few days after the notice above, emphasised that Stenberg had made a breakthrough in alcohol production. The title of the news item claimed: 'Nationally important discovery. New raw materials for liquor'.[11] This text was reprinted in Helsinki a week later with predictions regarding the national importance of the invention. Still, in this long cluster, most of the texts focus on lichens as sources of famine food.[12]

Two days after the first news of lichen alcohol, *Dagens Nyheter* provided more information from Stenberg's presentation at the Royal Swedish

9. Nelson, *Bitter Bread*, 156–157; Marie C. Nelson, 'Through the Looking Glass: Report on the Famine in Norrbotten as Seen through the Eyes of Norrbottens-Kuriren, 1867–1869', *Historisk Tidskrift* 104 (1984); Svanberg and Nelson, 'Bone Meal Porridge'.

10. 'Nödbrödsämnen', *Aftonbladet*, 4 January 1868, 3.

11. 'En riksvigtig upptäckt. Nya råämnen för bränvin', *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 January 1868, 2–3.

12. Cluster 31301961, count 20.

Den märkliga upptäckten af ett nytt råämne för bränvinstillverkning.

I tisdagsnumret omtalade vi att professorn i kemi och farmaci vid Carolinska institutet, hr S. Stenberg, då han undersökte näringshalten i åtskilliga nödbrödsämnen, fann flere laf-arter innehålla omkring 30 procent stärkelse samt att detta resultat ledde honom på den tanken att dessa lafvar borde kunna med fördel begagnas till material för *bränvinsbränning*. Vid vetenskapsakademiens sammanträde i går afton redogjorde professor Stenberg utförligt för gången och resultatet af sina undersökningar, hvilka här i Stockholm, der de blifvit kända, redan förut väckt det aldrastörsta uppseende och intresse. Vi äro i tillfälle att meddela ett kort sammandrag af professor Stenbergs redogörelse.

● Figure 2. According to the news article in *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 January 1868, 2, Stenberg's 'curious' or 'strange' discovery had already raised great interest in Stockholm.

Academy of Sciences (Vetenskapsakademien). This text was reprinted five times, including a week later in *Helsingfors Dagblad*.[13] At that point, the Helsinki paper had already reported on the invention, though it is excluded from the long cluster mentioned above. The professor's talk and his provision of schnapps made from lichen liquor (*brännvin*, *paloviina*) had clearly made an impression, though he made it apparent that it was still in its early days in practical terms.

As Stenberg explained, he had invented an improved process for extracting fructose from lichens. This potential of lichen had been reported by chemists previously, and there had even been some alcohol made from lichen. While exploring the uses of lichen for food, he invented a new process for producing fructose from lichen, and the process provided a surprising amount of fructose. He then used this fructose to make alcohol and aimed to develop that process further to make it even more effective.[14]

13. 'Den märkliga upptäckten af ett nytt råämne för bränvinstillverkning', *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 January 1868, 2; cluster 1432811.

14. S. Stenberg, 'Om användandet af Lafvar såsom material för framställning af Drufsocker och Alkohol', *Öfversigt af Kongl. Vetenskaps-Akademiens Förhandlingar* xxv, no. 1 (1868); Pain, 'Desperate Measures'.

As shown in Figure 2, the next day, a major Stockholm newspaper estimated Stenberg's 'strange' finding to be a nationally important one with a bright future. Newspapers copied *Dagens Nyheter*'s release of the unexpectedly successful results of Stenberg's tests together with the associated promises. The writer of the text admitted that estimating the economic benefits of lichen alcohol was 'not easy', but that lichen was thought to grow voluminously and even to replenish itself in as little as three years for a subsequent harvest. Consequently, this could become an entirely new industry for those who collected the lichen; it could be instrumental in conserving or entirely replacing the grain and potatoes used for making strong alcohol.[15]

The professor himself wrote about his surprising results in a scientific article published early in 1868 in Sweden. His original article venue, a scholarly journal, is not included in the digitised material based on which text reuses were detected. Nevertheless, the report was reprinted at length at least once in Finland by a liberal Helsinki-based newspaper, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, which devoted the text space on the first page – in two consecutive issues. This republication occurred in mid-March with greetings from the well-known Adolf Nordenskiöld, who had followed the recent discovery and enthusiastic discussion in Stockholm.[16]

In the 1860s, Nordenskiöld continued his scientific career in Sweden after being forced to leave Finland because of his criticism of the top administration in the late 1850s; he would later become a famous Arctic explorer.[17] In March 1868, Nordenskiöld and the editor of *Helsingfors Dagblad* followed Stenberg to advise their compatriots in Finland, 'our technologists, pharmacists, chemists or liquor manufacturers', to investigate these new materials of alcohol production.[18] When properly developed, they encouraged, lichen alcohol production could fulfil its potential as a

15. Cluster 4267198; 'Nya råämnen för bränwin', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 14 January 1868, 1–2; cluster 12675707.

16. Stenberg, 'Om användandet af Lafvar'; 'Nytt uppslag till bränvinstillverkningen', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 March 1868, 1; *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 18 March 1868, 1.

17. See Kristiina Kalleinen, *Kuninkaan ja keisarin Nordenskiöldit* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014). Nordenskiöld's old friends and fellow students from the university in Helsinki were publishing the liberal newspaper *Helsingfors Dagblad* that reprinted Stenberg's article. See also Lars-Folke Landgrén, *För frihet och framåtskridande: Helsingfors Dagblads etableringsskede 1861–1864* (Helsinki: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, 1995).

18. 'Nytt uppslag till bränvinstillverkningen', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 March 1868, 1.

new domestic industry based on supposedly abundant and almost free raw material from the forests.

For the editor of *Helsingfors Dagblad*, the significance of this new invention came from its close connection to the famine and from the help lichen alcohol could offer. The citation in the beginning of the chapter continued, stating that Stenberg would be honoured for conserving the entire grain amount for bread consumption 'in this land of frost and crop failures'.[19] Here, the editor was referring to the starving people of Finland and, perhaps, beyond – for instance, to those of Northern Sweden, where people were dying at an alarming rate.

Circulation of texts also from Finland

Clearly, the lichen news from Stockholm had circulated widely and spread over the Baltic Sea during early 1868; however, what effect, if any, did the news have? One answer to this question was printed in *Helsingfors Dagblad* in March 1868, when the newspaper reported that a Finnish doctor and pharmacist duo in Rauma (Raumo) had taken up the challenge and succeeded in producing a small amount of lichen alcohol. They used the term *lafbränvin* to describe the alcohol. According to the short text, there were also tests ongoing in Helsinki. This report was reprinted in Turku and, after one week, in Stockholm.[20] Although broken in another cluster, the text continued to spread in Sweden in seven more reprints, including a month later in *Norrbottenskuriren* in Luleå.[21]

Meanwhile, during the winter and spring of 1868, Professor Stenberg had applied for permission to distil alcohol and awaited partial funding from the Swedish state to develop the process into an industrial-scale operation. News of the positive decision for Stenberg emerged directly after the news story from Rauma. According to one cluster, in the span of two weeks, the decision was reprinted in nine Swedish towns and, finally, in Helsinki.[22] The expectations surrounding Stenberg's new industrial undertaking were rising even more in April 1868.

19. 'Nytt uppslag till bränvinstillverkningen', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 March 1868, 1.

20. Cluster 31301530; 'Lafbränvin', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 30 March 1868, 2; 'Utrikes', *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 6 April 1868, 5.

21. Cluster 12690568, count 7.

22. Cluster 10512427.

However, thereafter, other producers began to emerge. In early May, two Helsinki newspapers reported after *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* that there was now Finnish-made lichen liquor – more precisely, eighteen bottles of it in different stages of readiness and strengths – on display in the Finnish capital. The bottles contained the test results ordered by Axel Wilhelm Wahren, a well-known manufacturer who sought to explore the promise of this potential new business. Wahren was a Swede by birth but had lived in Finland for 30 years. This news story was soon reprinted in Turku and, after a week, in Stockholm; altogether, it was reprinted in 29 locations, mostly in Sweden, until early June.[23]

More news followed from Finland at the end of May. It was the small team from Rauma again, and, at this point, they reported on how to produce alcohol from sphagnum or peat moss (*hvitmossa*, *rahkasammal*), 'at least for technical needs'. Starting from Helsinki, this brief report spread to Stockholm within a week and circulated more widely in Sweden. Eventually this invention report reached the United States, where *Hemlandet: Det Gamla och Det Nya* printed it in August.[24] Perhaps this text was considered even more surprising and newsworthy in North America than those before it, because it spread more widely than before.

Stenberg's distillery spreads information and knowledge

Newspaper readers noticed that the interest in developing lichen alcohol was growing in several locales and countries. The news of related inventions in Finland created confusion among newspaper-readers in the Swedish capital. People questioned whether those reports were independent of the discovery in Sweden. To clear this tension surrounding a seemingly competitive situation, Adolf Nordenskiöld sent a letter to *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* explaining that he had spread information about the Swedish discovery to Finland with the explicit permission of the inventor, Sten Stenberg. Nordenskiöld's letter was published in three Stockholm-based papers.[25]

23. Cluster 31301345. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* is excluded from this cluster, but its article starts another, fairly similar cluster. See cluster 31302393.

24. Cluster 31303423. The timespan of this cluster is 67 days, because the news travelled across the Atlantic.

25. A. E. Nordenskiöld, 'Med anledning', *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 15 May 1868, 3; cluster 8597906.

In Stockholm, Stenberg was able to commence the industrial-scale test production of lichen alcohol in the end of May 1868. In early July, two Stockholm papers reported on Professor Stenberg's progress with alcohol production in a distillery near the city. News spread rapidly: people in Turku were to read about it six days later. For instance, Helsinki, Vyborg (Viipuri) and, somewhat later, Luleå papers reprinted the situation report.[26]

For a change, the news circulated from east to west again, this time on lichen alcohol being made in Oulu, in North Ostrobothnia in Finland. This time, there were only three reprints. In reality, there were more, because the text, or, more precisely, its longer version, was originally published and reprinted in Finnish.[27]

In late August of 1868, Stenberg communicated the anticipated news that he and his staff had finalised the development of the new distilling method at an ordinary distillery in Kräftriket, north of Stockholm. After three months of tests and improvements, the production was now ready to be initiated on a larger scale. The report spread rapidly in Sweden and, soon thereafter, in Finland, especially to Turku, where it was reprinted only two days after its first printing.[28]

It was viral news, with 43 reprints reaching 32 locations in 16 days (see Figure 3). It could be that Stenberg had mailed the original text to a few newspapers simultaneously, which would explain why there was such a short time span between the first printings in Stockholm and Turku.

In summarising the longer, transnational clusters studied above, one can argue that several lichen alcohol related texts spread in a viral manner, reaching around 20 locations in 16–30 days and, at times, faster, especially considering this was in 1868, and the number of the newspapers, especially in Finland, was still rather limited. Typically, the most reprinted texts were short pieces with one main message. This made them easy to reprint, usually word-by-word. The information exchange travelled both ways, though clusters that started in Sweden were somewhat 'faster' to

26. Sten Stenberg, *Om tillverkning af lafbränvin* (Stockholm: Samson & W., 1868); cluster 31541671.

27. Cluster 4260164; Lafbränvin', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 10 July 1868, 2; COMHIS cluster 1631983, in Aleksi Vesanto, Filip Ginter, Hannu Salmi, Asko Nivala, Reetta Sippola, Heli Rantala and Petri Paju, *Text Reuse in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920*, http://comhis.fi/clusters, accessed 15 March 2023.

28. Cluster 31065517.

• Figure 3. In sixteen days, the text describing Stenberg's progress spread, in roughly chronological order, to Stockholm, Turku, Göteborg (Gothenburg), Karlstad, Eskilstuna, Mariestad, Malmö, Vänersborg, Landskrona, Sundsvall, Lund, Västerås, Helsingborg, Helsinki, Kalmar, Jönköping, Lidköping, Växjö, Skövde, Kristianstad, Nora, Karlshamn, Köping, Kristinehamn, Uddevalla, Borås, Hedemora, Mariefred, Västervik, Ystad, Hjo, Alingsås (this cluster) and more. Mapped here as 'origin to rest' (present-day borders). Source: cluster 31065517, textreuse.sls.fi.

appear across the Baltic Sea. Based on the database material, it is possible to confirm that the August cluster (count 43) above was among the top 100 most viral clusters that crossed the Baltic Sea that year. It was also one of the most viral items regarding industries.[29]

29. Search: https://textreuse.sls.fi/clusters/search?fq=[%22starting_year:[1868%20TO%201868]%22,%20%22crossed:true%22]&q=*:*&sort=virality_score_desc&start=60

From the database material, there are 174,994 clusters that started in 1868 and spanned a year, at most, of which 13,960 clusters crossed a border. Of the latter, 11,248 originated in Sweden, 2,322 in Finland, and 390 in the United States. Thus, Finland papers were usually the ones reprinting texts from Sweden, as Swedish papers were less likely to reprint texts from Finland. Against this big picture, the lichen alcohol exchange is simultaneously typical, because many of the texts originated in Sweden, and unusual, since it also included quite a few Finnish news texts that were copied in Sweden.[30]

One might question whether particular newspapers acted as hubs of circulation regarding lichen alcohol. In Sweden, exchanges started in Stockholm and involved newspapers such as *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* (see Figure 2 above) and others, proceeding to Gothenburg, Malmö, Kalmar and towns in and around central Sweden, up to Umeå and Luleå in the north. Roughly the same pattern applied to both domestic and imported texts.[31]

From earlier press research, the liberal newspaper *Helsingfors Dagblad* is known for being widely copied, especially in the Swedish-language press inside Finland in the 1860s.[32] Based on this case, was it also the one sending most of the texts abroad to Sweden? The clusters don't reflect that position convincingly; it might even be impossible to discern (from available newspaper sources). Evidently, *Helsingfors Dagblad* was active, but not always the first or only one (in a given cluster) in Finland; for instance *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* and *Åbo Underrättelser* printed similar lichen alcohol news and they sometimes did so first. Nevertheless, based on the longest clusters and a selection of other search results, *Helsingfors Dagblad* was quite engaged and the most consistent among the newspapers in Helsinki, or even in Finland, particularly in first encouraging and then following up this theme during 1868. However, other papers in Helsinki and Turku contributed and further circulated texts.

In addition, there were likely shorter reprints of lichen alcohol news

30. The text-reuse database, https://textreuse.sls.fi/, cluster search: starting_year:1868 AND timespan:[* TO 365].

31. For an exception, see lichen alcohol related news originating from Luleå. Cluster 31301059, count 18.

32. Lars Landgren, 'Kieli ja aate – politisoituva sanomalehdistö 1860–1889', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988).

in Swedish in both countries, but I have not systematically searched for them. For Finnish language prints and reprints, I examined one location, Tampere, where one newspaper was published in Finnish at the time. The results show that many of the above-mentioned widely circulated reports, and most or all of those originating from Finland, were also communicated in *Tampereen Sanomat*. In Finnish, *lafbränvin* was translated as *jäkäläviina*.[33] Overall, lichen alcohol became widely known for readers of the relatively low-numbered Finnish-language press, as well.

Text circulations mobilising entrepreneurs – what about others?

While travelling, the texts tell us about the physical movement and the transportation of knowledge. According to one reprinted text, several people had visited Stenberg's distilling operation to learn about his method onsite during the summer of 1868. Apparently, most of them were Swedes, but they reported that, among the visitors, were three persons from Norway and one from Finland.[34] They all spent more or less time at the distillery to learn about the method for free – something that the writer seemed to value highly, because this new invention from Sweden could benefit people beyond national borders. Moreover, in late summer 1868, Stenberg travelled to Kristiania (Oslo) to present a talk about his current work to the scientists there.[35]

Towards the end of 1868, Stenberg finished a book about making lichen alcohol. The concise work of fifty-two pages and an appendix was published in Stockholm that year to disperse information regarding the invention even further. After mid-January in 1869, the bookstore Frenckell & Son in Finland announced in a couple of major newspapers that the book *Om tillverkning af Lafbränvin* had freshly arrived by mail delivery.[36] Thus, the book received special marketing, which indicates that it was considered

33. 'Viinaa jäkälistä', *Tampereen Sanomat*, 21 January 1868, 2; 'Jäkäläwiinaa', *Tampereen Sanomat*, 12 May 1868, 2.

34. 'Laf-bränvin', *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 27 August 1868, 5; cluster 31065517. The visitor from Porvoo, Finland, was distillery owner Carl Axel Levin, who had been born in Sweden. Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka*, 186–187.

35. 'Lafbränvinet', *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 July 1868, 2.

