POET UNDER BLACK BANNERS

The Case of Örnulf Tigerstedt and Extreme Right-Wing Swedish Literature in Finland 1918–1944

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This study deals with the Finland-Swedish author Örnulf Tigerstedt (1900-1962) and Swedish extreme right-wing literature in Finland. It concentrates on the period 1918-1944.

The dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part is a biographical and comparative study and attempts to give a historic and social background. Special attention is given to other Continental and Scandinavian authors who sympathized with Right extremism and fascism. The second part aims to analyze Örnulf Tigerstedt’s world view. This is done by concentrating on focal themes relating to cultural and ideological issues. The study covers the entire body of Tigerstedt’s writings.

In the case of Örnulf Tigerstedt traditional elements of an aristocratic and conservative right-wing philosophy were eclectically interwoven with more radical and fascist 20th century impulses into a totalitarian whole. Tigerstedt’s oeuvre is marked by an explicit authoritarian aesthetics where ideology and style go hand in hand.

There is an affinity in this authoritarian aesthetics between Tigerstedt and the Anglo-Saxon "neo-classic" movement.

The roots of his patriarchal world view and his image of man is to be found in the secluded Finland-Swedish manorial culture and its marked formalism and military traditions. His legacy of reactionary ideals was strengthened under the influence of the tragic abortive Finnish revolution of 1918. Other strong influences were the Germans Oswald Spengler and Egon Friedell, as well as the Swedes Vitalis Norström and Rudolf Kjellén.

At a time when a closed society with longstanding tradition was giving way to a new open society with rapid changes in social patterns, some members of the old upper class buried themselves in outdated authoritarian traditions. In Tigerstedt’s case his world view hardened into a bedrock of a philosophy incapable of adjusting to the modern world. In this situation the fascist movements became potential allies.

Keywords: fascism, Authoritarianism, Finland-Swedish Modernism, Oswald Spengler, Bertel Grippenberg.
For Sinikka
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Göran O:son Waltå
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I. Introduction

"Modern literature is essentially an individual thing. It is either the truthful expression of what one man thinks and feels, or it is nothing." George Orwell provocatively claimed in a BBC overseas broadcast during World War II.¹ This is the starting-point in the following study of the Swedish-speaking author and essayist Örnulf Tigerstedt and extreme right-wing Swedish literature in Finland. A study aimed at concentrating on Tigerstedt's world view and its literary manifestation.

Its main concern is the artist's vision of society and man; its major theme is the relationship between the individual and society resulting from the impact of social and political transformations on individual life. Only by penetrating and analyzing an author's complete literary production can we attempt to understand his outlook on life and mankind. In support of this statement I quote Tarmo Kunnas's foreword in his study of Heinrich Mann's works:

Das Denken eines Schriftstellers ist ein Ganzes. Selbst wenn ein Schriftsteller verwandlungsfähig ist, wenn sein Weltbild tiefe Veränderungen zu erfahren scheint, findet alles nicht ohne bestimmte Kontinuität statt. Die einzelnen Romane und Essays sollen eben im Lichte des Gesamtschaffens betrachtet werden.²

The same view can be found in E.D. Hirsch Jr's Validity in Interpretation: "It is that sense of the whole by means of which an interpreter can correctly understand any part in its determinacy."³

The whole body of Tigerstedt's writings including drama, essays, travel books, novels, short stories, poetry, historical works, printed speeches and articles will be my basic source. The major emphasis will thus be put on the larger unit - on the whole as the fundamental principle in my endeavor to reach a valid interpretation. I choose to establish a hermeneutical view with roots in Dilthey's dialogue between part and unity, between society and the individual. Consequently, this means paying attention to the existing connection between the aesthetic content, structure and style on the one hand and the pragmatic or communicative function of literary production on the other. I will therefore attempt to take this internal dialectic between the permanent meaning or tendency of a text and its artistic realization or the aesthetic form in the case of Örnulf Tigerstedt into consideration. This is the very link or connection George Orwell meant when he, in the essay on W.B. Yeats, referred to the connection between "tendency" and literary style. Orwell stated that this link was obvious in the works of W. B. Yeats, which in his opinion contained a "fascist tendency"⁴ - a connection which John Harrison managed to establish in his book The Reactionaries.

A literary oeuvre depicts an image of the world which is based upon the experiences of an author. Metaphors, symbols, style, fictive elements, projections and so on are woven into a web which constitutes a structure of
thought and emotions of both a conscious and subconscious nature. My belief is that this aesthetic reality, formed in a historical context, is linked to the social and political activities of man. Ergo, the difference between literary and non-literary texts must be recognized, while still underlining their mutual relationship.

Fascism and Literature

The word *fascism* is victim of its own internal and multiple ambiguity. The interpretations, definitions and connotations are many. We talk today of new-fascism or neo-fascism. Words like pre-fascism and proto-fascism stand for ideological currents foreboding the outburst of fascism - the advent of Italian fascism in the 20s and its German relative in the 30s. The word »fascism» is also used for describing related totalitarian movements all over a Europe in crisis during the 30s.

Elements of thinking and ways of viewing the world which we today might call »fascist» existed long before the term *fascismo* was coined under Mussolini’s era. Thus one can today read about the Hegelian elements in fascism or even the »fascist attitudes of Martin Luther».

It is true that fascism cannot be viewed as an isolated phenomenon. Only a specific philosophical tradition, a certain social, economic and historical situation of conflict made it possible. Yet fascism and proto-fascist movements appeared all over Europe in the 30s. Most of them adapted special national characteristics in their different cultural and environmental surroundings. In Finland, for instance, the heritage of 1918, the closeness to Soviet-Russia and the existence of two national languages were of utter importance.

The debate about fascism has been going on among scholars for more than half a century, and still no general consensus regarding an explanatory concept can be anticipated. The reason for this is that there simply cannot be a consensus, since an impartial view is impossible as long as we hold different political opinions. Stanley G. Payne has, in an clarifying essay, summarized the principal theoretical conceptions of fascism into nine categories, ranging from the old orthodox Marxist view of fascism as an aggressive dictatorial agent of bourgeois capitalism to a complete denial of a general concept of fascism.5

To be sure it would lead us astray to plunge deep into this debate, especially since the object of study is not a political movement, but a man’s outlook on life. Nevertheless, it is essential for the understanding of this work and its use of the terms »fascism», »Right-wing extremism» and »Right authoritarianism» to give the reader a general idea of the author’s way of viewing the question. This may moreover be done with the explicit belief that since every interpretation is partial and no totally objective
understanding can be attained we have to make every possible effort to reveal the subjective facts behind a taken position.\textsuperscript{6}

In this work I will view fascism as basically a resistance to modernization or "transcendence" in the language of Ernst Nolte. Fascism's foremost trait is thus the reaction against what was conceived as the particularization and estrangement or alienation (Entfremdung der Welt) of Western civilization.\textsuperscript{7} However, the works of Fredric Jameson and Alice Yaeger Kaplan have convincingly shown that authors like Wyndham Lewis and Céline reached fascism from a modernist perspective.\textsuperscript{8} I therefore recognize that fascist ideology contained a strong esprit de contradiction and had the ability to attract both modernists and anti-modernists. In fact the works of Örnulf Tigerstedt contained, as we will see, modernist features to a considerable extent.

The view of fascism expressed above, would also underline its quality of being a general European event. Despite this, we must also be aware of the different faces and varieties of fascism in Europe. The adaptability and the pragmatic features of the movement are strongly emphasized. Unlike most ideologies, which tend to become fixed, rigid and unchanging, the dialectical oppositional forces and contradictory messages are very much present in fascism and thus fascism often defies logical definitions or rational explanations. Therefore fascism, in this work, is looked upon as an adaptable ideology pragmatically used as a political instrument.\textsuperscript{9} By choosing this hypothesis the problem of the stress on the technological Futurism and productivism of Italian fascism becomes less illogical.

The same idea can be developed and provide us with a understanding of why, for instance, anti-Semitism did not constitute a vital essence in fascist doctrine. This it did, in the most extreme expression of fascism - National-Socialism - where it was not merely an ingredient but the very substance. Its chief purpose was to provide Hitler with a stimulus for the innate and organized violence of the Nazi movement.\textsuperscript{10} Likewise the explicit internationalism among some French fascists or traces of pacifism among extreme right-wing intellectuals do not seem totally incoherent. Problems of this kind will not undermine but support the previously mentioned position of strongly emphasizing the ambiguous, pragmatic and ever changing dimension of fascism.

Tarmo Kunnas used the radical Parisian Doriot Movement to envisage Right and Left extremism on the borderland of fascism and pointed out that a certain world view or vision du monde did not coercively lead to a predestinated political party. Fascism can, thus, obviously be reached from different intellectual, artistic and cultural platforms.\textsuperscript{11}

Seymor Lipset divided fascism into Left, Right and Center extremism in his book Political Man and emphasized that the classic fascist movements have represented the extremism of the Center. To Lipset the border between Right and Center extremism mainly concerned the question of willingness
toward revolutionary activity. The Right extremists were conservative and not revolutionary. They tried to restore and preserve cultural and economic institutions and their ideal leader was not the dictator but the monarch. However, this concept might lead us into a cul-de-sac since a new problem arises. How do we really define revolutionary? It is evident that the Right extremists had no intention of preserving the democratic institutions of society. Hitler, the typical Center extremist, used the parliamentary system in order to gain power. Did, for instance, fundamental institutional changes of a pivotal social and economic importance take place in Germany after the disposal of the Nazi left-wing group around Ernst Rohm in the »blood purge» within the party in 1934?

