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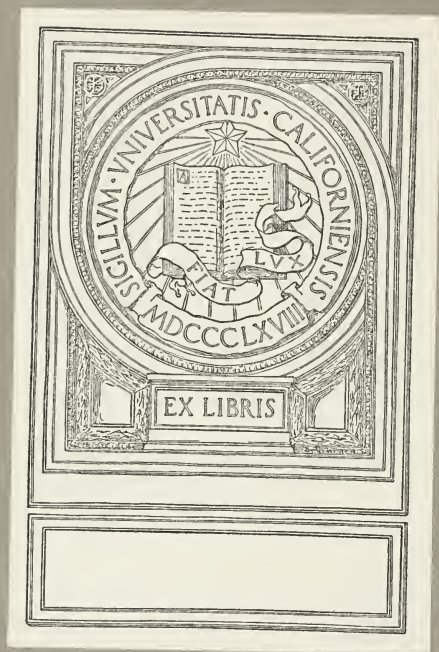
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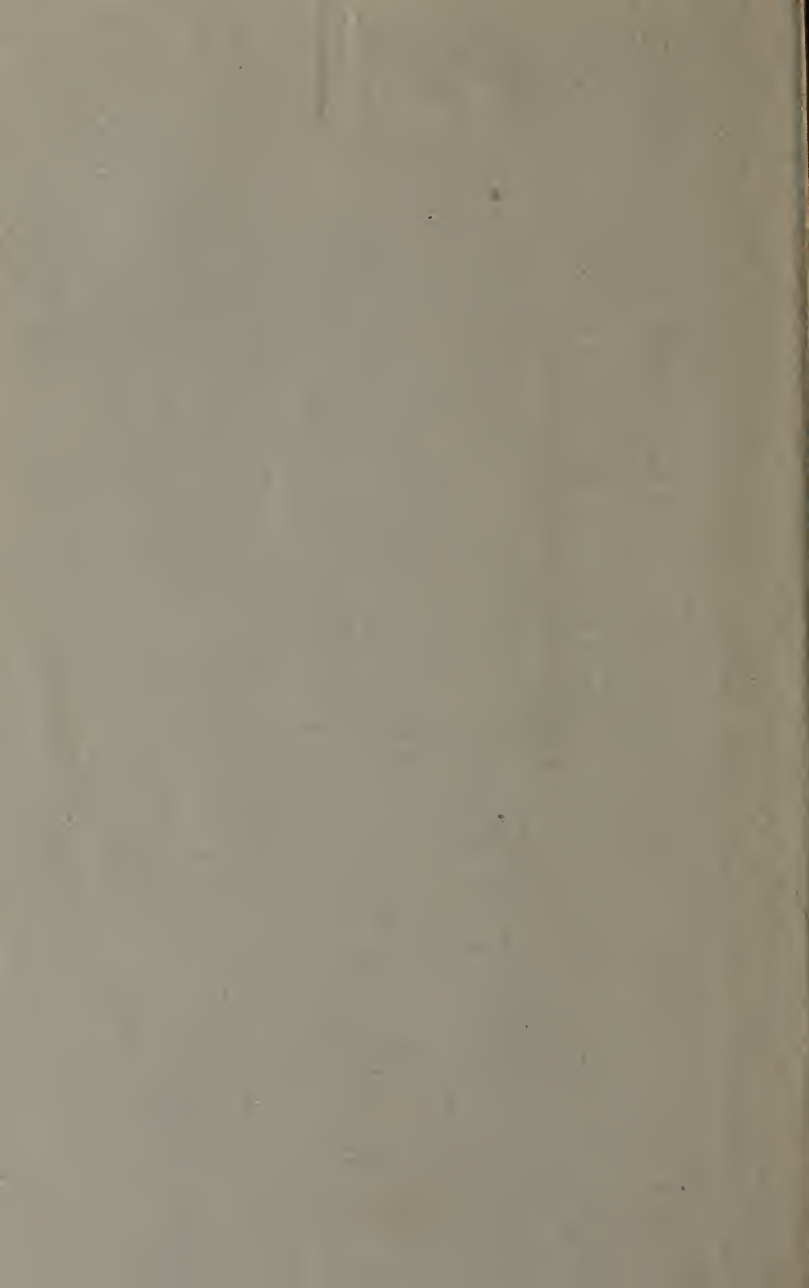
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EUG. FEODOROFF.

THE FINNISH REVOLUTION. IN PREPARATION 1889—1905.

as disclosed by secret documents.

AGITATION OF THE FINNS IN EUROPE. — THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMITTEE AND ACTIVE RESISTANCE. — THE FIGHTING ORGA-
NISATION. — WAYS AND MEANS OF ACTION. — LEADERS OF THE
MOVEMENT. — RUSSIAN «POLICY» AND ITS RESULTS.

Translated from the original Russian text by

G. DOBSON.

former Correspondent of «The Times» in St. Petersburg, author of
«Russia's Railway Advance into Central Asia», «St. Petersburg», etc.

ST-PETERSBOURG.

Imprimerie «Russo-Française», rue des Officiers, № 6
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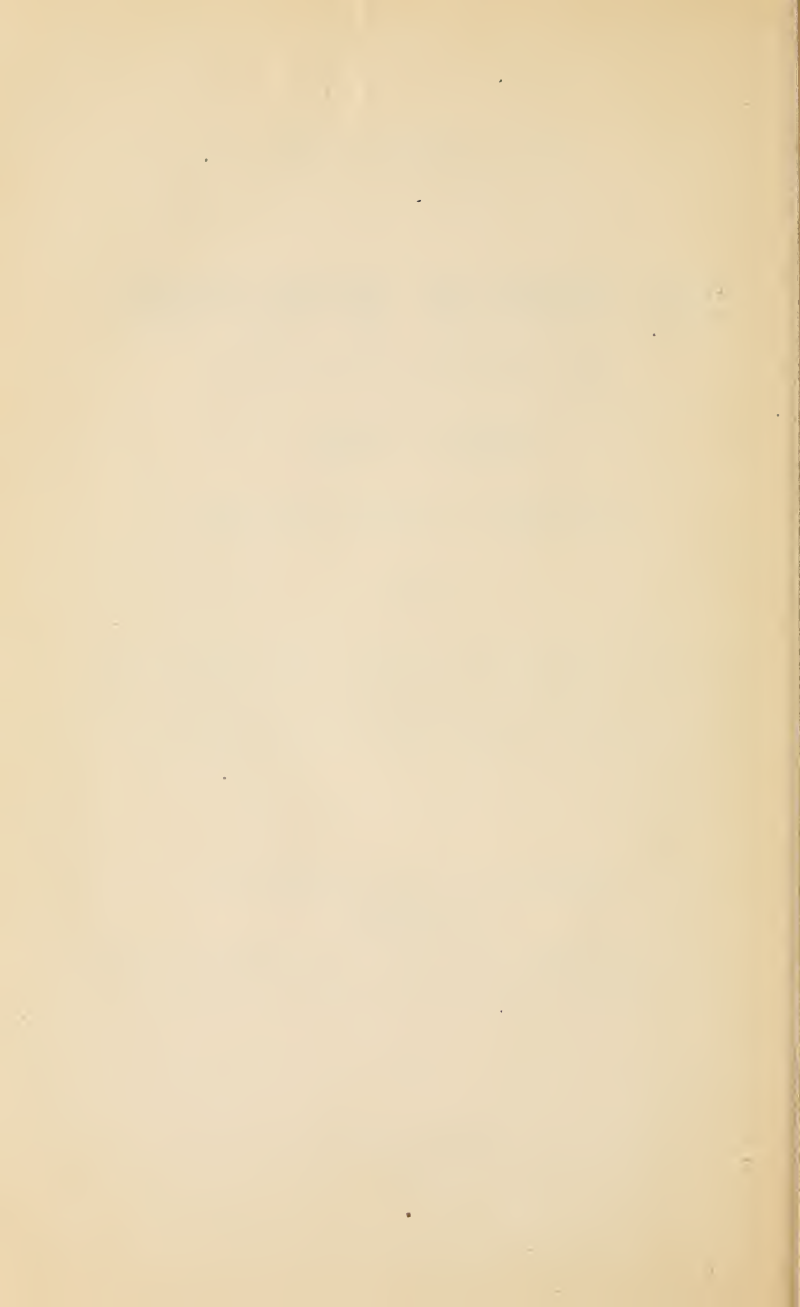
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any explanation. The official reports are, of course, from Russian Government archives, and the letters of prominent Finnish leaders could only have been obtained by official, or judicial seizure of their papers. It is precisely this which gives importance and authenticity to the compiler's work.

There is another important matter, on which this pamphlet throws fresh light with regard to Russo-Finnish relations. It not only reduces the Finnish Question to a Conspiracy and incipient Revolution, but adduces evidence to prove that in its essence the Finnish Question is not at all a Finnish, but a Swedish Question. The only serious opposition to Russia in Finland is Swedish. The strong Swedish element in the Grand Duchy has always looked to the original Mother Country for support against too much encroachment on the part of Russia. And in this connection there is a very important expression of opinion by the late King Oscar at Stockholm. It is not surprising, after what is related in this publication of the Swedish monarch's sympathy for the Finns, that Russia hastened to recognize the independence of Norway as soon as ever that country severed its union with Sweden.

In concluding these few remarks on the contents of this translation, I may perhaps be allowed to add in general that the Finno-Swedish politicians and their agents and emissaries have had a splendid first innings in working up public opinion in England and other countries against Russia. Hitherto they have practically had the field all to themselves. Europe has long been inundated with literature from the Finnish side, while up till quite recently the Russian case was left to make its way, as best it could, through the distorting medium of a political press with a bias against everything Russian. It is only fair, that Russia should have a chance of putting her views before the outside world in her own way. The impartial purpose, therefore, of the translator is to give the Russian author an equal opportunity with the Finnish propagandist of bringing the Russian version of this dispute before the British public.

G. Dobson.

St Petersburg,
March 1911.

INTRODUCTION.

The author of this pamphlet can only lay claim to a few connecting sentences, the reader being left to draw his own conclusions. The real authors are a number of persons, whose collaboration is hardly even conceivable for the reason that some of them are dead, and others hold diametrically opposite views. To put it plainly, the principal work has been merely the bringing together of selected passages from the correspondence of many individuals. How this correspondence came into the hands of the compiler is immaterial, but if anyone should feel inclined to question the information here imparted, he will be met with documentary proof of the most absolute and convincing nature. The action and importance of the persons referred to will be fully explained by the facts deduced as the narrative proceeds. Before, however, entering into details, it will be interesting, if only as an example, to note the difference of the position occupied by the Russian authorities in Finland not long since, as compared with the one which they occupy there now.

«The authorities may no longer be mocked at with impunity, and severe punishment will be promptly dealt out to all persons who disobey the laws».

Thus wrote the Governor General of Finland in 1903 to the Minister-Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy (10 th of May 1903, No 3302).

A month earlier (15th of April 1903, No 2606), the same Governor General wrote:

«Considering that Mechelin has been the chief leader of the revolutionary movement in Finland for the past 4 years, I find it quite right to deprive him of the pension of 12,000 marks a year, granted by special fa-

vour of the Sovereign, as it can hardly be admitted without evident discredit to the Government, that an agitator at the head of a party which strives to undermine the authority and importance of that Government, should at the same time be in receipt of an official pension. Mechelin has spent this Government pension in getting up anti-Russian demonstrations at Stockholm, (also 15th April 1903, № 2606).

On the 14th of May 1903 (No. 951), the Governor General was informed by the Minister-Secretary of State that:—

«on the 1st of May, according to information received from the Russian Legation at Stockholm, the Imperial Russian Minister at the Court of Sweden sent for the said Mr Mechelin, and gave him notice of the Imperial command, forbidding him to reside in, or to reenter Finland under pain of banishment by order of the Minister of the Interior to some remote part of the Empire».

In this way wrote and acted the representatives of Russia in 1903. We have no exact information as to the condition of the Finnish revolutionary movement at that particular time, but about two years earlier its representatives were far from being in the best frame of mind, as witness the following passage from a letter written on the 22nd of December 1901 to Baron Born by his sister Hanna, wife of the Swede Sven Palme.

«Three days ago Sven dined with Konni¹⁾ and Mechelin, and found them in very low spirits. Konni has long been in a gloomy mood, and has lost hope, but Mechelin astonished them by daring to hope and believe that all would come right».

It now appears that there was no reason for Mechelin to hesitate in making such a forecast. On the contrary, it turned out that he was fully justified in keeping up hope, for, as a matter of fact, everything was indeed very soon made all right. He was appointed Vice President of the Economical Department of the Imperial Finnish Senate (a kind of Assistant to the President of the Council of Ministers), and even his pension was paid out to him again from

¹⁾ Konni Zilliakus, a well known Finnish revolutionist who organised the importation of firearms, and armed the Finnish and Russian revolutionists with the help of Japanese money. He now lives in safety at Helsingfors and publishes a newspaper called the «Framtid» (Future). See the pamphlet by Rumiantseff «Finland is arming», and «The reverse side of the revolution».

the very day on which it had been discontinued. Whether he still continues to spend it in arranging anti-Russian demonstrations, or on some other object, does not matter. It is evident, as times are at present, that not a single representative of Russian authority would now think of «sending for the said Mr Mechelin» even though for the express purpose of announcing to him the most agreeable piece of news. Is it necessary to look for any further proofs of this striking difference brought about in the position of Russia with regard to Finland in the short space of only 4 years? And then, was this expulsion from Finland of the most dangerous leaders of the revolution attended by any excitement? Did it cost the Government any extraordinary effort, and was there any fear of an armed insurrection? Nothing whatever of the kind!

The Governor General of Finland wrote on the 15th of April 1903:

«All the aforementioned persons,—Baron von Born, Count Mannerheim, Advocate Jonas Castren, the merchant Wenzel Hagelstam, the retired Captain August Felman, and the two brothers Eugene and Regut Wolf, informed the police that they would quit Finland within the stated time, and some of them have already left Helsingfors for Åbo on their way to Sweden. Mechelin, Konni Zilliakus, Axel Lille and Doctor Lulu started without waiting to receive notice. A crowd of educated people gathered at the railway station to see them off, and there were some shouts of hurrah and a few bouquets of flowers, but no other demonstration was attempted at Helsingfors on this occasion.

According to many high Finnish officials, the measures taken against the above named rebels are fully approved of by all sensible Finlanders who desire a speedy pacification of their country. Even opponents of the Government admit and declare that punishment has overtaken precisely the chief leaders of the revolutionary movement.

The Imperial Rescript of March 27th and the Imperial Order of March 20th of this year ¹⁾, and the steps taken in virtue of those decrees, have already had a beneficial effect in tranquilizing the country. Information received from the governors of Åbo-Björneborg, St Michael, Tavastehus, Viborg and Nyland provinces, as to the progress of enrolling conscripts, tes-

¹⁾ Granting the higher authorities in Finland special powers for three years for the purpose of securing public order and tranquillity.

tifies to a notable decrease of activity against the Government and to a growing influence of the sensible portion of the community over its more youthful members. The recruiting so far is going on everywhere without any demonstrations or disorders. The people are attentive to the authorities, and the percentage of young men coming in for military service is greater than it was last year.

The regular enrolment of conscripts has been facilitated by the recent laws concerning Finnish officials, and by the immediate dismissal of Government servants for refusing to yield obedience to the Imperial will, which has been effected with my consent, on the authority of the laws referred to. Not only is it noticed that there is now no open incitement of the population against the military service law on the part of the *lansmen*, or heads of districts, such as was often observed before, but, on the contrary, these officers, being afraid of dismissal, and anxious to show their loyalty, frequently persuade young men to perform their military duties, and have even placed agitators under arrest.

This important result of the first application of the military service law of 1901 plainly shows the absence of solidarity between the masses of the Finnish people and the heads of the rebellion. It refutes the false assertion of the latter that the whole Finnish nation is unanimous in opposition to the unifying measures of the Government, and deals a blow at the policy of passive resistance.

I venture to believe that my task of speedily restoring the peaceful course of affairs in Finland, which is so desirable and so urgently needed, will be facilitated by the measures already taken, as well as by the forthcoming revision of the organisation of communes, while enforcement of the proposed Imperial resolution regarding firearms and shooting galleries, together with removal of the remaining chiefs of the revolutionary movement, will also contribute towards the same result.

How was it that soon after this, when Bobrikoff was no more, the Russian authorities, who were striving to restore the peaceful course of affairs in Finland, allowed the organized importation of firearms into the Grand Duchy? How was it that they lived to see the appearance of the Red Guard with Captain Kok at its head, to become aware of the existence of the *Voima*, and finally, under the General Governorship of N. N. Gerhard, to cede their places to Mechelin & Co? To attempt to explain all this would be to try to explain the inexplicable. But the object of the *Svecoman*, or Swedish party was perfectly clear. It was to get possession of Finland, and to wrest that country from Russia.

The consistent work of the party which was directed to this end, has been most carefully planned and resolutely carried out during the last twenty years or thereabouts, and it offers a most instructive lesson to those who care to follow it, inasmuch as it enables us to see once more how simply and readily we Russians allow ourselves to be led by the nose.

The Finnish Swedes,—for it is they, and not the Finns proper, who carry on this agitation,—have spread, and still continue by pen and speech to spread the statement that down to 1899 Finland's attitude towards Russia was most friendly and «loyal». They declare that this attitude was turned into an unfriendly one only after N. I. Bobrikoff came into office at the end of 1898, and that his irreconcilable Russophile policy brought matters to such a pitch that at one time it was to be feared that no understanding between the two countries would ever again be possible. Many Russians not acquainted with the aspirations of the Finns were induced to believe these assurances, and it was supposed that before the advent of Bobrikoff an ideal state of affairs prevailed in the region of the northern frontiers of the Empire. This quite excluded any idea of the Finlanders having ever sharpened their knives against their victors, who had granted them unheard of, and historically unprecedented favours and privileges. It argued ignorance of the fact that it was through this generous treatment of the vanquished on the part of Russia that the «conquerors» in Finland had simply been transformed into the «conquered»¹⁾. In reality the Finlanders pursued a hostile policy towards Russia long before the appointment of Bobrikoff as Governor General of Finland. They worked systematically during a whole century to create a Finnish State, and to prepare their country for separation from Russia. Their idea was that Finland should enter as an independent realm into the formation of a quadruple alliance with Sweden, Norway and Denmark²⁾. Bobrikoff saw through this plan, and set himself to counteract it.

¹⁾ Eleneff. «Why conquerors sometimes become the conquered».

²⁾ See page 16. Letter from Sven Palme to Baron Born of the 11th of June 1900 giving an account of an audience with King Oscar of Sweden.

This is why all the Swedish Finns were up in arms against him, with the assistance of their friends in St-Petersburg, who for the most part were labouring under misapprehension. Bobrikoff forced the separatists to remove their masks and to disclose their game a little too soon. It was not intended to act independently, but to wait for a favourable opportunity presented by some international or internal complication. The Finns began to work at the development of the Russian revolution, which was started in Finland by the murder of Bobrikoff, and in Russia by the assassination of Ploevé. The Finnish revolutionists took advantage of the occasion, and of the weakness of the Russian authorities, to obtain under Prince Obolensky, and especially under Gerhard, a repeal of all the laws made in the interests of the policy of unification during the Governorship of Bobrikoff. Only one thing they failed to get, in spite of the support of Governor General Gerhard and Langhoff, the Minister-Secretary of State for Finland, and that was the establishment of a separate Finnish army. Had this been effected it would have been easy for them to await patiently the further evolution of events in Russia, while at the same time gradually and legally preparing a strong military organisation. As it turned out, the Russian revolution degenerated into a series of separate acts of terror, and it thus failed to justify the hopes of the Finnish Swedes. Authority in Russia was not transferred to the revolutionists, and therefore for the time being it was impossible to play the final act of the Finnish revolutionary drama, which was to be the separation of the Grand Duchy from the Russian Empire.