36. Stenberg, *Om tillverkning af lafbränvin*; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 19 January 1869, 4.

highly interesting. Stenberg then published subsequent scientific articles. Clearly, he felt that there was an urgent need for his invention. By all accounts, the professor himself had great expectations regarding the applicability of his discovery and he promoted it energetically.[37]

One of those inspired by the news in Finland was Count Carl Robert Mannerheim, who was Adolf Nordenskiöld's friend and brother-in-law. Count Mannerheim, together with a business partner, established a distillery, presumably because of the great promise of lichen alcohol production. Compared with previous knowledge, this motivation for starting their distillery enterprise is new information about the Count's early industrial career.[38] After setting up the facility close to Wiurila manor, they soon hired an expert distiller from Sweden to lead the work near Salo in southwest Finland.[39]

During the summer, the initial calls for collecting lichen were printed in newspapers in Sweden and in Finland. In August 1868, Mannerheim and his associate began advertising in the Turku-based *Åbo Underrättelser* to inform people that lichen would be purchased at Wiurila manor, in Halikko and in Turku. They emphasised that lichen should be clean and dry. This text was reprinted ten more times in the same newspaper until mid-October.[40] These calls were paid ads that did not spread widely in the surrounding area, let alone across the sea. They remind us, however, that newspapers also played an important role as intermediaries, encouraging people to start hunting lichen and helping the liquor makers collect the much-needed raw material for the new and older distilleries.

Finally in autumn 1868, Stockholm newspapers published an article

37. For another transnational article and news item about his invention, respectively, see summary of Stenberg's research and results in German, 'Anwendung von Flechten zur Darstellung von Traubenzucker und Weingeist', *Journal für Praktische Chemie*, 104 (1868): 441–443, and 'Spirits from Lichens', *The College Courant*, 4, no. 23 (1869), 363. The latter journal was published in New Haven, CT.

38. Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka*, passim. See and cf. Petri Paju, 'Kreivi Carl Robert Mannerheim – monipuolinen teknologiayrittäjä' [Count Carl Robert Mannerheim – a diversified technology entrepreneur, in Finnish], in *Menneen ja tulevan välillä: 1800-luvun kulttuurihistorian lukukirja*, ed. Hannu Salmi (Turku: k&h, 2011). Count Mannerheim's son Gustaf, who was one year old at this time, born in summer 1867, would, much later, become known as the Marshall of Finland.

39. Wiurila Bryggeri. http://www.beerfinland.com/suomen_panimot/salo.htm (accessed 9 February 2023).

40. Cluster 14071296.

arguing that making alcohol out of lichen was a waste, because the writer had good experience in using lichen in feeding domestic animals, especially cows, when there was not enough hay. This warning was reprinted in several places during October and November and also spread into Finland.[41] People should, according to the writer, spare lichen for cattle and use grain, which was more easily available for alcohol, 'if one unpatriotically and frivolously wants the abominable drunkenness to flourish'.[42] Thus, at least some critical voices argued against lichen alcohol in the press on both sides of the Baltic Sea during the year.

In addition, the clusters indicate that a variety of texts were copied within national borders but, for some reason, did not appear on the other side of the Baltic Sea. These national reprint chains also contained views that were more controversial. They could underline the tensions between the perceived national Swedish or Finnish interests. In the case of lichen alcohol, one such question was whether Stenberg should have patented his invention, which might then have better benefitted Sweden.[43] In future research, the national reprints could be included more systematically to shed further light upon the relations between Sweden and Finland, including the competitive aspects.

A quieter period concerning lichen alcohol followed 1868, when life was becoming normalised after the famine's worst year. Meanwhile the entrepreneurs were busily working. In 1869, they produced lichen alcohol in 17 distilleries in Sweden alone, according to a short report reprinted in Helsinki.[44] That same year, four distilleries made a similar product in Finland,[45] and production began in Norway, as well. After a few years, entrepreneurs established three or more installations in Russia; altogether a minimum of 25–30 distilleries in northern Europe made lichen alcohol in the late 1860s and early 1870s.

Next, the distillers needed to reach customers in order to sell their products. Here again, newspapers assisted by printing advertisements for

41. Cluster 31065160. See also cluster 31303229.

42. Original text: 'ifall man opatriotiskt och lättsinnigt will, att det afskywärda fylleriet skall florera'. 'Om renmossans nytta som kofoder', *Åbo Underrättelser*, 29 October 1868, 3.

43. M., 'Bränstillverkningens [sic] framtid', *Aftonbladet*, 11 June 1868, 3; cluster 8594294.

44. 'Lafbränvin', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 8 November 1870, 3.

45. Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka*, 187.

• Figure 4. Lichen liquor (*Lafbränvin*) was on sale in Stockholm from the late summer of 1868, here advertised as double cleansed (*dubbelrenadt*) in *Aftonbladet*, 11 September 1868, 4. Advertising alcohol in the newspapers was still allowed.

the distillers' products. The advertisements were brief (see Figure 4), and, therefore, they are not included in the text-reuse database. However, they can be found through keyword searches in the digital newspapers. This serves as a reminder that varying search methods and materials provide a broader and better view of a theme. For instance, in 1870, a series of notices announced that lichen liquor, as well as grain liquor, was being sold at Wiurila manor.[46]

In hindsight, one can imagine two clear hindrances to lichen alcohol's future. First, its production required the considerable effort surrounding lichen collection. In late August, *Aftonbladet* in Stockholm reprinted the news from Norway reporting that the poor people there were busy gathering lichen. The newspapers in Finland soon circulated this story further.[47] However, not long after distillers started advertising for lichen, the newspapers in Finland reported that the response was, so far, unsatisfactory. The ordinary, supposedly lazy people had not gone lichen-hunting as the entrepreneurs had anticipated. The Finns should follow the example from Sweden, they wrote, where people were working hard to collect lichen.[48] It seems to have escaped Finnish distillers and editors that people were likely too starved or otherwise affected by famine or shortages to avail themselves of this new job opportunity.[49]

46. 'På Wiurila egendom', *Åbo Underrättelser*, 29 January 1870, 4.

47. Cluster 31300682. For Swedish reports, see also cluster 31300806.

48. 'Jäkäliä ostetaan', *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, 22 September 1868, 1; COMHIS cluster 1548339, in Aleksi Vesanto et al, *Text Reuse in Finnish Newspapers and Journals*.

49. See also Kari Pitkänen, 'Leipää kansalle, sirkushuveja herroille – armeliaisuu-

Second, the producers needed people to buy it. Would there be enough customers for lichen alcohol? So far, very little is known regarding whether people liked lichen liquor. Newspapers had done quite a bit to embrace the innovation, but they could only do so much in changing customers' preferences to drink it, which of course was the ultimate test for lichen spirits. It is possible as well that the editors and/or distillers did not know in 1868 what was occurring in the countries' poorer and most affected areas.[50]

In spring 1870, the Stockholm-based *Dagens Nyheter* first published more lichen news based on a letter received from Finland. Soon after, this report circulated over to Finland again.[51] It stated that an award-winning distiller, J.M. Lindgrén,[52] who had moved from Sweden to Finland, had invented a new method to improve lichen liquor. This invention meant that 'lichen liquor had in purity and taste become fully comparable to liquor from grain'.[53]

This short but noteworthy statement of praise seems to imply that it was now common knowledge that the earlier, regular lichen alcohol was not quite the same as, or that it was inferior to, the 'good old spirits from grain'. This is a small but potentially significant hint regarding lichen alcohol's reception and perceived taste. The inventor, the distiller Lindgrén, worked at Wiurila manor's new distillery run by Count Mannerheim and his business partner, who owned the manor.[54]

The news story continued by stating that the improved lichen liqueur and its raw material would be presented at an industrial exposition in Saint Petersburg later in 1870. They anticipated that the products would garner positive attention at the imperial capital. Although the information flow about lichen alcohol diminished considerably, there are indications that the prediction about Saint Petersburg was correct. In the spring of 1873, *Helsinfors Dagblad* again ran a story about lichen alcohol. This time it reprinted a report from the east. The article 'Reindeer lichen in Russia' crossed the seas and was reused both in Stockholm and across

den januskasvot', in *Kun halla nälän tuskan toi: Miten suomalaiset kokivat 1860-luvun nälkävuodet*, ed. Antti Häkkinen (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991).

50. See, for instance, Västerbro, *Svälten*.

51. Cluster 30111635.

52. Johan Mårten Lindgrén.

53. 'Förbättradt lafbrännwin', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 21 April 1870, 1.

54. 'Wiurila Bryggeri', http://www.beerfinland.com/suomen_panimot/salo.htm (accessed 9 February 2023).

the Atlantic.[55] According to information from Russian newspapers (via Helsinki), lichen alcohol-making had resulted in a growing demand for reindeer lichen and especially its export from northern Russia to Norway. This surprising growth in lichen export also had negative repercussions. It was thought that this might put 'the Samoyed and the Lapp' in danger because they required lichen to feed their reindeer.[56] Consequently, there had been suggestions for an export ban for lichen and hay from Archangel (Arkangel) in Russia. Making lichen alcohol thus created many complex transnational flows in the movement of information and material things, including problematic ones. In any case, the knowledge about lichen alcohol was first circulated into Russia by Swedish and Finnish entrepreneurs in collaboration.

The legacy of a promising new industry

Newspapers offer limited information about what happened to the booming industry of lichen alcohol making after the early 1870s, but, luckily, there are other sources. In the Finnish case, Uuno Tuominen carefully studied how many different substances, such as grain varieties, were used to make alcohol in Finland in the latter half of the 1860s and onwards. Because alcohol production was highly regulated, the amount of lichen used has been recorded in archival material. According to official figures in Finland, the use of lichen in alcohol making peaked in the period between 1869 and 1870, when four distilleries first made use of it as a raw material. In a quickly diminishing trend, the last one of them stopped using lichen in 1872. Altogether, during 1866–1870, Finnish distilleries mainly used grain, and the use of lichen amounted to five per cent of the total consumption of raw materials. Therefore, at its peak in 1869 and 1870, the percentage was considerably higher than five per cent but only for a limited time. After 1870, lichen use dropped to a very small portion. In all, the distilleries in Finland produced about half a million litres of lichen alcohol.[57]

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55. Cluster 30741201.

56. 'Renlafven i Rysland', *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 14 March 1873, 3.

57. Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka*, 181, 187; Toivo Pöysä, Götha Rannikko and Reima Rannikko, *Pontikka: Viisi vuosisataa suomalaista paloviinaperinnettä* (Helsinki: Otava, 1982), 91.

In Sweden, lichen alcohol was made from 1868 until 1877. The distillation of lichen alcohol began in several places near the capital region, in south-central, central and northern Sweden. In all these regions, newspaper coverage of the innovation was common. However, production soon decreased and was concentrated in the counties of Örebro and Jönköping, where the last distillery operated until 1877. Together they used more than eight million kilograms of reindeer lichen.[58]

According to one often-repeated calculation, the Swedish distilling efforts resulted in a total of roughly 3 million litres of lichen alcohol over a decade. Lichen liquor had an almond-like taste, or, if made from less clean lichen, had a taint or aftertaste, and was reminiscent of genever (*jenever*) or gin. In other words, it had a 'peculiar taste' that contributed negatively to its popularity.[59] As reasons for ending the production, earlier research has mentioned a lack of raw materials in Sweden and that lichen liquor proved difficult to sell.[60]

The development patterns resembled each other on either sides of the Baltic Sea. When times improved economically, as they did in the early 1870s, many distillers changed to more traditional raw materials, which the customers preferred. In Finland, one distiller continued using lichen during 1871 and 1872.[61] Unlike in Sweden, the production in Finland stopped and was redirected to more traditional ingredients earlier than in its original home country. Nevertheless, in Russia, making lichen alcohol fared better and continued longer, but most of the details, including for how long the production continued, are unknown.

Professor Sten Stenberg died in 1884 at the age of 60. Newspapers in Sweden published several slightly different obituaries of him, and a variety of them were reprinted in Finland. At that time, as indicated in the short articles about his death, the lichen alcohol production was practically

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58. Å.G. Ekstrand, 'Den svenska bränvinsindustrien', *Svensk kemisk tidskrift* 5, no. 5 (1893): 108–114. http://runeberg.org/svkemtid/1893/0110.html (accessed 6 February 2023), esp. 113–114; 'Bränvinslagstiftning', *Nordisk familjebok*. 1800-talsutgåvan. 19. Supplement. A - Böttiger (C. & E. Gernandts förlagsaktiebolag: Stockholm 1896), 1197–1198. http://runeberg.org/nfas/0605.html (accessed 6 February 2023).

59. Ekstrand, 'Den svenska bränvinsindustrien', esp. 113–114; Arcadius Berglund, ed., *Uppfinningarnas bok, 4: Landthushållningen, dess binäringar och samhörande industrier* (Stockholm: Hierta 1899), 568–569. See also Stenberg, *Om tillverkning af lafbränvin*, 40.

60. Nelson and Svanberg, 'Lichens as Food', 36–38, 50.

61. Tuominen, *Suomen alkoholipolitiikka*, 187, and passim.

• Figure 5. Portrait of Professor Sten Stenberg in a painting by Bernhard Österman. Wikipedia.

history in Sweden and Finland. Still, the father of lichen alcohol was remembered overseas.[62]

The text-reuse database also contains information on the legacy of lichen alcohol, because, as demonstrated elsewhere previously, newspapers acted as an archive or a tool of cultural memory when they occasionally

62. See for instance 'Dödsfall', *Nya Pressen*, 12 July 1884, 3; 'Om den nyligen aflid-ne', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 July 1884, 2; cluster 3889455; cluster 205620964.

reprinted texts originally published 40, 50 or even 100 years prior.[63] In the case of news regarding lichen alcohol, there were no reprints made until the early decades of the twentieth century, where the material of the database ends. One is left to wonder if the editors suffered from a lichen alcohol information 'hangover', or simply preferred it forgotten. In any case, the database clearly shows that the editors did not return to this lichen boom again, even if they reprinted old texts about lichen bread and the horrors of the 'great famine' in 1868.[64]

Last, lichen alcohol was remembered by scientists or researchers, at least. For instance, in Finland, they mentioned lichen as a source of alcohol in 1917, and lichen liquor was also otherwise briefly discussed in newspapers. In Finland, there were large lichen hunting campaigns in 1917 for its use in baking bread during the upcoming winter, but then the civil war broke out. After the war in 1918, an entrepreneur acquired most of the unused, stacked lichen to produce alcohol needed in his chemical factories.[65] In Russia, they made use of lichen in alcohol production during the hardships of the Second World War, which suggests that the legacy of lichen vodka endured longer there.[66] Finally, in Iceland, people make and consume vodka or liquor with lichen flavour today, but, in this case, lichen is only one ingredient or a spice, making it another drink with another history.

Conclusion

Since the publication of Stenberg's tests in producing lichen alcohol in Sweden in January 1868, newspaper editors in Finland reprinted texts about the promises of the invention. What is more, they published news about Finnish follow-up studies that, soon after, were reprinted in Sweden.

63. Hannu Salmi, Heli Rantala, Aleksi Vesanto and Filip Ginter, 'The Long-Term Reuse of Text in the Finnish Press, 1771–1920', *Proceedings of the 4th Digital Humanities in the Nordic Countries 2019. Copenhagen, Denmark 6–8 March 2019* (2019). See also Hannu Salmi, Petri Paju, Heli Rantala, Asko Nivala, Aleksi Vesanto and Filip Ginter, 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspaper and Journals, 1771–1920: A Digital Humanities Perspective', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 54, no. 1 (2021): 14–28.

64. Paju, 'Jäkälän paluu'.

65. Mikko Uola, 'Jäkälästä leipää ja viinaa', *Tammerkoski* 40, no. 6 (1978): 8–9; Paju, 'Jäkälän paluu'.

66. Nelson and Svanberg, 'Lichens as Food', 37. See also Perez-Llano, 'Lichens'.

From January until late summer 1868, the newspapers in both countries frequently exchanged information regarding developments with lichen alcohol, which likely added to the excitement and anticipation of what was thought of as a promising new industry, based on the abundant and practically free raw materials.

This relative symmetry of information flows that the database of text-reuse helped reveal was atypical, because most often texts were circulated from Sweden to Finland. Moreover, the reprint clusters point to the significant, but, before, somewhat overlooked, role of the newspapers in circulating information and news, in building high expectations about this new discovery and in spreading the innovation across borders.

In this case of making lichen alcohol, what started as text reuse by newspapers soon led to very practical, concrete actions across the Baltic Sea. A variety of educated people acted on reprinted reports in several waves, which drove the development of the lichen alcohol to expand. The transnational circulation of information extended widely to Northern Europe and resulted in textual interchange from Norway and Russia to Finland and Sweden, all of which can be traced in the database of text-reuse within the Swedish-language press.