Among others, the Swedish-speaking professor of literature at the University of Helsinki, Johan Wrede, has stressed the revolutionary agent in the right-wing extremism of the Inter-War era. This subversive dimension was paired with clearly conservative or reactionary ideas, which aimed at upholding the existing social hierarchy.

Finally, it might be noted, that the difficulty lies in the fact that there seems to be no clear distinction between extreme right-wing movements and fascism. On the contrary a general consensus concerning a definition cannot be found among the scholars either. However, Stanley G. Payne has made a very interesting and substantial attempt to distinguish fascism from what he calls Right Authoritarianism.

The notion that Communism and liberalism formed circumstantial alliances (like the Popular Front in France) has not led analysts to regard both ideologies as uniform. Payne claimed that reactionary authoritarian forces have been confused with fascist movements. Payne then drew our attention to a number of specific traits representative of Right authoritarianism. Apart from features held in common with fascism it was based on the traditional élite, trying to maintain their privileged position or even return to an old social hierarchy. They normally rejected irrationalism, at least the secular type, since they regarded traditional religion with great respect. They were finally willing to accept praetorian rule but simultaneously rejected the mass principle of fascism in all forms - party or militia. There will be reason to return to Payne's concept of Right authoritarianism later in this study.

Most studies concerning extreme right-wing literature use the term fascism in a wider sense - often letting it stand for all the totalitarian movements and thoughts of the 20th century. Here we must keep in mind that the word »fascism» is, in itself, also charged with political evaluation. The connotations derived from this word are different from those we obtain from the term »extreme right-wing». It will thus be wise, because of the problems briefly discussed above, to use the words »fascist» and »fascism» with a certain reserve in the following study.
In the absence of a wider consensus I will often use the terms »extreme Right« or »extreme right-wing« instead, thereby describing the ideas and concepts related to proto-fascism, fascism and Right totalitarian movements. When there is call for a more narrow definition, that is when it is possible to make such a distinction, I will make use of the terms fascism and Right authoritarianism in support of Payne's terminology.

It is vital in this context to keep in mind that those fascist movements which did actually gain power, did this with the explicit support from the authoritarian nationalists, i.e., the conservative Right and the radical Right. The latter groups stood accordingly under the constant influence of fascism. We can therefore justly speak of the appeal or lure of fascism.

In what way then, and under what circumstances can extreme right-wing or proto-fascist opinions and values form answers to a conflict experienced and described by an author? What link is there between production and personal political creed? A Norwegian supporter of literary hermeneutics, Atle Kittang, pointed out that we can best define and determine a »fascist stand« when dealing with an accumulated answer to a total situation of crises and conflict of a social, economic and moral kind. Considering this, it will then be useful to regard and weigh both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the author’s world view. However, radicalism must also be regarded as well as evaluating such a position in terms of breadth of sympathy.

Generally speaking, the connection between a writer's actual production and his overall political tendency or conception of man and society is by no means, in most cases, explicit or easy to see. The risk of misjudgment is also greater when trying to define an author's conception of the world from a single work of art. Only by taking an author's whole production into account can we attempt to reduce the risk of serious misunderstanding.

Most men of letters create within different genres. By taking all the genres used by the author into account we undoubtedly provide ourselves with a wider spectrum of variation. In contrast, this mode of working calls for extra attention to the aspect of continuation, that is, if the author in the course of time alters his vision du monde or not.

Returning then to George Orwell and his Shakespearean concept of »to thine own self be true«. E. D. Hirsch rightly argues: Whenever meaning is connected to words, an individual is making the connection. Meaning is thus an affair of consciousness and not of words. Different »readings« can give rise to different interpretations. But the meaning never changes and instead remains what the author meant and willed by his use of a particular sequence of signs. The relationship between the meaning and another new context, for example an author's revaluation of his own text, is called significance.

The explicit and implicit meaning in a verbal intention are compounds in a whole which is bound by a horizon. One of the interpreter's aims must be
to posit the author's horizon in order to understand the meaning. Another must be to recognize the system of expectations and shared generic conception which constitutes both meaning and understanding - what Hirsch calls intrinsic genres.\textsuperscript{18} When we shift our attention back and forth between the part and the operative whole in our literary experience it will result in an understanding as the construction of meaning. But since we cannot isolate the act of construing verbal meaning from simultaneously relating it to another context - that is significance - both become part of the endeavor.\textsuperscript{19}

The above way of posing the problem might be described as a search for a line between the theory of the totally autonomous text and the concept of social environment as the only important agent.\textsuperscript{20} In order to interpret the meaning of something we must always try to maintain a sense of the whole. From which follows that the basic and necessary assumption of all probability judgments is the uniformity of the class.\textsuperscript{21}

The object is therefore, in connection with the matters just discussed, to underline the fact that a man's world view should be considered only in its entirety. Furthermore, this means the rejection of all attempts to completely split up personalities and outlooks into different categories. A man and his works form a totality.\textsuperscript{22} However, contradictory traits could offer an opportunity rather than an obstacle. In this respect the influence from the hermeneutic conception presented by Paul Ricoeur must be mentioned.

The political commitment of intellectuals and writers in the years between the World Wars formed an important part of the literary background of the century. The appeal of fascism and various forms of totalitarianism to authors in the Inter-War Era was frequently linked to the conception of a dying Western civilization. Neither was this image limited to authors with an authoritarian inclination. The decadent Gustav Aschenbach's tragic fate, in a slowly decaying Venice, in Thomas Mann's novella \textit{Death in Venice}, was not an exceptional theme. Renan («Nous vivons du parfum d'un vase vide») and later Spengler, dwelt on the \textit{idée fixe} of a culture on the eve of decomposition and putrefaction.

It was in many ways the artist's protest against the mechanization of man. Some of these artists and aesthetes could be described as reactionary traditionalists who had actually little in common with fascism and yet at the same time supported it. Bewildered and alienated by the complexity of the modern world, they often had the choice between an existence in a secluded ivory tower dreaming of an idealized past, and developing an anti-democratic attitude. To them, living in a remote world of their own, the seemingly artistic freedom of fascism and its outspoken anti-materialism was far more important and manifest than Squadristi's violent atrocities.

Another important question that comes forth, is; can the label »fascist« be attached to an outlook on life? Could fascism provide the answers to man's profound questions about existence and life, which is expected of a philosophical \textit{vision du monde}? It is highly doubtful since fascism in itself was,
and is, so contradictory, pragmatic and undogmatic. On the other hand, we must keep in mind that the relationship between fascism and aesthetics has been underlined by several analysts. They often speak about a »cultural fascism«. Thus, Walter Benjamin once claimed: »The logical result of fascism is the introduction of esthetics into political life.«

Only through an all-embracing and, if possible, unconditional evaluation of the attraction and appeal fascism had, and has, as a political solution for so many European intellectuals, can we come to terms with, and impede, a recurrence. In addition to this general approach, all attempts in contemporary thinking to view fascism as a disease, an error of judgment, a tragic mistake or simply a brief intermezzo in an otherwise »normal« production are regarded as very questionable, not to say hazardous. (compare the case of Gottfried Benn).

It is furthermore evident that a too categorical and pejorative conclusion about the intellectual capacity and literary importance of extreme right-wing authors might prove equally unfruitful. Unfortunately, we cannot discard the fascist part of the thinking of men like Knut Hamsun, Wyndham Lewis and Martin Heidegger as misconceptions or misunderstandings. Neither can they be dismissed as insignificant and petty intellectuals.

Abhorrence and contempt obstruct our way of understanding the world. They block our capacity to seek and explore the latent streams behind the double appeal of fascism in a turbulent period of European history. In an essay called »Wurzeln und Ausprägungen faschistischer Literatur« Russel A. Berman put forward a similar approach to fascism and literature:


Looking at the problem in this light, we come to realize that the basic aim in a study dealing with a world view, containing elements related to cultural fascism, must be to try to uncover the roots under it and attempt to discover what made them grow. The answer to the appeal of totalitarianism to an author like Örnulf Tigerstedt is embedded somewhere within the dialectic between the rational and irrational. Here on the borderland between two seemingly incoherent principles he thought he had found a solution or answer to the impotence of the world and his very own existence.

It is here, within this actual dynamism, that much of the vital force and lure of fascism is interlocked - in the polarization and constant shifts between doctrines, proclamations and discordant contradictions.
General Background and Working Method

All human beings develop, whether consciously or unconsciously, a certain attitude or view toward life and mankind. In some cases this conception or outlook develops into a more meditated vision du monde or Weltanschauung. This compound term usually stands for world view, perspective on life and general conception of things. According to Wilhelm Dilthey, a Weltanschauung has three constituents: factual beliefs, value-judgments and a set of ultimate goals. These are then related to three more basic aspects of personality: feeling, thought and will. Örnulf Tigerstedt had a general tendency to see things in a wider perspective. He also had a surprisingly coherent picture of the world and reality. This view of his was blended with contradictory elements and related to a sensitive conception of time and history. Whether this outlook upon the world could be called a Weltanschauung or not, is a matter of definition. The German term Weltanschauung often represents a philosophically very rational and consistent system - usually something more than a personal or individual view of life. In the first place, the goal is to describe the writer's factual beliefs and value-judgments. Therefore, and because of what has already been discussed above, I will henceforth make use of the French term vision du monde or the English term world view. Part of my ambition is to reach a deeper understanding of the relation between the world view of a single person, and of the trans-personal structures - that is on the supra-individual level - between the whole and its constituents.