The policy of Bobrikoff, which aimed at destroying the power of the Swedes in Finland, compelled the latter to come out into the open.

I.

Agitation of the Finns in Europe.

This agitation, which was begun long ago, has been carried on with consummate ability. We must do the Finns the justice of admitting that they have known how to go about this kind of work.

The nature of their campaign against Russia is best illustrated by reference to the political characteristics of Baron von Born.

«This Born was one of the most active leaders of the anti-Governmental movement in the Grand Duchy. Being closely related to eminent German and Swedish families, Baron Born used his distinguished connections for political purposes. He worked especially through the medium of his cousin, the wife of Prince Albrecht Solms¹⁾, the nephew of King Christian IX of Denmark, and a relative named Baroness Alma Oertzen (from Mecklenburg-Schwerin). Assisted by these relatives, he agitated together with Nordenskjöld and his brother in law Sven Palme²⁾ amongst members of the German Courts, who were related to the Imperial Family of Russia, with the object of inducing them to use their influence to bring about a change of Russia's, policy of unification in Finland.

It will be seen from the original letters of Princess Solms, quoted further on in this publication, that this Princess, as well as Baroness Oertzen, distributed various political pamphlets among the Princes and Princesses related by marriage to the Russian Imperial Family, and knowingly misrepresented the action of the Russian authorities in Finland. With the help of his sister Hanna and her husband Sven Palme, Baron Born tried to bring influence also to bear on the Royal Court of Sweden. From the autograph letters of Hanna and Sven Palme, which will be subsequently quoted, we learn that they had very serious conversations concerning the political situation in Finland with King Oscar of Sweden, who expressed his disapproval of the action of the Russian Government in a very decided manner.

The Swedish press was inspired with hostility towards Russia by Baron Born, who at one time was correspondent of the «Aftonbladet», the organ of his brother in law, Sven Palme.

The agitation against the Russian Government in the interest of the Svecoman, or Swedish party in the foreign press was conceived and organized by Baron Born, Sven Palme, Konni Zilliakus and Princess Solms.

Conjointly with Zilliakus, Palme and Nordenskjöld³⁾, Born organized the international deputation of Tarieux, which was not received by the Emperor of Russia when its members came to St-Petersburg to solicit an audience of his Majesty⁴⁾.

1) Prince Solms died in 1902.

2) A Swede and professor, and publisher of the anti-Russian journal *Aftonbladet*.

3) The distinguished Swedish traveller.

4) The conduct of Count Arnfeldt, a Steward of the Imperial Household, and at one time Assistant to the Minister-Secretary of State for Finland, deserves special attention. It is plainly shown in his letters, and in those of Konni Zilliakus, which are also quoted in subsequent pages of this work.

He also undoubtedly took part in getting up the monster address to the Emperor, and in sending the deputation of the Finnish people to St-Petersburg.

Baron Born was one of the most zealous promoters of the «passive resistance» policy, and he took part in all the secret meetings at which means of opposition to the unifying measures of the Government were discussed and devised. At the same time he distributed secret literature, and was actively engaged on the secret newspaper called «Fria Ord», or Free Speech. He also produced anti-Governmental pamphlets, one of them being the well known «Account of passive resistance», which he signed together with other persons, and in every way he opposed the carrying out of the military law of 1901.

And then there is positive evidence in the letters of Palme and other persons that the Finnish separatists have their own archives, where they preserve all documents of any special political importance. Professor Gunnar Geselius of Upsala in one of his letters advises Baron Born to take steps to guard these archives and even to send them abroad, as in his opinion it was unsafe to keep them any longer in Finland.

Therefore it must now be admitted as fully proved that Baron Born occupies a prominent position in the revolutionary party of Finland. He is a publicist and a most energetic and practical worker».

This was written on the 10th of May 1903 (N° 3.300), by the late Governor General Bobrikoff to the Minister-Secretary of State for Finland Plehve. And on the grounds above stated the late General Bobrikoff ventured to conclude that the «the action of Baron Born had every appearance of high treason, which even according to the laws of Finland would be punishable with imprisonment for 8 years in a house of correction, and that therefore the substitution for this punishment of a proposal that he should merely leave the country must in all justice be considered most lenient treatment».

This is what General Bobrikoff «ventured» to think of Baron Born. Subsequent events show that other persons had a different opinion of him, for at the instance of Governor General Gerhard the Baron was appointed Landmarshal, or President of the Diet, and on the 3rd of January 1907, at the solicitation of the same Governor General, he was even received by the Emperor at Tsarskoe Selo.

And yet in April 1899 the brother in law of this Baron, the

Swede Sven Palme, who for some reason or other was inflamed with inextinguishable hatred of Russia, wrote as follows to Born on the successful progress of the agitation. Here is an extract from the letter of Sven Palme to Baron Born, dated the 8th of April 1899.

«I am just now in the thick of the work of sending out the pamphlets which I undertook to distribute. They are being despatched in small elegant editions to all persons exercising any possible influence in Europe in connection with politics, diplomacy, literature, science, journalism etc. Herewith I send a sample of the Swedish edition. By the way, I am sending 50 copies in German and 50 in French to Ebba Solms for distribution among the Princely Courts of Germany».

In the same year Princess Solms at Wisbaden was inspired with a brilliant idea, which she proceeds to impart to Baron Born as follows:

«Would this not be just the time, — now that all respectable and right thinking persons sympathize so deeply with Finland, — to let those marvellous, soul-stirring, student songs of Finland resound throughout Europe, at any rate in Sweden, Denmark and a few German towns, in order to educate the people? If a party of 12 to 20 of the best singers undertook such a trip we would advertize it by word of mouth, by correspondence and through the medium of well disposed newspapers. Have a talk at once with competent persons and directors of choral societies. How happy I should be if I could only now give good advice. In Sweden and Denmark the singing would be hailed with enthusiasm, and in Germany also».

This proposal of the Princess was carried out, and a student choir went all through Europe, and also into Russian Esthonia, where the Finlanders have great hopes for their plans of revolution.

It was certainly not a bad idea to work on the better feelings of people through the powerful medium of vocal music performed by a selection of the best singers. It was also not a bad notion of Princess Solms to inundate persons in touch with the reigning Sovereigns of Europe with pamphlets artistically got up, and appealing to the compassion of readers on behalf of lovely Finland oppressed by barbarians. But Princess Solms showed herself wonderfully resourceful, also, in the field of action, as well as in the region of ideas. This is what she writes to Baron Born in 1899 (dated the 22nd without any mention of the month).

«I shall send you one of these days several copies of the «Reimser Kurier». This is one of the few German newspapers that up to about a week ago had not published a single article on Finland. This made me sad, and I then asked the editors of this paper to translate and insert an excellent article of the 30th of March from the «Journal de Genève». At first they seemed unwilling to run the risk of offending a considerable number of Russians residing here, but nevertheless I managed to have my way, and I now feel very proud to see this morning the third article about our country published in this journal. The «Journal de Genève» has been one of the best, both as regards knowledge of the subject and the telling character of its remarks, but *Le Temps*, *The Times*, *L'Independance Belge*, *Echo de Paris*, *Deutsche Wörte*, and many others have manifested the same warmth of interest in Finland. Some days ago I received from Adolf Nordenskjöld 40 copies of the pamphlets, which you, of course, know were printed at Stockholm. — «*Le droit de la Finlande et le manifeste du Tsar*». These pamphlets Adolf asked me to distribute as opportunities presented themselves. I have already despatched several of them to the Sovereigns of different countries. One of our acquaintances here just now, a certain eminent Dutchman, who takes a lively interest in Finnish affairs, has helped me in this matter. He was formerly High Chamberlain in Holland, and knows everybody. I have also sent copies to a Russian lady of position moving in Russian Court circles, and who holds good liberal views, as well as to a Russian personage who often sees the Emperor, and has a very good influence over him. Princess Ellen Altenburg, a Russian Duchess, will likewise receive the pamphlet, and finally it will go to several German princes and to the «Journal de Genève». My husband, who, with all his warmth of feeling and inborn sense of justice, has shared my grief for Finland, has written with me together a long letter to his cousin the Duchess of Cumberland, imploring her to incline the heart of her sister, the Empress, towards Finland, while at the same time, with full knowledge of the facts, and without hurting anybody, he has given the Duchess a perfect picture of the wretched condition of our country. The King of Sweden is now here, and will pay us a visit one of these days. I can hardly wait, I am so anxious to see him and talk about Finland; he will be sure to show great commiseration and sympathy».

The Princess was not mistaken with regard to the feelings of King Oscar for Finland. The following year Sven Palme had an audience of the King, and communicated to Baron Born the following on the subject: (11th of June 1900).

«After the King had greeted us, and passed a few general remarks

about our work, he directed his steps straight towards me, and came so close that our two faces almost touched, and then he said: — «Horrible things are going on in poor Finland. What does your wife say?» I replied: «Like all Finlanders, she is plunged in the deepest grief and sorrow. But they always know how to bear their grief with dignity. *For us, however, Your Majesty, this is a significant hint, (a memento)*». «Yes» said the King, standing again in the midst of us, «for us the fate of unhappy Finland is a significant hint, which ought to stimulate us to strive for unity and unanimity, not only between the two populations of our peninsula, but also with Denmark, *and I consider every man who goes against the union a traitor, yes, I repeat it, a traitor*». After that the others departed, and I asked permission to offer the King the second part of «Thuleboken», the first part of which he had already got. Then he invited me into his inner apartments, and we spoke together for about 15 minutes. He said: «Tell me what you know about unfortunate Finland». I told him what I knew, and I pointed out how energetically the public opinion of all Europe had expressed itself in favour of Finland. «Yes, you are right», he said; «I have read with great interest many foreign publications on the question. But do you know, there is a woman, who has done more to create that opinion than many men, and that woman is the cousin of your wife, Princess Solms. If your wife is in correspondence with her, just ask her to tell the Princess from me that if the public opinion of Europe has been unable to influence the state of affairs it is by no means her fault. I was thinking of going to the Finnish concert one of these days, but then I came to the conclusion that there would inevitably be a demonstration, and I therefore gave up the idea. Not that I give it up for my own sake, for in my private life I do what I like, and pay no attention to popular gossip. I have more than once shown my contempt for that sort of thing. But my two peoples might not like it if I went». Having talked a little more about Finland, he shook me by the hand, while the tears glistened in his eyes when he said: «If the Finns only knew how deeply I sympathize with them!».

If Sven Palme thus reported faithfully his conversation with King Oscar, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it,—his letter, just quoted, is of immense importance on account of the light which it throws upon Swedish aspirations with regard to Finland. Russia's policy in Finland is condemned by the King as injurious to Swedish interests. A strict and consistent exercise of that policy would certainly threaten to destroy the cherished fancy of a Scandinavian union. Persons working against it are therefore called

traitors. Hardly ever before could this idea have been proclaimed in such a striking manner, and with so much authority. The national Russian policy, consistently pursued by General Bobrikoff, certainly did threaten to become the fatal memento referred to in the conversation between Sven Palme and King Oscar. But N. I. Bobrikoff fell at the post of duty, and under his successors, Prince Obolensky and N. N. Gerhard, a memento has again appeared, not this time, however, for the Swedes, but for the unity of the Russian Empire. The idea of a Scandinavian union (Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland) has again been revived. With the weakness and shortsightedness of the representatives of Russian authority in the Grand Duchy, Mechielin, Langhoff & Co, profiting by the effects of Russian internal disturbances, are zealously working for the individualization of Finland and its complete separation from Russia. In order to attain that end all the measures set on foot during the tenure of Bobrikoff, and which were so terrible for the Swedes, have now been cancelled, and Finland is being armed¹).

There is a characteristic letter also from Hanna Palme (dated 17th of March 1902), which describes how King Oscar two years after his conversation with Sven Palme, wished the Finns to know of his deep sympathy for them. She writes:

«I must write a few lines in order to tell you something which I know will please you. I was on Friday at a big ball at which all the Royal Family were present. The King arrived about ten o'clock. When he entered he first of all greeted several persons, and then came straight up to me, took my hand and stood holding it in his own for a long time, and talking about Finland with such warm and sincere sympathy that it touched me very much. He finished by asking after you. «How about your brother?» I told him a little about you, and he then said: «Poor man!». You know that the interest which he showed came so evidently from the heart that it had a splendid effect. The Swedes here are very cautious; they hesitate to express real sympathy, therefore it was really pleasant to hear the head of their country give forcible expression to his sympathy, and also, as he himself said, his despair».

¹) See Caveant consules in the *Novoe Vremya* of the 16, 17 and 19 September, old style, Nos. 11.050, 11.051 and 11.053, «Finland is arming», the pamphlet of Rumiantseff under the same heading, and the pamphlet «The reverse side of the Revolution».

Shall we produce any further evidence of this artificial agitation in high spheres and Court circles? It would seem that enough has already been given. We cannot, however, help dwelling on one more letter from Princess Ebba Solms to Baron Born.

«I think I have not yet told you», she writes to Baron Born in 1900, «that we have at last succeeded in getting Fisher's, pamphlet into the hands of the Emperor. He asked for it himself to read, knowing that we were trying to induce him to take it. Those of the Grand Dukes and Duchesses, who are known for their sympathy for Finland, have also received something. I often receive anonymously whole parcels of pamphlets from Paris and Brussels, which I endeavour to distribute».

With regard to European newspapers, the agitators were not idle in working up public, as well as private, opinion.

«I repeat to you», writes Sven Palme to Baron Born on the 22nd of March 1899; «what I wrote in the autumn,—that you must use all your energy in carrying on a great European agitation. We are all endeavouring to help you here in this. Ten days ago I wrote to the Editor of the Temps, whom I know, and represented to him that the Russian measures against Finland must throw Sweden straight into the arms of Germany. A great number of recommendations have been obtained for Finlanders residing abroad. The public opinion of Europe must be stirred up in favour of Finland, and it seems as if it had already begun to show itself. Some of to-days cuttings are translations from foreign newspapers. You will see that «The Times», «Berliner Tageblatt», «Vossische Zeitung», and «Le Temps» have taken up the matter sympathetically, also the «Journal de Geneve» and many others. You ask whether many of our friends on the press have been roused to anger. Yes, more than that, the whole of society is with me.

A little later (6th of May 1899) this same Sven Palme announces an undertaking of a different character.

«As you are aware, an address is being prepared to the Tsar from the representatives of intelligent society throughout Europe,—an address from the lights of civilisation with a small number of signatures. I am daily in consultation about this with Keemy, Nordenskjöld and others. The idea appears to me grand. When Konni Zilliakus arrives here the matter will be placed on a serious footing. He will also deliver a lecture about the monster address¹⁾ in a private circle at the invitation of the Student's

¹⁾ After the promulgation of the Manifesto of the 3rd of February 1899 regarding the system of examining bills or projects of law common to the Empire and the Grand Duchy, Finnish politicians bethought themselves of obtaining a repeal of the Manifesto by means of a great address from the people to the Emperor. This address, bearing thousands of signatures, was sent to St-Petersburg with several hundred persons, but it was not accepted.

Union. The public here are now in absolutely high spirits. But Järne is doing everything to poison the minds of the students of history at Upsala¹⁾.

With regard to the getting up of the address, here is a communication from Konni Zilliakus himself.

« Brother in honour », he writes to Baron Born on the 23rd of May 1899: « herewith is a letter to Karl Armfeldt, which I beg you to be good enough to read before sending it on farther, because I find that you in particular ought to be posted up at the present time in everything that is being done. Olaf Nykopp and Wrigt, who are here, agree with me that we cannot help troubling you, as we are not quite certain what to do in order to get the news to Armfeldt, while we recognize that he cannot be left without knowledge of this *international bomb* which must be ready for explosion in a few weeks. At the same time we have no desire to communicate the matter to anybody, as there is no certain security for the keeping of a secret at Helsingfors. Up to the present it has been withheld from the foreign press, although many newspaper writers of different countries are joining in the enterprize and promise their cooperation,—but this is very likely owing to the fact that no one in the diplomatic world has yet been made aware of it ».

It would be a mistake to suppose that this enterprize was being promoted entirely outside of Russia,—no, it enjoyed support and the benefit of good advice also from St-Petersburg.

« Dear Brother », writes to Baron Barw the Assistant Minister-Secretary of State for Finland, Steward of the Imperial Household, K. Armfeldt, on the 29th of May 1899,—« my relative, A. K. Armfeldt at Åbo in one of his recent letters informed me that I should receive through you a communication from Konni Zilliakus. As this has now reached me in an envelope bearing five impressions of the baronial arms in black sealing wax, I must conclude that you have been the connecting link between me and Konni, and I therefore hasten to thank you for this friendly service. The activity

¹⁾ Professor Järne of Upsala University continued to show that the juridical position of Finland as one of the component parts of the Russian Empire, was defined exclusively by the treaty of peace of Friedrichsham, by virtue of which (para. 4) Finland constitutes a Russian province, and that the Diet of Borgo, to which Finnish jurists refer as proof of the existence of treaty relations between Finland and Russia, is of no juridical importance, as it preceded the treaty of peace of Friedrichsham, and from the point of view of State law can only be regarded as an act of treason on the part of the Finns with reference to Russia.

of Konni is really colossal, if we consider how comparatively little time he has taken to start this mighty movement, which will apparently find expression in an European address to the Tsar of the Russians.

This expression: «Tsar of the Russians», is a very strange and uncharacteristic one for a Steward of the Imperial Household! Is there not a mistake here? Perhaps Count Armfeldt will contradict it, as we know that he is still alive, and in receipt of a pension.

«Konni», continues Count Armfeldt: «shows great capacity for politics, and is hardly behind English and American war correspondents in energy, speed, and resourcefulness. We shall see when the deputation arrives here to what extent the West has been unanimous in taking the matter up, but there is one important circumstance which should be attended to now, and that is, how is this deputation going to obtain an audience of the Emperor? It is hardly to be expected that the different Governments of Europe will allow their representatives here to give regular official support to the solicitation of the deputation for an audience of the Monarch. Probably they will not care to interfere officially in the «internal affairs»¹⁾ of Russia. It would not be convenient for the Secretary of State to act as an intermediary in this business, as that might cast a shadow of Finnish intrigues, or Finnish influence over the deputation. And then, if we consider that every move made by the secretarial Department in the direction of mediation would be regarded as an attempt to overstep the bounds of its authority, and also in view of the fact that this institution is at present in a state of transition, without any kind of influence in higher spheres, it at once becomes evident that the only resource left to the deputation is to apply to some influential Russian occupying a sufficiently high position that will enable him to take upon himself the onus of reporting the matter to (His)²⁾ Majesty. The correct thing to do in such a case would, of course, be to apply to the Minister of the Interior, or to his colleague of the Imperial Court. But are they likely to condescend to disturb themselves in order to do anything? Seeing that Nordenskjöld and Nansen, and perhaps many others in the deputation, are well known scientific men, who were formerly honoured here as heroes by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, it seems to me that these persons might apply to the august President of the Academy, the Grand Duke Constantin Constantinovich, and ask him to be good enough to inform (His) Majesty of their arrival etc. This way is probably the best, especially as in my opinion it is the only one left open to

1) The quotation marks are those of the author of the letter.