The lichen alcohol case demonstrates that, under certain conditions and shared topics of interest, the infrastructure of communication via newspapers functioned without much delay, and newsworthy texts crossed the Baltic Sea in both directions – no matter how bad the times were. This applies particularly to Finland, where the year 1868 proved to be exceptionally fatal for the population. Unlike what one might imagine at first, the problems of the late 1860s famine presented not a problem but, apparently, an impetus to reprint the promises of lichen as a new, surprisingly plentiful and inexpensive source of fructose and alcohol. Undoubtedly, newspapers were still an elite medium, often quite distanced from those people who starved to death during 1868.

To better understand this enthusiastic text circulation of 1868, I suggest that, among the economic elites and, probably, political elites, too, lichen alcohol production was widely considered as a politically suitable, liberal business solution to the problems of famine. In the growing fields of science and industry, Sweden was seen as a model by many in Finland and, especially, amongst liberals – those readers of *Helsingfors Dagblad*. The invention built on a growing trust in science and technology, even while it meant importing the Swedish ways and novelties into Finland. In

Sweden, the promotion of lichen alcohol production was part and parcel of a patriotic economic expansion overseas.[67] All these things came together to build and enhance the excitement in and by the medium of newspapers.

In Sweden, Finland, and probably in the other Nordic countries, making lichen liquor became an ephemeral business. This short phase likely led later researchers to underestimate its strength, visibility and scope during the late 1860s and shortly thereafter.

In summary, lichen alcohol in the late 1860s was a bigger business than has previously been assumed, but it lasted for a limited time only – in Finland and Sweden, at least. The innovation spread rapidly and widely across borders, thanks to the network of newspapers that also contributed to peoples' heightened expectations, of a boom or hype, by reporting on further improvements. The story of lichen alcohol's boom was intimately linked to its highly unusual circumstances, so that it both increases and confirms earlier knowledge of the famine years, including that of the role of lichen and how various people reacted to the crisis. At the same time, this story could also be informative and interpreted as an early media hype related to new industries and techno-scientific advances.

In the fading of lichen alcohol business, for instance, there are questions that remain open but that can now be approached with more information and precision. Further, in the future, one could approach this theme increasingly as a more-than-human history in the consideration of the position of lichen. When reading the newspaper reports, it seems that lichen surprised contemporaries, as it was trickier to harvest or negotiate with, than many enthusiasts following professor Stenberg expected.

In any case study such as this, the researcher should consider the limits of the database/s in use. Likely, there were shortened reprints that escaped the computational detection, and finding all the variations would require considerably more working time. National reprints about lichen alcohol could be revealing, too, but they were mostly excluded from this chapter. As demonstrated above, when one is looking at a specific case with detailed interactions from the text-reuse database, it is necessary to be cautious with clusters' content in order to avoid over-trusting the material and

67. For instance Nelson, 'Through the Looking Glass', 202; Sverker Sörlin, *Framtidslandet: Debatten om Norrland och naturresurserna under det industriella genombrottet* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1988); Paju, 'Kreivi Carl Robert Mannerheim', passim; Lennart Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden* (London: Routledge, 2012); Västerbro, *Svälten*.

to perform complementary searches in the original digital collections to minimise the risk of missing relevant texts.

More broadly, this case study shows that, if a researcher is interested in a given theme, the database can help him/her to find and focus on the periods when the press shared (or didn't share) the contents related to that theme, and then to more closely examine what those peaks were about. In the case of silences, one might need to look elsewhere. In this particular case study, newspapers and their practises of text circulation across the Baltic Sea help to better understand the transnational excitement or boom for making lichen alcohol in the late 1860s and beyond.

From Wax Cabinets to Early Cinema: Visual entertainment over the Baltic Sea

★

HANNU SALMI

The culture of every era is visual, built and based on observations using the sense of sight, but it was during the nineteenth century that different forms of pictorial representation gained a stronger foothold. Department stores and shopping malls, along with their display windows, were introduced in big cities as part of the urban way of life, and the pleasures of the eye became objects of consumer culture.[1] At the same time that newspapers grew into mainstream news media, visuality also increased in information transmission. Current events and historical moments were narrated through both magic lantern shows and peep shows, often known as *mondo nuovo* and presented via a box (*Guckkasten*, *tittskåp*, *kurkistuskaappi*).[2] Scientific observations, and quite often curiosities, were presented in travelling dioramas, wax cabinets and anatomical theatre shows.[3] Many kinds of new equipment entered the market. In 1851, the stereoscope was introduced at the World's Fair in London and became a favourite device of the bourgeoisie. At the end of the century, three-dimensional images were

1. Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 32–44.

2. Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013). On terminology, see C.N. Öhrlander and O.E. Leffler, *Tetraglott-Lexikon för öfversättningar från svenskan till tyska, franska och engelska språken* (Stockholm: Zacharias Hagström, 1852), 703. In Finnish, *kurkistuskaappi* was already being used in the nineteenth century (see e.g. *Hämäläinen*, 10 February 1886).

3. Sven Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat. Kuvallisten esitysten perinne ja elävien kuvien 12 ensimmäistä vuotta Suomessa* (Helsinki: Finnish Film Foundation, 1981), 12–122. See also Rune Waldekranz, *Så föddes filmen: Ett massmediums uppkomst och genombrott* (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedt, 1976).

produced on an industrial scale, and with the help of these images, the viewer could virtually travel to distant lands.[4] At the end of the century, the technology behind moving images also became common, which led to the birth of a new cultural form, cinema, in the 1890s.

In the nineteenth century, newspapers constituted a powerful medium, and news and stories spread from one region to another. They were copied in the same language area directly from one paper to another and translated across language borders. Visual and audiovisual culture was also transregional. Pictorial shows travelled with carriages and ships, as did the picture presenters, who tried to utilise the new forms of entertainment as effectively as possible. A good example of this conscious utilisation involved the pioneering French film company, the Cinématographe Lumière, whose tours after 1895 extended from Paris to all of Europe and also to other continents.[5]

The purpose of this chapter is to show through concrete examples how the break in visual culture appeared in Swedish and Finnish newspapers and through their interaction. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the press was an increasingly important advertising channel. It is clear that travelling wax cabinets, panopticon shows and, before long, performers of moving images took advantage of the opportunities offered by the press. In addition to advertising, the perspective of visual culture appeared in news and articles that described life in the big European cities of Berlin, London and Paris. This chapter examines how the Swedish-language press represented this ongoing cultural change and the kinds of content from the audiovisual culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that were recycled by the press. It will be illuminating to test how the study of text reuse can be employed in assessing the transnational dimension of media history.

The wonders of the wax cabinet

Wax carvings and effigies had been used in funerary monuments for centuries, but in the eighteenth century, wax dolls, objects and vistas became popular attractions. The Swiss doctor Phillippe Curtius used wax to illustrate medical phenomena and produced anatomical wax models that

4. Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

5. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 128–129.

were much admired by his contemporaries. Later, in the nineteenth century, anatomical museums came to make use of wax technology for both permanent and travelling exhibitions.[6]

Curtius moved to Paris in 1766 and continued to work in France.[7] Marie Grosholtz, the daughter of Curtius's housekeeper, was involved in the production of wax models from childhood and later had the opportunity to make, for example, death masks of her contemporaries, including Robespierre, who ended up in the guillotine.[8] Marie inherited Curtius's collection after his death in 1794 and married François Tussaud. In 1802, during the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, Marie Tussaud moved to England and began to exhibit waxworks in her travelling collection. Eventually, in 1835, she had set up a permanent venue in Baker Street, which was the starting point for Madame Tussauds famous wax cabinet. Travellers to London were eager to visit the 'museum', which showed historical figures as lifelike waxworks. The characters were presented according to historical sources, and costumes and props were also of great importance, as were the settings, which viewers recognised. The beheading of Mary, Queen of Scots, was one of the attractions of the museum.[9]

Miracles of the wax world were also exhibited in the Nordic countries by travelling troupes. Rulers were particularly popular; in Stockholm, for example, Fleuther exhibited a life-size version of King Gustav II Adolf in the spring of 1770.[10] In the early nineteenth century, a showman called A. Campioni toured Europe with a collection of 40 wax figures of several monarchs and other rulers, including Napoleon.[11] In Finland, it was written in *Åbo Tidning* that Campioni had had particular success in the courts of Europe and that now these sensational wax statues could also be seen in the North. The collection included such contemporary figures as the King of Denmark, the Czar of Russia, and the Kings and Queens of Spain,

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6. On the history of wax museums, see for example Mark B. Sandberg, *Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 18–26.

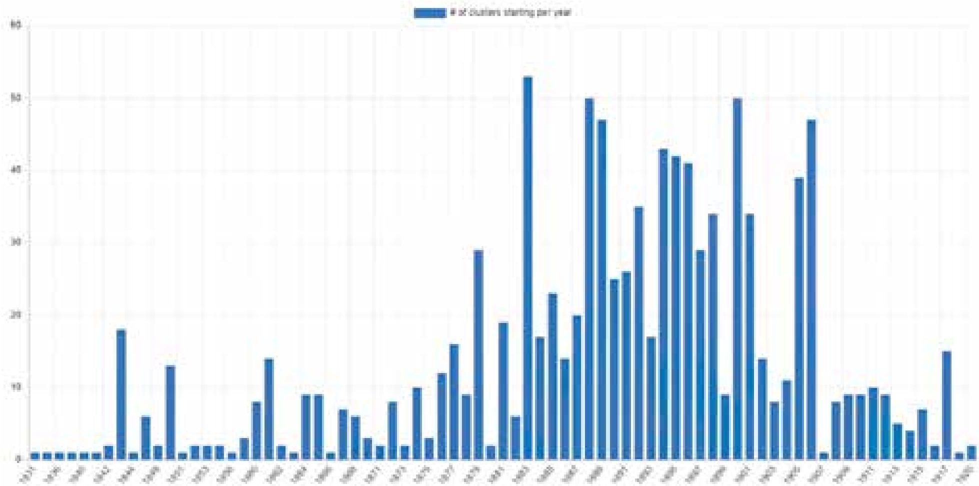
7. Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 92–93.

8. Hervé Leuwers and Guillaume Mazeau, 'Madame Tussaud et le masque de Robespierre exercices d'histoire autour de la médiatique reconstitution d'un visage.' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 375 (Janvier–Mars 2014).

9. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 12.

10. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 13.

11. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 15.



• Figure 1. Text reuse clusters on wax cabinets, based on the starting year. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

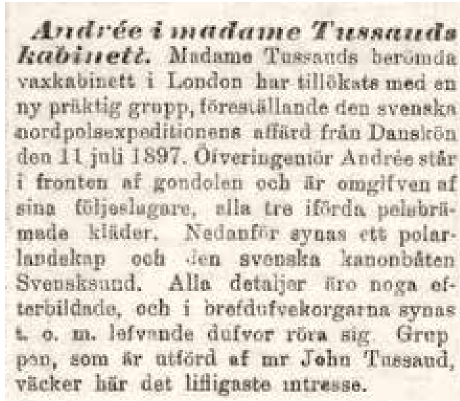
Portugal, Sardinia, England and Prussia.[12] These kinds of tours regularly brought both historical figures and curiosities to the public. In the Baltic Sea region, the tours travelled via Stockholm to Turku, Helsinki and Saint Petersburg. Before long, the reputations of the wax cabinets also spread through newspapers, which began to publish both travelogues of European centres and news items copied from other newspapers.

The *Text Reuse in the Swedish-Language Press, 1645–1918* database shows that texts on wax cabinets circulated widely from the early nineteenth century onwards. Using the search term *vaxkabinet**, 1299 chains of texts were returned, starting from 1831 (Figure 1), of which 356 are transnational. Only 15 originated in Finland and three in the United States, and the rest were from Sweden, mostly from Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg.[13]

These text reuse clusters referred to various exhibitions, some of them very large-scale tours, but the returned news items also included stories from the centres of Europe. Here, Madame Tussaud's famous cabinet remained a permanent focus of attention. On the basis of newspaper repositories, it seems obvious that Madame Tussaud attracted attention

12. *Åbo Tidning*, 21 June 1800, 4.

13. Search *vaxkabinet** in the Text Reuse in the Swedish-Language Press, 1645–1918 database, https://textreuse.sls.fi/clusters/search?q=vaxkabinet*&sort=count_desc (accessed 26 May 2023).



Andrée i madame Tussauds kabinett. Madame Tussauds berömda vaxkabinett i London har tillökats med en ny präktig grupp, föreställande den svenska nordpolsexpeditionens affärd från Danskön den 11 juli 1897. Öfveringeniör Andrée står i fronten af gondolen och är omgifven af sina följeslagare, alla tre iförda pelsbrämade kläder. Nedanför synas ett polarlandskap och den svenska kanonbåten Svensksund. Alla detaljer äro noga efterbildade, och i brefdufvekorgarna synas t. o. m. lefvande dufvor röra sig. Gruppen, som är utförd af mr John Tussaud, väcker här det lifligaste intresse.

• Figure 2. *Aftonbladet*, 11 September 1897, 2.

in Sweden at least from 1850 and in Finland from 1867 onwards.[14] Even people who had never travelled to London learned the secrets of the cabinet and also discovered that there were elements of horror. The museum was often called the Cabinet of Horrors (*skräckkammaren*).[15] The most widespread news about Madame Tussaud's treasures was published in 1897 in the form of an article that was published in thirteen locations at a very rapid pace. There was significant Swedish interest in the news, since Tussaud's cabinet was planning to portray an expedition to the North Pole by the engineer S.A. Andrée. This historic moment took place on 11 July 1897, as Andrée was preparing to set off on a daring balloon flight from the island of Danskö. Andrée himself stood in front of the balloon, surrounded by his men, all of whom were wearing fur clothing. The news report emphasised how accurately the scene had been drawn and that it even showed live carrier pigeons. The illustration was designed by John Tussaud, grandson of Marie (Figure 2).[16]

According to the text-reuse database, the news was published 24 times between 11 September and 5 October 1897. The publicity for Andrée's adventure, which was obviously discussed intensively by newspapers, is only one example of the many news chains. It reveals, however, how effectively

14. *Svenska dagstidningar*, https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=Tussauds&sort=asc; *Digital Collection*, National Library of Finland, https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/search?query=-tussauds&orderBy=DATE

15. *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 12 July 1870, 2.

16. *Aftonbladet*, 11 September 1897, 2.

the story spread. The information seems to have arrived directly from London to several newspapers at the same time, since an identical article was published on the same day, 11 September, in seven newspapers, *Aftonbladet*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Stockholmstidningen*, *Norrköpings Tidningar*, *Dagen* and *Örebro Tidning*. Andrée's homage in wax came to Finland probably directly from London, not via Sweden, since it was published the following day in *Hufvudstadsbladet* in Helsinki. In Finland, the news was also picked up by *Åbo Tidning* on 14 September. It seems that the article had been distributed regionally from paper to paper, and in Sweden, the same news continued to be reprinted. For example, in Gothenburg, it appeared simultaneously in two newspapers on 15 September. At the very end of the month, the immortalisation of engineer Andrée was reported in the Chicago-based *Svenska Tribunen*; in Worcester, MA, in *Scandinavia* on 29 September; and in *Vårt Land* in Jamestown, NY, on 30 September. The final link in the news chain was a story in the *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* in Minneapolis, MN, on 5 October.[17] Interestingly, the remembrance of Andrée's historical role as an explorer was echoed in the Swedish-language press on a transatlantic scale.

Attractions for the eye

The newspaper material reveals that wax cabinets were not a distinct genre or category in the imagination of contemporaries; neither were they something that the presenters and touring exhibitors wanted to promote as an artform in its own right. It is obvious that in the minds of the nineteenth-century audience, various attractions for the eye were intertwined, especially towards the end of the century. The touring shows included a variety of elements, including realistic wax statues and also living attractions such as humans and animals, automatons and also things that today would be recognised as museum objects. Often, these amalgamations of different content were called panopticons. In Stockholm, the venue entitled Svenska Panoptikon was active between 1889 and 1924. In Finland, there were no permanent panopticon shows, but several companies toured the country, such as D. Sedelmeyer's Panoptikum International and Niels Nielsen's Colosseum Panoptikon, later known as Hartkopf's Museum.[18]

17. Cluster 30718716, count 24.

18. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 17. See also Maren Jonasson, 'Exhibiting the Extraordi-

Interestingly, with the search term *vaxkabinet**, the longest reuse chain relates to Niels Nielsen's impressive show. This chain includes as many as 673 hits, starting from 1891 and ending in 1914, soon after the outbreak of World War I. The metadata of the chain reveal the volume of Nielsen's exhibitions on both sides of the Baltic Sea. The texts are all advertisements used by Nielsen to draw attention to his tour. It seems that until 1898, these ads were only printed in Swedish papers, but after that, they also appeared in Finland at regular intervals.[19] Also, Finnish digitised newspapers confirm that Nielsen's tours extended to Finland in 1898.[20] In April and May, the collection stayed in Helsinki, but thereafter, it appeared in different corners of Finland, such as Kuopio in June,[21] Vaasa in July and early August[22] and Turku in late August and early September, from where it obviously returned back to Sweden.[23] In 1899, the show was back, this time, for example, in Pori.[24] The intensive touring was an active exploitation of a product that appealed to the curiosity of the audience.