The European extreme right-wing literature of the Inter-War Era has been the object of several international studies. Those of the following Germans, Gottfried Benn, Ernst Jünger and Hanns Johst, have been thoroughly examined. Studies have also been published about French authors such as Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Céline, Henry de Montherlant and Brassilach. One of these studies provided me with the initial inspiration for this work. In the Anglo-Saxon world, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, Wyndham Lewis, D. H. Lawrence, Rudyard Kipling and their links to Right authoritarianism and fascism have been the focus of several studies. Among Scandinavian writers, the political dimension and right-wing extremism of Knut Hamsun has aroused much interest both in Norwegian and international studies. In fact right-wing extremism in literature has been studied more carefully in Norway than in the other Scandinavian countries.

The problem of literary fascism has not generated particular interest in Denmark and Sweden. The reason for this might partly be that there were only a few and insignificant extreme right-wing authors in Scandinavia. Besides, the political extreme right-wing or the fascist movements were of less importance in these countries than in Finland and Norway with their young and ardent nationalisms.
The Finnish right-wing extremism has been investigated in a number of historical works written in the 70s and 80s. It is significant for the situation that the only study dealing with the repercussions of fascism in Finnish literature was written by a historian - Lauri Hyvämäki. It deals with the Swedish-speaking author Bertel Gripenberg.

One of the reasons why interest in this specific field has been so insignificant is probably the disagreeable nature of the subject matter. One might suppose, as Johan Wrede does, that such a disreputable subject easily can discredit anyone dealing with it. This may even prove truer in connection with a literary discipline. However, it is a well-known fact that some of the greatest literary figures of this century directly or indirectly supported fascism. How was this possible? The question is vital in order to fully understand the literature of the 20s and 30s.

How much then does, and did, literature influence society? Another Finnish scholar, Sven Willner, has put forward a very interesting hypothesis: Countries like France, Great Britain or the Scandinavian countries had a broad and diversified realistic tradition in literature and escaped the revolutionary wave that followed »the war to end all wars«. The ruling groups in these countries seem to have been less socially blind, perhaps not due to direct contact with reality, but to their reading habits. This fact could have had a negative or pacifying effect on the radicalism of the oppressed classes. In contrast with this we have countries like Germany and Finland, where literature was influenced more by late Romanticism, fin-de-siècle decadence and aestheticism which experienced rebellions or revolutions.

There is undoubtedly much to do in this field of research in the future. One of the interesting features of right-wing extremism and fascism is their international dimension. Viewing the problem from this angle, one comes to realize the importance of also using a comparative working method. Therefore a comparative analysis will be attempted, while national traits of the problem remain in focus.

The internationalism and comparative aspect of extreme right-wing literature make the use of English seem advantageous for this study. Since we are dealing with a Swedish-speaking writer a great deal of the quotations will be given in the original language. Even so, I hope that readers who do not master Swedish will be able to understand this work through the translations. The purpose here is to give an outline of the content of the ideas of the writer. The translations do not aim to do the author thorough justice. Translations meticulously regarding style and metrical features would have proved too time consuming and constituted a work of art in themselves.

The term »Finland-Swedish« will often be used for the Swedish-speaking population group of Finland. The reason for this is that a puzzling variety of terms like; »Finno-Swedish«, »Swedish-Finnish«, »Swede-Finn«, »Finn-Swede« etc. can be found in literature. The term »Finland-Swedish« is today moreover the term acknowledged by literary scholars in Finland and
Sweden and used by the English literary magazine *Scandinavica*. The titles of Tigerstedt's books will be given in translation along with the original title. I will here, in most cases, employ the existing title translations in Jaakkio Ahokas's *A History of Finnish Literature*.

Ørnulf Tigerstedt is not very well-known today, neither in Finland nor in Sweden. In the book *Åttio år finlandssvensk litteratur* Thomas Warburton summarizes Tigerstedt on two and a half pages. The modern standard work on Finnish literature, *Suomen kirjallisuus*, provides him with a little more space, but then this work is far more extensive. Ahokas does not use a full page in describing Tigerstedt. In more recent works about Swedish literature the name Ørnulf Tigerstedt is missing or reduced to a literary footnote. This is something he shares with many Finland-Swedish writers who tend to be forgotten in Sweden. And yet in the 30s Tigerstedt was well-known in both Finland and Sweden. The Swedish literary critic, Sven Stolpe, then rendered Tigerstedt extensive space in his book *Det svenska geniet* (The Swedish Genius). Although critical of what he understood as Tigerstedt's political creed, Stolpe apparently had a very high opinion of Tigerstedt's poetry. Perhaps even more important - Sven Stolpe provided Tigerstedt in 1935 with a stigmatizing description:

> It is doubtful whether not even in Germany can be found such an important and independent author, who, with both power and taste, has turned Nazi demands on political and cultural reality into great poetry and rhetoric.

A year earlier, when analyzing Tigerstedt's poem »Bevis« (Proof) he had stated that the Nazi contempt for intellectualism and their natural instinct and preference for direct action had not ever before been expressed in such an unveiled way in Swedish. This description was a year later repeated (nearly verbatim) in connection with the same poem by the Finn, Olavi Paavolainen, in his book *Kolmannen valtakunnan vieraana* (As a Guest in the Third Reich).

From this time on, Tigerstedt had turned himself into a *persona non grata* in the eyes of the critics of the Swedish literary élite, which was dominated by men and women with a strong humanitarian and democratic pathos. He had to pay, and paid dearly for the rest of his life for his links with the authoritarian forces. When mentioned, he is often labeled »a Nazi writer« or the only »fascist writer of importance who wrote in Swedish«. He was thus a fascist or even a Nazi by accusation. Did he reach this position then merely by accusation, or did he ever make written or public statements claiming to be a core fascist?

Both Stolpe and Paavolainen were important persons in the cultural establishment of their countries. Tigerstedt's poems were thus directly linked to a political movement. This downright dismissal of poetic license on Tigerstedt's part was probably made under the influence of other writings and statements as well. As mentioned Tigerstedt had to pay a high
price for his opinions - or rather how they were interpreted by his contemporary critics. Symptomatic of how he is often viewed today is Mikael Enckell's way of dealing with him in his recent study of Rabbe Enckell.43

Despite this, it is however impossible for anyone who devotes time reading Tigerstedt in depth to be unaware of the fact that he certainly possessed literary qualities. He was undoubtedly a great stylist and some of his poetry is still very much worth reading, not the least as an illustration of the 30s, but also for its strange, exacting beauty.44 One cannot help but wonder if there is not a definite connection between his political views and the way he is looked upon today. On the other hand, this aspect of his works is not on trial here.

Tigerstedt has not been the object of a previous literary study or thesis. But the fact that articles and essays dealing with him have been published indicates that he has attracted a certain interest. The essays are however very short except for P. O. Barck's »Svart harnesk« from 1936. Apart from this E. N. Tigerstedt rendered his relative space in his Det religiösa problemet i modern finlandssvensk litteratur, 1936. A list of the essays is to be found at the end of the enclosed bibliography.

The emphasis will be put on Örnulf Tigerstedt's outlook upon life between his debut in 1918 and his escape to Sweden in 1944 - that is, the Finnish period of his life. These years conveniently coincide with a major period in Finnish history - the time from the Finnish declaration of independence from Russia to the fall of what Wahlbäck called the »First Republic«.45 However, as mentioned earlier, the entire body of Tigerstedt's writings are the object of this study. I will therefore in the first part of this work try to shed some light on his life after 1944 as well. This will be done very briefly, with the focus on presenting biographical details and controversial questions.

The thesis will be in two parts. The procedure employed in the first part is to attempt to paint a picture of Tigerstedt and his works in chronological order. It will stress the reciprocal views of society and author and try to situate Örnulf Tigerstedt in his historical and social context. Since this work is meant to be comparative, special attention will be paid to the extreme right-wing Finland-Swedish literature of the period. In support of this, Stein Ugelvik Larsen, in a recent study titled Fascism and European Literature, asserted:

In order to interpret the social situation »reflected« in literature we have to bear in mind the overall historical and cultural framework of the country concerned; a comparative and contrastive analysis helps to focus on the defining characteristics involved.46

I will, in addition, frequently try to compare and juxtapose the author with other European men of letters. In the second part I will, through closer reading, try to examine the opinions and views of Örnulf Tigerstedt. Focal themes concerning certain cultural and ideological questions, which are
essential when trying to determine and understand a world view will be presented. These «themes of tendencies» are not to be understood as interesting in themselves, in isolation, but when in combination they form a picture of the overarching theme - the tendency and world view of his total oeuvre. Or in the words of J-P Richards: «la cohérence interne étant finalement ici le seul critère valable de l'objectivité».47 Previously confidential inquiry material, i.e., interrogation protocols from 1944, made available to the author by the Swedish security police, will therefore be examined. Finally a bibliography of Örnulf Tigerstedt's writings has been compiled and comprises the last part of the thesis.