2) The author of the letter systematically leaves out the word «His».

us. Of course, Nordenskjöld ought to know what to do in order to express what he wishes to say, once he has undertaken to direct the action of the deputation in this country. My notions therefore may be superfluous and wrong. The results of your work, as I have read in the conclusions of the legislative commission N. L. are such that it must be said it could not, and should not, have been done otherwise. I have read these conclusions through several times with intense interest, and each time have discovered new qualities of conscientiousness and logic. Probably it was clear to you from the beginning that the Russians would pay no attention to this, although that could not influence the character of the decision. But how will they look upon all this? The Manifesto and rules of organization have been returned, the proposed laws as to military service, with supplements and protocols, have been disapproved of, and the last projects of law are ignored. I hope I shall not have to partake of this «soup».

These letters undoubtedly show that the address of protest from foreign learned men was prepared and thought out not by the foreign signatories of the address, but by Sven Palme, Konni Zilliakus, and other Finnish revolutionaries, that the Finnish people had nothing to do with it, and that the «shadow of Finnish intrigues and Finnish influence on the deputation», the discovery of which was so much feared by the «loyal» Assistant of the Minister-Secretary of State Count Armfeldt, is now quite clear. The public opinion of Europe was falsified by Finnish Swedes, a «Finnish intrigue» was labelled with an European name, and brass was issued for pure gold.

The deputation of the Jew Trarieux, who was formerly French Minister of Justice, was not received by the Emperor, and the «international bomb», although exploded, did not go off in the way anticipated by Konni Zilliakus and Count Armfeldt.

II

The Revolutionary Committee and Active Resistance.

When the Svecoman leaders and organizers of the Finnish revolution were asked to leave Finland, they went off, as already related, without any noise, and some of them, including Leo Mechelin, even started without waiting for notice to quit, and almost before it could

have been known that they were likely to receive such a notice. But they did not discontinue their activity «for the good of the fatherland», and «to the prejudice of Russia».

On this subject the following was communicated in a special report by N. I. Bobrikoff:

«According to information received, the chiefs of the movement against the Government who were expelled from Finland, and who for the most part have chosen Sweden as their permanent place of abode, are now banded together in a strong organization. Taking advantage of the possibility of free intercourse, and the absence of all supervision, they have formed a kind of revolutionary committee, which continues to direct the criminal action of their partisans remaining at home. At the head of the Committee is the ex Senator Leo Mechelin, and among its members are: Konni Zilliakus, Axel Lille, Baron von Born, Eugen Wolf, Jonas Castren, and the former senators Grippenberg and Nyberg».

Of these persons, Grippenberg and Nyberg have been appointed, on the recommendation of N. N. Gerhard, members of the Imperial Finnish Senate, and Leo Mechelin even Vice President of that institution.

«The duties of secretary to the Committee are performed by the bookseller Wenzel Hagelstamm. Other persons banished from Finland also belong to it, but they play no particular rôle, and only carry out orders.

The Committee carries on its work through the medium of trusted agents remaining in Finland, who periodically repair to Stockholm to receive instructions, and by means of an extensive correspondence.

Uninterrupted intercourse with Finland has also been facilitated by continual visits of Finlanders to Stockholm, which visits have been especially numerous during the current year. At the same time particular individuals required to attend the more important meetings of the Stockholm agitators are summoned from Finland. Among the Finns thus called over to Stockholm have been the Heradsöfding Edwin Wiigren (who is in the service of the Senate), Ernst Victor von Born, son of Baron Born, Berner Welling, director of the Nylands Bank, Doctors Järl Hagelstamm, and Adolf Törn-gren¹⁾, Lars Krogus, Director of the Steamship Company, Leonhard von Pfaller Bank Director, the Swedish Consul Ravander, Michael Londen (from

¹⁾ Through the recommendation of the Governor General of Finland Mr Gerhard, and the Minister-Secretary Langhoff, the accoucheur Törn-gren has now been appointed legal advisor to the Minister-Secretary of State in St. Petersburg — evidently as a reward for having been an active member of the revolutionary society at Stockholm.

Ekenäs) and many others. Some of these meetings have been held in the Hotel Rydberg, and some in the editorial office of the «Fria Ord».

The general programme of the committee aims at continuing the movement against the Government on a still wider scale, and it is even proposed to enter into relations with the Russian revolutionaries on a basis of mutual cooperation, with the object of overthrowing the existing Government of the Empire. To this end the Stockholm agitators intend to increase as much as possible their efforts to influence the public opinion of western Europe by means of verbal and printed propaganda, and to endeavour to damage in every way possible the policy of Russia in the eyes of the world.

In particular, the committee has decided to use every endeavour to explain the position taken up by the Senate on the question of expulsion, and then, by means of different kinds of offensive action against the persons of the present senators, to induce the latter to resign.

A collection is being energetically made for the purpose of bribing the foreign press, and in order to rouse the public opinion of western Europe against Russia, the committee intends to send its emissaries to different States to spread hostile views of Russian policy everywhere. Special attention is to be devoted to crowned heads, parliamentarians, and public men. As far as is known, Mechelin himself has the intention of going to Paris. In England they have Dr Julius Reuter, the brother of professor Reuter; Jonas Castren has already been in Karlsbad and Wiesbaden, and the well known Heinrich Biode (who was implicated in the murder of the Minister of the Interior Sipiagin) has been sent to Italy to enter into relations with the anarchists of that country with a view to getting up a demonstration hostile to the Emperor on the occasion of His Imperial Majesty's contemplated visit to Rome.

The proposed journey to Rome, as we know, was countermanded, and has not taken place down to the present day.

The agitators entertain an idea of the necessity of resorting to political murder, but in view of the extreme inertness of the Finnish population they intend to open negotiations with the Russian revolutionists abroad, and to use them for furthering the purposes of the revolutionary movement in Finland. It is stated that the Russians have already agreed to this on condition of receiving material support from the Finns. There is a plan for sending Russian agents into Finland disguised as Russian pedlers, as the Finns have long been accustomed to see this class of Russian visitor, besides which, agents under this guise are less likely to attract the attention of the local authorities. With regard to this point, active relations are being cultivated also with revolutionary

circles in the principal Russian towns (St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Odessa), as well as with Switzerland, while the Committee insist that space should be allowed in Russian secret literature for the defence of Finnish interests.

The Committee appears to command sufficient pecuniary means derived from private donations, subscriptions, deductions from commercial profits, voluntary contributions made by employés from their wages, special collecting boxes, part of the profits from lotteries, and amusements, and finally the transfer of a considerable portion of the monies contributed to the so called «fund for national education» and for sufferers from failure of crops.

The most animated meeting held at Stockholm, at which persons specially summoned from Finland took part, was devoted to the discussion of the questions of how to facilitate the flight of those Finns who shirked their military duties at the last enrolment of conscripts, and how to deal with the forthcoming monetary reform. In order to be able to contend against the latter reform, it was decided to adopt the following means:—With cooperation from the more prominent members of the Revolutionary party a special «joint stock Company of Credit» is to be formed at Stockholm, which, for the sake of appearances, will engage in the usual operations of credit. Its secret object, however, is to be the gradual extraction of money from Finland. It is proposed to interest all Finnish banks in this business, and their delegates have already been sent to Stockholm. By a successful manipulation of the proposed operations, Finland will be slowly but surely involved in a financial crisis, which it will then be easy to explain as a result of the measures of the Russian Government.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the programme of the group of exiled leaders of the Finnish agitation has now assumed a dangerous character, and threatens to disturb public order and safety in the Grand Duchy. The younger members of the circle with Konni Zilliakus at their head, are especially distinguished by their terroristic appeals, although amongst the partisans of extreme action is also Manu Rosendal. Zilliakus intends to form a special «fighting organisation» after the fashion of the Russian revolutionists. The members of this organisation must be strangers to one another, and unacquainted with the plans of the Central Committee which is to direct everything. This Committee must know them all, but each of the minor agents will only know one of the members of the Central Organisation.

As far as concerns L. Mechelin, it appears that he does not sympathize with the adoption of extreme measures. He prefers to remain within the limits of opposition on legal grounds. In his opinion violent action would only injure the success of the agitation, and he is more than

anything else inclined towards the idea of a Court of Arbitration, at which the rôle of an accused before his judges would fall to the share of Russia».

This is what was written by N. Bobrikoff to the Minister-Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy of Finland on the 30th of September (13th of October) 1903, and his words were prophetic. The Finns joined the ranks of the Russian revolutionists and signed their union with them at the Paris Revolutionary Conference. The protocol of the 4th of September 1904, which united all heterogeneous inhabitants of the Empire with the Russian revolutionists, and set light to the fire of revolt, was signed on behalf of the Finns by Arwid Neovius and Konni Zilliakus, the intimate acquaintance of Count Karl Armfeldt.

The transition from passive resistance to acts of violence, and the connection of the Finnish with the Russian revolutionists, are very plainly set forth in the Bill of Indictment of the Criminal-Commissary Pekkonen, who investigated the case of the street riots in Helsingfors on the 11th and 12th of January 1905.

«In the autumn of 1903, according to the evidence of Magister Gummerus at the police investigation, as soon as it was seen that the passive resistance policy had proved ineffectual, circles of local students and other young politicians began to discuss the necessity of taking active measures, and among other things of procuring the assassination of the late Governor General Bobrikoff. Earlier than this, in the newspaper «Fria Ord», which more than any other publication reflects the views of the most malicious enemies of the Government, it was pointed out that the title of «party of passive resistance» was incorrect, and in the last numbers for 1903 it was proposed to establish the closest rapprochement between the Finnish party of resistance and the Russian revolutionists. In an article published in the «Fria Ord» of the 12th of February 1904, almost at the same time that Eugen Schaumann gave over his will into the safe keeping of a friend in Sweden, the necessity of acting in unison with the Russian revolutionists was demonstrated in such terms that on the strength of this article we are fully justified in concluding that the Finnish party of active resistance had then openly made its appearance. Special importance is to be attached to the interpretation by A. Werner, the author of this article, of the relations of citizens towards the Monarch. The admission of the machine-instructor Albin Kollan, made before witnesses will

explain how the work of realizing the policy of active resistance was carried on. According to this admission there were several small groups, or circles, having for their object in one way or the other to compass the murder of Governor General Bobrikoff, and according to circumstances, to bring about the death of other official personages of high position in Finland. Kollan himself, it would appear, was not aware that the activity of these circles was directed by any unity of guidance, nor did he know whether Eugen Schaumann was a member of any circle like the one to which he, Kollan, magister Gummerus, the pilot and writer Nylander, the student G. Biode and others, belonged».

All the persons referred to in this Act of Indictment are mentioned in other documents here quoted.

«The new revolutionary and violent tendencies of the party of resistance became apparent for the first time in the form of a proclamation at the time of the labour manifestations on the 5th of July 1904. This proclamation was prepared and printed at Stockholm in April of the same year, and was kept there by several members of the party in expectation of a favourable opportunity for circulating it in Finland. At that time the majority of organized workmen had no suspicion of the designs which it was proposed to realize in their name and on their responsibility, and a number of persons were hired in return for ready cash at Helsingfors and Åbo to come forward at labour demonstrations as revolutionary orators and to distribute the above mentioned proclamation. The threats of this proclamation which were directed against the two representatives of high authority in Finland and Russia, General Bobrikoff and the Minister-Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy V. K. Plehve, were put into execution with astonishing rapidity».

The Bill of Indictment then describes the above mentioned meeting of Russian revolutionists at Paris, at which Konni Zilliakus signed the protocol, or minutes, «in the name of Finnish active resistance». It was not long before the consequences of this meeting and the decisions of the party became evident.

«In order to saddle the Finnish population with responsibility for the death sentences passed by the party at their discretion on Finnish Government officials, it was necessary first of all to organize manifestations of a politico-revolutionary character against the more prominent representatives of the old Finnish party and against members of the Government, who were pointed out as marks for independent assassins or bandits, chosen specially for the occasion.

Judging by all this, the street riots at Helsingfors on the 11th and 12th of January were only a link in the chain of crimes organized by the Finnish party under both the old and the new qualifications of its policy of resistance. The Finnish party of active resistance is working in Finland on lines corresponding with the programme of the Paris meeting in order to cooperate in the struggle against the existing organization of the State in Russia,—a struggle which the revolutionists are carrying on by acts of violence, by producing disorders, and exciting the minds of immature young men.

It is worthy of note that one of the persons accused of complicity in the street riots, Albin Kollan, subsequently took it into his head to flatly disavow the confession which he had made under examination with regard to the course of the revolutionary preparations. But the Criminal Commissary Pekkonen, in his turn, published a categorical refutation of this disavowal by Kollan («Hufvudstadsbladet», 1905, N^o. 61).

«When suspicion of harbouring criminal designs against the life of the late Governor-General Bobrikoff and of complicity in the murder committed by Eugene Schaumann fell upon several persons including Mr Kollan, the latter, who had been placed under arrest in view of the serious evidence against him, was interrogated by me on the 8th and 15th of July as stated in protocols of those dates. Mr. Kollan, who had incriminated himself and complicated his case by an attempt to carry on a secret correspondence from prison, subsequently submitted to his fate, and frankly told all about the far-reaching designs of himself and others. All his evidence was inscribed in the above mentioned protocols, and Kollan personally looked through both protocols, approved of their contents and of his confession, in testimony whereof he signed the protocols with his own hand, adding to the first the words «I acknowledge that my evidence at this examination is written down correctly», and to the second,—«Written down truly, Helsingfors, 15th of July 1905».

«Mr Kollan now thinks he can slip out of his confessions by categorically denying their existence to a public ignorant of the facts. But this cannot be done. It is clear from the following extracts who is speaking the truth, I or Mr Kollan. He acknowledged:

«That when the Governor-General decided to use force in order to change the relations of the country towards Russia this formed the more immediate reason for discussing the necessity of making him pay for it with his life. This caused Nylander and Biode to come to the determina-

tion to kill him. Later on, when the people were morally suffering from the system of spying their exasperation was increased to such an extent that even he, Kollan, then joined with others in deciding to kill General Bobrikoff as soon as a favourable opportunity offered itself. Kollan, however, was unwilling to explain when and how it had been decided at their conferences to accomplish this murder. In reply to the question as to how they could imagine that political assassination would change the course of events in their favour, Kollan said it was not improvement that they thought of, but vengeance, and that now revenge had been taken, although by a man outside their own circle. But God only knows how many had sworn to kill the Governor General. The newspapers declare that Schaumann was alone, but in this they lie. Almost the whole of educated society was positively hostile to General Bobrikoff. And if the new Governor General follows the policy of his late predecessor, he will also be killed».

«Being asked when he (Kollan) joined the circle, he explained that late in the autumn of 1903 he was visited, just before Christmas, by Nylander, who expounded his views to him. Nylander stated that there were many persons ready to oppose force by force, and Kollan was persuaded to join them. First of all it was necessary to kill the Governor General, and then his assistants could be dealt with as circumstances dictated. As this idea, it may be said, was already in the air, and was talked of everywhere, he, Kollan, decided to join the circle. Kollan knew only five or six persons belonging to the society. There were many more, but he did not know how many. They did not correspond with one another, and in general made use of as few names as possible. Kollan supposes that members of the society did not know one another when they met, and in fact that they had no idea of being members of the same society. Kollan does not know who is the head of the society. They did not meet often,—twice at Biode's, house and once at the house of Kollan. Biode at that time was residing at a boarding establishment in Oggleby. Not more than four persons attended the meetings, namely, Nylander, Biode, Kollan, and once the magister Herman Gummerus. Nylander, and especially Biode, behaved in a very arrogant manner as though the murder was their immediate business. The discussion turned on the means to be employed to accomplish it, whether by revolver or bomb. On one occasion Nylander and Biode said that somebody had gone to Sweden to enquire about nitroglycerine, but could not get any. No names were mentioned, and Kollan did not ask for any».

These are characteristic extracts from the original protocols signed in the handwriting of Albin Kollan, and officially authenticated.

The Criminal Commissary of the Police of Helsingfors, M. Pekkonen, author of the above quoted indictment concerning the street riots in that city, in dealing with the murder of Jonson, Procurator of the Imperial Finnish Senate, by Hohenthal, laid before the Court in the Town Hall a special memorandum containing a historical review of the revolutionary agitation in Finland, which, having been started under the device of «passive resistance», subsequently developed into a policy of active opposition, as manifested in a number of murders and attempts at murder. On the basis of information from the secret Swedish paper «Fria Ord», the recognized organ of the agitation, and on the evidence of documents and witnesses obtained by judicial examination, this memorandum of the Criminal Commissary Pekkonen traces the gradual evolution of the Finnish agitation towards a spirit of terrorism, the intimate alliance of the Finnish party of active resistance with the Russian revolutionists, their identity of aims, their means and methods of carrying on the struggle, and the distinct connection of the agitation with the crimes of Eugene Schaumann, the assassin of Adjutant-General Bobrikoff, of Karl Hohenthal, the murderer of the Procurator of the Senate, and of Reinikka, who attempted to kill the Governor of Viborg. By means of a number of eloquent quotations from Finnish revolutionary literature this memorandum explains the true meaning of the agitation, how it was intended to destroy the existing organization of the State, and overthrow the autocracy; how «loyal devotion» was preached in such a way that «resistance and mutiny were possible even against the bearer of the title of monarch». In short, this agitation which instigated people to violence, murder and rebellion, was carried on to the extent even of *raising the question of murdering the Tsar*.

In conclusion, this memorandum demands the criminal prosecution of a large number of persons charged with taking part in the agitation, and who were the chief men on the revolutionary organ «Fria Ord»,—including Konni Zilliakus, Arwid Neovius, Wenzel Hagelstamm, Erik Oerstrom, Julius Sundblom, Lennart Grippenbergh, Eugen Wolf, Ossian Procope and others.

All these men are again referred to in a number of documents here quoted.

Although L. Mechelin is not mentioned in the above list, his participation in the revolution is proved *inter alia* by the following facts: In December 1904, on the eve of the prorogation of the Diet for the Christmas holidays, Leo Mechelin stated in that assembly that «a revolution would break out in Russia in six weeks», and he proposed that the sittings should be resumed on the 10th of January 1905. The next day Mechelin went to St-Petersburg for one day in company with Professor Donner. On the 9th of January the first act of the Russian revolution was actually performed.—The «priest» Gapon made his public appearance in St-Petersburg, and on the 10th of January riots took place at Helsingfors and in other Finnish towns. Workmen paraded the streets and created disturbance and tumult everywhere. In the proclamations that were distributed the outbreak of the revolution at St-Petersburg was referred to, and the Finns were exhorted to join in it. The suppression of the labour demonstrations in the streets of St-Petersburg by military force caused the Finns to postpone their plans, which were subsequently only partly realized during the great strike in Russia in October 1905. To whom and in what direction did Mechelin go when he went to St-Petersburg? This ought to be known to the Department of Police. It is a question of the greatest importance. The answer to it might throw light on the participation of the Finnish revolutionary leaders in the Russian seditious movement and on their protectors in Russia.