A closer look at the text chain reveals the benefits and pitfalls of computer-assisted text reuse detection. On the one hand, the method makes it possible to identify and extract the advertisements of Nielsen's company on a large scale. The sheer number of advertisements shows that he indeed used the press as a platform for the business on a transnational basis and to announce beforehand the arrival of the show and formulate appealing slogans to increase excitement. It is likely that the real number of advertisements was even higher than those 673 hits that the method was able to find. The advertisements were published in 55 different locations, which indicates that one location was addressed more than twelve

nary Body: Six Itinerant Performers and Their Livelihood in the Nordic Countries, 1864–1912.' Jutta Ahlbeck, Ann-Catrin Östman and Eija Stark (eds.), *Encounters and Practices of Petty Trade in Northern Europe, 1820–1960: Forgotten Livelihoods* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 184–185.

19. Cluster 30144083, count 673.

20. *Aftonposten*, 29 April 1898, 2; *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 29 April 1898, 3; *Nya Pressen*, 30 April 1898, 2.

21. *Savo-Karjala*, 6 June 1898, 2.

22. *Vasabladet*, 23 July 1898, 1; *Wasa Tidning*, 25 July 1898, 1; *Wasa Nyheter*, 14 August 1898, 2.

23. *Sanomia Turusta*, 23 August 1898, 1; *Åbo Underrättelser*, 23 August 1898, 1; *Åbo Tidning*, 15 September 1898, 1.

24. *Björneborgs Tidning*, 27 April 1899, 1.

times on average.[25] On the other hand, while the method clearly helps in identifying the intensive use of the press for advertising, it is important to note that the text chain does not actually consist of identical texts. There were slight variations throughout the period, and Nielsen stressed different attractions for different audiences. The text reuse detection was processed using a software that is tolerant for noise and variation. This had to be the case so that similarities could be detected irrespective of errors in optical character recognition. This means, however, that the process was tolerant not only of misinterpreted characters but also of smaller adjustments and changes that were made in the original advertisements. In this case, the method precisely identified the advertisement template used by Nielsen more than identical ads. It is a benefit that this practice could be identified in the first place, but the pitfall is of course that it was not actually a case of text reuse, at least not in the sense that exactly the same text had been copied from paper to paper. Instead, Nielsen probably used the previous advertisement as a model for a new ad and gradually changed the content part by part. Still, the main elements of the text had been preserved, since the computer-assisted method still found similarities in the reuse cluster from 1891 to 1914.

In the 673-hit chain of advertisements, the first instance was published in the newspaper *Helsingen* in Söderhamn (Figure 3). Here, Nielsen mentioned that he had over 200 life-size wax statues, including ones of the Austrian Crown Prince Rudolf and his lover Baroness Maria Vetsera. This referred to a recent news event, the Mayerling affair, in which both had been found dead at Rudolf's hunting lodge. The incident was surrounded by moral panic, both because the relationship was against the contemporary moral codes and because it was seen as corrupting the credibility of the prevalent social order, especially within the royal house. This led to a media panic, and there were even attempts to hide the real nature of the events, albeit without success. Obviously, the wax statues of the lovers, who were celebrities and known by everyone, were of interest to a wide audience.

The later advertisements were considerably longer, which shows that Nielsen had been able to widen his collection in the early 1890s. Three years later, in 1894, an announcement published in *Göteborgs Aftonblad* contained a listing of many more desires for the eye (Figure 4). By then,

25. Cluster 30144083, count 832.

N. NIELSENS

Panoptikon,

Skandinaviens största Vaxkabinett och Anatomiska Museum, innehållande öfver 200 nummer, Grupper och Figurer i

naturlig storlek.

I intet annat Vaxkabinett förekommer så många berömda personligheter, hvilket också pressen framhållit under de senaste åren. — Särskildt framhålles: *Stanley och hans ledsagare från Afrika, Emin Pascha, Tippu Tip, Kejsar Wilhelm, Österrik. kronprinsen Rudolf, baronessan Vetsera, John Ericsson, kapten Rolla, dr Nansen, dr prof. Koch, Yngsjömörderskan Anna Månsdotter.*

Ett skönhetsgalleri af verldens skönaste qvinnor, deribland flera prisbelönta ifrån Spaa.

Obs. *Aldrig sedt i något annat Museum.*

Blomsterflickor i Irgården.

Obs.! Detta museum är snyggt och elegant utstyrdt och motsvarar nutidens fordringar i alla hänseenden; intressant och lärorikt för såväl damer som herrar och barn.

Entré: 35 öre för äldre; 20 öre för barn.

524

N. Nielsen.

museum.

En stor anatomisk afdelning hvaribland två figurer, som erhållit medalj på världsutställningen i Paris, utmärka sig som fysionomiska naturfenomen.

Juliana Pastrana,

den hårbevuxna damen med sitt barn.

Ap-, Björn-, Hund-, Får-, Uggle- och Svin-människor, sammanvuxna tvillingpar i flera stadier.

2 gorillor,

7 fot höga, från ön Garbo.

Detta museum är vackert och elegant utstyrdt efter nutidens fordringar, *intressant* och *lärorikt* såväl för Damer som Herrar och Barn.

Museum är dagligen öppet från kl. 10 f. m. till 10 e. m.

Entrés 50 p. för äldre.
25 p. för barn.

Högaktningsfullt:

N. Nielsen,

876

Museumegare.

Från och med

Söndagen den 18 Mars

förevisas å

Jernvägen

N. Nielsens

Collosseum,

Panoptikon

och

Anatomiska

Museum

(det största resande vaxkabinett)

innehåller öfver 1,000 nummer grupper och figurer, utförda i vax i naturlig storlek. I intet annat vaxkabinett förekommer så många berömda personligheter, hvilket också pressen har framhållit under de senare åren.

Alla existerande menniskoracer i sina nationaldräkter.

Berömda personligheter, kröna hufvud och förbrytare som tidningarne brakt underrättelse om under de senare åren. Kejsar Wilhelm och Kejsar Fredrik af Tyskland. Kronprins Rudolph af Österrike. Baronessan Vetsera. General Boulanger. John Eriksson. General Booth (Frälsningsarmén). Luftseglaren kapten Rolla. Professor D:r Koch. Emin Pascha. Tippu Tip med flera berömda personligheter.

Af Grupper framhålles:

Karl XII:s död vid Fredrikshald. Kristian II:s besök vid Dyvekes dödsläger. Yngsjömörderskan Anna Månsdotter (afrättad i Kristianstad den 7 Augusti 1890). Massmördaren Jan Umb som mördade 6 man på skonerten "Johannes". Stanley och hans följeslagare i Afrika. Tantali qval. Lustiga karnevalsgäster. Kristi födelse i Betlehem. Droppstensgrottan.

OBS.! Blomsterflickor i Irrgången.

Ett skönhetsgalleri af världens vackraste qvinnor.

(Däribland flera prisbelönta från skönhetsutställningen i Spaa).

Fins icke i något annat museum.

En stor anatomisk afdelning, hvaribland tvenne figurer som erhållit medalj på världsutställningen i Paris utmärka sig samt fysionomiska naturfenomen.

Den hårbevuxna qvinnan med sitt barn.

Ap-, Björn-, Hund-, Får-, Uggle- och Svinmenniskor samt sammanvuxna tvillingpar i flera stadier.

En Gorilla,

7 fot hög, från ön Garbo.

Detta museum är vackert och elegant utstyrdt efter nutidens fordringar, intressant och lärorikt såväl för damer som herrar och barn.

Entrée: 25 öre för äldre.
10 " " barn.

Högaktningsfullt
S. Nielsen.

00506

• Figure 3. *Helsingen*, 11 April 1891, 2.

• Figure 4. *Göteborgs Aftonblad*, 17 March 1894, 2.

• Figure 5. *Aftonposten*, 27 April 1898, 2.

he had 1000 items for the visitor, four times the amount that he had previously. The list of rulers and other members of royalty was almost the same, which explains why these advertisements had been detected by the algorithm. The advertisements are not literally the same, but they included a similar passage. In addition to the famous figures that Nielsen already had in 1891, he had by now included an eminent historical figure, King Charles XII, which was obviously of great interest to the Swedish audience. The end of the ad emphasises that there was also a gorilla for viewing at the site. This was probably a wax statue, not a real animal.

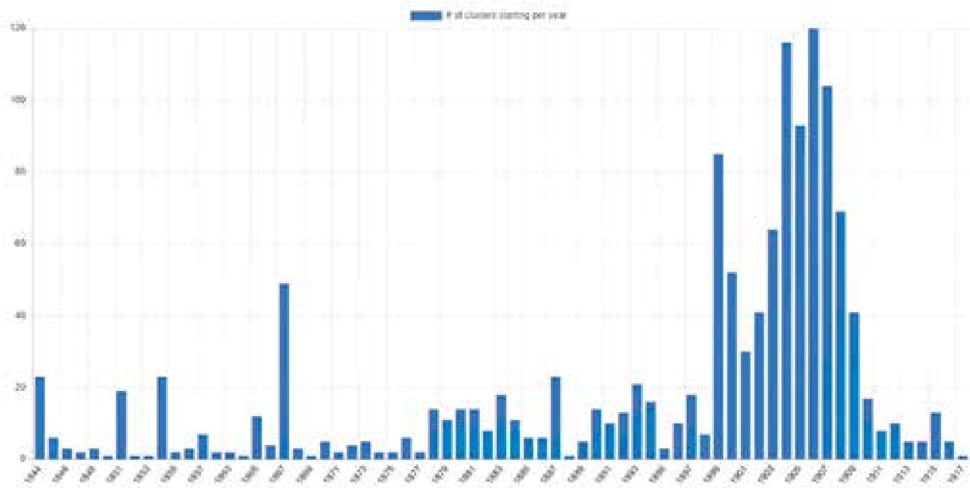
The 1894 advertisement also contained an interesting reference to a human curiosity, which mentioned 'a hairy woman with her children'. She was not named there, but in later advertisements, for example in Finland, Nielsen advertised, with big letters, 'Juliana Pastrana, a hairy lady with her children' (Figure 5).[26] Julia Pastrana was a Mexican-born Indigenous woman who was known worldwide and often characterised with pejorative and exoticised names, such as the 'Baboon Lady'. She had died in 1860 in Moscow. Nielsen drew on the voyeuristic desires of the audience by circulating her wax statues across the Nordic countries.

This case and the advertisements of Nielsen's panopticon show that wax cabinets were part of the wider culture of curiosities and voyeurism that took imaginative forms during the late nineteenth century. Wax statues, and the installations around them, were of interest to the audience, as were other visual pleasures that could be offered in return for an entrance fee. Nielsen exploited his panopticon very actively at the turn of the century, but eventually, during the first years of World War I, it came to a halt.[27] War time had made it impossible, and dangerous, to travel across borders.

Moving images

The emergence of cinema was one of the most significant media technological changes in the nineteenth century. If photography had extended industrial production and mechanical reproduction into the realm of visual culture in a way that was reflected in entertainment as well as communication, film commodified movement, transforming it into a reproducible form. Cinema was the fruit of the nineteenth century and the seed of the twentieth. However, it needs to be underlined that there had been

26. *Aftonposten*, 27 April 1898, 2.
27. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 17.



• Figure 6. The text reuse clusters with the search term 'lefvande bilder'. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

a keen interest in moving images, or the inclusion of movement into an image, throughout the nineteenth century. The first film screenings at the end of the century were described as 'moving images', but the same expression was used in connection to many other forms of representation, for example *tableaux vivants*, where the movement was made by actors, or still image presentations, where it was created with different projection technologies. If we conduct a search with the term 'lefvande bilder' in the text-reuse database, there are clusters from each decade from the 1840s onwards (Figure 6). This shows that there had been a persistent interest in portraying 'living images', often with movement, for the audience.

As Figure 6 reveals, there was a massive increase in the press coverage at the turn of the century that had been fuelled by the breakthrough of cinema. The decline in the use of the expression *lefvande bilder* after the first decade of the twentieth century simply means that new words were being used to describe film culture. The image also illustrates the fact that the amount of Swedish material decreases in our database after 1906.

What was important in the development of cinema was its duality; that is, the camera and the projector developed along different pathways. The camera began as a camera obscura, a dark room with an image projected onto a wall through a hole in the opposite wall. This invention had already been exploited during the Renaissance, both in the sciences and in the arts.

The projector was based on a magic lantern built by the Dutch physicist Christian Huyghens in the 1650s to project images drawn on glass. Photographs were first projected in this way in the 1870s.[28]

It is difficult to say who actually built the first film camera or projector. In the 1890s, several independent inventors around the world had been working in the field, including Robert W. Paul and Birt Acres in England, Henry Joly in France, Woodville Latham, Thomas Armat and W.K.L. Dickson in the United States, Filoteo Alberini in Italy, the Skladanowsky brothers in Germany and the Lumière brothers in France.[29] This technological development was influenced by many elements of a centuries-old audiovisual culture. As film historians and media archaeologists have pointed out, the history of the moving image cannot be separated from the wider audiovisual context of the nineteenth century.[30] For example, magic lantern shows were immensely popular at the end of the century. With an entrance fee, the visitor could buy access to a show in a darkened hall, sometimes even accompanied by live music and sound effects. The shows were even animated by using several projectors at the same time. The popularity of the magic lantern is well illustrated by the fact that in the 1880s, there were 28 companies in London producing such sets of images.[31] It can be argued that by the time film screenings became common in the 1890s, audiences were already used to watching images projected on canvas in a dark room—at least in the big cities. The vibrancy of the movement and its realism may have been new, but the social situation was deeply rooted in history.

The emerging cinema also borrowed much from the theatre, although this was not the case until narrative, fictitious films began to develop in the early twentieth century. It borrowed themes and genres from the bourgeois theatre of the nineteenth century. Melodrama, historical adventure,

28. Lenny Lipton, *The Cinema in Flux: The Evolution of Motion Picture Technology from the Magic Lantern to the Digital Era* (New York, NY: Springer, 2021), 9.

29. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*. History of the American Cinema, Vol. 1 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 91–105.

30. See for example Waldekranz, *Så föddes filmen;* Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*; Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, 'Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology', *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, eds. Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 3–6.

31. Kaoime E. Malloy, *The Art of Theatrical Design: Elements of Visual Composition, Methods, and Practice*. Second edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), 397.

• Figure 7. Herman von Bardach's advertisement in *Åbo Tidning*, 7 March 1897, 1.

suspense, war, love and the Wild West were borrowed from theatre for cinema's thematic repertoire.

Usually, when discussing the early stages of film history, the contribution of the French Lumière brothers is emphasised, although there were several other innovators working in the field at the same time. The Lumière brothers were the most successful in marketing moving images. Indeed, the history of commercial cinema often begins with a show organised by the brothers on 28 December 1895 in a Parisian café on the Boulevard de Capucine that included, for example, the film *The Workers Leaving the Factory*. The Lumière brothers set up the first successful film business and took the wonders of the moving image all over Europe. The efficiency of the company can be illustrated by the fact that their first screening in Sweden took place in Malmö on 28 June 1896.[32] The first Finnish screening happened on the very same day in Helsinki.[33] The exploitation of the new technology did not occur only in Scandinavia; it was a global project. 'The miracle of the nineteenth century', as it was advertised, was seen in Vienna in March 1896, in Berlin in April, in Saint Petersburg in May and

32. Pei-Sze Chow, *Transnational Screen Culture in Scandinavia: Mediating Regional Space and Identity in the Öresund Region* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 37. See also *Skånska Aftonbladet* 27 June 1896.

33. *Uusi Suometar* 28 June 1896, 3.

in Bombay in July.[34] During their travels, the brothers' cameramen shot new films, which only added to the tenacity of the cinematic circumnavigations of the globe; the world was present on the screen.