Finally, only by integrating the author's tendency and aesthetic realization can we hope to reach a deeper understanding of an author's vision du monde.46 This ultimately leads to the question of artistic principles along with political ones when setting out to explore and define the ideas contained in Tigerstedt's collected works. A hermeneutic mode is in many ways the very opposite of a prescriptive methodical procedure: It connotes openness to the discourse of the text. In an effort to interpret the author's inner horizon, or the intrinsic genre, and later relate it to a context, attention has to be shifted back and forth between the part and the whole in the literary experience. I will let E. D. Hirsch conclude this brief outline:

By «understanding», therefore, I mean a perception or construction of the author's verbal meaning, nothing more, nothing less. The significance of that meaning, its relation to ourselves, to history, to the author's personality, even to the author's other works can be something equally objective and is frequently even more important.49

Notes

1. George Orwell, "Literature and Totalitarianism"; The Listener, 19 June 1941.
2. Tarmo Kunnas, 1973, p. 3.
10. The myth of the race, its Darwinian preservation and anti-Semitism are, beyond doubt, the cornerstones of Hitler's world view as presented in the bible of National-Socialism - Mein Kampf (Mein Kampf, pp. 104, 153, 207-208, 367, 585-586). Cf. Kaplan, pp. 140-150, 170. Kaplan stresses the contradictory element in fascism and believes in a relationship between fascism and Modernism. This is also apparent in Jameson, e.g., p. 5.
14. They were authoritarian, nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-liberal. But they were anti-conservative in a very limited sense. Their neo-Corporatism was linked to monarchy or religious institutions. They believed in a strong authoritarian leader but hesitated to embrace dictatorship. Fascism's secularism, party-army organization, primitivism, mass-political mobilization and above all their aim at changes in social status and relations were all missing.
18. Ibid., pp. 75ff., 221-222. I have adopted Hirsch's concept of genre in a wide sense, where genre and type are viewed as a version of the interdependence of whole and part in the hermeneutic circle. Cf. Hirsch p. 76.
22. Cf. the debate about Heidegger's political past, e.g., Peter Kemp's article in Dagens Nyheter, 6 April 1988, which by some debaters was regarded as an attempt to split Heidegger's identity in two: the National-Socialist and the philosopher.
24. Alice Yæger Kaplan has called attention to this, in her eyes, dangerous aspect of viewing fascist writers.
25. Berman, p. 73.
28. The French term is also often used as an equivalent of Weltanschauung.
40. Ibid., 1934, BLM, p. 31. Ibid., 1935, pp. 202, 204-205. Apparently Stolpe was partly fascinated by the phenomenon of National-Socialism at this time. He also admitted in his memoirs that he regarded Communism as a larger threat than Nazism in the mid 30s. See Stolpe, 1975, p. 114. It must, however, be strongly emphasized that, according to Paavolainen (1936, pp. 21-22) and Göran Stenius (1937, p. 16), Sven Stolpe on numerous occasions attacked the NS-regime during their visit to the "Dichterhaus" in Travemünde. Cf. also Sven Stolpe, BLM, 1936, pp. 682-689.
42. Cf., e.g., Vasabladet 20 Oct. 1944: "the Nazi boy Tigerstedt.") Svensk Tidskrift 1936, p. 195: "At home and abroad, Tigerstedt has been regarded as the fascist or Nazi in Finno-Swedish literature"), Bohus-Länning, 10 Oct. 1945: "<...>Herr Örnulf Tigerstedt, known Swedish-Finnish Nazi. Svenska Pressen, 16 June 1934, Hagar Olsson: "He has not gained as a writer by becoming a Nazi". In a Danish anthology of Nordic Nazi writers, Hagekorset i Norden-Et udvalg af nordisk nazistisk litteratur (1983), Tigerstedt as well as Gripenberg are presented. In Suomen kirjallisuus VI, p. 495: "Tigerstedt was the only important Swedish-speaking poet who deliberately, but not without complications, placed himself under the "black banners" of his time." In the same work, p. 498: "No doubt Tigerstedt can be regarded as the standard poetic bearer of Nazism and fascism in Swedish."
43. Mikael Enckell apparently found Tigerstedt's presence and the amount of space given to him surprising in R. Enckell's Modern finlandssvensk lyrik (1934), M. Enckell, pp. 244-245.
44. Concerning style: cf., e.g., "Björneborgska sjukan" (SKOTTO) or "Sangre y arena" (VIRSI), the latter is an excellent essay on bull-fighting.
45. Kristers Wahlbäck, pp. 9-10.
46. Larsen in Larsen, Sandberg and Speirs. Fascism and European Literature, p. 429.
47. Quoted from B. Olsson, Samlaren, 1969, p. 121.
48. Gustafsson, "Litteratur och idéer", In Gustafsson, Forskningsfält och metoder inom litteraturforskningen, p. 142: "Hence, the study of ideas in a literary piece of work runs the risk of becoming superficial and unfruitful if it is not combined with the study of how the ideas are presented in the same work (with a clear-cut address or as a problematic discussion), and how they are integrated in the depiction of men and society etc."
The Formative Years and the Great War

Jag ropar i norr,
men där svarar mig ingen.
Jag ropar i väster,
men där tändas inga ljus.
Jag ropar i öster,
men konungens trommär
äro länge sedan döda.

Under de äldriga björkarna,
på de hundrade kyrkogårdarna
vilna de alla
och jag deras åttling.
deras sentida
rolöst kringirrande åttling
stavar tigande
deras förvitrade namn.
(-- --)
(«Gårdarna», The Manor-Houses)

(I call in the North,/ But no answer is heard./ I call in the West,/ But no light appears./ I call in the East/ But the King's liege men/Have long been dead./ / Under the time-worn birches,/ On the hundred churchyards/ They all rest ~/ / And I their scion,/ Their contemporary/ Restlessly wandering scion /Am silently deciphering/ Their weathered names.)

On May 12, 1933, the Swedish-speaking students of Helsinki University were gathered for their annual spring party. The looming shadow of a bitterly fought domestic issue had dominated the atmosphere lately - the blazing language controversy in the country and especially at their university. The background was that the reaction against hundreds of years of Swedish-speaking dominance had secured a bilingual constitution in the young Finnish state. The small, but still very influential, Swedish-speaking population in Finland still retained a key position economically, culturally, and socially - a key position with no relation to their actual numbers. Right radical and aggressive Fennomen now demanded the supremacy of Finnish. Extreme nationalists now called for a complete fennisation and pronounced Swedish as a foreign and alien language in Finland. Influenced by the situation in Germany some had even claimed that the Swedish-speaking minority were the Jews of Finland.
This year's spring speech was held by the vigorous and very promising writer, nobleman, intellectual Örnulf Tigerstedt. After a somewhat tentative beginning he delivered the speech with the firmness and rhetorical devices of a born speaker. His audience were excited and overwhelmed by the vital drive for action displayed by the animated orator. His rhythm of rhetoric possessed the power to enhance the emotive effect of his speech.

A couple of days later, the debate that followed the speech had even reached Stockholm and parts of Tigerstedt's passages were quoted in papers on both sides of the Baltic Sea. The address had been a passionate attack on the social decadence and materialism, which the speaker saw embodied in the American spirit and thought, bearing witness to a declining civilization. It further advocated the unification of national, linguistic and social ideas, glorified the sound, unspoiled vitality of youth and finally called for action. It vibrated with passion for a common metaphysical destiny and heralded the coming of a new era. Although not explicitly mentioning where the inspiring torch had been lit, the audience could by no means be said to have been left without knowledge of what new «ideology» he indirectly hinted at. A few months prior to this Hitler had concluded his Machtübernahme.

Tar jag väl miste, då jag säger att de första vindlarna från stormarna ute i världen redan nät oss, att en sällsam egelse begyn genomsyrå vårt blod och vår vardag och att vi redan begyn genlyssna med uppmärksamheten hos den, som känner historiens tunga vingslag svepande susa över sitt huvud. [...] Handling, inte ord i kommittéer och riksdagar är spetsen av historiens våra. Med handling, inte med skäl och motskäl bevisas inför gudar, djävlar och människor folkens rättighet att få plöja sin hembygds tegar och andas sitt hemlands luft. [...] Vi veta vår uppgift, och vi äro överens med vårt öde. Oss kan ingenting hånda - åtmästare ingening värra än ragnarök. Studenter! Så må vi möta denna vår, som likt en ung krigare bringar oss uppbrottssordin och gudarnas hälsning. (»Talet till våren«, SB, 27 May 1933)

(Am I then mistaken, when I say that the first breezes from the tempests out there in the world have already reached us, and that a mystifying incitement has started to seep into our blood and our everyday life, and that we have already begun to listen with the attention of a man who feels the mighty wing-beats of history sweep over his head. [...] Action, not words in committees and parliaments, is the point of history's rapier. With action, and not with reasoning for and against, the right of nations to plow the fields of their native soil and breathe their native air is proven before gods, devils and men. [...] We know our mission, and we have come to terms with our destiny. Us can nothing befall - at least nothing worse than Ragnarök. Students! Let us thus face this spring, which like a young warrior brings us the order of decampment and the greetings from the gods.)