Let us borrow some of the more noteworthy facts from the paper drawn up by Pekkonen. It is very interesting to read the rise and development of the official newspaper organ of the Finnish revolutionary agitation, the «Fria Ord».

«By its endless attacks on the Government the «Nya Pressen» incurred the displeasure of the Governor General and chief Censorship. Subsequently, during the accidental absence of the Editor in chief, who had gone to America and Japan¹⁾, the temporary Editor, Konni Zilliakus, was al-

¹⁾ The Editor was a well known member of the revolutionary Swedish party, Axel Lille, who subsequently became a Swedish subject. It is worthy of note that as early as the year 1900 this intimate friend of Konni Zilliakus went to Japan with some kind of secret object in view. Was it not then that preparations were made for a connection between the Japanese and the Finnish revolutionists?

lowed so much latitude in denouncing the Government and the Press Committee, and he succeeded so well in extending the «list of services» of his paper, that in the summer of 1900 the «Nya Pressen» was suppressed altogether. This was the chief reason for the establishment of the «Fria Ord», and the development of the propaganda on a still wider scale.

The «Fria Ord», however, was not the first Finnish organ of the contemporary press which found its way across the frontiers uncensored. In order, as was explained, to influence public opinion abroad, but in reality for the purpose of working up in Finland an optimistic view of foreign sympathy with Finland's, policy of resistance, large sums of money began to be used as early as 1899 for foreign newspapers, so as to get them to publish articles calculated to further the agitation on the Finnish question. These articles were bought or written in Finland at considerable expense, and afterwards distributed amongst the Finns in Finnish translations. They were spread by the leaders of the resistance policy as widely as possible amongst the Finnish population, who up to that date had been comparatively quiet.

When the Governor-General, in the exercise of his special powers, expelled from Finland a number of persons who were considered dangerous to the peace of the country, those persons all openly showed their hands in the «Fria Ord», and formed a foreign revolutionary committee. While the Finnish revolutionists carried on intercourse with their Russian colleagues, the «Fria Ord» gradually formed close relations with such Russian surreptitious literature as «Life», «Echo de Russie», «La Georgie», «Free Russia», «Ruthenische Revue», and «Messenger of the Russian Revolution». Other publications of this kind were recommended to readers by translations of articles, besides which the editorial staff of the «Fria Ord» did not consider it necessary to express any reservation in publishing the following blood-thirsty declaration made to the Finnish public:

✓ «On the 18th of July 1902 this paper published an article taken from the «Echo de Russie» on the assassination of the Minister of the Interior, Sipiagin, in which it was stated that:—«Very many Russians now express their full conviction that *killing is not murder*...

It is not necessary to be a fanatic in order to understand the depth and breadth of the abyss which separates men like Karpovitch and Balmashoff from ordinary murderers... etc».

The «Fria Ord» thus gradually made progress towards perfection in the particular line which it had adopted, until finally it positively proclaimed the necessity for Finland to go hand in hand with the Russian revolutionists.

«The theory of cooperative action with the Russian revolutionists was recognized also by Eugene Schaumann, who was led into this line of thought not by his own experience, but by the «Fria Ord», and by comrades of the party entertaining such ideas. In his will published in the «Fria Ord» on the 23rd of June 1904 Eugene Schaumann wrote:—«In drawing up this paper I have also thought somewhat about revolutionary Russia... Perhaps assistance may come from that quarter in the future, if no one else will help.» After the death of the Secretary of State Plehve the connection between the Revolutionists of Russia and the Finnish opposition began to be plainer and more intimate. For example, on the 21st of August 1904 the «Fria Ord» reproduced without comment, thus implying approval,—an explanation of the «fighting organisations», in which it was admitted that the murder of the Minister had been decided upon by that faction of terror. On the 2nd of October 1904 an article appeared in the «Fria Ord» taken from «Revolutionary Russia», with regard to the crime of E. Schaumann, in which the author complains of Schaumann, that, «holding views of loyal opposition and faithful allegiance, he was drawn into a vicious circle from which there was no means of escape except by committing suicide.» This time the «Fria Ord» defends the «loyal opposition» and shows that *there is a difference between slavish submission and the loyal allegiance of a free citizen, which may even require resistance and mutiny against Him Who wishes to bear the title of Monarch*. The conduct of Hohenthal, after the murder which he committed, shows that the directions of «Revolutionary Russia» were duly taken note of, and that there are murderers who take good care to preserve their own lives.

By the end of 1904 the «Fria Ord» had gone to such lengths that it began to speak of the Government and its higher representatives in the same threatening tone as that used by the Russian revolutionary prints. For instance, in an article of the 14th of December entitled «Also a speech from the throne», there is a reference to «the last Tsar», and so forth.

On the 10th of December 1904 the «Fria Ord» reproduced a «Report of the Conference». Its publication of this document was an act of considerable importance with regard to the policy of resistance, as it led to the belief that the aims set forth in this report had

received the official and patriotic sanction of the Finns. The report in question runs as follows:

«Manifestation against Russian Autocracy.»

On the 1st of December various foreign newspapers published the following document:

Only a few weeks ago in Paris the *delegates of all oppositional parties and organisations directed against the Autocracy held their first conference* in order to discuss cooperative action for attaining such objects as would appear to constitute the common aims of all these organisations. This will be seen from the protocol, or minutes of the meeting, which begin by stating that the *conference was called at the instance of several members of the Finnish opposition».*

The «declaration», which was drawn up and unanimously approved by the Conference, recognizes the undermentioned chief principles and demands.

1) «The destruction of autocracy, and the repeal of all measures violating the constitutional rights of Finland.

2) The substitution for autocracy of a free, democratical form of government, founded on universal electoral suffrage.

3) The right of self-disposal, the right of national development of all races guaranteed by the laws, and all violence on the part of the Russian Government with regard to different races to be discontinued.

For the sake of these fundamental principles and demands put forward at the Conference, all parties were to unite in their efforts to accelerate the downfall of absolutism, which was an obstacle to the attainment of all the other different aims pursued by the parties separately.

In conclusion, the signing of the original protocol and declaration by all the delegates present at the Conference was certified to by P. Struve on behalf of the Liberation Union, I. Kanevsky for the Polish socialist party, A. Gardinen for the Russian revolutionary socialists, and by Konni Zilliakus for the Finnish party of active resistance».

With regard to the crime of Eugene Schaumann, which caused the death of Governor General Bobrikoff, the «Fria Ord» expressed itself in such a way that it was evident the leaders of the party of resistance were at one with the murderer.

«To an attentive observer this first political shot fired in Finland is only the outcome of historical forces which so often manifest themselves through secret processes in the inner lives of separate individuals.

This increases the culpability of the powers that be, but does not *diminish the astonishment which the heroic self-sacrifice of the young man must undoubtedly evoke* in every person with a heart in his breast. Let philistines attempt to calculate whether it is profitable or unprofitable at the present moment to disclose their true feelings. Truth and freedom are never promoted by such calculations, or by masking the better feelings of humanity. *The sorely tried Finnish people should humbly bend the knee before the grave of this young hero, and show respect and gratitude for his self-sacrifice*, and for those silent hours of self inflicted anxiety, which consecrated him to be the avenging instrument of history.

The memory of the «young hero», as we know, was solemnly honoured in the Department of N. N. Gerhard, and a special deputation with banners went to the grave of Eugene Schaumann and made several speeches in his praise.

Certain measures, however, were taken by N. N. Gerhard in respect to this deputation. He did not allow any news about it to appear in the «Finnish Gazette». And then the Svecoman or Swedish party, who hailed the murder of the Minister Plehve, were instigators also in the case of the murder of the Procuror of the Senate, Jonson, and other similar crimes.

«First of all attempts were made to direct the weapons of the assassin against the Procurator, and certain Finnish circles in Sweden were the sources whence encouragement towards this end was freely given. At the beginning of October 1904 a simple Finn who had been to Sweden, was arrested in Helsingfors on suspicion of intending to kill the Procurator, but he himself declared that he only sought an opportunity of warning that official that three other persons were waiting for an occasion to murder him. Subsequently this simple Finn (Reinikka) fled from the town, and had the misfortune to fall under a train and get one of his arms crushed. He then confessed to the undersigned (Pekkonen) that he himself had the intention of committing the crime. He then escaped from the surgical clinic in a very mysterious manner. A couple of persons appeared at the hospital and carried off Reinikka dressed up as a woman before the eyes of the doctors. Later on he was discovered at Stockholm, where he resided with one of the Finns who had been expelled. This man was again sent into Finland, where he has now made an attempt on the life of the Governor of Viborg, Masoyedoff».

«In the «Fria Ord» of the 28th of January 1905 it is said with regard to the Minister-Secretary of State Linder: «that he must perish; this is a

natural law; and the more he bows and scrapes the lower he shall fall». This decision, or admonition, must be taken together with the following communication in the «Fria Ord» of the 25th of February concerning the plans of the Russian revolutionists. «We have still got very much work before us. Slowly but surely we proceed to remove one tyrant after another. This is the way in which we shall realize the revolution»¹⁾.

In concluding his memorandum the Criminal-Commissary says:

«1) The opposition to the Government in Finland in its most striking manifestations has been to a great extent excited, and continues to be excited, by a certain coterie of persons, who have sometimes succeeded in forming opinion in the rest of local society. This opposition reached its highest point of development after the outbreak of war with Japan, and it has not become in the least degree quieter since the convocation of the Diet, but on the contrary, efforts are being made to widen the breach, so as to prevent any negotiations with the Government of the Empire, and to put off such negotiations until after the wish of the Finnish agitators, which is to overthrow the existing form of government in Russia, shall have been realized».

«2) These same fomenters of anti-government agitation have at the same time undertaken to make the lower orders of the population discontented with every kind of military service or duty, and to persuade young men liable to be called to the colours to emigrate, thus violating paragraphs 21 and 23 of the 16th section of the Criminal Code. They have also encouraged every kind of radical and revolutionary manifestation directed against the existing order of things, incited to resistance, to threats and violence against officials, supported revolutionary social-democracy, and attempted to create sympathy amongst the Finnish people with Russian and foreign doctrines of terror».

«3) The editors of the «Fria Ord», «The Black Book», «The Civilians Catechism», and other collaborators on the «Fria Ord» have by their exciting articles first of all arranged the murder of Governor General Bobrikoff, then that of the Procurator Jonson, and have made many attempts to assassinate other officials (the assistant Governor General Deutrich, the Governor of Viborg, Messoyedoff, and others). There are many indirect proofs of the existence of a secret plot, or of many such plots, with intent to murder senators, governors and other persons in the Government service, as well as private individuals holding independent views. Of these intentions the persons engaged in editing these papers had, and must have had, information, and by withholding it from the authorities they were, and still are, accessories to the crime».

¹⁾ This is being realised up till now with regard to officials of the Empire.

«4) The editors of the «Fria Ord» have not only tried to inspire the inhabitants of Finland with the idea that they are exempt from loyal duty to the Monarch, but in a number of statements this journal has pointed out the possibility of violently destroying the present system of Government in Russia, and of organizing a Federative State in its place. The «Fria Ord» on its own account assumed a tone of provocation towards the Crown, and without any reserve inserted articles in which the question was raised of murdering the Sovereign».

In view of the foregoing the Criminal Commissary Pekkonen «has the honour» to request that the persons above referred to should be brought to trial in order to ascertain to what extent they are judicially responsible for the agitation in question. But this humble request resulted in an unexpected surprise for the Criminal Commissary: the representatives of Russian authority in Finland suddenly became the blind and obedient servants of the Svecomans, or Swedish agitators,—that is to say, of the very same gentlemen whom Pekkonen had the honour to make responsible for the dangerous state of affairs in the Grand Duchy. It will, therefore, be easily understood that Pekkonen not only found himself in prison, but also in irons. He was badly beaten, and if he escaped death, it was only thanks to an oversight on the part of the new managers of Finland, who allowed him to run away from the country.

III.

The Fighting Organisation.

The characteristics of this «Fighting Organisation» will be best of all given in the words of a sketch of the activity of one of its most prominent members, the Doctor of Philosophy Lulu, who was, so to speak, one of the Directors of the Foreign Committee, and who committed suicide in Berlin in 1903, as some would have it, from the effects of nostalgia, or else, as there is strong reason to believe, in consequence of embezzlement of «patriotic» money.

On the 30th of September 1903 the Governor General of Finland wrote to the Minister Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy as follows: (No. 6683).

«In the Fighting Organisation Lulu was at the head of the district Central Committee of Viborg.

«It will be seen from a secret circular found in his correspondence, that the general management of the organisation was conducted by the Chief Central Committee, which gave instructions to the district or local central committees, and these latter had to find one or more leaders for each commune within their jurisdiction. These communes were further split up into smaller units and these again into circles, for all of which leaders had to be found. The object of the organisation, as will be explained by this circular, was to agitate continually among the population with the view of exciting on the one hand hatred of the existing system, and on the other of inducing a predilection for rifle shooting for both men and women. And the organisation was to be gradually furnished with arms, «so as not to be caught one fine day without any means of defence, and thus fall an easy prey to the enemy», who it is, of course, understood is the Russian Government».

All this is to be carried on with such secrecy that even members of a committee are not to know anything else besides what he or she individually has to do, and the whole contents of a circular can only be known to the one head of any given district central committee. It is proved that Lulu was the head of one of these committees by the fact that in view of the secrecy in which the affairs of the organisation was conducted this circular was found in his possession, while the fact of his particular committee being that of Viborg is indicated by certain pencil sketches made by him on a bill found among his papers. On the left side are drawn the Gulf and town of Viborg, and on the right side are notes of villages or small settlements in the province of Viborg such as Khovinmaa, Nurmis, Hainioki etc. These [probably represent separate units of territory. Against each name are figures, which we suppose refer to the number of circles contained in each larger unit. All these circles and other units probably enter into the composition of a commune under the leadership of a certain Jnkilainen, whose name stands at the head of the plan. This organisation has lately been pretty well arranged; it has found means and has hired persons to carry out its orders, as attested by a letter to Lulu from Eugene Wolf of the 17th of January 1903, written in the Hotel Kemp at Helsingfors. While writing in this letter about a proposal to send a special instructor into the northern districts, which had suffered most from the failure of crops, and where the people had shown an inclination the

At the head of the Committee of Wasa was Gummerus, Mag. Ph., whose criminal prosecution was discontinued by the Finnish authorities after the murder of Gen. Bobrikoff, in spite of his evident guilt.

year before to submit to the law on military service, Wolf asks Lulu to communicate information as to the «political trustworthiness» of one of the candidates for that post, A. Sipola, an agricultural instructor at Viborg. This organisation did not arise all at once, as on the 21st of May 1902 Ero Erko wrote to Lulu with reference to a certain political propaganda:— «Consult with assistants in the matter and let me know».

«Letters taken from Lulu confirm his friendly, intimate and political relations with Ero Erko and Eugene Wolf, who were expelled from the Grand Duchy, and also with Rosendal, former Rector of the Lyceum College at Uleaborg, who was removed from that post by order of the Emperor. From the latter two, among other things, he receives the most pressing invitations to attend at various secret conferences taking place at Uleaborg, Tammerfors and Helsingfors. He is also in touch with the suspicious elements of the Empire. A certain Protopopoff who lived at Terioki in 1900 and was then in relations with Lulu with reference to the acquisition of illegal literature, wrote to him in a letter dated the 21st of November 1901 recommending to his attention two old friends, Falberg and Genroluski, lately cast, as he expresses it, on the shore at Terioki by a political storm which had then recently burst over St Petersburg».

«The common people are apparently the object of special concern in Lulu's circle. Wolf sends him various surreptitious publications about military service for distribution in the communes¹⁾. Erko asks him to take care that at the church meetings of laymen partisans of the policy of resistance²⁾ are elected, in case the old Finnoman party should begin to talk politics at those assemblies. The propaganda of resistance to the new law of military service was certainly carried on pretty widely, as two anonymous correspondents in their letters encourage him to continue this policy in spite of the fines and threats by which the authorities seek to put the law into force. Among other things he busied himself with translating forbidden literature into the Finnish language, as may be seen from the letters of the former proprietor of the Hotel Imatra, M. Frazer³⁾, and the journalist Westerdahl⁴⁾. He undoubtedly kept a store of prohibited books and pamphlets, for a certain Pykelä from Mali informs him in a letter of the 15th of November 1900 that the pamphlet «How we defended the right of Finland» had been sold out according to arrangement, and requesting the despatch of 20 more copies as well as some other surreptitious publi-

Letters of Ero Erko of 21st May, 8th September, and 24th October 1902, and of Rosendal of 10th January 1901.

¹⁾ 19th and 21st January 1902, and 17th January 1903.

²⁾ 21st May 1902.

³⁾ 27th May 1902. Frazer was an ex officer of the Jäger regiment of the Guard

⁴⁾ 20 October 1902.

cations. In a letter dated 3rd January 1903 a certain Lindholm asks him to send 300 copies of the «Citizen's Catechism», constituting a collection of the demands made by the rebels on the question of resistance».

«A correspondent who sent news of the suicide of Lulu to the «Hufvudstadsbladet» at Helsingfors tried to make an act of heroism out of it. He attempted to explain it by home sickness, and the impression produced upon the sensitive nature of Lulu by the idea of not being able to return to his native country. No one, however, believed this, and as soon as the fact of his suicide became known persistent rumours at once began to circulate everywhere to the effect that there had been considerable embezzlement of money entrusted to him as treasurer of the League of Patriots. Later it was also reported that the League had ceased to pay him a salary constituting his chief means of support because of his carelessness in having left at home at his lodgings important papers, which had fallen into the hands of the police during a domiciliary visit».

«Which of the two versions is nearest to the truth, it is difficult to say. Available data furnished by the correspondence which was seized only confirm the facts that Lulu was really treasurer of some kind of agitator's circle, and that he was in want of money. For instance, there are two receipts of a person named Ero Väkopart dated 6th and 29th March for 40 marks and 90 marks respectively, the last sum in two instalments, on account of travelling expenses. A Berlin firm publishing monthly socialistic prints writes on the 22nd April 1902 requesting payment for papers sent to him during two quarters. In a letter of 20th October 1902 the journalist Westerdahl proposes that he should help him to render into Finnish the forbidden work called, «The Representation of the Senate», promising to give him 40 marks out of 100 marks which he expected to receive for the translation. This information, although meagre, is quite enough to show plainly that it was not home-sickness that caused Lulu to do away with himself, but exclusively material difficulties. To this must be added the fact that Lulu was long before that known as a bitter enemy of Russia. As editor of the «Wipurio Sanomat», a paper now extinct, he inserted inflammatory articles in order to incite the people to hate Russia and everything Russian. Being a very fine speaker, he was continually making fiery speeches, full of hatred, at meetings of workmen, among whom in many places he enjoyed great popularity. At Viborg he was even president of the working men's union. He lost no opportunity of coming forward also with such speeches at gatherings of educated and more intelligent people. For example, he made a very sharp speech against the Government at a dinner of 300 persons on the 12th of November 1899 in honour of ex Senator Mechelin (on the occasion of the latter's sixtieth birthday. At that gathering he took part in presenting the guest of the

evening with a gold «jeton» or pendent to a watch-chain, on one side of which was represented the bust of Mechelin and on the other a view of Finland with the rising sun. According to the Danish newspaper «Politiken» this presentation was tantamount to an offer of the crown for distinguished citizenship. For «very obvious reasons» it could not have been expressed more clearly on that occasion». (Note to a letter from the Governor General of Finland, General Bobrikoff, to the Minister Secretary of State V. K. Plehve of the 30th September 1903, № 6683).