The press served as a platform for advertising cinema screenings in Finland and Sweden, as it did everywhere else. In Finland, the volume of the press was at its height at the turn of the century, soon reaching the whole geographical area of the country, which made it ideal for promoting new innovations. Interestingly, Finland and Sweden were also somewhat detached. In both countries, newspapers told of recent developments and advertised screenings and programmes, but it seems that there were also regional variations. The same entrepreneurs worked across the Baltic Sea. An interesting case is that of the Swedish photographer Herman von Bardach. In his home country, he was known in particular as a photographer, but he extended his tours into Finland and appeared as an early film pioneer. He had travelled across the Baltic in spring 1896 to give courses in amateur photography.[35] In August and September, he returned and toured around Finland, taking group photographs.[36] Suddenly, in March 1897, he started to show early films, first in Tampere, then in Turku (Figure 7).[37] In Turku, he performed at the Hotel Phoenix, near the marketplace, with a set of moving images, which became the first screening in the town. He toured other towns too, reaching Vyborg, and according to police records, he continued to Russia on 30 April 1897.[38] It remains a mystery what happened to Herman von Bardach's film business and why he did not try film screenings in Sweden. It is most probable that the competition was greater in his home country, and he had decided to take advantage of the new technology in neighbouring Finland, where the secrets of cinematography still proceeded with smaller steps.

34. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 128.

35. On his arrival to Finland, see *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 February 1896, 1; on his courses, see *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 14 March 1896, 1; *Uusi Suometar*, 14 March 1896, 1.

36. *Nya Pressen*, 25 August 1896, 3; *Oulun Ilmoituslehti*, 4 September 1896, 2; *Wasa Nyheter*. 11 September 1896, 2.

37. *Tampereen Sanomat*, 6 March 1897, 1; *Åbo Tidning*, 7 March 1897, 1; *Åbo Underrättelser*, 7 March 1897, 1.

38. Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat*, 136.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reflected upon the changes of entertainment culture in Finland and Sweden to the extent that they appeared in newspaper material and especially text reuse. From a methodological perspective, transnational text reuse detection has proven to be an effective way of tracing how these cultural forms transgressed borders. It is obvious that the press was the main transmitter of information and experiences from Western and Central Europe to the Baltic Sea region. The press reported on the wax cabinets and their amazing statues in the centres of Europe and later on innovations in film technology, notably from the Lumière brothers' business. At the same time, the press was a marketplace for entrepreneurs to reach their audiences. The further we go into the nineteenth century, the more intensive the marketing becomes. The Swedish-language press provided an excellent channel for Nordic entrepreneurs, of whom the Danish-born Niels Nielsen, famous for his panopticon, is a good example.

In a world of rapid technological change, regional differences were also visible. Cinema became a technology that was to be exploited as quickly and efficiently as possible. In this respect, the flow of innovation went from the west to the east and the north. Finland provided a market for Swedish entrepreneurs such as Herman von Bardach, whose screening tour took place in 1897.

The winds of change were soon to blow, however, even if Von Bardach's contemporaries did not realise it at the time. Finland's position in the Russian Empire changed decisively at the end of the 1890s, when the so-called Russification process began. There were also turbulent years ahead, and finally, the Russian Revolution of 1917. For centuries, the Baltic Sea region had been the workplace of travelling troupes, from circus performers to singers and musicians. The route ran from Copenhagen via Stockholm to Turku, Helsinki, Vyborg and Saint Petersburg. Eventually, World War I violently disrupted this movement and, simultaneously, the cultural interaction it had entailed. Information still travelled, but people were confronted by rising borders.

Medical and Miraculous Cures on Sale: Newspapers, advertisements and readers between fact and fantasy

PETRI PAJU AND HANNU SALMI

The nineteenth century was an era of global pandemics, such as influenza and cholera, and medical advances that gradually began to change the lives of people. It was also an era of new and emerging categories in the history of health and illness. Towards the end of the century, new medicines and treatments were introduced so rapidly that sometimes it was impossible for contemporaries to estimate what was already realised and what was imagined. This was a fertile ground for those entrepreneurs who wanted to make profits through fake medicines and miraculous cures. The nineteenth century was also an era of the rising newspaper business. Modern media could be employed in the efficient marketing campaigns that transgressed borders.[1]

Medical advertisements are abundant in the text-reuse database of the Swedish-language press. They can be analysed to shed light on the information flows between Sweden and Finland from a business perspective: Many of the most repeated texts in the database are advertisements which, in itself, shows how efficiently newspapers were exploited for commercial purposes. The most recurring ads were for medical products or new drugs for various illnesses or medical conditions. Such clusters often contain hundreds of hits, sometimes more than a thousand similar ads, spread in

1. Eva Palmblad, *Sanningens gränser: Kvacksalveriet, läkarna och samhället: Sverige 1890–1990* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1997); Roger Qvarsell, 'Den sjukes skärv: Medicinsk reklam på en växande marknad före 1900', in *Reklam och hälsa: Levnadsideal, skönhet och hälsa i den svenska reklamens historia*, eds. Roger Qvarsell and Ulrika Torell (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2005), 30–56; Kalle Kananoja, *Ihmelääkärit Suomessa 1850–1950: Kuhnekylpyjä, sähköä ja suggestiota* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2021).

dozens of newspapers and journals. Often, the advertisement consisted of a text template that was either the same or slightly altered throughout the campaign.[2]

Interestingly, in the case of dubious treatments, newspapers played a double role: They promoted the drug or cure, but they also spread warnings about them. This setting offers a fruitful perspective on the changing nature of newspaper publishing. It is possible, at the same time, to explore the volume of these marketing campaigns and their transnational character and to focus on how newspapers became increasingly conscious of their own role in public life. The tension between these aspects also offers the possibility to discuss the role of the readers, the consumers of newspapers, and their challenges in perceiving the boundary between fact and fiction.

The database of text-reuse and the tools of digital history, in general, open new avenues for studying transnational information flows. The text-reuse database includes Swedish-language papers, not only from Finland and Sweden, but also from the United States, which enables the exploration of cross-border campaigns for patent medicines from North America.[3] It is important to add that, in the database, we have only text passages that are 300 characters or longer. This means that there might have been widespread campaigns that were based on shorter texts. Still, the material we have been able to accumulate provides ample evidence on the history of medical, and supposedly medical, advertising.

The main research question of this chapter is: What does the circulation of widely advertised medical products tell us about the newspapers, advertising and their readership at the turn of the century and early twentieth century? It is important to note that, in public discourse, 'medical products' included a variety of different commodities with verified or claimed health consequences. It was difficult for contemporaries to really judge which products were based on medical research and which products were only aimed at making profits on the consumers' hopes for medical help.

The main question can be further divided into three thematic sub-questions: How did vendors, the sellers of health products, use newspapers for

2. On advertisements and their relation to other top-count clusters, see Erik Edoff's chapter in this volume.

3. James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1961); James Cortada and William Aspray, *Fake News Nation: The Long History of Lies and Misinterpretations in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019).

their businesses transnationally? What can we conclude about the readers of the press, especially by combining the analysis of text-reuse clusters with close readings of actual campaigns in the newspapers? And, finally, how did the newspapers balance selling ads with (re)publishing articles criticising dubious advertisers?

To answer these questions, we focus on two case studies that complement each other. In both cases the entrepreneurs were among the top advertisers of their time in the text-reuse database. We chart when, where and how they advertised their health products or services in the newspapers and explore the response and discussion that followed.

Our method is to cross-examine the advertising campaigns from the database of text-reuse and other relevant historical, digital newspaper collections, especially those developed by the national libraries of Finland and Sweden. We complement the research material with publications that these actors printed to sell patent medicine, all available in the collections of university libraries.

Selling suspicious drugs has been scrutinised since their wide-scale marketing was rather new. Historians, too, have studied patent medicine previously. Historians have examined the growing medical profession and its influence, the developing distribution of drugs, the early history of advertising and the booming patent medicine business, particularly in America. Riitta Oittinen analysed patent medicine sales in Finland and focused on one of our cases (that of Dr Kidd). Working in the early and mid-1990s, she did archival research that included a collection of newspaper clippings by a student of Kidd from the early 1900s and a close reading of a selection of medical journals. Similarly, most of the studies of patent medicine are from a time when the national libraries had not yet digitised newspapers or made those digital collections widely usable.[4]

4. Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires*; Bosse Sundin, 'Universalsmörjelsen: Kvacksalveri, patentmedicin och drömmen om ett naturenligt levnadssätt i slutet av 1800-talet', *Lychnos* 52 (1987); Riitta Oittinen, 'Terveyttä, kauhua ja unelmia kaupan: Patenttilääkkeiden markkinat 1900-luvun taitteen Suomessa', in *Terveyden lähteillä: Länsimaisten terveyskäsitysten kulttuurihistoriaa*, eds. Timo Joutsivuo and Heikki Mikkeli (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995); Riitta Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for sale: Patent medicine on the Finnish Market for Health in Prewar Finland', in *Historical Aspects of Unconventional Medicine: Approaches, Concepts, Case Studies*, eds. Robert Jütte, Marie Nelson and Motzi Eklöf (Sheffield: European Association for Medicine and Health, 2001); Ann Anderson, *Snake Oil, Hustlers and Hambones: The American Medicine Show* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2000); Visa Hei-

The digitised newspaper corpora now available for research open up new possibilities and avenues of investigation. The research on transnational information flows has become much more 'doable' and can confirm (or challenge) earlier claims and hypotheses of patent medicines' extensive international marketing. Further, earlier researchers have had trouble finding many of the letters and comments by ordinary people in the thick piles of analogue newspapers. With the digital collections, we are able to locate and include the sporadic though gradually increasing contributions by the public spread across dozens of newspapers over several years much more comprehensively than ever before.

For closer study, we have chosen two cases of 'humbug medicine' that aroused controversy: those of Mr K.O. Neslo, who offered a cure for lung disease, and Dr James W. Kidd, who marketed his universal medicine. Kidd's business operated widely from the United States, while Neslo was a locally and regionally known Nordic entrepreneur in what critics revealed to be a shared, dubious field for selling fake medicines. We chose these cases precisely because they sparked critical reactions among the contemporaries. Thus, they enable the exploration of how contemporary experts and ordinary people discussed and understood the modern ways of print marketing and the changing roles and responsibilities (or lack of them) of newspapers, advertisers and readers.

Marketing campaign in the medical world

New patent medicines and health products flooded the market in North America and Europe during the late nineteenth century. They resulted from the novel pharmaceutical industry that grew rapidly in the nineteenth century. Central to this growth were the press and, particularly, advertising. In the text-reuse database, there are quite a few marketing campaigns for medical products that comprise clusters that are extraordinarily long. For instance, one of the widest ad campaigns belonged to a bandage com-

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nonen, 'Mainonnan amerikkalaiset juuret ja muita näkökulmia mainonnan historiaan', *Kansantaloudellinen aikakauskirja*, 95, no 2 (1999); Visa Heinonen and Hannu Konttinen, *Nyt uutta Suomessa! Suomalaisen mainonnan historia* (Helsinki: Mainostajien liitto, 2001); Leif Runefelt, *Den magiska spegeln: Kvinnan och varan i pressens annonser 1870–1914* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2019). See also Juha Matias Lehtonen, *Terveys ja humpuuki: Kaikki mikä parantamisessa on mennyt vikaan* (Helsinki: Tammi, 2021).

pany. Starting in 1880 and ending 1905, the gist of their ad text appeared over 2,700 times in the Swedish-language press.[5] Called *bandagist* in Swedish, Julius Schiönning from Denmark had patented his medical invention for supporting fractured or broken body parts and started selling it in Sweden and Finland. From 1894 to 1906, *Universal-smörjelse* was advertised over 3,100 times mostly in Sweden. This ointment was sold especially as a cure for children's rickets, but the ad claimed it helped in various health problems.[6] From 1903 to 1905, newspapers in both Sweden and Finland printed nearly 1,250 ads for the book *Hemläkaren* (Home doctor).[7] It was published by *Hälsovännens kemiska laboratorium* in Stockholm to support its patent medicine business. The entrepreneur behind it was the same person who later became known as Mr Neslo, to whom we will return.

The newly harnessed electricity was perceived as having curing powers. From 1902 to 1906 electric belts with the name Herculex-battery were marketed predominantly in Sweden with 1,700 ads. The belt was a product of the Sanden electric company from America, and it was said to heal numerous illnesses from rheumatism to insomnia but was particularly suitable for 'weak men' and for so-called 'private illnesses' (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).[8] In the clusters above, with advertising focused on Sweden, the material in the text-reuse database shows that marketing ended in 1906. However, this mostly marks a limit in the materials of the database rather than the end of the advertisement campaigns.

The motley group of patent medicines became popular, even though some of the ads are hardly believable from today's perspective. Researchers have discussed many reasons for this popularity; one major reason was that the medically educated doctors were not (yet) able to offer cures or help for various common illnesses. Moreover, people distrusted official doctors and often turned to a range of wonder doctors or healers with their own

5. Cluster 30097087, count 2,761.

6. Cluster 31728223, count 3,166. See Sundin, 'Universalsmörjelsen'.

7. Cluster 31260200, count 1,249.

8. Cluster 30966513, count 1,704; Christopher Hoolihan, ed., *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine and Health Reform*, Vol. III. Supplement: A–Z (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 567. We cannot be sure what the readers understood by 'private illnesses', but those certainly included sexually transmitted diseases and others demanding special discretion. See Carolyn Thomas De La Peña, 'Designing the Electric Body: Sexuality, Masculinity and the Electric Belt in America, 1880–1920', *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 4 (2001).

• Figure 1. Dr Sanden's electric Herculex-belts were marketed frequently at thirty-seven locations in Sweden and in Finland. Figures 1 and 2 show two ads, one from Sweden and one from Finland, computationally detected as similar (enough) from the cluster 30966513. *Vimmerby Tidning*, 16 January 1903, 4.

treatments and wandering practices. In this context of the early twentieth century's serious health problems and available solutions to those problems, many ordinary people saw patent medicine as an option worth a try.[9]

In the laws and regulations, there were practically no restrictions from selling patent medicine. Such changes were suggested by experts several times in Sweden and Finland in the early 1900s, but it took years and decades, even, to effectively regulate the drug trade. In Sweden, legislators imposed new, stricter regulations towards marketing and sales of medicinal products in pharmacies which began in 1913 and a law against quackery in 1915. In Finland, similar laws followed in the late 1920s and more properly

9. Riitta Oittinen, 'Charlatataner, rivaler och kollegor: Läkares syn på kvacksalveri i det tidiga 1900-talets Finland', in *Från en öm hand till kall elektronik? Om industrisamhällets vårdarbete under 1900-talet*, eds. Lena Andersson-Skog and Helén Strömberg (Umeå: Umeå University, 2001); Kananoja, *Ihmelääkärit Suomessa*.

• Figure 2. This ad was the first one for the Herculex-battery printed in Finland. *Tammerfors Nyheter*, 30 September 1903, 3.

in 1935.[10] Meanwhile, the newspaper editors and readers had to find ways to cope with the new miracle marketing by doctors they had heard of for the first time and who were often based in far-away, overseas countries.[11]

In Finland, growing Russification, exemplified by such actions as replacing Finnish-minded officials with individuals favouring the Russian language and politics, affected many walks of life at the turn of the century and in the early 1900s. In the medical administration, such uncertain political circumstances most likely made it harder to counter the novel and more aggressive marketing of suspicious medical products, in effect, postponing countermeasures towards patent medicines.[12]

10. Palmblad, *Sanningens gränser*, 40–44, 59–60; Markku Peltonen, *Apteekki suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa: Keskustelu suomen apteekkilaitoksesta* (Helsinki: Association of Finnish Pharmacies, 1987).

11. For critical discussions in the United States, see Bryan Denham, 'Magazine Journalism in the Golden Age of Muckraking: Patent-Medicine Exposures before and after the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906', *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 22, no. 2 (June 2020).

12. Allan Tiitta, *Collegium medicum: Lääkintöhallitus 1878–1991* (Helsinki: Finnish

Probably increasing the credibility of patent medicine, in general, many of the health products advertised in newspapers were also sold in pharmacies, as was noted in a Finnish journal for pharmacists in 1914. The writer criticised the marketing of patent medicines but added that several of the same suspicious drugs were sold every day over-the-counter in a great number of pharmacies and listed a sample: 'Björkbalsam, Brama livselixir, Energon, Enos fruktsalt, Fosforenergon-piller, Karlsbader-piller, Kephaldol, Lazarin, Lazarol, Lecin, Läkerol, Salubrin, Samarin, Sanatogen, Valda pastiller, Williams piller' et cetera.[13] According to the writer, these products, too, should be withdrawn from over-the-counter sale.