Some 30 years later, shortly after Tigerstedt's death, his friend and fellow writer, E. R. Gunnerus, stated in a memorial-article, trying to sum up Örnulf Tigerstedt's impact as a writer: »If anyone ever was close to formulating an ideology for the Finland-Swedish upper class then it was Örnulf Tigerstedt«.

We must bear in mind, that this characterization of Tigerstedt, was made by a man who shared his political view in the late 30s. It must also be strongly emphasized, that what Gunnerus meant by »the Finland-Swedish
upper class» constituted a small faction within a minority. Even if it is not the object of this study to find out whether this statement is valid or not, it nevertheless draws our attention to the fact that Tigerstedt and his ideology were not such isolated phenomena in the turbulent period between the First and Second World Wars in Finland, as has previously and generally been assumed. Indeed parts of his outlook on life may not at all have been alien to Swedish-speakers in Finland. This furthermore gives a certain weight to the issue of Tigerstedt's actual ideology, *vision du monde* and attraction to fascism. However, to make this really profitable we must, as a consequence, consider his social and political views and their interaction and ultimate result in artistic principles. This also makes the poet's social background very much worth studying, despite the fact that the pursuit of a certain ideology does not necessarily lead to a decisive political stand.

It has been said that the Finland-Swedish minority managed to emerge from the Second World War and the Inter-War Era relatively unsoiled politically speaking. When parliamentary principles and democracy were severely challenged during the years of the Lapua Movement and its aftermath, the Finland-Swedish politicians had already been forced to give up their traditional right-wing position and orient themselves toward liberalism and the political center. The majority of their representatives had clung to law, constitutional rights and the defence of democracy at a time when many of the ideals of democracy were being tampered with and threatened. This was done by the Lapua Movement, its political successor, the IKL, and semi-fascist and intolerant organizations like the AKS - the Academic Karelia Society (Akateeminen Karjala-seura) with aggressive dreams of a Greater Finland (Suur-Suomi), and later by the *Waffenbrüderschaft* with Hitler's Germany.  

However, did this general stand for democracy, which one must conclude was partly due to the situation created by the language-struggle, likewise apply to the majority of the Finland-Swedish authors? The picture here is somewhat different. A not insignificant and rather influential proportion of the Swedish-speaking intellectuals, artists and writers seem to have supported an anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary point of view in the 30s and 40s. In order to shed light on this we have to go back in history to the beginning of the century. We have to return to the years which were the molding or formative years of Örnulf Tigerstedt and to this generation of authors.

**The Legacy of 1906 and 1918**

Axel Örnulf Tigerstedt was born at the very turn of the century in Helsinki or Helsingfors, which is the Swedish name of the capital of Finland. Most of his childhood was spent on the large rural family estate Mustiila in Elimäki (Elimä) in Kymi-valley (Kymmenedalen) but the family was also in possession of a town apartment in Helsinki.
Some years thereafter the Swedish-speaking minority definitely lost its superior political power through the radical constitutional reforms of 1906. A new era was coming - not the least demonstrated by the political rising of new social and economic classes and groups in society and by the rapid growth of a Finnish-speaking bourgeoisie. The Swedish-speaking middle class and upper class therefore felt their social and political hegemony threatened. A feeling of despair and pessimism spread among many intellectuals of these classes. These dominating Swedish-speaking groups, mostly living in secluded manorial estates or in urban surroundings, had often little or no connection with the vast majority of Swedish-speaking farmers, workers and fishermen living near or on the coast. The hollow atmosphere of Bertel Gripenberg's poem »På berget« (On the Mountain) bears witness to some of this despair and bleak melancholy:

Hur långt oss än vägarna förde
mot högbergens eviga is
med alpögld i tändande fjärran
och dödsköld i kvällarnas bris,
hur långt våra ögon än sågo
mot ändlösa perspektiv,
i nätternas svaghet vi drömde
ibland om vårt hänsvunna liv.

Om tider af tro och af löften,
af längtan och jubel och rus,
om tider, då tönerna lekte
i sammanstörande hus.
(»På berget«, Skuggspel)

(How far the roads ever took us./ Toward the eternal ice of the high mountains/
With alpine embers in a sparkling distance/And lethal frost in the breeze of the
nights/How far our eyes ever saw/ Toward endless vistas,/ In the weakness of the
night we dreamed/ At times of our bygone life./ Of times of faith and promises,/Of longing and rejoicing and exaltation,/ Of times, when tones were a-playing/ In
collapsing houses./ »On the Mountain», Shadow-Play)

It is harder to detect Gripenberg's customary Nietzschean defiance here although the image of towering alps underlines the once highly esteemed Finnish baron's perpetual claim to nobility.

To many of these intellectuals the advancing Finnish-speaking groups represented something politically immature or even racially inferior. The Swedish party had been dominated by the conservative élite and their aristocratic views on education and culture. The growing labor movement was often regarded as a result of Fennoman agitation - a preposterous anti-social outlook - in view of the fact that Finland had more proletarians than any other nation in Europe except England at the time. A radical social change was feared in the wake of Fennomanism by such influential Swedish-speaking representatives as E. H. Estlander, Henning Söderhjelm, and J. A. von Born. Even a liberal free-thinker, humanist and Francophile like Rolf Lagerborg, placed intellectual progress ahead of common welfare
in 1897. The strong grip cultural tradition maintained could be seen in the works of K. A. Tavaststjerna, the foremost Swedish-speaking writer in Finland during the modern breakthrough of the 1880s. Despite a strong social conscience, radical criticism of society, and a strong will to break the bounds of tradition he was trapped in his Finland-Swedish cultural heritage. The scion of a military family he proudly rejected Finnish supremacy and Fennomanism in the poem »Finnbacka Finne«.(See also ch., III:1.)

Many of these Swedish-speaking aristocrats and intellectuals thus saw their Swedish tradition and themselves as the bearers and defenders of Western culture in a remote northern country on the fringe of civilization - vanguards on the border.

Another of Bertel Gripenberg's poems, »Förposterna« (The Outposts) from 1912 is a typical testimony of this vision of great mythological importance:

Tung faller skynning kring förpostkeden,
himlen mulnar och skum blir heden.
Skogen står mörk som en ändlös mur,
molnen svartna med hotande skur.
---
Ensamma, trofasta, glesa vakt,
stå emot hundrafald övermakt!
Här är ej lysande striders tummel,
dämpadt blott ljuder skogsdunklets mummel,
smygandé fotsteg i mörkret blott,
här och där ett enstaka skott.
---
Låt oss strida med fädrens sinne,
låt oss stupa till deras minne!
Tunna, trotsiga förpostked,
man efter man i glesnad led
må du falla där tyst du stred!
Sägner må nämma ännu ibland
Förpostkeden i Österland.
(Skuggspel, Shadow-Play, 1912)

(The dawn falls heavily around the chain of outposts,/ The sky darkens and the moor turns dusky./ The woods project darksome as an infinite wall,/ Clouds go black with threatening showers. / - - / Lonely, faithful sparse watch,/ Stand up to hundredfold predominance!/ Fields of glorious battle are not here,/ Only a muffled mumble of wooden twilight is heard/ Sneaking footsteps in the dark only,/ Here and there a single shot./ Let us fight with the spirit of our fathers,/ Let us fall in their memory!/ Thin, defiant chain of outposts,/ Man following man in thinning line/ May you fall where silently you fought!/ May the tale still at times mention/ The outpost chain in the East.)

The contrast between a valiant knighthood delivering battle in broad daylight in an open field and a treacherous enemy preferring ambush in the pitch-dark night may be observed here.

The old romantically idealized picture of the Finnish people created by J. L. Runeberg had been seriously damaged by the clashes between workers and bourgeoisie in 1905 and 1906. All kinds of rumors were going around
in Helsinki. White and Red Guards in arms stood against each other and a general outburst of violence was close at hand. The outcome - the complete reform of the parliamentary system 1906 - had led to Europe's most modern political system with universal and equal suffrage. In one single blow the political situation had radically changed for an elite that previously had taken access to power for granted. The feeling of despair and threat was increased and deepened through the growing intensity of the campaign for Russification of Finland during the so-called routavuodet - the Frost Years - on the eve of the First World War. Some of the poems of the young Gripenberg show heroic pessimism being linked to a glorification of the Germanic and Teutonic blood-background of the Swedish population group in Finland.

This conscious elevation of a Germanic master-race and Nordic elitism had a long tradition in Germany and was brought forward in many writings around the turn of the century by men like Guido von List, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Gobineau and Friedrich Fischbach. These ideas were not unwelcome in some academic circles in Sweden especially since the Swedes were regarded as »the purest of all Germans».

In Finland the Nordic blond and blue-eyed features were associated with proud, warlike and heroic characteristics and contrasted with the dark, dwarfish and evil forces often present in some of Gripenberg's poems:

Den strid vi kämpa är ej blott vår,
den är ljusets kamp emot natten,
[ - - - ]
Vår strid är blågöda asars strid
mot tursar, drakar och dvärgar,
(»Två fiender» - »Two Enemies»)
Den dag är här som siarns sten
i gröna dalen spådde,
den dag, då ljusets klara sken
ej segra mer förmådde,
då mörkrets söner stiga fram
och svekfull ondska trivses,
(»Svensk sång» - »Swedish Song»)
Vi veta det nog - ej vi,
men finska finnar skörda vår tungas lön,
[ - - - ]
Vi söka ej tack, ej lön.
För minnets ära endast, för bragdens glans
kämpas germanens härda, långa
kamp för en framtid, som icke skall
blifva hans.
(»Germaniskt blod» - »Germanic Blood», dedicated to those »who hate the Swedish Finns of Finland».)