As already mentioned, among the papers of this doctor of philosophy was found a circular, which showed that Lulu was head of one of the local committees. There is good reason to suppose that this circular of the «fighting organisation» was written by the ex Senator and Lieutenant General of the Head Quarter Staff, Schaumann, father of the assassin of Adjutant General Bobrikoff, and who was accused of high treason for having devised a plan of arming Finland and instructing the Finns in rifle shooting with criminal intent. Here is the circular in question issued by the «fighting organisation».

«Dear Sir, Supplementary to my visit, and for furthering the success of our business, I propose the following for your observance:

1) The organisation must be kept alive by means of intensive, independent action of the central points at different places; special parts of the programme will as a rule, be issued from the chief central committee.

2) Everything must be done in order to preserve the confidence of the people, and strengthen the feeling of mutuality between them and us.

3) The political self-consciousness of the people must be strengthened by every available means.

4) Immediately on receipt of this, send me news of the number of different leaders according to the projected plan of organisation. In doing this it will be best to employ the following form: — For example, Parikkala 1—7—120 (47); this means that you inform me first of all of the name of the parish, then in turn the number of communal, sub-divisional and district leaders in the locality, while the figures in brackets denote the number of circuit leaders, who have already been persuaded to join.

5) In carrying on the agitation against the existing system it must be carefully attended to that hatred is not excited against the Russian people as such, but only against the aforesaid system.

6) All voluntary associations for serving the interests of different sports should be zealously favoured and furthered in their development.

7) All trustworthy persons who are recognized as suitable for the purpose, are requested through the medium of members of the organisation, each in his own locality, to rouse interest in rifle shooting. The person interested will purchase alone, or in agreement with others, a small calibre rifle of the Winchester type (price 27 marks) together with the corresponding cartridges (price 1 rouble 75 kopeks per hundred, carrying 40 metres, and 3 roubles 50 kopeks per hundred, carrying 150 metres), and teach all the youths and men in his particular locality how to shoot properly, on the understanding, of course, that he teaches only one at a time. The description herewith enclosed of targets and shooting is a course of instruction and guide in such teaching. Male and female teachers in village national schools who are to be trusted, are called upon to teach the boys and girls of the upper classes in this way one at a time.

8) Teachers of rifle practice are requested to inscribe the names of their pupils according to their skill in shooting, in three categories, namely;—1st category, the average number of hits on a 20×30 centimetre board at 50 metres, 2nd category, the average number of hits on a 15×30 centimetre board at 50 metres, 3rd category, the average number of hits on a 5×30 cent. board at 50 metres.

These lists of names are to be made by the central members in their respective communes.

9) In testing the skill of pupils in shooting it must be arranged that as soon as the one undergoing training attains to the third category of marks, a fresh one shall be taken, and so on, one after another, until all the pupils on hand to be trained have become efficient. If time and means allow, the practice may be continued with those who have shown most interest and capacity, until the 2nd category is reached, and then with the best up to the 1st category.

10) Persons having the means should be persuaded to purchase rifles for long distance shooting all of one kind,—like the Mauser, self loading for 5 cartridges of the carbine type, costing about 80 marks, and those who wish may receive them through the organisation in return for cash payment.

11) Each of the central members shall keep exact statistics of the number of rifles distributed in this way in their respective communes.

12) Since arms have now been taken away from our people, it is absolutely necessary to exert every effort not to be caught one fine day without means of defense and thus to fall an easy prey to the enemy, who by disarming and rendering the nation harmless is preparing to attack and destroy it. If the female portion of the population show any inclination and interest in shooting practice it will not only in many

respects have a beneficial influence on the women themselves, but also on their brothers and husbands.

13) Private shooting drill for those of the 1st, and possibly of the 2nd category of marksmen, must from time to time be arranged in the communes, and at the same time collections should be systematically made among the better to do class of the community in the communes for the purpose of giving prizes in money.

14) The work thus projected for accomplishment must of course be carried on cautiously and gradually, but systematically, carefully, and with determined perseverance.

15) Whenever any measure is passed in a subdivision of the organisation, a report of the same must be laid before the proper central member.

16) On requiring anyone to do any kind of work for the organisation, the person called upon to do it shall be informed only of that which he is requested to do, everything else remaining between ourselves.

17) These sheets, the due receipt of which you will be good enough to acknowledge by bearer, must be regarded as instructions for your personal guidance, and are not therefore intended for circulation even among those of your central point.

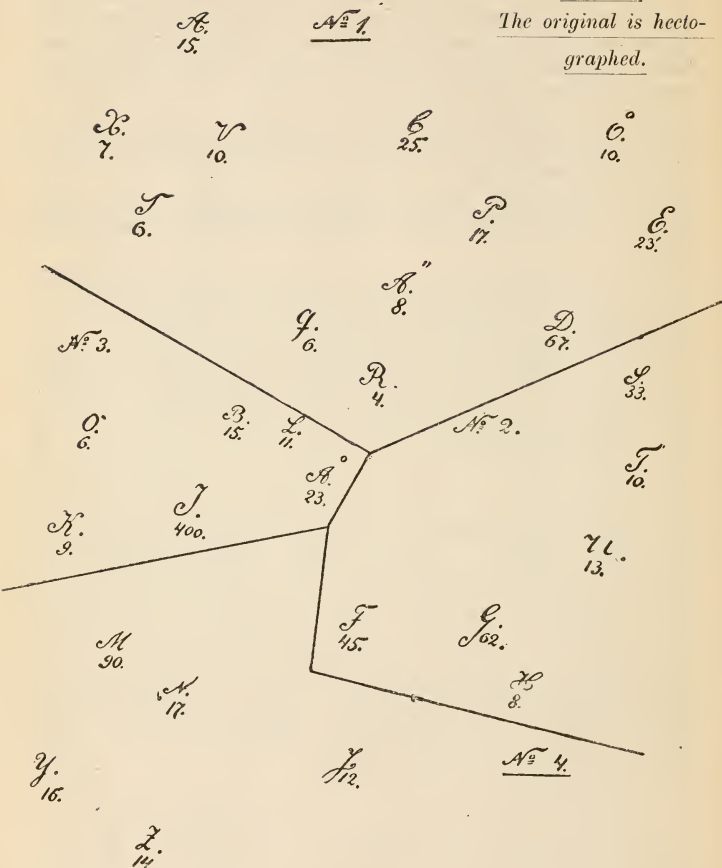
As prizes it will be best of all to offer shares in the rifles (in the form of a cheque)¹⁾.

Some of these points, not only as regards their contents, but also in the matter of expression, are almost identical with the document written by the hand of General Schaumann, and published during the trial at Åbo. That document contained the considerations which induced Schaumann to project the rifle societies in Finland, one of which was superintended by his own son Eugene, the assassin of General Bobrikoff. Among the papers of Lulu, besides this circular, there was also a mysterious hectographed sketch, of which a fac-simile is given on the next page.

¹⁾ Note to letter of Governor General Bobrikoff to the Minister-Secretary of State Plehve of the 30th Sept. 1903, No. 6683.

COPY.

The original is hectographed.



Supposed to represent the railway lines from Hangö and Åbo through Tammerfors to St Petersburg.

IV.

Ways and Means of Action.

The foregoing information is probably sufficient to enable the reader to form an idea of the organisation abroad of the Finnish revolution, as also of the means of action employed by its promoters in Europe and Russia. For their admirable choice of the ways and means specified below, the Finns, we repeat, deserve our compliments. They have cleverly conceived and skilfully carried out their programme on the following lines:

1. The use of esthetical means as a serviceable weapon in promoting the agitation. The perambulation of Europe by choirs of Finnish singers, and artistic taste displayed in getting up pamphlets, with which the higher circles of European society have been inundated.

2. Influence brought to bear on the nobler feelings of humanity. The language of all the agitation literature is elevated. Not half a word about money, but all the virtues at every step, such as honesty, loyalty, love of country etc.

3. Employment of ladies as the best executive organs of the agitation. (Princess Ebba Solms, Baroness Alma Oertzen, and others).

4. An energetic propaganda carried on in the press, and no hesitation even in bribing editors whenever necessary.

5. Finally, the Finns, with all their economical habits, have not spared money for the agitation. On this point it is interesting to note their instructions with regard to money boxes.

Many of those to whom the necessity of passive resistance to violence and illegal excess of authority has become clear, are not in a position to take part in the zealous work of guarding the laws and the rights of our country. But each may help on this important work by contributing much or little to the fund to be collected for that purpose. For the success of the cause material aid, among other things is indispensable, and to this end the money box is recommended.

These money boxes were distributed all over Finland. They were small cardboard boxes coloured red, which could not be opened,

and with a slot for putting in the coin. On one side of the box was painted an open book with the device «For law and right», and on the other the name of the province.

The following advice was given for the use of these boxes.

«A certain percentage of income may be put away in the money box, as, for instance, a proportion of salary, trade profits, domestic means and so forth. On a certain day in the week put away in the box all monies or coins of a certain value which come into your hands on that particular day. At gatherings for sewing and coffee-drinking the quantity of the different sorts of bread may be diminished. At dinners and other entertainments the quantity of wine may perhaps be reduced. Frequenters of restaurants might reduce the exorbitant consumption of punch and liquors. Let winnings at games go into the savings bank. Let pocket debts when returned go into the savings bank. Special simplifications of dress might be carried out by ladies. For instance, silk linings to petticoats might be replaced by woollen ones. But those who do not wish to deny themselves anything of this kind, let them pay a «luxury tax» instead. The Money boxes will be emptied twice a year, in April and October, and the contents handed over to the person from whom the box was received. Note: Neither the money box, nor this paper shall be shown, or given to any stranger».

The five points above enumerated did not exhaust the means of warfare employed by the Finnish revolutionists against Russia. Striving under the flag of a Finland supposed to be oppressed, and with the intention of taking the country into their own hands, the Svecoman, or Swedish party did not restrict itself to methods of this kind, but made use of others, which had nothing to do with nobility of feeling and esthetics, such as lies, deception and fraud.

After so much of every kind of assurance of the loyalty of an unjustly oppressed country, after its most enlightened representatives had appealed to the best feelings of European society, it would appear strange and unnecessary to resort, for example, to the falsification of historical documents. But the leaders of the Swedish party did not find this superfluous. Baron Born having set himself the task of selecting documents of the last century by which to prove that Finland is not an autonomous province of Russia, but a separate independent State, and only in union with the Empire, he happened to stumble upon certain legislative acts of the times of the Emperors

Alexander the First, Nicholas the First, and Alexander the Third, which it was impossible to interpret in any sense favourable for his purpose. Born then sought advice from Professor Rabhe Wrede of the Alexander University, and also from Leo Mechelin. The advice tendered by these inventers and propagators of the idea of Finland being a separate State, is strikingly characteristic of the methods employed by Finnish historians to support this thesis:

Here are the full contents of a letter from P. Wrede to Baron Born on the 8th of January 1899 written from Wredsbj.

«Brother Victor,

Owing to the slowness of the post between our estates it was only yesterday that I received your letter with the rough draft of the Collection of Official Acts. The latter I have read through with great interest, but with little, or even no result, as in consequence of not having here in the country the Collection of Enactments and the literature on the subject, I am unable, except in one or two cases, to verify the contents of the acts referred to. I shall not, however, keep back the reflections or, if you like, objections to which the perusal has given rise. When a collection like this contains only short extracts from Imperial Manifestos and public documents, it may always be objected that there are other manifestos and documents which put the matter differently, or that in the unquoted parts of an act there is something which in a certain degree weakens the meaning of the passages quoted. It will be said that things like these ought to be read in their entirety, and not in parts disconnected from the whole. Personally, I think in the majority of cases this objection would be unfounded, as the reproduction of the act in full would give the same result. But among these documents, if my memory does not deceive me, there are some which are not all through *equally favourable* for us. I suspect this is the case with the Manifesto of the 5th of June 1808, and the Rescript of the 20th of February 1891. *In such cases I think it is better to omit the act altogether.*

«In other cases in which a document does not contain anything less favourable for our purpose it would be better perhaps to give the act in full, *printing in italics those parts which are of particular importance from our point of view.* In that way we should avoid giving cause for any objections of this kind».

«As far as concerns the rest of the enterprize, I find it a good one, in fact a very good one. My object in bringing the matter forward has been to induce you to consider everything yourself, as I cannot read

through the acts to which you refer. For this reason it is impossible for me to criticize as I should wish to do. I therefore return the rough draft, and at the same time enclose herewith an extract from the report with a letter from L. M.».

Meanwhile L. Mechelin writes to Baron Born on this subject from Helsingfors on the 14th of January 1899.

«I return your papers with enclosure containing my proposed additions and a few remarks. I have made certain notes for your consideration on the margins of your proposals».

«My opinion is as follows:

«Extracts ought not to be made very short. Each document, or part of a document, which is quoted ought to be reproduced as far as possible in full, otherwise our detractors will at once cry out that our treatment of the subject is unfair».

«The form of Administration, Act of Union and Security, and the Statutes of the Diet cannot be included in a publication of this kind, even if you insert the Manifesto of 1866 on the Right of Motion as the latest proof of the participation of the representatives of the people in the legislative authority of the country. Different extracts on the question,—only because they contain references to the Form of Administration and Act of Union and Security, — do not belong to this part of the subject, and may well be left out, especially so if, as I understand, we shall include the programme of 1864 given to the Committee on the Fundamental Laws, and which contains a complete recognition of the old fundamental laws.

«The text should be printed from the originals, and not from the reproductions by Berg, which may be inaccurate».

«I have spoken with Edlund, and he is disposed to undertake the publication. I have told him that you yourself will enter into direct negotiations with him».

«It will be difficult to get out a Russian edition, as there is no authorized censor on the spot for Russian publications».

On Born's manuscript, as returned, the following occurs among notes made by L. Mechelin:

«As regards the Rescript of the 28th of February 1891 we are confronted by the delicate question as to how far it would be right to publish only a small extract from that document,—that is to say, only the part which is in favour of Finland,—and to leave out all the rest which is equally essential. I advise you to give the whole of the Rescript in order to avoid the reproach of being one-sided, but to have the part favourable to Finland either separated from the rest of the text, or else printed in italics».

Wrede (see above) proposed to omit altogether the Imperial Manifesto of 5th of June 1808 as being prejudicial to the aims of the publication in question. It must be mentioned, however, that Born nevertheless did quote an extract from the Manifesto in his book, though not in the text, but amongst the notes. This extract is very short, only a few words being given, which contain nothing, as Wrede remarked «unfavourable for us», that is to say, for the purposes pursued by Wrede and others.

From this it would appear that Baron Born made an attempt to preserve what remained of conscientious scruples, but in reality this was not the case. On the contrary, owing to the omission of the end of the phrase cited, the quotation is made to bear quite a different meaning from that which was expressed in the Russian original. At the same time, it will not be superfluous to point out that this phrase has been taken from the Swedish text, which does not at all agree with the original document in Russian.

Those, who for the sake of gaining an advantage, do not hesitate to manipulate historical documents in this way, will not stick at ordinary falsehoods. For instance, after a domiciliary search made, it was said, without the slightest reason, on a certain night in 1903 at the house of Baroness von Born, several foreign newspapers published communications relative to the action of the administrative authorities in Finland, and in particular as to the rough behaviour of the officials at that search towards the aged Baroness, who was only just then recovering from a serious illness. In these communications either facts were distorted, or else incidents were reported which never occurred. As far as concerns the venerable Baroness von Born, that lady did not even wake up during the search, which took place at 12 o'clock noonday, and the chief of the detective police at Helsingfors only just peeped into her room with the door ajar. (Report of the Governor of the province of Nyland to the Governor General of Finland, 22nd of April — 5th of May, 1903).

This is a small incident, but a characteristic one. Here is a much more serious example. The artist-painter Edelfeld, who is

not altogether unknown, and whom the Finns laud to the skies as almost a world-wide genius, was once received at the Royal castle of Fredensborg in Denmark in such a gracious manner that the daughter of Baron Born, Elvira de la Chapelle, wrote to her father about the visit as follows:—(20th October 1889).

«As you are probably aware, Edelfeldt was received by our Emperor at Fredensborg, which in the morning looked like a magic and deserted castle. Not a soul was there except the Court laquey and Prince Obolensky. The Emperor was grand, and spoke amiably about his trip in Finland etc., while the Empress at parting asked about us and said that she was very glad to see us again».

A few years later the «great» Edelfeldt^{and} publicly repaid the Emperor Nicholas II for the kindness of the Emperor Alexander III in graciously granting him this private audience. Another daughter of Baron Born writes to her father from the Paris Exhibition on the 13th of April 1900.

«Edelfeldt and Wallgren will have to carry their heads very high in order to keep their places in the art section. Of course the Russians have given the worst places for the Finnish pictures, and besides this they have placed two of Edelfeldt's productions among those of Russian artists on the pretence that they belong to Russia. With the most naive Asiatic freedom they said to him: — «Soyez donc gentil et donnez nous vos tableaux».

«The Russians themselves are most wretchedly represented, and they expected in this way to make their walls more attractive».

«Edelfeldt answered that there was no question of being «gentil» or not «gentil», but simply of fulfilling the commission given him by the Finnish Government to exhibit the pictures of Finland. Everybody with one voice declares that the Finnish pavillion is splendidly arranged to ensure success. The drawings of Gallen on the ceiling are excellently executed. He produces the impression of a natural genius. The design has been carried out as it were with hints at our relations with our «elder brothers». For example, you see *eagles ploughing a field full of serpents, amongst them being the King or Emperor serpent, with a crown on its head, and this head bears a fatal resemblance to that of Nicholas II*».

Eagles ploughing a field full of serpents! What a magnificent flight of fancy! But the gentlemanly purpose of Edelfeldt in exhibiting such a picture was clearly to express thanks for the gracious reception granted him by the Emperor.

When anything can be obtained by bowing these faithful Baron Borns, are not averse to bending their backs though in front of only a Minister. (Below we shall describe the reception by V. K. Pløve), and when there is a possibility of kicking with impunity, they consider it their duty to do so, forgetting all feelings of devotion previously expressed. Hanna Palme writes to Baron Born on the 18th of March 1899:

«How we rejoiced over the results of the address.

«It was such a grand proof of deep feeling among all classes of our people at the injustice done to us. If this protest never reaches the Emperor it will testify to that injustice before all Europe, and serve as evidence of the high development of a small country that protests in such a worthy manner. The enormous number of signatures to the address has made an extraordinary impression here, and excites astonishment».

«This very moment Sven has just come in with news of a telegram received by Harold Solman, stating that the deputation with the address has not been allowed to approach His Majesty, and also that they have been threatened. O, this is awful, — so cruel that it makes every fibre in one's body tremble. O dear me! what will become of us? All hopes disappear one after the other. What will you do? What possibilities are left of getting at the Emperor?»

One would think they all lived only in the hope of winning the Sovereign's favour. And yet in the Swedish newspaper «Stockholms Dagsbladet» № 128, of the year 1903, we find the following account of the doings of prominent Finns.