At this time, patent medicine meant industrially or chemically produced medicinal products or remedies, that is, ready-made and packaged medicine. They broke from the tradition and ongoing practice of pharmacists mixing medicines.[14] Typically, the chemical components of patent medicine were unknown to all others but the producer. Synonymous terms used by contemporaries in the press were 'humbug medicine' and 'arkana' (secret medicine). They were often advertised by individuals known as humbug doctors. Next, we will meet two such self-proclaimed wonder makers.

The James W. Kidd case

Advertisements by Dr James W. Kidd first appeared in Sweden in October 1901. The ads start with a biblical tone: 'Sick made well. Weak made strong. A wonderful elixir of life, discovered by a famous medical scientist…'[15] The ad's text claimed that the well-known Dr Kidd in Fort Wayne, Indiana, had made a break-through invention by consulting ancient knowledge, leading him to the elixir of life. The ad then went on to list various common medical conditions and symptoms this new medicine could cure. Kidd's impressive list of examples included, but were not limited to:

Institute for Health and Welfare, 2009), passim.

13. E.I., 'Om bedrägliga läkemedel av John Grönberg', *Farmaceutiskt notisblad*, 1 October 1914, 351–352, esp, 352. Of the listed brands, Läkerol originating from Sweden is still used in selling pastilles.

14. Peltonen, *Apteekki suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa*, 14, 110.

15. 'Sjuka göras friska. Svaga göras starka', *Göteborgsposten*, 3 October 1901, 4; 'Sjuka göras friska. Svaga göras starka', *Hallandsposten*, 3 October 1901, 4.

> Headache, back pain, nervousness, fevers, consumption, cough, cold, respiratory congestion, catarrh, bronchial inflammation and all other ailments in the throat and lungs as well as in many other very fragile organs that are easily cured, and this happens in such a short time that it seems absolutely amazing.[16]

Patent medicines were often presented as universal medicines. The ad ended: 'Tell us what kind of disease you wish to be cured of, and a sure remedy shall be mailed to you immediately'. The only thing a sick person needed to do in order to be cured was to send to Dr Kidd one's address information and the details of one's personal medical condition. Altogether, Kidd promised a miracle and everything free of charge.

The promise of a free cure for all was close to preposterous, and is certainly so when read today, but it was more in line with many other free offers in contemporary print advertising. Unlike most ads, those by Dr Kidd included a picture of the good and handsome miracle worker himself, which made it catch the attention of readers (see Figure 7).

Soon after the first printing, Kidd's promise of a sure cure for all appeared repeatedly in many newspapers. In the historical newspapers of the National Library of Sweden, *Svenska dagstidningar*, the search 'James W. Kidd' gives 157 hits from 1901 (during its last three months) and 471 hits from 1902. That was a peak year among the altogether over 1,400 hits from late 1901 until the end of 1906.[17] Undoubtedly, the advertiser ran a mass marketing campaign, but what were its patterns and where did the ads come from?

In the text-reuse database, Kidd's ads starting in late 1901 are part of the longest cluster of his ads. It contains more than 930 text ads (or parts of them) from the United States, Sweden and Finland. The cluster starts in Chicago newspapers, such as *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet* in September 1901 and appears soon in Sweden but includes only one ad published in Finland in the Helsinki-based *Hufvudstadsbladet* in March 1902. The majority of similar ads (705) were printed in Sweden from October 1901 through 1902 and until March 1903. They came out in 79 newspaper titles in 45 locations, with Stockholm in the lead (see Figure 3). Already,

16. 'Sjuka göras friska. Svaga göras starka', *Varia: Illustrerad månadsskrift*, April 1902, XII. http://runeberg.org/varia/1902/0246.html (accessed 19 September 2022).

17. The search https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=%22james%20w.%20kidd%22&sort=asc (accessed 17 May 2022). Searching for 'w. kidd' returns even more results.

• Figure 3. The 938 of Dr Kidd's ads in cluster 31343105 are here shown as hits per month. This early campaign appeared mostly in the United States and in Sweden. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

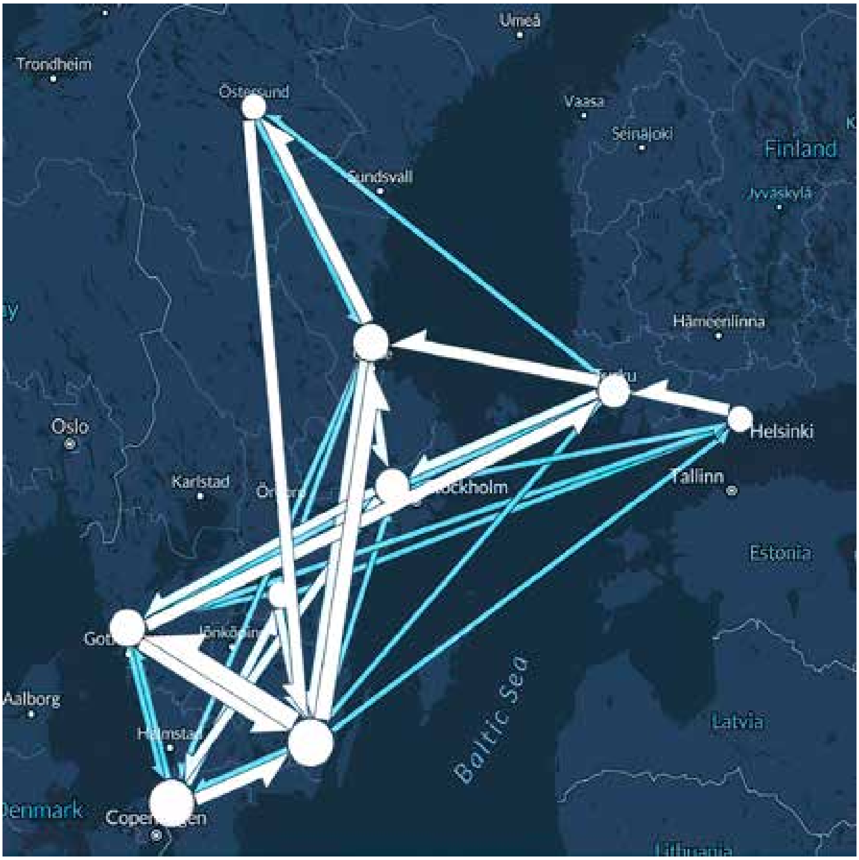
this first phase of Kidd's marketing made him well-known and soon infamous.[18]

Starting from 1901, there are many clusters formed by Dr Kidd's ads in the text-reuse database. Peak years in the number of clusters starting are 1902 and 1905, which is consistent with other information.[19] It is, however, difficult to discern exactly how many clusters of Kidd's ads there are in the database. We cannot be sure to have found them all, and many clusters are near duplicates.

Clusters vary in length, and, often, this is because they consist of different versions of Kidd's ads or the articles mentioning him. There are a few very long and dozens of reasonably long clusters, with 20 or more hits, as well as many shorter ones, making hundreds of clusters, altogether. In summary, this means that the number of ads is smaller than it appears

18. Cluster 31343105, count 938; 'Sjuka göras friska. Svaga göras starka', *Gamla och nya hemlandet*, 4 September 1901, 5. On top of this, Kidd advertised in journals published in Sweden and not yet (wholly) available to us as data, such as the *Varia* journal referred to above.

19. For instance, a cluster search on dokt* AND kidd*, returns 299 clusters in 1901–1919. The results include some extra materials and are missing some ads because of OCR errors.



• Figure 4. One variant of Dr Kidd's ad was printed by newspapers 75 times during the first half of 1905. Mapped here as chain hits together, the map with present-day borders, shows how this campaign focused on central and southern Sweden, and on southern Finland. Source: cluster 2270900, text-reuse.sls.fi.

at first glance at the clusters. Still, the ads in the text-reuse database are counted in the hundreds, totalling a few thousand.

Searches in the other newspaper collections confirm that Dr Kidd was mentioned in the press especially frequently in the early twentieth century, and while there were many critical remarks, the majority of the cases were ads. According to the historical newspapers in the national library of Finland, Kidd's marketing in Finland started in Swedish in 1902, and the Finnish-language ads followed somewhat later, but dominated overall. The majority of hits for 'James W. Kidd' in Finnish-language newspapers and journals appeared from 1905 to 1909, with a peak in 1908.[20] Compared with the search results from Sweden as presented above, in Finland, hits for 'James W. Kidd' peaked later. Clearly, Kidd's marketing focus had moved on from the Swedish press and now targeted Finland, emphasising ads in Finnish.

Dr Kidd operated internationally and, at times, made this part of his marketing. One version of Kidd's ad was distributed in Sweden and Finland from January to May 1905. Its cluster has 75 hits from 18 newspapers (see Figure 4).[21] This time, the ad reported that Kidd's offer to help had been published in all major American newspapers and then by the European press. Consequently, the doctor's post box had been overwhelmed by requests for a free cure. For instance, *Åbo Underrättelser* in Turku printed this version of Kidd's ad four times.[22]

In Fort Wayne, Indiana, the doctor James W. Kidd, who was originally from Scotland, had given his name and title to a business enterprise owned by him and a wealthy local businessman, William M. Griffin. Producing and selling patent medicine world-wide was a major industry, not only in Fort Wayne but in and around Indiana. It is almost certain that the same persons had previously operated other, somewhat similar, mail-order businesses and then applied the lessons learnt in selling Dr Kidd's medicines. Below, we present such a marketing campaign candidate, found in the text-reuse database. The state officials were able to shut down operations under Kidd's name in 1914 by showing that they had broken postal laws. Later, Kidd continued to market medicine for a short period, while his business partner Griffin prospered in his other mail-order businesses and was remembered as a pillar of the local society.[23] Kidd's name, by contrast, grew internationally infamous for selling dubious pills and stayed that way for many years.

20. Search for 'James W. Kidd' in Finnish language publications in the Finnish newspapers and journals of the Digital Collections. Accessed 9 March 2023.

21. Cluster 2270900, count 75.

22. 'Beskrif edra lidanden för honom', *Åbo Underrättelser*, 13 January 1905, 4.

23. Christopher Hoolihan, ed., *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine and Health Reform*, Vol. I: A–L (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 585; Lehtonen, *Terveys ja humpuuki*, 366–368. See also Denham, 'Magazine Journalism in the Golden Age of Muckraking'.

Criticism towards Kidd starts early in 1902

Dr Kidd's marketing received heightened and increasing attention because it became so frequent. The doctor was seen repeatedly in various, widely circulated newspapers. This high visibility made his offer especially interesting and topical for those critical of the marketing of patent medicines.

A number of clusters of texts that mentioned Dr Kidd critically began in Sweden in April 1902. One of these clusters, with a count of 18, continued in Finland in July 1902, then paused, and went on the next year in both countries, until August 1903 in Finland.[24] Newspapers published or reprinted a news article warning about humbug medicines based on a chemical analysis report by Dr Carl Mörner in the medical journal *Svensk farmaceutisk tidskrift*. More precisely, at first, parts of Mörner's report were published, and, then, some excerpts of those parts were printed again. This copying resulted in several slightly different clusters in the database. These clusters are short, especially compared with the clusters of ads. What these critical texts usually had in common was a story reported to Mörner from his colleague in Norway, in which a small boy had found and eaten his father's pills from Dr Kidd and tragically, shortly thereafter, had died.

This critical report was first reprinted in Finland soon after in May 1902, in fact, when only one ad using Dr Kidd's name had been published in Finland, in Helsinki.[25] Not long after, however, Kidd's ads were seen again in the same major newspaper. Increased marketing by Kidd was followed by more critical responses in a few Finnish newspapers, which reprinted parts of earlier texts, such as those originating from Mörner's 1902 report.

With associates, Mörner established *Byrån för upplysning om läkemedelsannonser* in Sweden in 1903. The purpose of this new organisation was to inform the press and the public about medical advertisements and their potential dangers.[26] It seems that, for these medical experts, it was not so much the earlier marketing but Kidd's outrageous claims that crossed the line and made them organise the criticism more firmly. Further, in Norway, where a child reportedly had died, legislators even passed a law prohibiting the suspicious medical trade and its related marketing in 1904.[27]

24. Cluster 30071711, count 18. See also cluster 31046314.

25. 'Humbugsmedicin i marknaden', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 2 May 1902, 5–6.

26. Lars Öberg, 'Byrån för upplysning om läkemedelsannonser 1903–1913', *Nordisk medicinhistorisk årsbok* 21 (1988).

27. M.N., 'Arkana-frågan i Norge', *Farmaceutiskt notisblad*, 1 March 1905, 59–61. The law stopped Kidd's advertising in Norway.

The sharp criticism, also in Finland, led to some reactions and changes that are discussed below. In the bigger picture, however, it seems that the dynamic and wide marketing of Kidd's medicine continued almost like before.

Overall, Kidd's approach to selling patent medicine was new to the readers, including critics, and this unfamiliarity undoubtedly favoured him. For a start, Kidd's ads aimed at establishing contact with people who felt they were unwell. He was a good Samaritan only by his own presentation, though. After receiving a reply, his office in Fort Wayne, Indiana, started the selling process. This process worked by posting and exchanging letters, always in the customer's chosen national language, using ready-made, printed letters, and including a free fake drug sample. Reportedly there was strychnine in the first test drugs, in order to give the customers a short-lived boost. The free pills were soon followed by offers to buy more of Kidd's medicine at a high price and by strategies for making customers experience senses of illness and a dependency on Kidd's pills. Perhaps from the start but at least later, the sick person or client could, however, get a discount on the high price for more drugs by sending the doctor a number of names and addresses of other local people who needed the doctor's help.[28] This was an effective way to expand Kidd's network of contacts and to find vulnerable men and women.

Little did the people who responded know that the contact would lead to a continued correspondence, more offerings, persuasion and demands and would possibly result in a kind of medical blackmail by Dr Kidd or his allegedly famous institute. These methods of deceit initiated by print advertising were tightly held secrets.[29] Kidd most likely used the sensitive medical details he gathered not only for composing what he claimed to be personal diagnoses but also for keeping unhappy customers quiet. Secrecy helped him surprise more unsuspecting sick persons.

Over the years, Dr Kidd, possibly in reaction to criticism, lowered the inflated promises of his universal medicine somewhat. The advertiser

28. 'Patentmedicinmännen', *Västra Dagbladet Skaraborgs-Posten*, 11 November 1903, 2; 'Humbug', *Arbetarens Vän*, 15 March 1904, 5–6; 'Vore det ej på tiden', *Karlstadstidningen*, 19 December 1906, 3; 'Amerikkalaiset humbunkilääkkeet'. 'Kiddin pillerit', *Suomalainen*, 10 February 1908, 3–4; Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for Sale', passim.

29. Oittinen, 'Terveyttä, kauhua ja unelmia kaupan'; Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for sale', passim. See also below in this chapter.

added a tiny dose of realism by admitting that the pills could not cure cancer, leprosy or other incurable diseases. Moreover, Kidd's methods of persuasion evidently evolved over the years. They also needed to develop because their details were gradually revealed and disseminated to the public – again, in the press. We will come back to this.

Kidd gradually disappears from the newspapers

As years went by, Kidd's marketing focus shifted. It moved across borders but also from major towns and their newspapers to smaller towns with more local and newer newspapers. This was evident in both Sweden and Finland. The established newspapers in mostly rural areas were probably read by many people who were unaccustomed to marketing in print and, therefore, more apt to take Kidd's message at face value as a sincere offer of help. In rural communities, people also lived far away from medical doctors.

In hindsight, it is surprising that Dr Kidd could continue advertising for such a long time. In the cluster material, Kidd's last ad campaign began in Finland in late 1909. This time, Kidd promised a free book on health, in English titled *Ills of Humanity*, with around 110 pages and available in Swedish and in Finnish,[30] as well as a test period of free drugs ('koelääke' (sic), meaning 'test course'), if the reader sent him the attached coupon with his/her name and the medical condition s/he suffered from the most.[31] This unique offer was valid for the first 10,000 respondents, so the text advised that the reader hurry and write to the doctor immediately after reading the ad. The campaign continued sporadically in about seven newspapers until mid-May 1910. Some of these Swedish-language newspapers were published in large towns, including one ad in *Veckobladet* in Helsinki, and others in smaller towns.[32]

In other newspaper databases, we see that Kidd's advertising continued sporadically in Sweden and Finland for a short while. In the cluster database, some newspapers in 1913 printed the information that the infamous

30. Book titles, respectively: Menniskans sjukdomar, Ihmiskunnan kivut. See James W. Kidd, *Ihmiskunnan kivut* [Ills of Humanity, in Finnish] (Fort Wayne, IN: J.W. Kidd C:o, 1916).