(The battle we fight is not only our own,/ It is the fight of light against the night./ [ - - - ] Our battle is the battle of the blue-eyed Aesir/ Against trolls, dragons and dwarves.// That day is here as the stone of the sibyl/ In the valley green did tell,/ That day, when the bright gleam of light/ No longer victory could bring/ When the
sons of darkness come forward/ And treacherous evil prevails./ So we know – not we,/ But Finnish Finns harvest our tongue’s reward./ We do not look for thanks, nor for reward,/ For the honor of remembrance only,/ For the brilliance of the deed/ The hard, long struggle of the German is fought/ For a future not his to be.)

Note the reference to Scandinavian mythology and the Aesir - the Nordic Gods of light - contrasted with the creatures of darkness or the Tschandala race. This was typical of a contemporary German tradition around 1900 with roots in Gothic Revival and Romanticism. This biological or racial definition of people and nation had been strengthened and was part of an overall reaction against the liberalism, positivism and rationality of the 19th century. The Finnish historian, Matti Klinge, has shown that fertile topsoil for this kind of seed was to be found among some Swedish-speaking intellectuals and students in the 1910s. He also claimed that these ideas were spread through the more intensified contacts with activists and nationalists in Sweden at this time. Yet, the problem of race was not uncommon in Finnish literature. The main theme of Jac. Ahrenberg's novel Med styrkans rätt (By Right of Force, 1899) is that the Finnish people cannot stand alone: »All nations are not capable of doing it. Tribes, races, and peoples have existed and yet never formed a state. [...] Only when they stand shoulder to shoulder with the Varangian people, are they strong enough to maintain their nature and independence« (pp. 243-244). Not surprisingly Ahrenberg viewed racial mixture between Slavs and Finns as unfortunate.

Gobineau had stated that culture in Finland was the work of the Germanic Swedes and that the Finns were a people not capable of establishing a state and this viewpoint was one that Ahrenberg and other Finland-Swedish intellectuals stubbornly maintained. From this it was not a long leap to a racial and linguistic interpretation of the background of the rising Finnish working class and the sinister threat it represented to the established élite. The Finns were closer to the Slavs and their supposed Slavic relationship could account for the hooliganism, anarchy and general irresponsibility the bourgeoisie saw embodied in the masses. The belief in a biological concept of mankind and society and the existence of a superior »Nordic« race flourished in a generation which honored activism and intuition.

Returning to Gripeenberg it is evident that he cultivated an unflinching hatred for the socialist working movement. A born aristocrat he detested everything gray, levelling and mediocre in life which he thought would be the ultimate outcome of the equalization of classes in society. Humbleness and submission were also traits which he regarded with disdain in the spirit of Nietzsche. We find the same notion in the works of a far better known Scandinavian from this time - Knut Hamsun. Although not a born aristocrat Hamsun was an aristocrat in spirit. The priest and academic in Segelfoss by, L. Lassen, represents the gray and mediocre - the bookish materialist who survives, while the real aristocrat (that is »Geistesadel« or
aristocrat in spirit, not by blood), Baardsen, perishes in this new world reigned over by Mammon.\textsuperscript{21}

The awakened nationalism and call for rearmament in the old motherland of Sweden in 1914 did not pass unnoticed in Finland and had a great impact on those Finland-Swedish circles that shared Gripenberg's opinions. The right-wing activists in Sweden during the First World war, who aimed at Sweden's participation in the war on the side of the Central Powers, had several excellent polemical and patriotic pen-men like Adrian Molin, Rudolf Kjellén, and Rütger Essén. And on the philosophical level in the background towered Vitalis Norström. They all nourished strong feelings for Finland which they saw as the lost part of Sweden. Irredentist thoughts of an unredeemed Sweden were never too far away and the ultimate situation they hoped for was apparently a weakening or a collapse of the Russian Empire. This in turn could give birth to a free Finnish state or a return to a Finland under Swedish rule. There are many signs of their publications and works being read among Finns and Swedish-speakers in this period.\textsuperscript{22} Rudolf Kjellén, starting from a biological point of view, actually outlined some of the most weighty principles of National-Socialism by this time and was widely read and appreciated in Germany. In fact he used words like »National-Socialism« and »Lebensraum« long before Hitler.\textsuperscript{23}

The First World War created the situation which the Finnish people had been dreaming of - the opportune moment for independence from Russia. The feelings for Czarist Russia among the bureaucrats in the civil hierarchy, to which many Swedish-speakers belonged, had initially been warm but gradually deteriorated and after the second Frost Period not many Finns saw a future for the Grand Duchy within the vast Russian Empire. Aristocrats like Gripenberg and Tigerstedt, we must bear in mind, had however socially inherited their forefathers' obedience and loyalty to the Swedish kings and later to the Russian Czars. Duty, honor and tradition were still to be their moral code in a world where traditional creeds and principles seemed to be dissolving at an ever accelerating speed. Or as Gripenberg later put it, using a favorite British saying of his; »the world has gone to the dogs«. The highly esteemed Swedish poet Verner von Heidenstam's aristocratic conservatism reverberated with knighthood, chivalry and brought the reader reminiscent notions of the old Swedish Great Power and her empire. The austere Nordic spirit in his novel Karolinnera (The Charles Men, 1897-98) or poems of the following type never ceased to attract men like Gripenberg and Tigerstedt:

\begin{quote}
I ask not years when the sun shines bright,  
Nor for golden crops I importune.  
Kind Fate, let the blazing thunderbolt smite  
My people with years of misfortune!
\end{quote}
Yea, smite us and lash us but into one,
And the bluest of springs will follow.
Ye smile, my folk, but with face as of stone,
(»A People - Invocation and Promise», transl. by Ch. Wharton.24

This invoking of hardships and battle was written in the first years of what came to be known as The Great War and many other intellectuals in Europe, like Thomas Mann, at first warmly welcomed the disastrous bloodshed. To Mann it was a matter of German Kultur against the Anglo-Franco conception of Civilization. In other words - profound humanism and art against shallow intellectualism: »Krieg! Es war Reinigung, Befreiung, was wir empfanden, und eine ungeheure Hoffnung!»25

In Finland Kyösti Wilkuna wrote the poem »Tulkohon sota» - Let the War Come!26 A similar view of the war as that held by Thomas Mann, as a purge or an act of purification was evident in the Finland-Swede Artur Eklund’s book on the philosophy of sports, Idrottens filosofi (The Philosophy of Athletics, 1917):

Du blodiga, röda olympiad,
som lyser mot svartmad sky,
gif mänskligheten ett renande bad
bland åskor och vapengny!
Om fredlig täflan har lärt oss ge ut
all kraft med envetet mod,
så kräf du din hel, din stolta tribut
af lif och af hjärteblod!27

(You bloody, red olympic game,/ Shining against a blackened sky,/ Give mankind a purifying bath,/ Among thunder and the din of battle,/ If peaceful contest taught us to give,/ All strength with unyielding courage,/ So take all thy claim, thy proud tribute,/ Of life and of heart-blood!)

Yet it would lead us astray and be inaccurate to call Eklund’s activism decidedly militant. At the same time, he clearly saw and described the reality and horror of war in the aforementioned book. But a proto-fascist tinge is all the same manifest and unmistakable in Eklund’s writings. Two years later his colleague Jarl Hemmer proudly and triumphantly exclaimed:

Svenskar vi äro, svenskar vi förbli.
Härliga lösen, vad gömmes ej däri!
Härda oss, öde, med dina härda händer!
Lugnet har aldrig vålsignat våra sträner.
Stormen är stärkande, sörja själen fri,
stormen sjöng vår vaggssang, stormen älska vi.
Isvind och gnistor virvla oss förbi,
köld från väster, hateld från öster.
Ovädershimmel, skall evigt du förbli?
Fråga ej svenskfolk! Med stridbara röster
ropa vi vår lösen - vad gömmes ej däri:
svenska vi äro, svenskar vi förbli!
(»Östsvensk marsch», East Swedish March, 1919.28

(Swedes we are, Swedes we remain./ Glorious all-embracing motto! / Make us hard, destiny, with thy callous hands! / Peace has never blessed our shores./ The tempest gives us strength, sweeps our spirit free,/ The storm sang our cradle songs,
the storm we love.// Icy winds and sparks whirl by/ Frost from the West, fiery
hate from the East./ Stormy sky, will you for ever last?/ Swedish nation do not
ask! With strident voices/ We shout our all-embracing password:/ Swedes we are,
Swedes we remain!

We can note the similarities in expression in the first stanza with von
Heidenstam's earlier cited poem. A lot had happened between the last two
poems here quoted. The part played by Swedish-speaking Finns in the Jäger
movement and in the war of 1918 probably account for much of the pride
and optimism now expressed. The disappointment over Sweden’s neutrality
and refusal to take part in the events of 1918 and the premonition of
approaching language conflict can be detected in the second stanza.