«Christiania, 12th May. The expelled Finns Baron von Born, advocate Kastren, and Eugene Wolf arrived here today. They at once went to G. B. Björnson to express the thanks of Finland for the poem «*Ped modtagelesen af siste Post van Finland*». («On receipt of the last post from Finland») which he lately published».

«The travellers were today the guests of the poet, together with Professor Nansen».

It may be that Björnsterne Björnson really has distinguished himself, and given to the world a beautiful and striking piece of poetry. In any case, it is reproduced here below in a faithful translation, and it will be seen that, with exception of vulgar hints at the end, and references to the «executioner», there is nothing in it that merits the least attention.

On receipt of the last post from Finland.

What is this weeping and wailing
Wafted to us from the woods
Across the Bothnian Gulf?
Comes it from the victims of persecution?
There sounds a majestic chant,
Carried by the rustling of the pines,
In long drawn out plaintive strains:
It is the misfortune of thousands.
Listen! — like a thousand-voiced appeal:
Yes, yes — it is the spirit of the people.
The death of the perishing swells the cry,
And all on that side,
The living, those being born and the dead,
All are crying out for the fatherland.
And you lying in your graves,
Have you found peace, — that light of your desires,
Which should bind the family of nations.
It has befallen. A misfortune has overtaken you.
It has overtaken you — and the *executioner* knows.
It has attacked your very deepest feelings,
Having snapped the finest cord of life
Binding you to God, who is everlasting mercy.
It overwhelms the idea of justice.
Like the Gods of Heldenhold
Who would the earth create, He was obeyed,
And from this the foundations were destroyed.
Faith disappeared from babes,
Suffering equally with the old and tried.
The misfortune inspires suspicion:
It overtakes even youth and those full of joy.
But he who oppresses the people,
(In which he never shall succeed)

He was born of a northern woman
And grew up on Danish meads.
O, Denmark, the well known executioner draws near,
Then be to him a righteous judge:
Forbid him to tread that land,
The land of the free Norsman.

In this confused balderdash the poverty of thought and design are as bad as in the picture of Gallen exhibited by the great Edelfeld. Only one thing is clear, and that is the object of it, which was simply to give offence. The interest, however, is not in these «great» productions themselves, for they have no artistic value, but in their connection with Baron Born and his adherents,—that same Baron, who on occasion in St. Petersburg could be quiet enough, and who had the audacity to present himself at Tsarskoe Selo after having made a trip to Sweden to thank Björnson for his pasquilian verses.

The following extract gives Born's own account of how he and Professor Donner presented a petition on the subject of the introduction of Russian as the official language into the institutions of Finland to State Secretary Plehve some years earlier.

Pløve, a man of middle age, somewhat stout, with a pale but rather intelligent face of the Russian type, received us standing. He stretched out his hand, not without a certain condescension of the statesman, and invited us to sit down. I (Born) wanted to make him understand that we would explain our business standing, even though he himself preferred to sit, but when von P repeated the invitation and Donner whispered in Swedish that perhaps we might take seats, we sat down. I sat in an arm chair nearer to Plehve, with a small table between us. In a serious, clear, and rather impetuous than fluent voice I spoke to him as follows: «A large number of members of the Finnish Diet which has just been dissolved, have held a meeting on the subject of the new project of introducing Russian as the official language into the administrative offices of Finland. This meeting of elected citizens, representatives of all classes and different parts of our country have considered it their duty to bring this to the notice of Your Excellency as the Secretary of State for Finnish affairs. Instead of sending the paper by post it was regarded as more convenient at the present moment to have it handed to you by two de-

puties, Professor Donner and myself, who have both been representatives of the two classes of the Grand Duchy to which we respectively belong,— I being of the nobility and Professor Donner of the clergy,—for the last 24 years. This paper contains an exposition of our opinions and of the inviolable rights of our people. But if on becoming acquainted with its contents you should wish to have any further exact or personal information, we shall be at your disposal to furnish it at any time. This is the report in both languages of the country, with a French translation».

Although these words were few, and not of a provocative character, it was plain, that von Pløve listened to me with impatience and an inward struggle with himself, which was betrayed by his eyes, the features of his face, and his hands. From a fear that von P. might interrupt the report, which although short, was well prepared, I looked him straight in the face and finished my speech; after which I held out the petition, but when he showed no inclination to take it, I laid it down on the table.

After this an account is given of the Minister's answer, which resolved itself chiefly into this, that after the closure of the Diet its members could not pass any decision, and therefore the petition presented by them was without any importance whatever. It is then mentioned that the deputies endeavoured to remonstrate with the Minister, when they were at once stopped by being informed that their visit was a useless one. The end of the interview is thus described:

Von Pløve said with some heat:—«As you do not wish to take the petition back I cannot compel you to do so, but I repeat that it can have no official significance, and after that he stretched out his hand to say good bye. I at first hesitated whether to take it or not, partly because I did not yet wish the audience to come to an end, and also because it was unpleasant to shake his hand after what had happened, but in order to avoid a possible catastrophe I took hold of his fingers, and so did Donner, and with a frigid bow we retired.

It must not be concluded from this description that the leaders of the revolutionary party always behaved themselves with dignity and reserve. On the contrary, it appears that sometimes, even when there has been no necessity for it, they have not even shrunk from creating what with the reader's, permission may be called regular pothouse scandals.

A case of this kind was officially reported by the former Commander of the 3rd Battalion of Finnish Riflemen, Major General Hedlung, to the Commander in Chief of the troops of the military district, and was communicated by Adjutant General Bobrikoff to the Minister Secretary of State 24th May 1903 № 3639.

On the 1st January 1903 Lieutenant Spore of the above named battalion was passing the evening at the Club of students from the province of Nyland, and sat down to supper with his friends. At another table sat Count and Countess Mannerheim, ex senator Baron Grippenbergh, the artist Edelfeld with his wife, and many others. All at once somebody in this party shouted out «Let us turn out the gendarme! Turn out the man who does everything ordered by the Russians». From explanations which then followed between Lieutenant Spore and this noisy company it appeared that the reason for the insult was that a short time previously the fresh conscripts in the guard battalion in question had been sworn in according to the new form of oath. Finally, Count Charles Mannerheim got up from the table and invited all his friends to follow his example by quitting the room in which Lieutenant Spore was supping.

V.

Leaders of the Movement.

Besides Baron Born, whose characteristics have already been given, we shall endeavour to throw some light on the personalities of several other prominent actors in the Finnish revolution.

First of all in this category come L. Mechelin, Professor Wrede, Privy Councillor Schauman, Lieutenant General retired, and Antell, a retired Colonel.

Leo Mechelin. Head of the Finno-Swedish party of separation. His anti-governmental activity was conspicuous as far back as the seventies of the last century, when he came forward in favour of organizing separate troops for Finland on the principle of general military service, and also a separate monetary system for the Grand Duchy. The speeches made by Mechelin in the Diet of 1878 clearly show that he and his colleagues intended to form a body of Finnish troops exclusively in order to have their support in defending only Finnish interests. «I do not believe it could be expected by anyone, said Mechelin in the Landtage of 1877—1878, that nations which are regarded as unarmed and under the protection of others would be treated with as much respect as if they were

armed allies. Our position in the alliance (with Russia?) is gradually acquiring an impartial and sensible appreciation. We must put forward on a strong basis the standing demand that no other power (Russia, of course) shall allow itself any interference with our internal march of progress. The condition of being unarmed does not conduce to clearness; on the contrary, it throws the rights of the *Finnish State* into the shade».

In 1891, at the insistence of the former Governor General Count Heyden, L. Mechelin was obliged to retire from the Senate on account of his activity against Russia. Since then he has openly stood at the head of the Swedish-Finnish revolutionary party and has opposed Russia's policy of unification in every possible way. During more than 20 years past not a single political movement against Government measures has taken place without his guidance. He has been the moving spirit of all the oppositional Diets of these latter years. On being obliged to leave Finland he joined the leaders of the Stockholm circle of rebels. Amongst Mechelin's closest friends and colleagues were Baron Born, the Terrorist Konni Zilliakus, and the ex Lieutenant-General Schaumann, the well known compiler of a plan for organising revolutionary shooting societies in Finland, and father of Eugene Schaumann, the assassin of Adjutant-General Bobrikoff. The work of arming the Finns and introducing weapons was carried on exclusively by the party at the head of which stood Mechelin. In this connection also attention must be called to the fact that Mechelin was in Paris at the time of the well known September Conference, held there by revolutionists from Russia and its borderlands, and it is evident that he was in direct and close relations with these men, for in December 1904 he openly declared in the Diet at Helsingfors that «a revolution would break out in Russia in six weeks». This prophecy was fulfilled; exactly within six weeks, on the 9th of January, the first disorders in Russia took place. In order to attain his object, which was the separation of Finland from Russia, Mechelin maintained an intercourse with several high officials in St.-Petersburg throughout the year 1904. In the person of S. Witte (now Count Witte) he of course found a man quite of his own way of thinking and a powerful supporter. Mechelin went to St. Petersburg several times and received special attention from Mr Witte.

When the revolution broke out in Helsingfors on the 18th of October 1905, and was naively described by Prince Obolensky as a strike, Mechelin at once assumed a preeminent position, and at the present time he is virtually the arbiter without control of a yearly budget of over 100,000,000 marks and of a similar sum in German stock kept on banking deposit at Berlin. In such conditions it is easy enough for Mechelin to arm all Finland. The signature only of the Senator administering the Financial Department is sufficient for the Bank in Berlin to pay out any sum

you like to Krupp or any other contractor without Messieurs Gerhard ¹⁾ et Co. suspecting anything. There is now no necessity to collect public subscriptions for the arming of Finland.

Baron Rabbe Wrede undoubtedly occupies a conspicuous position among the agitators of Finland. Like Baron Born, he is also a representative of the Swedish party. Unquestionably a man of parts, Wrede has been the initiator of many anti-government manifestations, but as far as concerns himself he has always acted with great caution, and he generally induces others to carry out his ideas. He was the initiator and organiser of the secret conferences against the Government which took place in 1884, but he avoided an active rôle, and gave over the further management to Born ²⁾, whom he continued behind the scenes to inspire and direct. In 1886 he attempted to induce Born to come forward and organise a general newspaper campaign against the Minister and Secretary of State Brun, with the object of forcing the latter to resign ³⁾.

In 1891 Wrede published and distributed clandestinely an article intitled «Review of the country's situation». This was said to be necessary in consequence of the opinion of Russian lawyers that the authority of the Emperor was as autocratic in Finland as in any other part of the Empire. The aim of the article, according to Wrede, was to teach how to «save our fundamental laws, and our position as a State united to Russia». In the opinion of Wrede Minister-Secretaries of State for Finland ought not to countersign Imperial decrees and manifestos which are supposed to violate the fundamental laws, and the Senate ought not to promulgate them. The courts ought not to pay any attention to the postponement of the criminal code but should put this law into force ⁴⁾. And then the Diet ought at once to enter a unanimous protest against the new Imperial decrees, the press must forget its party differences and organise an association of writers for the purpose of enlightening foreign papers as to the position of affairs in the country; society ought not to show any desire to accept the new tendencies, and parents ought not to let their children be brought up under the new influence, which, means that they should abstain from teaching their children the Russian language.

This article was followed by an answer from ex Senator von-Hartmann, who somewhat mollified the demands of Wrede. Under the pre-

¹⁾ M. Gerhard was at the time referred to the Russian Governor General of Finland.

²⁾ His letter to Born of the 14th of February 1886.

³⁾ The whole correspondence has been disclosed.

⁴⁾ This same Wrede in the Diet of the same year openly praised those judges who followed this advice.

text that Wrede was ill his contention was taken up for him by Baron Born, who without possessing Wrede's self control was unable to follow his method of throwing out hints and making one read between the lines, but he categorically declared that not only Minister-Secretaries of State and Senators, but all officials and Government servants from the highest to the lowest were bound to refrain from fulfilling Imperial orders which in their opinion were contrary to the laws of the country¹). No danger from acting in this way was to be feared, as no legal court would ever convict them. Senators and others were not to be afraid even of resigning *en masse*, although they might be threatened by the danger of having their places filled by Russian generals, for «without money and papers» the latter would not be able to do anything and would soon beat a retreat. There was furthermore to be no hesitation in accepting the posts of those who had been dismissed though not with the intention of carrying out orders but for the express purpose of refusing to do so, with the result of suffering the fate of their predecessors. This clandestine interchange of views between Wrede, Hartmann and Born is called by the latter «semi-official political correspondence 1891»²). In 1898 P. Wrede was again busy with secret meetings for seditious propaganda against the law-project for introducing military service³). In order to give greater weight to the first of these conferences which took place at his house Wrede invited Mechelin⁴). In the Diet of 1899 he was a member of the legislative commission and drew up the impertinent protocols of that commission with the assistance of Born⁵). He gave advice to Born in connection with the latter's collection of «the Monarch's Assurances»⁶), and down to the latest time he has taken an active part in the agitation⁷).

Privy Councillor Schaumann (Lieutenant General on the retired list) will be best characterised by quotation of the decision of the Court of Åbo (Hofgericht) after hearing a charge of high treason brought against Schaumann on the 2nd of April 1905.

The Imperial Hofgericht having weighed the circumstances of the

¹) Letters from Wrede dated 24th of June and 4th of August 1898.

²) Letter from Wrede dated 5th January 1898.

³) Rough drafts among the papers of Born relating to his participation in the legislative commission of the Diet.

⁴) Letters from Wrede dated 8th and 26th January 1899.

⁵) Wrede's letters of 15th September 1900 and 29th July 1901.

⁶) See page

⁷) From this it may be seen that the theory of «passive resistance», observed up till 1904, before the transition to «active resistance», appeared long previous to the tenure of office by General Bobrikoff, namely in 1891.

case finds it sufficiently explained that Privy Councillor Schaumann on mature consideration wrote out the paper found at his house at the time of the search and containing ideas and intentions in the sense of high treason, also that on search being made at the house of Doctor Lulu a document was found in which similar plans were developed more in detail; on the other hand there is no proof of direct connection between the document found at Doctor Lulu's and the paper drawn up by Privy Councillor Schaumann, or of the latter paper having been communicated by P. C. Schaumann, or in general of its having come within the cognizance of other persons. In view of the foregoing, and in consideration of the fact that the guilt of Privy Councillor Schaumann with regard to acts constituting preparation for the commission of high treason is not proved, the Hofgericht considers it just to reject the accusation brought against Privy Councillor Schaumann, and to acquit him of all responsibility in the matter.

In this way Schaumann was acquitted of responsibility by the Hofgericht simply because the connection between his notes and the documents found in the search at Doctor Lulu's house was not *formally*¹⁾ proved, and there was no *direct* proof of these notes having been put into other hands. Retired Senator Schaumann, however, stands convicted by the Imperial Hofgericht of Åbo of harbouring designs tending towards high treason. And it deserves to be mentioned that in foreign newspapers of 1905 such as the «Hamburger Fremdenblatt» and «Berliner Zeitung», there appeared correspondence from Finland with reference to preparations for an armed disturbance organized on a plan analogous with the one explained in the aforesaid notes of Senator Schaumann and Doctor Lulu.

In the Court Schaumann was not ashamed to repel the accusation by saying that he was not acquainted with Lulu, that he had written out the plan of shooting associations simply as a memorandum, and that the instructions for shooting practice had been drawn up for game-shooting clubs. Here is an extract from these game-shooting instructions:

b) *As a preparation for volley firing drill* should be conducted by the pupil being first of all taught to fire by word of command. Afterwards

¹⁾ The system of formal proof which has been given up everywhere else, exists in Finnish courts down to the present day, that is to say, that proofs in court are valued not according to the inner conviction of the judges, but in conformity with an established codex of rules for judicial procedure.

several pupils might fire a volley. It is very necessary to teach quick loading. If the type of rifle admit of it, rapid firing ought to be practised as much as possible. At the same time there must be steady aiming and quick loading.

c) *It is an important matter to properly judge distances, and this should be practised as often as possible, especially in regard to persons placed in different positions.*

The particular kind of animal at which Mr Schaumann's sportsmen were to fire seems to be pretty clearly indicated. And this is how the pupils received their teacher:

On the 28th of October Lieutenant-General Schaumann, formerly a member of the Finnish Senate, was met at Helsingfors on his arrival from Åbo by a crowd of sympathetic demonstrators numbering several thousand persons, who shouted, «hurrah», raised their hats, and sang the patriotic song «Vårt Land» («Fatherland»).

Therefore an intelligent crowd of Helsingfors citizens, calling themselves law-abiding and loyal, welcomed with the singing of «Vårt Land» an ex Lieutenant-General of the Russian service, who was under trial for high treason against the Emperor and Russia¹⁾, and who was only free from arrest pending the conclusion of the investigation at Åbo.

Comment on this would be superfluous. (Finnish Gazette 1904 № 169).

Kasten Antell, formerly staff officer for special service, attached to the Governor General of Finland, Count Adlerberg, and a retired Colonel,

also played no small part in the local propaganda against the Government. He is an ardent admirer of the Swedish party, and considers it a mortal offense to have his name coupled with representatives of the Finoman party. In 1884 he assisted Werde to hold a secret conference at which a plan of action was drawn up for the Svecoman party with the object of dis severing the northern borderland from the rest of the Empire. In 1891 he received thousands of copies of a lecture on Russian policy in Finland by Sven Palme which had been forbidden by the Censor. In the same year he took upon himself on behalf of Wrede, who was then ill, to attend to the objections raised by Hartmann, and had copies made and distributed for the purpose of contradiction. In 1892 we find him engaged in preparing a popular movement to manifest itself in the presentation of an enormous address, and he was still conducting this work at the beginning of 1893.

¹⁾ Schaumann up to this day receives a pension and money from the military «emeritur».

Here is what he wrote on this subject to Baron Born on the 29th of February 1893.

As I informed you over the telephone, it is now proposed to hold a meeting on *Wednesday the 1st. of March* for conferring as to a short address on the codification question. The project of the address is being drawn up by the Commission, and will be laid before the meeting. On the same day meetings will be convoked in the towns for collecting signatures. In the rural communes it will be put before the common people for signature by suitable persons authorized to that effect, and in default of anyone else this will be done by the clergymen *after the performance of divine service*. There is undoubtedly just the possibility that in some places the address will meet with opposition, but that will hardly be of any consequence. In this way the matter will receive a *comparatively wide* notoriety; what we have most to fear is that it might be stifled.

As I have already told you, there was great unanimity in the delegation; it remains to be seen how it will be maintained in the future. For the present, it is everywhere considered absolutely necessary that a general expression of opinion should take place.

If, in consequence of bad management, or doubt, a few communes among the people refrain, it will not matter in the least. In any case, even in the event of not one of the accepted addresses being actually presented to the Supreme Authority, it will nevertheless become generally known that many hundreds of communes in the country have joined their voices to this protest. And then, of course, the matter will be brought to the general knowledge of all Europe.

The chief thing is that we should plan out as far as possible an all-embracing scheme.

This is the proposal,—now for action!

The future will show what comes of it.