31. The ad text addressed the reader with the pronoun *Eder* which is the (archaic) plural of 'your'.

32. See cluster 14940061 and cluster 17232658.

Kidd now had a follower: Dr Lister, another humbug doctor, was advertising in a similar way. However, we cannot be sure if and when Kidd or the actors behind his name continued operations under other names.[33] In American newspapers, however, Kidd's business was depicted as thriving for a while more, and, after a considerable pause, there were modest ads published using his name as late as in 1920.[34]

Overall, one can summarise that Kidd's advertising, after lasting and flourishing for more than ten years from 1901 onwards, faded away almost completely in the first half of the 1910s in Sweden and Finland and in the latter half of the 1910s in the US. There appears to have been varying national peaks in Kidd's marketing. Its timing and the time when his advertising ended depended on location. Afterwards, his reputation lived on for years.[35]

The Neslo case

The role of the press as a vehicle for promoting medical cures can further be illuminated through the case of K.O. Neslo during the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1907, the newspapers in Sweden and Finland started to circulate a short advertisement *en masse*. It was titled 'Lungsot kan botas' (lung disease can be cured).[36] The text begins with the rhetorical question: 'Can this be proven?' The answer is given in the next sentence: 'Yes, own experience is the best proof, and all who suffer from

33. According to one student of Kidd, he had started advertising in Finland in 1900 but without using his name. Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for Sale', 124. When looking at the cluster material, we can find, for instance, a marketing campaign that began in Sweden in 1900 and moved to Finland in 1902, and there are probably earlier clusters. Cluster 30943271, count 748. For a possibly first similar ad in Finnish digitised newspapers, see 'Sändes fritt till män' (To be sent free to men), *Nya Pressen*, 8 January 1900, 4.

34. 'Five famous home treatments', *The Morgan County press* (Wartburg, TN.), 3 December 1920, 2. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.

35. 'Läkemedelshumbug', *Syd-Österbotten*, 1 November 1913, 2–3; Tulehmo, 'Humpuuki se elättää', *Helsingin Sanomat*, 16 May 1919, 6; Tet, 'Kidd', *Sininen kirja*, 1 July 1927, 46–47.

36. For contemporaries, *lungsot* was a broad term that referred to different lung diseases, but, most often, it referred to tuberculosis. For further details, see Heikki S. Vuorinen, *Tautinen Suomi 1857–1865* (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2006), 118.

lung disease can write to me'. The advertiser, K.O. Neslo from Sala, Sweden, promised to write back and send a description of how he himself had been cured after ten years of suffering.[37] It seems that he had planned a massive marketing campaign, since the same advertisement was published repeatedly. In the historical newspaper archive of the National Library of Finland, the search string 'Lungsot kan botas' returns 492 hits, 47 from the year 1907 and as many as 330 from 1908.[38] The digital collection of the National Library of Sweden gives 222 hits for these two years alone, the highest peak being in March 1908.[39] A problem lies in the fact that, for copyright restrictions, the Swedish material is only available up until 1907, which makes it difficult to carefully explore the itineraries of Neslo's campaign through the digital collections.

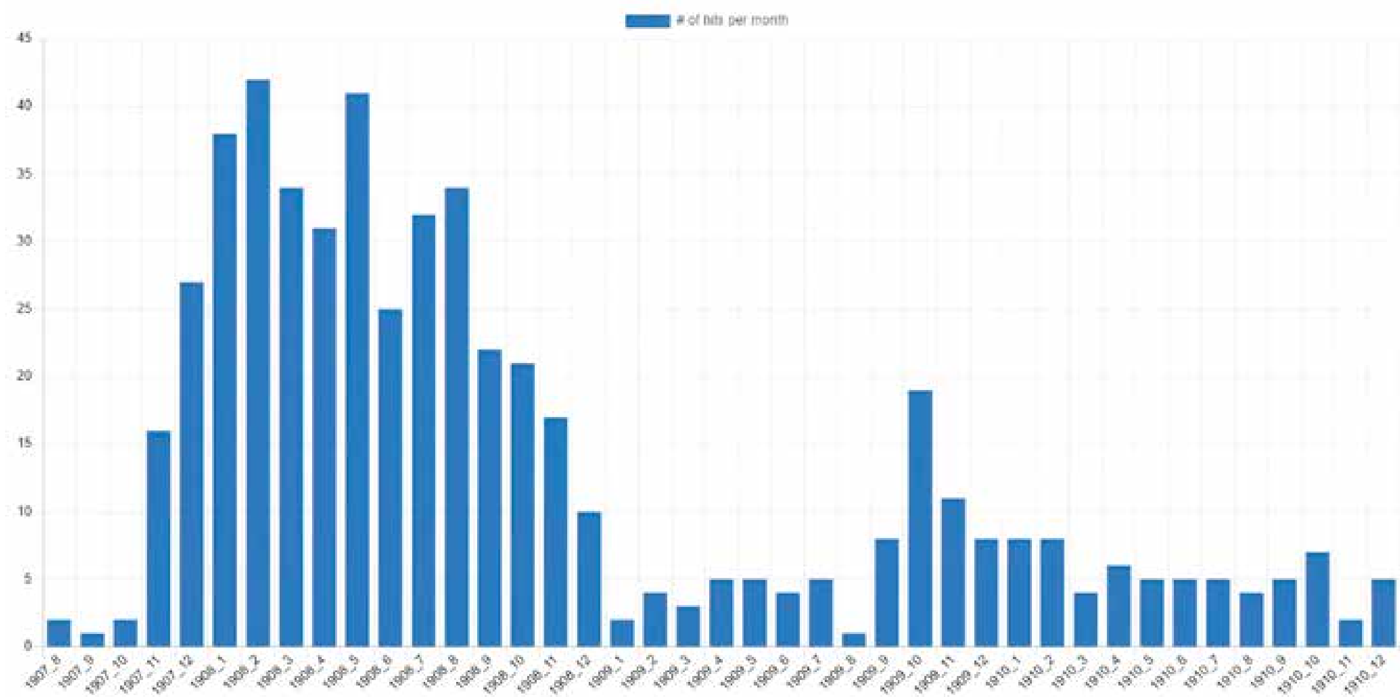
The text-reuse database offers more avenues for research. It includes 15 clusters that contain Neslo's name. They cover texts from 1908 to 1916. Three of these clusters span the Baltic Sea, while 11 of them are realised only in Finland. These texts include journalistic writings from 1908 attempting to point out that Neslo is an impostor. They also include news from 1916, explaining how Neslo's businesses had finally come to an end.[40] This cluster search, however, gives only a partial view on the case, due to the fact that the search function finds only the first instance of the cluster. The OCR problem has led the algorithm to detect only those instances where Neslo has been correctly spelled. It seems that the quality of OCR has varied quite a bit in smaller advertisements where the font type can be different from other textual surroundings. The hit search, in turn, finds reuse cases more efficiently, since it searches the keyword or a particular character string from the whole content of the database. If the word 'Neslo' is correctly spelled at least once in the hits of the cluster, this chain of texts can be located. Through hit search it is, therefore, possible to

37. See, for example, *Jakobstad*, 30 November 1907, 4.

38. The search 'Lungsot kan botas', Digitized Newspapers and Journals, National Library of Finland, https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/search?query=%22Lungsot%20kan%20botas%22&startDate=1907-01-01&formats=NEWSPAPER&formats=-JOURNAL&orderBy=DATE&resultMode=CHART, accessed 19 May 2023.

39. The search 'Lungsot kan botas', Svenska dagstidningar, National Library of Sweden, https://tidningar.kb.se/?q=%22lungsot%20kan%20botas%22&sort=asc&-from=1907-01-01&to=1908-12-31, accessed 19 May 2023.

40. Reuse clusters with the search term 'Neslo', Text reuse in the Swedish-language press, 1645–1918, https://textreuse.sls.fi/clusters/search?q=Neslo&sort=count_desc, accessed 26 May 2023.



• Figure 5. The spread of the cluster on 'Neslo', starting in 1907 (2868832).
The vertical axis shows the number of hits per month. Source: textreuse.sls.fi.

identify huge reuse clusters that cover Neslo's advertisements. The biggest one includes 534 occurrences of the same text passage: Neslo's advertisement 'Lungsot kan botas'.[41] The first hit was published 24 August 1907 in Kalmar, Sweden, and the last one in Hamina, Finland on 24 December 1910. Figure 5 shows the spread of the cluster over time.

As this figure reveals, the circulation of the advertisement was especially intensive in the fall of 1907 and throughout the year 1908. After that, it clearly diminished but was still present. It is noteworthy that Neslo also published his announcement repeatedly in the same paper. All of these 534 hits were published in only 11 printing locations. At the outset, it must have been obvious to Neslo that the advertisement that was published in Sweden could also easily be circulated within the Swedish-language press in Finland. For an entrepreneur, the common language meant that the potential customers on the other side of the Baltic Sea could be effectively reached.

In the text-reuse database, the number of Swedish digitised newspapers is rather limited from 1907 onwards, and, in the cluster discussed above, all Swedish hits are from the newspaper *Kalmar*. Neslo seems to have used this paper intensively, since there are as many as 56 hits in this newspaper alone, from 1907, 1909 and 1910. All other hits in this cluster are from Finland. An interesting aspect is that Neslo had clearly harvested smaller towns outside the bigger centres, something that can be interpreted as an early example of network marketing. This might have been a security measure. Obviously, his miraculous treatment would have aroused more attention in places like Stockholm and Helsinki. In Finland, the hits of this cluster were most frequently published in Hamina, where the advertisement was seen 156 times throughout the period. It is possible that the people of Hamina were a particularly favourable audience for him. He published his ads at regular intervals, for example, at the end of the period in December 1910, five times within a month.[42] If the text-reuse database included more digitised content from Sweden from these years, it is likely that the dimensions of this cluster would have been completely different, perhaps three or four times more abundant. There is every reason to conclude that Neslo's marketing campaign drew on thousands of paid advertisements in newspapers across Sweden and Finland. Furthermore, since

41. Cluster 2868832, count 534.

42. Cluster 2868832, count 534. About the advertisement prices, see *Annonstaxa för Finland 1911* (Helsingfors: Aktiebolaget Lilius & Hertzberg, 1911).

• Figure 6. The humbug doctor Jörgensen/Jensen leading his fake medicine business in the film *Aktiebolaget Hälsans gåva* (1916). The Swedish Film Database.

the use of a single advertisement template lasted for so long, it probably means that newspaper ads proved to be a profitable method. Thousands of people must have contacted Neslo in their search for medical help. He answered and sent his medicine to them, for a reasonable price, of course.

As a reaction to Neslo's heavy campaign, critical voices arose rather quickly, as early as in 1908. *Svensk farmaceutisk tidskrift* referred to the Uppsala-based *Byrån för upplysning om läkemedelsannonser* and, thus, to the work by Carl Mörner, who was also active in the Kidd case.[43] The

43. *Svensk farmaceutisk tidskrift* 12 (1908): 307.

critique focused on Neslo's 'humbug company' *Hälsovännens kemiska laboratorium*, the products of which reached the whole country with the help of newspaper advertising. At this point, Mörner did not realise that Neslo's enterprise had an international reach, being also visible in Finland. The critical text was soon copied to Finnish newspapers, who told their readers that Neslo's medicine consisted of a bottle, including chamomile tea, and smaller doses of cereal flour blended with sugar and cinnamon for daily use.[44] It was furthermore noticed that Neslo had been able to draw a heavy income on his business by especially addressing the people in Norrland, Sweden and Finland, who were, according to the newspapers, easily attracted to this humbug.[45] Despite these critical voices, Neslo was able to continue his work for several years.

Mr Neslo was Christian Olsen. He had been born in 1857 in Denmark as a son of a poor farmer in Jutland and had, according to the newspaper sources, moved from the countryside to Copenhagen and started to play accordion on street corners. Later, he had various jobs in Denmark and Sweden, worked as a 'blind' singer, imported various attractions to Scandinavia, from African natives to wax cabinets, and appeared as a shooting range owner. In 1907, he moved to Sala in Sweden, rented a house, launched his laboratory and started to cook his mixtures. Newspaper advertising became crucial, but it seems that Neslo also used posters for making his medicines known. In 1911, he moved to Stockholm and bought a villa in Djursholm near the city. However, the business was becoming more difficult. The quackery law, *kvacksalverilagen*, entered into force in September 1915.[46] Neslo was finally arrested in Malmö in 1916, and soon it was widely known in the Nordic countries that this 'humbug doctor' had become a millionaire. It seems that during the last years of his activity, he had launched several other humbug businesses.[47]

44. 'Humbugmedicinen', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 10 September 1908, 8; 'Humbugmedicinen', *Borgåbladet*, 17 September 1908, 4; *Österbottningen*, 25 September 1908, 2; 'Kvackslaveri i stor skala', *Jakobstad*, 21 October 1908, 3; 'Läkemedelssvindlare häktad i Malmö', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 16 February 1916, 8.

45. 'Kvackslaveri i stor skala', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 October 1908, 6. See also 'Kvackslaveri i stor skala', *Jakobstad*, 21 October 1908, 3.

46. *Nordisk familjebok*. Uggleupplagan. 36. Supplement. Globe–Kövess (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlag, 1924), 1269.

47. 'Humpuukilääkkeiden kauppias vangittu', *Heinolan Lehti*, 3 March 1916, 4; 'En dansk storsvindlare', *Åland*, 8 March 1916, 2; 'Eräs suurhuijari', *Aamulehti*, 11 May 1916, 10; 'Eräs suurhuijari', *Ilkka*, 27 May 1916, 4.

Christian Olsen had led an adventurous life and, at a younger age, worked as a film presenter during the days of early cinema from 1898–1900. He was, in fact, the younger brother of Ole Olsen, the famous Danish film pioneer.[48] After his dramatic itinerary in the world of medicine, he became a celebrity whose life became raw material for the cinema (Figure 6). Gustaf Berg wrote a script for a drama that portrayed the life of a fictional circus leader and humbug doctor called Jörgensen/Jensen. Georg af Klercker directed this story under the title *Aktiebolaget Hälsans gåva*, which premiered in December 1916.[49] It remains unclear if Christian Olsen ever had the possibility to see this fictitious description of his life. He had been arrested and eventually died in 1919.[50]

Blurring marketing and journalism

During the nineteenth century, the newspaper business expanded very rapidly. This happened with different temporal rhythms. In Sweden, the capacity of the press started to rise a bit earlier, in the 1820s and 1830s, but, in both countries, the exponential growth was realised towards the end of the nineteenth century. This process was accompanied by an increasing variety of contents. Newspapers had always been polyphonic cultural objects that included different kinds of text types and genres, but, in the nineteenth century especially, advertisements captured a stronger foothold in the press. In addition to advertisements and journalistic contents, the papers included literary texts and poems, weather forecasts, lists of market prices, legal announcements, published telegrams and many other kinds of texts. It is obvious that, at the same time that the content of newspapers became richer in its array, the editors became more conscious of their own role in constructing what a newspaper actually is. The paper was not a platform to be randomly filled with content. It was the task of the editors to influence how particular phenomena could reach publicity. The marketing campaigns were an important source of income,

48. Marguerite Engberg, 'Ole Olsen – filmproducent', *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Ole_Olsen_-_filmproducent, accessed 7 February 2023. See also 'Läkemedelssvindlare häktad i Malmö', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 16 February 1916, 8.

49. Bengt Idestam-Almquist, *När filmen kom till Sverige: Charles Magnusson och Svenska Bio* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1959), 17.

50. *Göteborgs Dagblad*, 26 November 1919, 6.

especially towards the end of the nineteenth century, when rivalry between newspapers became more intense.[51] But, in the case of fake medicine ads, the editors had to pay attention to the rising criticism against the press.

Newspapers published, for example, K.O. Neslo's suspicious advertisements *en masse* in 1907 and 1908, but, almost immediately, critical voices appeared in the same newspapers. *Jakobstad*, a small local paper published in the Ostrobothnian town of Pietarsaari (in Swedish, Jakobstad), had published at least 24 Neslo ads between November 1907 and May 1908. Presumably, many local people wrote to Neslo in their search for help. On 21 October 1908, the editor of the same paper paid attention to the exploitative use of column space. It already paid attention to the many pseudonyms that Neslo had. He was the same person who had appeared in publicity as the shooting range owner 'C. Olsen' and as 'A. Ohlson', who had sold alleged medical cures for gout and rheumatism.[52] It seems that the editors of *Jakobstad* became conscious of Neslo's dubious businesses during the summer and fall of 1908, since no advertisements were published after this.