In the 1910s anti-rationalism loomed large in the cultural debate and in
France Bergson's ideas about the free spirit of men and its élan vital in-
spired George Sorel. In the social myth Sorel saw the torch that could light
the fire - namely, the masses.29 This irrational homage to willpower, passion
and action suggests echoes from Nietzsche's key concept of Wille zur Macht.
From these theories, which were part of a general European reaction against
the positivism and the cult of rationality of the 19th century, Mussolini
derived the vulgarized idea that action was more important than thought
and action implied violence to both Sorel and Mussolini.

Sorel's importance can hardly be exaggerated when dealing with right
wing extremism of this period.30 This leads us from Sorel and his contacts
with and influence on the monarchists in France, on to the fervent
nationalist Maurice Barrés. Barrès's »la France éternelle«, with its key-
concepts of la terre et les morts - the Earth and the Dead - which constituted
the people or the nation, had also left a great impact on the thinking of men
like Gripenberg. In Sweden Fredrik Böök found the same passionate idea of
an elevated unity containing the chain of generations, which he himself
obviously shared, in von Heidenstam. The present contained the past and
the future in the eternal cycle of traditions, people and nation. Or by using
Fredrik Böök's Hegelian-colored words; »the driven and strained indi-
viduality goes to rest in a higher entity in the life of the kin and the native
land«. The connection and correspondence between Barrès and Maurras
and the young Swedish extreme right-wing was later pointed out by Lucien
Maury.31 The influential critic Böök became well-known in Finland through
his articles on literature and history in Hufoundstadsbladet in the mid 20s and
30s.32

In Finland Action Française, Barrès and later Maurras strongly influenced
the previously mentioned sports pioneer and student politician, Artur Ek-
lund, who actively supported the Jäger movement. Eklund had also
willingly accepted Gobineau's and Chamberlain's theories about the superi-
ority of the Germanic and Aryan race.33

A small and not very influential group of Finland-Swedes had started the
periodical Östsvensk tidskrift in 1917. Eklund, Bertel Appelberg, Erik Groten-
felt (whom we will return to later) and the eccentric Hugo J. Ekholm, who later changed his name to Ekhammar, were some of the main contributors. The latter shared Eklund’s racist views, rooted for a militant attitude toward his Finnish-speaking countrymen and worked for a closer attachment to Sweden, which he apparently saw as his true motherland. It must be strongly emphasized, however, that Ekholm met with little sympathy among his Swedish-speaking countrymen. Ekholm-Ekhammar later emigrated to Sweden. As late as 1944, Ekholm wrote:

We can understand the dark description given by the Roman (Tacitus), when we consider on what an extremely low cultural level those Finnish tribes stand, who have not been brought to better conditions by Germanic peoples, and when we think of, how backward the Finns of Värmland still were in the mid 1800s.34

Bertel Gripenberg had prophesied the coming Civil War in his short story *En dröm om folkviljan* (A Vision of the Will of the People). Inspired by the events of 1906 and published in 1908 it described the violent outburst of a Red rising against the government - a revolt primarily aimed at the Swedish-speaking inhabitants of Finland. The novella was quickly translated into Finnish, distributed and widely read in Finnish-speaking circles.35 The reaction among more liberal Swedish-speakers was animated. It caused Arvid Mörne and Georg Schauman to call Gripenberg »an abuser of our people«.36

The short story provides a good example of Gripenberg’s outlook on the socialist element of the Finnish people (here clearly Finnish-speaking). His spokesman - the local policeman summarized:

We are, to be sure, a people of civilization, the most democratic, the most advanced in the whole of Europe. A people who really sets a good example.
- And we who sit here waiting to be slaughtered, we are then the victims of progress. A great and grand civilization, indeed, our truly Finnish popular culture. Liberty, equality and fraternity - murder, arson and looting.37

The growing tension and uneasiness among the middle and upper classes, due to the growing lawlessness and anarchy in society during the fall of 1917, could indeed be detected in contemporary newspapers. The tension and fear were sometimes expressed in literary language by poets. Alexander Slotte, for instance, painted a picture of lurking carnivorous animals predisposed for evil deeds and awaiting in the night.38

When the tragic Civil War broke out in Finland in January 1918 class boundaries appeared to be insurmountable. Although some Finland-Swedish intellectuals and men of letters had developed Leftist sympathies in the 1910s they were all, except for Allan Wallenius, to be found on the White side in the Civil War.39 This fact provides us with a good illustration of the very homogeneous background of Finland-Swedish authors of this time, further highlighted by a Civil War that in reality bore the features of a war between social classes.40
For nearly four years the blossom of Europe's young manhood had been slaughtered, maimed or shot to pieces in the muddy fields of Flanders, or met their fate on the more mobile Eastern war front. The impact on the young generation was tremendous. A whole world, way of life and an entire culture seemed literally to be disintegrating. The young who experienced this became a desolate and forlorn generation with no faith.

For some though, the war itself provided a solution. Some seemed to find something long lost - they seemed to rediscover the long lost unity in the very experience of war - in the collective feeling of comradeship, in heroism, in the discipline, in the forcing aside of their own ego, in the mutual cause - this quality that Alastair Hamilton so strikingly named: »The Myth of the Trenches«.  

For Bertel Gripenberg and his young fellow writer Erik Grotenfelt the war and such feelings was to serve as a climax to their lives. For them the bloodshed was a supremely positive experience. Grotenfelt had belonged to a group of writers who prior to the war had viewed life with tired melancholy. They nursed a pessimistic and aesthetic attitude much in the spirit of Anatole France, Herman Bang and Hjalmar Söderberg. Everything appeared to be relative to them and they developed a misanthropic and disillusioned outlook on life and mankind. In Finland this outlook was furthermore connected with the Swedish language and heritage. Henning Söderhjelm’s hero, the young Hjalmar in the novel Gränsmarksluft (Borderland Atmosphere, 1917) (Note the title!), exclaims: »We are a withered branch on the tree of nations, the leaves are coiling up and wilting, turning yellow and falling. We are dead ballast in a dark hold« (p. 137). Swedish culture had grown senile and its vitality was gone. The young Finns represent willpower, ruthless energy and vitality like Ilmarie in Erik Grotenfelt’s first novel, Bengt Walters’ lycka Bengt Walters’s Happiness).  

We encounter here a northern echo of the already mentioned veritable vogue of Vitalism and Bergsonism that had influenced European intellectuals in the years prior to the First World War.  

Grotenfelt’s protagonist, Bengt, »was simply no man, he was without energy, without willpower - a good-for-nothing«. There was nothing inside him. His inside »was all empty, void of character, possessing no will, he was a coward [...] [...] But Bengt felt a desire, a warm wave rise inside and reach his heart. A craving for action, the desire to lead an active life, the icy destiny and proud courage of a man«.  

And the war unleashed a previously unknown vitality and provoked a call for action in the young Erik Grotenfelt. In 1914 he wrote:

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Jag älskar livet som det står
inför mig fullt av fara
med övermod och strid och sår,
med trots och skratt och hat och spe,
med gyline glans och blod och ve.
Mig lyster ej att spara!
Se ögonblicken virvla bort,
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This *carpe diem* - seize the day - mentality echoes the influence of the hedonist Bertel Gripenberg. It represents a pagan attitude with a, for the day, shocking call for physical pleasure.

Grotenfelt was a very compelling author, although not primarily from a qualitative point of view. Despite a short literary career - he committed suicide in 1919 - many of the seeds of a literary fascism are to be found in his literary remains. Working as a war correspondent, he expressed his opinion of the war on the Continent and Finland's role in several Finland-Swedish newspapers. In his articles from the fronts we can distinguish a biological viewpoint depicting social life as an eternal struggle for survival. With a burning passion he seems to have fought with pen in both hands and played an important part in the process that led to the Finnish declaration of independence on December 6, 1917.44

Alongside of this, Grotenfelt had established himself as a sensitive literary critic. In fact, he was the only critic who fully recognized Edith Södergran's potential greatness at her first appearance in 1916. Similarly he was the first critic to acknowledge Södergran's genius in *Septemberlyran* (September Lyre, 1918) some years later. What attracted him most was her inspirational passion, forcefulness and «burning ecstasy».45 Here Grotenfelt most probably recognized something of his own fiery consuming passion. In July 1917 the ardent supporter of action envisaged the coming struggle with the following words:

> We, who have lived in a remote corner of the world to this very day, not only in peace but also during the Great War, we have lost track of the progress. We have not been permeated by the great overall idea of this war, the idea of sacrifice. [- - -]

> Woe betide the people, whose members have not realized that their mission in life is to die. The soul of the people is drinking the drink of regeneration from the blood of the fallen. Woe betide the people, whose members see themselves as something other than the earth, from which the future will grow. [- - -] It is not enough to go to war prepared to die, if necessary. No, it is a matter of approaching the enemy with the firm decision to fall. Woe betide the father, who does not then seek his own death. He leaves his son a decaying legacy. (*Dagens Press*, 9 July 1917.)