Yours

K. A.-II.

The object of the address has already been explained in an account of the characteristics of Baron Born. The agitation was carried on all over the country by special agents. Big and little meetings were arranged at different points and at each point specially authorized persons were chosen. It was proposed to ask the clergy to get signatures to the address in the churches after divine service. In case of the rejection of the address, or of not being able to approach the Monarch with it, Antell nursed the idea of making

a noise in the European press. In 1898, on the eve of his departure for St. Petersburg to attend the sitting of some kind of a committee, he called together the delegation of the Swedish party to discuss his journey. In that year he took part in the secret conferences arranged by Wrede in opposition to the law of military service. In 1901 Antell was one of the men who circulated clandestine literature in the country.

This is shown by the following letters from Wrede, besides those referred to in previous points, namely, a letter of 7th of February 1887, and one in 1887 otherwise undated, also from Antell, dated respectively 15th January 1882, 8th of December 1883, 14th of September 1890, and 22nd December 1892. Probably it was for these services to the revolution that Kasten Antell was appointed Senator directing the Financial Department under Governor General Gerard and Secretary of State Langoff.

All these persons:—Born, Wrede, Schaumann and Antell, formed themselves into a close circle under the inspiration of Mechelin, and this self-authorized circle led the anti-government agitation in the country, and sympathized with all its manifestations for a period of 20 years. Their confidence in each other was full and unlimited. They always received cooperation in their ideas from the Swede, Sven Palme, who in 1883 married Baron Born's sister Hanna. From that time this man, with a persistence altogether incomprehensible in the case of a foreigner, meddled in all the internal affairs of Finland, which he called a fraternal country. Anxious that the bonds between Finland and Sweden should not wear out, but be strengthened, he not only executed every commission from Born, and the latter's colleagues in the agitation, but often acted on his own initiative. He seemed to fear that his brother in law might rest on his laurels. This same Palme took part in 1900 in sending two Swedish spies into Finland.

The chief of the State Archives of Finland, Reinhold Hansen, was very partial to these seditious proceedings, and arranged a collection of forbidden publications in his department. In carrying out certain parts of the agitation programme Born was in communi-

cation also with the following persons, — Arvid Neovius, Jonas Kastren, Erro Erkkö, Count Charles Mannerheim, Baron Otto Wrede, and Professor O. Donner. Information about the proposals of the Government was obtained from Baron Born's brother in law, Alexis Grippenbergh, formerly head of the Department of Prisons and from other persons. Under the governorship of N. N. Gerhard and General Langhof, Alexis Grippenbergh, who had been dismissed during the tenure of office of Bobrikoff, was reinstated in his post of Chief Director of the Prison Department.

Alexis Grippenbergh and K. Antell are famous among other things, for the scandal created by them in the Diet of 1905. These gentlemen accused the Chancery of the Governor General of wilfully distorting a translation of a speech made by Arnö Söderholm threatening to murder Jonson, the Procureur of the Finnish Senate. An enormous correspondence arose out of this between the Governor General, Prince Obolensky, and the Landmarshal of the Diet. Subsequently Baron Born laid the gist of this correspondence before the House of Knights and Nobility and explained that the translation of Söderholm's speech had been correctly made in the Governor General's Chancery, for that speech which was delivered on the 10th of December 1904, really did contain a threat of murder. The Procureur of the Senate Jonson was in fact assassinated on the 24th of January 1905, within less than a month after the threat had been made. But the most interesting fact of all is that a member of the Diet, Baron Indrenius, in replying to Count Berg, not only recognized the falsity of the accusations made by Messieurs Alexis Grippenbergh and K. Antell, but boldly declared that these *accusations were known to be false* and had merely been rhetorical flourishes of the orators in question.

Now comes another *Grippenbergh*, — *Alexander Grippenbergh*.

On the 24th of May (6th of June) 1903 (N^o 3650), N. E. Bobrikoff wrote to V. K. Pløve as follows:

On the 28th of April (11th of May) of this year ex Senator Alexander Leonard Grippenbergh was banished from Finland, as being, in my opinion, a dangerous person for the safety of the State and public order.

This step was taken with the sanction of the Emperor, in consequence of Gripenberg's continual agitation against the unifying measures of the Government. While he was still a senator Gripenberg distinguished himself by his irreconcilable way of thinking, and was one of the members of the Senate who opposed the promulgation of the Imperial Manifestos of the 3rd of February 1899 and 7th of June 1900 introducing the Russian language into several administrative institutions of the Grand Duchy and also of the Imperial decrees limiting the right of meeting, and with reference to Russian pedlers in Finland. In 1900 Gripenberg made a demonstrative business of his retirement from official life and was appointed Director of the board of leather factories belonging to the Brothers Oström at Uleaborg. He signalized his entry upon the duties of this post in spite of objections from the owners, by having removed from the front of the factory buildings the Russian Imperial arms, which had been conferred upon the firm as a reward for the excellent quality of their goods. His explanation was that as Finland had her own State arms the Russian arms should not be displayed on Finnish buildings. At the same time Gripenberg came forward as a publicist. In a number of pamphlets and articles inserted in the secretly circulated paper «Fria Ord» Gripenberg supported and developed the necessity of further passive resistance to the unifying measures of the Government and to the application of the military service law of 1901. Besides this, secret meetings¹⁾ were held in his lodging at Uleaborg which were attended by local politicians and others from a distance. His mode of acting after receiving my order to leave Finland is also noticeable. On receiving that order in Uleaborg Gripenberg tried as far as possible to give the character of a great political demonstration to his departure from Finland. Not satisfied with the noisy leave-takings of his friends in Uleaborg, Gripenberg came to Helsingfors evidently with the intention of calling forth a fresh demonstration in that city, and then starting for Sweden. On the railway platform a crowd of intelligent (educated) people met him with flowers, shouts of «huraah» and the singing of «Vårt Land». Gripenberg returned thanks for the welcome.

When Alexander Gripenberg was thus invited to leave Finland he was deprived of a pension of 6000 marks a year (to which, by the way, he had no right according to law). It now appears that on the recommendation of General Governor Gerhard and Mi-

¹⁾ Such a meeting took place at his lodging in January 1903 and lasted two days (19th and 20th) These meetings began at 10 o'clock in the morning and lasted till late at night.

nister-Secretary of State Langhof, this same Grippenbergr has been reappointed a Finnish senator.

Colonel Björnberg was dismissed from his post of Governor of Wasa in 1903 by order of the Emperor and without a pension for refusing in impertinent language to recognize the law of military service sanctioned by the Imperial Manifesto of 1899. For several years previously Björnberg had applied this law, but eventually changed his views on the subject under the influence of a circle of the Svecoman party. He purposely abstained from taking any measures against agitators who were preventing the gathering of conscripts. In spite of orders from the Governor General and instructions from the Senate, he completely declined to impose fines on the communes refusing to elect members of the committees for receiving recruits. During his administration of the province all complaints made by Russians of boycotting and insult on the part of the local inhabitants were deliberately left unheeded. He used every means possible to drive Russian traders (pedlers) out of the province notwithstanding orders of the Governor General, which he, Grippenbergr, considered to be invalid as being in opposition to the fundamental laws of Finland. He even refused to accept the complaints of pedlers against demands made upon them for money by the provincial administration. Towards the commander of a Russian regiment and its officers he behaved in an extremely ungentlemanly way. Such conduct on the part of Colonel Björnberg did not escape the attention of the Governor General. The above mentioned merits of Colonel Björnberg, after the death of N. Bobrikoff, were best of all appreciated by the extreme Swecomans. On the retirement of K. Linder, that party endeavoured to get Colonel Björnberg appointed as the best candidate to the post of Minister-Secretary of State. The newspaper «Hufvudstadsbladet» more than once referred to his «former patriotic services». The paper of the Little Finns the «Helsingin Sanomat», called attention to «great connections in St. Petersburg, which would facilitate the fulfilment of his important duties». The «Helsingfors Posten» was of the same opinion. It must be supposed that Björnberg himself agreed with

these conclusions, and probably he attempted to confirm them in print in correspondence with members of the Danish Court. (See «Nationalstrejken i Finland»).

Other qualities and merits of Colonel Björnberg remain unknown. It would appear that he is either extremely nervous, or else a good actor, as in making «casual» reports he either had «fainting fits» or burst out into tears. In any case, in one way or other Björnberg, after having been dismissed by order of the Emperor in 1903 from the post of Governor of Wasa for refusal to carry out the law and for arbitrary conduct, was again appointed to that very same post in 1905, and soon afterwards on the recommendation of N. N. Gerhard and General Langhof, to the position of Assistant to the Minister-Secretary of State.

August Nyberg, a senator, had to leave the service under Bobrikoff in consequence of his revolutionary work. On the 3rd of March 1903 he took part in a meeting at Lachtis, at which, among other things, he reported on his project of establishing secret courts of appeal in Finland. This project was got up because not long before the Finnish courts of appeal had been forcibly taken out of the hands of the Swedes and filled with law-abiding judges, so that the revolutionists were unable any longer to influence the Hofgerichts in the desired direction. It must be noted that Nyberg, although officially retired, continued to act as a sort of secret revolutionary Minister of Justice. At a search made in his house a document was found showing that the revolutionary organisation paid through him more than 44.000 marks a year to the discharged judges of the Hofgericht of Åbo. Probably it was in return for this service that August Nyberg, who had been ordered to leave Finland by General Bobrikoff, was at once appointed a senator, and Director of the Department of Justice,—that is to say, Minister of Justice, as soon as Mr Gerhard became Governor General.

Max Alftan, Colonel of the General Staff retired, and chief of Staff of the abolished troops of Finland, was also considered to be one of the most active agitators. It will be seen by the characteristics given below how he occupied himself after leaving the mili-

tary service, and becoming manager of a paper mill at Tammerfors, but now he has been appointed by N. N. Gerhard as Governor of the province of Nyland. This is probably a reward for the intense flattery and servility which fill his letters to Baron Born. Here is how the present Governor of Nyland is characterized by Adjutant-General Bobrikoff in a communication to the Minister Secretary of State for Finland, dated the 20th of June (3rd of July) 1903, No. 4320.

On the abolition of the Finnish troops, and before they were actually dismissed, Colonel Alftan left the service in good time and in a demonstrative manner, although, as there was no General Staff of Finland, he was not obliged to retire on account of this abolition. In this way he declined to take up the work of dissolving the Finnish battalions and thus set an example for other Finnish officers. Mention must also be made of his work in connection with a renewal of the military-statistical description of the Finnish military district. Into this work Alftan imported political and separatist views which were altogether out of place, and which had to be expunged by Lieutenant General Glazoff, chief director of the work in question. Residing permanently since his retirement from the service, at Tammerfors, that nest of Swedish agitators, Alftan has become, according to Lieutenant General Sverchkoff, Governor of Tavasthus, the centre of a grouping of agitators from the surrounding districts. The political meetings held by Alftan are attended by officers of the former Finnish troops coming from all parts of the country. This circumstance has caused it to be supposed that probably these officers meditate taking part in an armed rising. As evidence in support of this supposition, which however, has not yet been in any way positively confirmed, reference must be made to the document seized at a search made at the residence of the agitator Lulu, and which contains a programme for teaching young men in towns and villages the use of the rifle and target shooting in specially constructed galleries. This programme was sent out by the Central Committee at Helsingfors. Together with this programme a sort of plan was found with various notes that so far cannot be understood, but it much resembles a map of the railway lines running from Hangö, Åbo and the north east through Tammerfors to St. Petersburg. Different letters are distributed all over it. Without attaching any great importance to these documents, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that amongst the more dangerous elements to which Lulu undoubtedly belongs, the idea has been entertained of the possibility, in favourable political circumstances, of resorting to an armed insurrection, and the means towards that end have probably been discussed.

In St. Petersburg the Swedish revolutionists have always had their agents who furnish them with most exact information of what is taking place in the Russian capital with reference to Finland. Amongst these agents one of them,—*Ernest Emil Schybergson*, Director of a private bank,—is especially conspicuous.

Schybergson ¹⁾ was undoubtedly in the centre of the anti-government movement in Finland. As director of a private bank, in which capacity he was enabled to influence the local trading community, Schybergson made good use of this advantage by refusing to give credit to persons not approved of by the politicians.

Having connections in St. Petersburg through his former service in the capital at the Finnish Bank, Schybergson makes use of his friends there to obtain information from the office of the Secretary of State. Schybergson has also agents in the administrative office of the province of Nyland, and receives information useful to his party from that quarter. It may be seen from the correspondence found in possession of Baron Born, who has been sent out of the country, that Schybergson was in very close relations not only with Nyberg, but also with Born. According to information received, it would appear that considerable sums of money belonging to the secret revolutionary fund are kept, if not to the whole extent of this fund, at least in part, in the private bank, of which Schybergson is the chief Director. This supposition is supported by the fact that in the papers of the expelled senator Nyberg ²⁾, who was employed in this same bank, there were found, among other things, signed receipts of the members of the Åbo Hofgericht, who were dismissed by Imperial order, in acknowledgment of payment to them out of this secret fund of their allowance for the month of July then last past. This payment to ten of the former members of the Court at Åbo amounts to 44,500 Finnish marks a year. To this must be added the fact that at one time subscriptions were taken at this private bank for the prohibited paper «Fria Ord». Schybergson must be regarded as one of the most dangerous agitators and leaders of the policy of passive resistance. All Schybergson's criminal activity is distinguished by excessive plotting, and while acting through others and protecting them, he tries to keep himself in the background.

The characteristics of Schybergson would not be complete

¹⁾ As may be seen from the communication from the Finnish Governor Gento M. S. S. of the 15th/28th of December 1903, No. 8501.

²⁾ Again appointed a senator under N. N. Gerhard and Gen. Langhof.

without the following reference to the activity of this agent of the Finnish revolution in St. Petersburg:

On the 26th of June of the present year, writes Adjutant General Bobrikoff¹⁾, the Imperial sanction was obtained for expulsion, among others, of ex senator August Nyberg and the retired Colonel Kastren Antell, as being, in my opinion, dangerous for the public tranquility and safety of Finland.

Although this list of persons to be expelled was not communicated by me to anyone, within three days after obtaining the Imperial sanction to it August Nyberg and Kastren Antell were made aware of their names being in the said list. This fact came to my knowledge through Nyberg having personally asked the Vice-President of the Economical Department of the senate Jägermeister Lindner and the Procureur Jonson to advise him how he could avoid being sent out of the country. He then said that he and Antell knew for certain that their names were included in the list of persons sentenced to be expelled from Finland. On Jonson asking him where he got the news, as he, the Procureur of the Senate, knew nothing about it, Nyberg answered that the information had come from a person whom he considered he had no right to name.

This information was received in St-Petersburg from the office of the Secretary of State as may be seen from a letter found amongst the confiscated papers of Nyberg and written by the Director of a private bank named Schybergson, who was formerly in the Finnish Bank at St-Petersburg.

In this letter Schybergson informs Nyberg of having received some kind of a cipher telegram, and says that he has received from St-Petersburg a letter confirming the news that Nyberg's name is included in the list of persons subject to expulsion.

This same Schybergson sends some rather spicy news from St-Petersburg.

Dear Brother, he writes to Baron Born on the 13 25th of December 1889, Here in political matters there is much that is sad. The criminal law, it is true, has been happily and satisfactorily confirmed, in spite of all the «ifs and buts» before it went so far. The question was raised to what extent the orders concerning the press and judicial proceedings between Russian and Finnish subjects might be subject to the interference of the new law. By a special Rescript addressed to the Governor General these, therefore, remain in force. But the strangest thing is that the Rescript was already signed and the papers had been sent to Helsingfors when a telegram was sent to have them returned in consequence of a conver-

¹⁾ Fin. Gov. Gen. To Min. S. S. of the Grand Duchy of 29th Sept. 1903 No. 6632.

sation between — Majesty and Heyden at the fête of St George. Erurrot asked for a fresh report. It transpired that it was all the result of a misunderstanding, and that — Majesty would not have permitted the promulgation to be given up or put off had he known that the documents had already been despatched. So this has been satisfactorily settled. Not so, however, with other matters. In connection with the newspaper war against us in the Spring, the Emperor, it seems, told Heyden that he did not wish to encroach on our constitution, but at the same time he wanted uniformity, or something of the kind, on the question of the Customs and Post as well as money. Heyden, it is said, presented several reports to the Emperor on the subject pointing out the impossibility of all this. But — Majesty answered that he did not wish to hear of any difficulties. The Russian authorities, especially the head of the Post and the chief of the Customs Department, are apparently against the changes as not only being difficult to carry out, but also unprofitable for Russia.

Johann Frederick Lundenius, former Assessor of the Hofgericht at Åbo.

With the majority of the members of the Åbo Hofgericht and in an official resolution of that Court Lundenius refused to carry out the instructions of the Senate as to supplying a list of officials who were not subject to be called up from the reserve. This refusal was explained on the ground that the Hofgericht did not consider it possible to assist in carrying out an illegal (?) Manifesto and the Regulations for military service.

Besides this, Lundenius refused, together with other members of the Hofgericht, to submit to the Imperial decree, to discontinue proceedings against law-abiding officials and to revise the same in accordance with the newly established law of the 14th of August 1902. Having been dismissed the service for this by Imperial order, Lundenius continued to carry on his criminal work. Not only with his help, but also under his guidance, a hostile street demonstration was got up in Åbo against the President of the Imperial Hofgericht because he gave his vote in favour of submitting to the new law concerning criminal proceedings against official persons. The confiscated papers of ex Senator Nyberg show that at the present time (1903) Lundenius, in return for his services to the revolutionary party, is in receipt of a yearly pension of 4000 Finnish marks out of their funds.

In 1903 when a secret revolutionary Hofgericht was formed at Åbo on the idea of August Nyberg, Lundenius was appointed its president, for which he, of course, received a salary.

Messieurs Gerhard and Langhof rewarded Lundenius for his revolutionary activity by reappointing him a member of the Court at Åbo.

VI.

Russian «Policy» and its Results.

All unbiassed readers who have made themselves acquainted with the foregoing documents cannot do otherwise than come to the conclusion that the much vaunted Finnish «loyalty» never had any real existence, and that the Finnish Swedes were preparing to detach the Grand Duchy from the Empire long before the time of Bobrikoff. What took place under Bobrikoff was merely a collision between the Russian State authority and a Swedish oligarchy. The game of the Finnish Swedes was laid bare, and no Michelins and Langhofs will any longer succeed in drawing an impenetrable veil over Finnish aspirations. General Bobrikoff's services to Russia consisted precisely in his discernment of the designs of the Finnish Swedes, and in having laid the heavy hand of a military man upon the carefully planned arming of Finland. He understood that the Swedes could not be trusted, that they were organising troops in the Grand Duchy against Russia, and he therefore used all his efforts to put a stop to it. He knew that the Swedes were persevering, and that they would only mobilize their forces at the proper time, when their vital interests required it, and at a moment when Russia was in great difficulties, or in a critical position. Real political necessity demanded the destruction of this army. «The abolition of the Finnish troops is alone a priceless service in history rendered by Bobrikoff. Had the Finnish troops not been disbanded in 1901, the Finns would have carried out their revolution in 1905 quite differently. During the insurrection at Moscow their regiments would have threatened St. Petersburg, and perhaps caused an armed rising in the capital. This army would undoubtedly have played a distinguished role in Russian history» ¹⁾. One cannot help agreeing with these words. When we remember that the plan of arming Finland by ex General Schaumann, the organisation of the «red guard», the Voima society and the systematic distribution of

¹⁾ Novoe Vremya 16th of December 1906, No. 11050. Article «Finland is arming». «Caveant consules».

arms, followed immediately upon the abolition of the Finnish troops, and when we consider what the Finnish politicians brought forward as long back as 1878 in support of the necessity of having their own local national troops, — when we remember and consider all this, the aims of the Svecomans become clear. The present arbiter of the fate of Finland, Leo Mechelin, when demanding in the Diet of 1878 the acceptance by that assembly of the regulations for military service, said: «an unarmed nation will not receive the same respect as an armed ally. To be unarmed in defending one's rights before other States does not conduce to clearness; on the contrary, it throws a shadow over the rights of the Finnish State». It is to be hoped that after the events of recent years the «loyal» Swedes of Finland will never again see their own separate army organised by themselves not for the defense of the common fatherland, but against it.