Similarly, the Kidd case drew critical attention in the press during his advertising campaigns. If Kidd and Neslo took advantage of the expansion of the press through their viral marketing campaigns, the newspapers themselves drew on a cut-and-paste method in criticising these humbug doctors. Sometimes, these public figures also became a source of laughter. In 1911, one Finnish news story trumpeted the idea that scientists had invented an elixir of life in Paris, and that it had already worked wonderfully in Sortavala in Finland, where one could now buy it from the pharmacy. In America, however, the new elixir had caused James Kidd and other makers of humbug medicines to commit suicide out of desperation. The publishing date confirms that this story was an April Fools' joke.[53]

Some newspapers publicly stressed that they had, to be sure, given space for 'wonderous medical cures'. The Finnish paper *Kokkola* stressed that they had published Dr Kidd's advertisements but that they had not asked their readers to buy these products. The editors continued: 'It is very difficult for us to say which aspects in the advertisement are true,

51. Stephen A. Banning, 'The Professionalization of Journalism: A Nineteenth-Century Beginning', *Journalism History* 24, no. 4 (1999): 157–163.

52. 'Kvacksalveri i stor skala', *Jakobstad*, 21 October 1908, 3.

53. 'Tieteen työmailta. Elämän eliksiiri', *Laatokka*, 1 April 1911, 3.

and which are not. The readers have to evaluate ads themselves'.[54] In the end, newspapers were different from each other and, therefore, responded to criticism towards advertisements in different ways. They did not have a uniform reaction to dubious marketing campaigns. Sometimes, these cases also became a vehicle in the competition between newspapers. For example, in 1908, the Jyväskylä-based *Suomalainen* lamented the fact that there were those kinds of papers in the country that, 'out of their greed', garner money from these advertisements and, thus, help advertisers to cheat their readers. It concluded: 'No newspaperman in the country can be ignorant of the fact that these ads are pure humbug'.[55]

In 1910, the rising number of ads resulted in the establishment of an office for educational information concerning drug advertisements in Finland.[56] This followed the model from Sweden in 1903. The Finnish founders consisted of medical experts, pharmacists and newspaper editors, including Eero Erkko from *Helsingin Sanomat*.[57] For the Finnish press, self-regulation was seen as an especially important solution in the context of Russification and fears of censorship by the state bodies increasingly hostile to Finnish autonomy. To put this in another way, in this political context, it would have been difficult to argue for any stricter external censorship of the press.

It had become obvious that newspapers were not only local or national channels for marketing and journalism; they had a transnational, global reach and were, thus, part of a larger network of actors. There were, for example, mediators between newspapers and advertisers. One revealing case was that of the newspaper *Falukuriren* in Falun, Sweden. In August 1903, *Falukuriren* criticised Kidd's ads by quoting Mörner's report mentioned above and explained that they had had to print these questionable ads because of a contract with a Danish advertising company. They now issued a warning to the public and promised to stop printing ads by Kidd

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54. "Kokkolan' konttoori: Ihmelääkkeet', *Kokkola*, 13 April 1907, 3.

55. 'Amerikkalaiset humbunkilääkkeet. 'Kiddin pillerit', *Suomalainen*, 10 February 1908, 4.

56. The founders named it 'Toimisto tiedonantoja varten lääkeilmoituksista' in Finnish.

57. 'Byrå för meddelande af upplysningar angående annonser om läkemedel. Toimisto tiedonantoja varten lääkeilmoituksista', *Finsk veterinär tidskrift*, 1 January 1910, 20–23.

• Figure 7. With this drawing, newspapers advertised Dr Kidd's medicine for years. Often the picture was one of its kind on a newspaper page. An excerpt from Dr Kidd's ad in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 14 August 1902, 8.

as soon as the contract allowed them to do so.[58] Searching *Falukuriren* for Kidd confirms that, after having advertised Kidd's medicine from August 1902 onward for about one year, the last of his ads in *Falukuriren* was printed a couple of days before the critical article appeared. However, even as *Falukuriren* ceased marketing Kidd's miracle cure, many other newspapers continued to do so.

At times, varying tricks were added to the ad's text. Suddenly Dr Kidd's ad could end with a recommendation by the editor's office (*redaktion*) or the 'office' (*toimisto*, cf. *toimitus*, editorial office of the newspaper in Finnish) of the newspaper in which the ad appeared. After accidentally printing such a line, *Hufvudstadsbladet* in Helsinki pointed out that this praise of American style humbug marketing, as they called it, had already

58. 'Rörande amerikanaren Kidds annonser', *Falukuriren*, 17 August 1903, 2; cluster 31046314.

been part of the original advertisement text when it arrived via an advertising company in Copenhagen.[59] Quite a few editors later excluded that part from the ad's published version, while others printed the misleading recommendation, too.

Importantly, the comments by *Falukuriren* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* suggest that, although this was seldom mentioned, internationally operating advertising companies were probably essential to Kidd's business strategy and played a large part in disseminating his ads and, presumably, many more.[60] Such mediating actors were probably also a reason as to why newspapers sometimes contained ads in the wrong language, for example, a Finnish ad of Dr Kidd's published in a Swedish-language newspaper. In the case of ads, these companies that had hitherto eluded national press history research were key actors enabling and promoting textual migration across the borders.

Readers and consumers

Offering something for free became a frequent and important tactic used by the suspicious advertisers of patent medicine to arouse readers' interest. As years went by, the products and services that, for instance, Dr Kidd offered for free, changed and increased too. First, it was a sample of pills after a free diagnosis, then a free book and, later, other booklets. Kidd's offers also advertised electric belts.[61] Readers might later understand that they had 'paid' for these free items by sending the humbug doctor valuable information.

In the newspapers, we can find indications of how many customers there were and what they were like. Such information is otherwise hard to come across. Doctors would send in reports complaining that in their (remote) medical districts, pills from Dr Kidd had recently enjoyed much too high popularity. More objective are newspapers' published lists of postal deliveries that had been returned to the post office. These lists sometimes included letters to Dr Kidd and Neslo.[62]

59. 'Patentmedicinhumbugen', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 December 1905, 4.

60. For advertising companies in Denmark, see Erik Kloppenborg Madsen, 'A History of Danish Advertising, Market Research, and Retailing Institutions: 1920–1960', in *The Routledge Companion to Marketing History*, eds. D.G. Brian Jones and Mark Tadajewski (London: Routledge, 2016).

61. See Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for Sale'.

62. Konr. ReijoWaara, 'Kukin tahtoo tulla petetyksi', *Suomen terveydenhoito-lehti*, 1

When editors circulated a warning against Neslo's fake medicine in 1908, they referred to the *Byrån för upplysning om läkemedelsannonser* in Uppsala and told that the so-called medicine sold best in Norrland (northern parts of Sweden) and in Finland. In these regions it was, according to this contemporary interpretation, 'of course the uneducated and poor people who fell victim to such bogus marketing'.[63] Below, we revisit this notion.

Undoubtedly, the readers of newspapers were in unequal positions to understand and react to the perhaps unforeseen promise for new, free cures of their illnesses. This difference motivated several critics to level it. One influential, widely known critic and opponent of patent medicines in Finland was K.H. Wiik, who was a journalist, a Social Democrat politician and a member of parliament. In particular, the Swedish-speaking Wiik found the less educated working-class population vulnerable to false advertising of medicines. Wiik collected material on this market and studied the activities of the sellers in order to address its problems. Wiik and his associates also investigated the sham perpetrated by Dr Kidd. They made contact with Kidd's firm in summer 1910 by starting a supposedly typical correspondence about an illness. Kidd's office sent Wiik several letters as a potential customer during a six-month period until they stopped in 1911 after not receiving any reply.[64] In terms of Kidd's advertising, this was relatively late, and Kidd was probably changing his main contact method towards network marketing.

Importantly, newspapers and journals shared various pieces of more critical information about the humbug doctors, in addition to circulating messages by advertisers. Prompted by ongoing ad campaigns, Kidd's vicious methods had become a topic of study, and that required in-depth information from his customers, or victims. In 1905, for instance, one Finnish health professional used a journal to encourage people to send them their correspondence with Kidd, adding that they also hoped to receive replies from those who thought that Kidd's drugs had genuinely

December 1907, 197–198; 'Förteckning över å Hangö postkontor', *Hangö-Bladet*, 3 September 1914, 2; A. v. Hertzen, 'Luettelo', *Kyminlaakso*, 9 September 1914, 4.

63. 'Kvacksalfveri i stor skala', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 October 1908, 6. Originally: 'naturligtvis är det den oupplysta och fattiga befolkningen, som låter sig lockas af dylik humbug'.

64. Oittinen, 'Terveyttä, kauhua ja unelmia kaupan'; Oittinen, 'Health, Horror and Dreams for Sale'.

helped them. The professional planned to write about Kidd's medicines.[65] Similar studies of Kidd were later published by, for example, the *British Medical Journal*.[66]

It is significant that a variety of people wrote warnings based on their experiences with Dr Kidd to be published in newspapers. These included medical experts, disappointed customers or people who knew them, as well as journalists/editors. Newspapers published these reports and, usually, a few others reprinted them. They often form relatively short clusters of text reuse. In this critical material, letters by Kidd to his customers were quoted at length, and letters from America written by someone who had worked for Kidd for a while circulated in the press. One editor reported that a person who had shared his warning in their newspaper had received threats from Kidd should the former client continue sharing his knowledge in public. Kidd's office threatened to disclose the client's first letter with personal medical details, and that there could be legal proceedings, as well. After Kidd's business had become transnationally infamous, news stories of it were shared in the press across borders.[67] Many of these are difficult to assess in terms of credibility, but a variety of such texts were printed occasionally for several years – as were Kidd's ads. Overall, the reports were condemning and consistent with each other, and the readers had good reason to believe they were correct. Undoubtedly, the contradictions between the ads and their critics left some of the readers confused.

Gradually, at least, readers powerfully used newspapers and journals, and vice versa, as an active way to react and respond to medical frauds by sharing their information in the public domain. This could not match outright investigative journalism (yet), except perhaps in the case of a few health experts, but there were different ways in which experts, journalists and common readers made their critical voices heard.[68] This, of course, hap-

65. 'Kirjelaatikko', *Suomen terveydenhoito-lehti*, 1 August 1905, 18.

66. 'Methods of Quackery. All the Ills of Humanity', (James W. Kidd.) *British Medical Journal*, 13 March, issue 2515 (1909): 671–672.

67. 'Humbugsmedicinen', *Smålands Folkblad*, 11 October 1905, 4; M., 'Om s. k. humbugsmedicin', *Arbetet* (Malmö), 21 February 1907, 3; 'Ilmaiset' lääkkeet', *Kokkola*, 31 July 1907, 2–3; 'Amerikkalaiset humbunkilääkkeet'. 'Kiddin pillerit', *Suomalainen*, 10 February 1908, 4; 'Humbugsmedicinen. "Kidd-metoden"', *Syd-Österbotten*, 22 February 1908, 4; 'Effektivt medel mot humbugsmedicinen', *Västra Nyland*, 3 April 1913, 4; Lehtonen, *Terveys ja humpuuki*, 367.

68. For somewhat similar experiences in North America, see Denham, 'Magazine Journalism in the Golden Age of Muckraking'.

pened less conspicuously and regularly than in the expensive advertising campaigns. Nevertheless, by way of the many published letters and stories about bad experiences, patent medicine hoaxes were exposed text by text.

We are left to wonder if even those who were perceived as the most uneducated, poor customers of Neslo, Kidd and their like now had learned their lesson and were fighting back, or, if their customers were from a wider base in the society, from the start. Either way, by the early 1910s, the situation for marketing patent medicine in newspapers was changing, in large part thanks to the increased interaction and collaboration between newspaper editors, medical experts and the active, empowered readers.

Nevertheless, it is beneficial to remember that the congregation of readers included both active ones, writing letters to editors, and those, probably the majority, who suffered their losses with medical fraudsters silently or perhaps even gained something through a placebo effect. The story of the last group can hardly be found in newspapers, at all.

Conclusion

The cases of marketing patent medicines show that the database of text-reuse offers new avenues for examining advertising campaigns in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The tools of the interface present novel opportunities and systematic ways for exploring advertisements that have been overlooked in previous press research. They have also been laborious to study with the earlier, national digital newspaper repositories available. The dataset allows studying the development of advertising in a large-scale business activity in Sweden and in Finland and to answer questions such as how many of the ads were (re)printed in both countries and how their printing locations changed over time. This information could be harnessed to, for instance, further research on the growing role of the advertising agencies emerging in the Nordic countries and how they operated nationally, transnationally and even globally. Combining the interrogation of our database and other repositories, one can sketch how both genuine businesspeople and fraudsters aimed for global marketing.

The database allows the user to examine the newspapers' increasingly ambiguous roles in selling advertising space and, at the same time, including voices critical of the marketed products. These conflicts of interest were soon recognised and discussed by newspaper editors whose publishing policies varied widely in the early twentieth century. Gradually, the reported grievances and conflicts led to self-regulation by the editors and also regulation by the law in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The study of readers' and customers' reactions to large scale advertising in the newspapers has been a challenge for the researchers who read newspapers page-by-page. Through distant reading of the large digital newspaper corpora with multiple methods, a fresh view on the readers can be gained. Readers sent their responses to the editors, who sometimes decided to print the feedback. Many of these letters can be identified, although they are scattered within the press. Often, these texts were also copied from paper to paper.

As shown by the patterns of text reuse, Sweden and Finland became part of a wider global network of the advertising business by the early twentieth century. From the perspective of advertisers, there were plenty of potential customers in Sweden and many newspapers to be used for marketing, whereas Finland was a smaller market. In the case of foreign ads, they were often printed earlier in Sweden and somewhat later in Finland. Still, marketers could use the same ad text on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Further, the readers and editors of newspapers in both countries created their own domestic responses to the growing business. These critical comments of American and domestic humbug marketing were shared across the Baltic Sea. The medical experts critical to patent medicine first organised themselves in Sweden, allowing newspapers in Finland to alert their readers by reprinting those early warnings locally. Though in smaller numbers, the newspapers in both Sweden and Finland also reprinted letters or testimonies concerning the patent medicine business from ordinary people across the sea.

One remaining question is how resourceful and critical contemporary readers were when they read medical ads and the warnings about them. Presumably, these texts were read differently and had different 'weights' in terms of influencing people. Historians face challenges in examining how skilful readers were in separating fact and fantasy, and how this, most likely, changed over time, but this was something that the editors also disagreed on in the early twentieth century – and might still do. Clearly, such reading skills varied widely, because many people kept Neslo and Kidd in business for years.

We close this chapter with a methodological observation and with some advice. It is important to note how the computational detection method assists the researcher unevenly when it comes to marketing and related public discussion. An ad by James W. Kidd, or any ad with enough text, was printed on a single page, without page breaks, which helped reuse detection to recognise the similarity within texts and to group similar ads in single, long clusters. In principle, ad campaigns then form lengthy, coherent clusters that are relatively easy to find and study.[69]

The critical texts, such as journalistic articles, however, were laid out differently in the original newspapers. In the case of Kidd's and Neslo's marketing, these include news articles about the novel medical ads as humbug. Critical texts such as these were often more extensive and, consequently, divided onto two pages, and they included more variation by the authors or editors, all of which have led the computational tool to place them in several clusters that are much shorter chains than the ones consisting of ads. This makes it more difficult to track the flow of critical texts and to grasp the complex, transnational discussion they formed. When using the database to study marketing campaigns, such potential imbalances should be observed and counter-balanced by also looking carefully at the shorter clusters. They might, for instance, contain surprising greetings from and glimpses of newspaper readers as critical consumers.

69. Pictures can somewhat complicate this process. For instance, Kidd's picture sometimes divided the ad's text in half, which resulted in breaking it into two separate texts forming their own clusters.

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TODAY SHARED MEDIA CONTENT AND VIRALITY represent significant phenomena, but they are not as unique to our current society as commonly assumed. More than a century before the internet, information circulated within a network of newspapers that borrowed texts from both nearby and distant sources. From the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, newspapers gradually gained greater significance as a technological medium. However, a fundamental yet often overlooked characteristic of these newspapers was their cut-and-paste nature, which facilitated the widespread dissemination of text items in time and space. This movement occurred at varying speeds, from slow to very rapid.

Within this book, Finnish and Swedish historians focus on shared Swedish-language newspaper texts and formats, exploring the mechanisms through which news, announcements, literary texts, advertisements and other contents were copied and reprinted across the Swedish-language press in Sweden, Finland and Swedish America. Employing a computer-assisted methodology to identify chains of text reuse in over 7.5 million newspaper pages derived from 1629 distinct newspaper titles, this book introduces a comprehensive database of reused texts. It examines the types of content that traversed transnationally and those that remained local. It investigates the asymmetry of communication, the encountered hubs and peripheries, as well as the extent and velocity with which information was disseminated. By combining a digitally enhanced bird's-eye view with meticulous close readings, this work primarily contributes to the comprehension of cultural relations across the Baltic Sea.

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ISBN 978-91-985802-2-8

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