Under Bobrikoff the Russian State authorities for the first time gave close attention to the Finnish question, and made an attempt to solve it. Bobrikoff's policy brought down upon him many serious charges. It was characterized as short-sighted and inhuman. That in the military question Bobrikoff was not short-sighted, has been sufficiently proved by the events of the last two years. It will be interesting therefore to see whether he really was so shortsighted in other matters. On the 3rd of February 1897 at a «Bobrikoff» dinner attended by the late Governor General's admirers, his nearest colleague and former assistant to the Finnish Governor General, W. F. Deutrich, made a speech, in which he thus traced the policy of Bobrikoff: ¹⁾

«In what did the programme of administering Finland as carried out by G Bobrikoff, consist? Bobrikoff is reproached with having embittered our relations with Finland. It has been said that his policy was one of Russification and hatred, not of unification; that instead of peace he sowed discord. I make bold to testify here before all of you that in these denunciations there is not a word of truth. Bobrikoff was a man of great intelligence. He set about administering Finland after a thorough study of

¹⁾ Printed in the newspaper «Borderlands of Russia» № 6, 1907.

the history and legislation of that country. Therefore, the idea of devoting his extraordinary administrative talents to such a thankless task as the Russification of Finland could never have entered his head. History teaches us that the Swedes having held possession of Finland for more than 700 years, in spite of all their efforts, have not only failed in the course of all that long time to turn the Finns into Swedes, but that the great mass of the Finns have proved so obstinate that they have never even acquired the least understanding of the colloquial Swedish language. If the efforts of the Swedes to denationalize the Finns were of no avail when the latter had no culture of their own, how much more ungrateful would the task be of Russifying a people possessed of their own independent culture, national literature, and a pretty numerous and very patriotically disposed intelligent class. To denationalize 2½ millions of people in such conditions is impossible. Bobrikoff understood that, and therefore made no attempt to solve a problem that was insoluble. He placed before himself another object, which was quite attainable, and I venture to think that had it not been for recent events that object would have been attained. Bobrikoff set himself the task, not of destroying the autonomy and independence of the Finns, but of developing that independence and autonomy in so far only as the condition of things implied in these terms coincided with a united and indivisible Russian State. It never entered his mind to introduce Russian methods into Finland, he merely aspired to prevent Finnish methods from violating the rights of Russian citizens and the supreme prerogative of the Russian State. This is why he waged a merciless war against the idea of a Finnish State, against those centrifugal forces which were trying to sever Finland from Russia and attach her to a Scandinavian Union. The representatives of this idea are the Finnish Swedes. From the very first moment of the annexation of the country to Russia the Swedish oligarchy have never been able to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Grand Duchy was taken away from Sweden. All thoughts of the Finnish Swedes were then, as they still are today, turned towards Sweden, in union with which they see their only means of salvation from the approaching and inevitable Finnification. It was against these men and their politics that Bobrikoff directed his blows. Could he have acted otherwise without changing his programme? You see that the enemies of the Russian State in Finland were clearly indicated... And these enemies were not the Finns, who long ago began their struggle with the Swedes for independence, but the oppressors of the Finnish people as a nation, — the Swedes. It was necessary in the interest of Russia as a State to Finnify Finland, to remove that Swedish incubus which draws her away from Russia. Therefore, Bobrikoff by the very force of circumstances was not a Russifier, but a Finnifier.

The Finns were not dangerous to Russia. They have never had a separate State of their own, and down to the advent of Bobrikoff they never even administered Finland. The Finnification of Finland did not contradict the rightly understood interests of Russia as a State, for none of the ideals of the national Finnish party went beyond internal autonomy understood by them in the sense of an amplified, local self-government. It is evident that an agreement with this party was quite feasible and advantageous to the Finns as well as to Russia, who practised no interference with the cultured independence of this small northern people, but of course, on the indispensable condition of securing recognition of the unity of Great Russia. Having wrested Finland out of the hands of Russia's enemies, the Swedes, Bobrikoff was the first since Finland came into existence to give over the administration of that country to the Finns. In the first place, the Imperial Senate of Finland was reformed exclusively by appointments from amongst representatives of the people's national party, the Old-Finns. The higher administrative posts were filled by Old-Finns. At the head of national education was placed a native born Finn, the son of an eminent Finnish author, Yre-Koskinen.

On the initiative of the Senate and with the full support of Bobrikoff, an entirely Finnish character was given to the schools. Finnish lycæums (gymnasias) were opened, and several Swedish institutions of this kind were turned into Finnish educational establishments. On the recommendation of Bobrikoff a subsidy of several hundred thousand marks was granted to the Finnish national theatre in Helsingfors. Bobrikoff's whole policy rested upon the national party of Old Finns, whose chief aim as far back as the time of Snehman was to resist the Swedish oligarchy, and to make good their proclamation that the Swedes were not masters in Finland. The Old Finnish party supported Bobrikoff, and helped him in his struggle against the Swedish separatists, who refused to recognize the law on military service, which had passed the Council of State in conformity with the legislative procedure for the Empire at large. The time was not far distant when all resistance on the part of the Swedish oligarchy would have been finally crushed, and with the consent of the Finns perfectly normal relations would have been established between the northern borderland and the rest of Russia. Such a policy was especially dangerous and terrible for the Swedes. Had Bobrikoff only thought of Russifying Finland they would not have worried themselves about it, because they were well aware from their own experience of the impossibility of such a policy. By assisting the Finns to crush Swedish power in Finland Bobrikoff was dangerous and terrible, inasmuch as he based his policy on a real power,—that of the whole Finnish people. By means of this policy Bobrikoff accelerated the inevitable process of the Finnification

of Finland, which was carried on with the participation of the Russian authorities and in the interests of Russia as a State.

From the point of view of the Finnish Swedes such a Russian policy could not possibly be permitted, for it condemned them to political destruction. It was therefore necessary to remove Bobrikoff. And when the St. Petersburg intrigues failed to produce the desired effect Bobrikoff was, in fact, removed by the bullet of Eugene Schaumann.

The Swedes could have tolerated a Governor-General, who was merely a Russifier, but not one whose policy was supported by the local, national-democratic and Old Finnish party,—that ancient and implacable foe of the Swedish oligarchy. Unfortunately, after the death in 1903 of Yre-Koskinen, the remarkable Finnish politician and head of the Old Finns, that party failed to produce a single other statesman of note. There were intelligent men in its ranks, but no men of character, who could lead forward the Finns with firmness along the path marked out for them. All these Danielsons, who have been at the head of the Old Finns since the death of Yre-Koskinen, may be very good theoretical professors, but as practical politicians they have failed to take advantage of the situation. When the time came to act they wasted opportunities in discussion, and consequently at the critical moment of the struggle, after the assassination of Bobrikoff, they were thrust aside and replaced by their opponents. They did not understand that Schaumann's bullet, which struck down Bobrikoff, was fired at them as well as at the representative of Russian authority. In removing Bobrikoff, the Swedes also removed from power the Old Finns. This was understood only by Jonson-Saisalon-Soininen, the honest, just and intelligent procurator of the Imperial Finnish Senate. This man was an ardent Finnish patriot. He understood that the welfare of Finland was only in its unity with Russia, that only under the protection of the double headed eagle of Russia could the Finns acquire and preserve their independance, and free themselves from the Swedish yoke.

Such a man was dangerous, and therefore the Swedish bullet of Hohenenthal laid him low.

How the Finns regarded this murder of one of Finland's best sons, was made evident by their behaviour at his funeral. The coffin was completely hidden by flowers, hundreds of wreaths decorated his grave, and deputations from all parts of the country, even from the remote region of Finnish Lapland, followed him to his last home. Scores of speeches were delivered at the graveside in praise of his merits, every one of them in the Finnish language. Not one word in Swedish was pronounced at Jonson's funeral. That is how the Finns bore to the tomb the remains of their compatriot struck down by the treacherous bullet of the Swede.

Then came the events of the end of 1905. The Russian authorities capitulated, and the Swedes, led by Leo Mechelin, and assisted by Russians, seized the reins of power. We know what then took place.

Bobrikoff frequently declared that the Swedes would not risk an attempt on his life, as if they did not one stone upon another would be left of all their power in Finland. Nicholai Nicholaievitch Bobrikoff of never fading memory was right, but, unfortunately, his prophetic words did not come true in the sense in which they were spoken. After the murder of Bobrikoff terrible changes certainly took place, but not the enemies of Russia were crushed. Stone by stone Russia's work in Finland is being destroyed, that sacred, constructive work, to which our dear Nicholai Nicholaievich Bobrikoff devoted himself with so much self-sacrifice».

Events of these latter days have quite justified the policy of General Bobrikoff. The Finnification of Finland proceeds unchecked, in spite even of the change in Russian policy. In the course of the year 1906 more than 30,000 persons in Finland changed their Swedish names into Finnish names. Amongst them were not only persons of the lower orders, but also of the intelligent classes, including two former senators of the Old Finnish party:—Neovius, and Professor Pilman. The Swedes under Mechelin, Born, and other separatists, who managed the last Diet, and had a majority, have suffered a terrible defeat at the new elections. From being the predominant party they have now become the weakest. Amongst 80 socialist deputies, 59 Old Finns, and 25 young Finns, they muster only 24. What, it may be asked, is today the position of the Russian authorities? The Swedes are not to be depended upon, for they always remain the hostile element as far as Russia is concerned. It may be that now, in view of their humiliation, they will try to come to some agreement with the Russians, but any such attempt will not be made with the idea of strengthening their connection with the Empire, and removing the misunderstandings which have arisen, but solely for the purpose of having the Russian authorities as allies in their struggle with the Finnish nationalists,—that is to say, in a struggle which is perfectly hopeless. After the murder of Bobrikoff the principal mistake made by the Russian Government was that at first unwittingly, under the Governorship of Prince

Obolensky, and then deliberately under that of N. N. Gerhard, it began to lean for support not upon the popular Old Finnish party, which Bobrikoff favoured, but on the Swedish oligarchy.

Instead of refusing to defer to anyone but working independently at the elucidation of Russian interests in Finland, and the discovery of some means of agreement with the indigenous population, the short-sighted Governor General Gerhard surrounded himself exclusively with leaders of the militant vikings, and with their help proposed to settle the Finnish question. What then took place? The Finnish Swedes first of all obliged the representative of Russian authority to serve their personal and party interests, instead of those of the Empire at large. With Gerhard's cooperation the Swedes systematically repealed all laws made during the time of Bobrikoff. Although these laws had been issued in accordance with the procedure of administrative publication of laws always existing in Finland, and with observance of the legislation of the Diet in all its inviolability, the Swedes who had seized the direction of affairs cunningly inserted clauses into the acts of repeal to the effect that they were necessary in order to «reestablish the legal procedure which had been violated» ¹⁾. But this was not enough for them. Under Bobrikoff the Finnification of the Courts and administration made very great progress. After dismissal of various officials, governors, members of the Hofgericht courts, and of the police, who had been guilty of resisting Imperial orders, their places were filled by Finns, whose educational and moral standard thoroughly satisfied the requirements of the law. This the Swedes could not tolerate, and accordingly with the assistance of Gerard, who became their tool, they systematically drove out all the law-abiding officials, whose only fault was that they were Finns of the Finnish people, and not pugnacious Swedes. The most difficult thing of all was to get rid of the law-abiding judges. No kind of persuasion, or

¹⁾ To our shame, be it said, this was done at a time when the department of the Secretary of State was managed not by a Finn, but by the assistant of V. K. Plehre, E. A. Oerstrom, who must have understood the unjust and insulting nature of this wholesale condemnation of the very laws which had been either compiled by himself, or under his direct supervision.

promises of increased pensions had any effect. Being by law irremovable the judges, for instance, of the Hofgericht at Åbo refused to resign. It was impossible to request their dismissal by the Emperor for only having replaced the revolutionary judges in 1903, and for having religiously carried out the laws of the land. Therefore the Finnish jurists had to invent a new way of getting rid of these judges, who held their appointments by Imperial order, without making any special report to His Majesty on the subject. On the 22nd of December 1906 an act was passed through the Diet entitled «concerning reinstatement of officials in their rights, who were dismissed from their posts in 1902 — 1905, and with reference to officials appointed during that period by means of a deviation from the procedure established by the fundamental laws». On the strength of this enactment all law-abiding judges of the Åbo Hofgericht, appointed by Imperial orders in 1903, were dismissed, and their places were again filled by the persons who had been dismissed by Imperial orders for refusing to enforce the military service law of 1901. In this way judges appointed by the Emperor were driven out without any report on the subject to His Majesty, and judges dismissed by the Emperor were reappointed to their former posts. This glaring violation of the most elementary principle of justice was committed with the cooperation of N. N. Gerhard. With the help of this «statesman», the Swedish revolutionists have systematically driven out the Finns everywhere, and continue to do so.

In consequence of this blind attitude of the Governor General with regard to the aims of Russian policy and towards the Old Fins, the latter have at present completely fallen away from the Russians. In return for their loyalty to Russia they have been given over to the tender mercies of their worst enemies the Swedes. Not only have they been expelled the service, but many of the more dangerous from the Swedish point of view have been prosecuted and accused of all kinds of crimes. Many officials like the Police Commissaries Androsoff and Reut, and the Criminal Commissary Pekonen (accused of prosecuting several of the chief revolutionists) were cast

into prison and only escaped the «impartial» courts of the Swedish regime by flying from the country. One can well understand the mistrust of the Russians which must be felt by the Finns. The Swedes murdered Bobrikoff, and for this the administration of Finland is given over to them, and the Finnish Governor General places his services at their disposal. Gerhard drives out the Russians by the help of the Swedes, and the Swedes drive out the Finns by the help of Gerhard.

With what kind of men does the representative of the Supreme Power in Finland surround himself? By those persons who plotted against Russian authority. What men have been appointed to the Senate? As Vice Presidents of that high assembly we have Leo Mechelin and Rabbe Wrede, — leaders of the Finnish separatists, and organisers of the Finnish revolution. As senators we have the appointment of Kasten Antell, August Nyberg, Alexander Grippen-berg (Nemo), and Stolberg ¹⁾, that is to say, those men who were the pillars of the party of «passive resistance», and the majority of whom, on account of their criminal activity, were requested to leave Finland. Various appointments, as governors of provinces and heads of the principal administrative departments, have been given to such persons as Colonel Alftan, Gordy, Reichenberg, Knörring, Alexis Grippen-berg, and others, — all of them having been dismissed from the service under Bobrikoff. Having surrounded himself with such persons as these, Governor General Gerhard became a toy in the hands of the Svecoman party, and in his person the State authority of Russia has lost the importance of being above all party interests. It has become dangerous to enter the service of an authority which betrays those who serve it. Gerhard's policy, if we may speak of any political system pursued by him, has caused almost irreparable injury to the Russian cause in Finland, the chief evil being that it has made the Old Finns lose all confidence in the firmness and consistency of Russian policy, and they cannot for-

¹⁾ Stolberg was dismissed from the post of reporter to the Senate by Imperial Senatorial order in 1903 for having allowed himself at one of the sittings to reproach the senators present for their obedience to the Imperial Decree of 1901 concerning military service.

give the Russians for betraying them into the power of the Swedes.

The elections to the Diet in 1907 plainly show the necessity of a return to the policy of Bobrikoff, in other words, of agreement with the popular-democratic party of the Old Finns. The Swedes are now in the minority. The social democrats of Finland who now constitute the most considerable party in the Diet, are not Russian socialists. They are also a people's party, with a distinct nationalist colouring, and who in all political questions will join hands with the Old Finns. In these questions they will also be joined by the Young Finns. It is clear that if Russian authority continues obstinately to support the Swedes, it will have to undertake a struggle against the whole country, which has no wish to become Swedish. There can hardly be any advantage in supporting a corpse, for undoubtedly the Swedish party in Finland is a dying organism. It is more than criminal to bind up the State interests of Russia with the fate of this party. At the present time it will be difficult to come to an understanding with the Finnish popular party,—far more difficult than it was under Bobrikoff. The Finns are a vindictive people, and it is not likely that they will easily forget the injuries received by reason of the uninformed and short-sighted policy of Governor General Gerhard. But in any case, whether easy or difficult, Russia must proceed along this path; the rightly understood interests of the State demand it. Fresh people must be placed at the head of the Finnish administration, both on the Russian and on the Finnish sides. [The Finns like every small people, are strongly patriotic, and their hatred of the Swedes is a feeling of centuries. If we stand on the side of the Swedes, we shall inevitably come in for a share of that hatred. It can hardly be in the interest of Russia to help the Swedes in the struggle which they have waged with the Finns for centuries, or to choose them as intermediaries in coming to a desirable agreement with Finland. We should come to an understanding direct with the Finns, and formulate it in such a way that they could entertain no doubt as to the sincerity and firmness of the compact. For this purpose new

people are necessary. Such people must be sought for, and when they are found, a stop should be put at once to the wretched and senseless policy now represented by Governor General N. N. Gerhard.

We do not require either a Finnish or a Swedish policy in Finland, but a Russian policy without party bias, and in the interest of Russia as a State. We propose no «Russification»; that is only a bugbear, with which the Svecomans have always frightened the simple Finns. But a non-party policy is impossible in alliance with Russia's traditional enemies, the Swedes.

In conclusion, I take the liberty of quoting a few lines from a recent article by Professor N. D. Sergyevsky, «Fresh clouds on the Finnish horizon», published in the newspaper, «The borderlands of Russia», 1907, № 15.

«The whole history of Finland shows that the Swedish party has ever been the implacable enemy of Russia. At the time when the Old Finnish party represented by their best men:—Snelman, Yre-Koskinen, Danielson, and Merman,—were ready to become reconciled and enter into union with the Empire,—the Svecomans exerted all their strength to excite the people to hatred of Russia, with the aim of political separation. With this in view the Svecomans spared no means of furthering their ends. The last three years should have taught us a good deal in this respect.

Yesterday's allies of the revolutionists, their hands soiled by the blood of political murders and Japanese gold, worthy successors of the «traitors of Anniala and Åbo,—they would betray Russia with as much ease as their forefathers broke their oath of fealty to their former Sovereign.

Have we not had enough of previous mistakes in Finland, without committing new ones? Is it not enough for us that the «strong buffer to St. Petersburg» acquired by Peter the Great and his successors, has become, if not the «Heel of Achilles» of the Empire, as the author of an article in the *Novoe Vremya* remarks, at least a festering sore under the very walls of the capital?

With the cooperation of the Russian Government the Svecoman party will, of course, crush the Old Finns; but what will be the outcome of that in the future, and how much Russian and Finnish blood may be shed in the process?

Of course, Leo Mechelin does not mind the shedding of Russian blood:

«Nor is he sorry, evidently, for that of the Finns».

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