We encounter here the same stirring ideas, rousing appeals and *Blut und Boden*-enthusiasm that enticed millions of men to enlist for, and die on, the battlegrounds which sucked up the lifeblood of an entire generation and some twenty years later, to fall under Hitler's swastika banners.
On April 6, 1918, Tampere (Tammerfors) had been taken by the White troops and on April 20, 1918, a triumphant and victorious Grotenfelt concluded:

Av jord är du kommen, till jord skall du åter vara.
Individen dom är ett pulsslag i fäderneslandets liv. Ensamma stigar mynna samman
i en allfarsväg, kungsvägen för trofaste hjärnar, vägen till dödens port.
Svaga människo jollra om hjärnar som stocknar, om hjärnar som brista, om fredligt
dåd som brytes i knopp.
Hög och ensam, kall för dem som frukta, en hulder moder för dem som fatta, går
livets geniuns bland människorna. Och folkens ungdom mönar vid hennes ord: Ur de
stupades blod dricker folksjälen förnyelse. (Svenska Tiidningen, 20 April, 1918)

(Ashes unto ashes, dust unto dust. The life of the individual is blood pulsing in the
life of the Fatherland. Lonely paths fall into a highway, the royal highway for loyal
hearts, the road to the gate of death. Weak men are prattling about minds that die
down, of rupturing hearts, of a peaceful deed which is breaking in bud. High and
aloof, cold for those with fear, a dear mother for those who understand, the guardi-
an spirit of life walks among mankind. And the youth of nations comes to maturity
through her words: From the blood of the fallen the soul of the nation quenches its
thirst with the drink of regeneration.)

Note the pronounced connection between blood, soil, sacrifice, deed, collective,
death and contempt for weakness in this passage! Barrés could
not have expressed this better himself and once more we are reminded of
Gripenberg - this time we think of his famous poem »Invokation«.46

This thought of the individual - seen as an integrated part of a whole - the
state - had also earlier been emphasized by the great Finnish nationalists
Snellman and Runeberg who stood under the influence of Hegel. The state
was divine upon earth and viewed as something metaphysical which could
not be judged by normal standards of morality. The individual in his turn
was predestined to carry on the destiny of the state. It should also be
mentioned in this context that the admiration for moral codes as honor,
duty and austerity, which were important to Gripenberg, Grotenfelt and as
we will see later to Tigerstedt, were also extremely fundamental in Rune-
berg's Fänrik Ställs sägner (Tales of Ensign Stal). They had, in all likelihood,
their source in Antiquity with its general preference to these virtues. The
study of classical texts, we must bear in mind, formed a central part of the
humanist curriculum of these days.

Grotenfelt played an active part in the Jäger movement and in the Civil
War himself. It seems as if he was the one who first coined its mythical
name on the White side - Frihetskriget - Vapausota - the War of Liber-
ation.47 Grotenfelt personally led an execution squad in Uusimaa (Nyland).
Obviously in order to show off his manly audacity and callousness, he
wrote to his young wife:

Then by and by they babble out a great deal owing to my way of leading the inter-
rogation in a jovial tone using laughter and word play. [- - -] It is interesting to
observe, how differently they react on the scene of execution. [- - -] After the volley
has been fired, the commander of the group that carry out the executions shoots
them in the head with a revolver, just to be on the safe side. At first, when the men were inexperienced, I did it myself.  

These lines reveal the brutal reality behind »The Secret of the Moon» (»Månen's hemlighet») - alluding to what was left »among the alders on a shore of celestial beauty» in Södergran's controversial poem. In Grotenfelt's text human subjects are callously objectified and dehumanized and a horrible contrast is expressed in the finishing lines of the letter through the caring and loving final passages to his wife. The individual must succumb to the great idea and the grand perspective in his authoritarian world view. A dreamer, illusionist and Romanticist Erik Grotenfelt shot himself when the years of action, passion and vitality were over.

For Gripenberg the war came as a revival - it was Den stora tiden - the Grand Era - to him. »Everything was so simple, beautiful and easy when the bugle sounded», he summarized in his characteristically anti-intellectual striving for a black and white world or as it, in reality, turned out to be: a red and white one. Although it is doubtful whether he was involved in heavy fighting, the war certainly filled his perpetual longing and craving for strong sensation and agitation and on May 16, 1918 he proudly rode in the White victory parade through the recaptured Finnish capital with saber in hand.

The earlier described tendency among some intellectuals to link the Reds with the Finnish-speaking workers was strengthened after the tragic Civil War. Psychological and ethnological essays with a racist purpose about the Finnish »people's soul» saw the light of day in the Finland-Swedish publications around 1918. The literary contributions are here represented by one of V. K. E. Wichmann's typical poems influenced by Scandinavian mythology: »Vid Bragebägaren - Anno 1919» (By Bragi's Horn in 1919):

Med förfädrens ed: vid Tor, Oden och Frej!
blodfärghade nidingar glömma vi ej,
om åter i kamp vi dem möta.
Barbarer, som hata vårt språk och vår ätt,
med mätt I oss mätt, Skall Er varda mätt!
Ån bittern Ert dåd får ni bota. (SB, 4/1919)

(With the oath of our forefathers: By Thor, Odin and Frey! / Blood-stained Vandals we will not forget, / If ever again we meet them in battle. / Barbarians, who hate our tongue and our kin, / We shall measure you, as you have measured us. / Still bitterly your deed you will pay.)

Another literary example could be fetched from Ture Janson's Herr X har ordet (Mr. X is Speaking, 1918). In a causerie in his typical style and manner, entitled »The Unenlightened Despotism», the social background of the Red emissaries was underlined: »Tokoi surfaced at his side, fat like an eel, bubbling out from the ooze of the characteristically wide Finnish ocean of democracy» (p. 133). The fact that Vidkun Quisling's essays under the title Russland og vi (Russia and We, 1930) depicted Bolshevism as a Finno-Asian invention shows that this concept was not limited to Swedish speaking in-
tellelectuals in Finland. However, Gripenberg's concept of the Finnish-speaking majority of the people was apparently changed by the war and the brotherhood in arms. During the war he had come in closer contact with the common people. In some of the poems, in his triumphant collection that followed the Civil War, Under faman (Under the Flag, 1918) he clearly overstepped the border of accepted convention even in the victorious White Finland. The same pattern was followed by his fellow writer, Jarl Hemmer, by describing »the Red beasts of prey« in the latter's Ett land i kamp (A Fighting Country, 1919).

It was with this kind of literature that the young and disputatious Jörn Donner made his personal showdown in his noted article in BLM in 1960. To him the tragedy of 1918 were the logic and ultimate result of the ideology represented by the Finland-Swedish decadent fin-de-siècle atmosphere as seen in literature. This catastrophe was, he implied, partly caused by a gentry and aristocracy that were forced to leave their herrgårdar (manorial estates) and were confronted with the reality of the people.

In those days, a fact which Willner also pointed out, Gripenberg was forgiven by the critics because of his intensive homage to the young White Finnish army in poems such as »Den drömda armén«. Here the author painted a captivating picture of a long dreamed of and yearned for Finnish army slowly arising out of the dusky Nordic darkness in the slush of snow. It was the awakened gray army of the people. It was the people of long bondage and neglect that rose out of the very snow drifts. The Runebergian image of the people had been reinstalled and it was socially linked to the original agrarian and frugal setting of the stoic Farmer Paavo.

In fact, the remainder of Gripenberg's literary works during the 20's, 30's and 40's echo the memory and yearning for this climax of his life when he shared the myth of the war - the simplicity, the collective feeling, the danger, its cult of action and the intoxicating sensation of a perpetual balance on the rim of destruction. Despite all the criticism he received for his glorification of war, he stubbornly maintained in his autobiography Det var de tiderna (Those were the Days, 1943) »it was such a merry war!« (p. 256) This was the stance of the aesthete who saw the war and the spirit of war alone as a thing of beauty and joy beyond comprehension.

On the Continent young intellectuals experienced the war in a similar way and young men of letters, who served at the front, like Ernst Jünger and Drieu la Rochelle came to more or less the same political conclusions. They came to regard war as a solution - a way out of the gray trivialities of everyday life. Thus Ernst Jünger proclaimed: »Leben heisst töten« - and further underlined the natural, organic and genuine character of war:

Kriege müssen von Zeit zu Zeit stattfinden, in ihnen spricht sich der Wille der Natur aus, unmittelbar in die Entwicklungen der grössten Lebenseinheiten der Erde einzugreifen.
What attracted Drieu la Rochelle was more the atmosphere of ambition, power and the *élan vital* within the war experience:

O guerre, hallucination comme l'amour
L'ennemi est un dieu devant toi
Ces grandes densités tourbillonnantes d'amour
Qui s'agrégent par les plaines
Où soudain se dessine
Un ordre de rangs et de files
Et le grand élan des attaques tremblantes et ferventes
Et le désir qui épouvante l'armée d'enlacer l'ennemi.

Others like Siegfried Sassoon, who had experienced the »cleansing bath«, the deadlock in the trenches and realized the madness, produced verses of defiance and satirically searing power:

To these I turn, in these I trust -
Brother Lead and Sister Steel.
To his blind Power I make appeal,
I guard her beauty from rust.

He spins and burns and loves the air,
And splits a skull to win my praise;
But up the nobly marching days
She glitters naked cold and fair.

(»The Kiss«, *Collected Poems*)

Ernst Jünger seemed to turn the war experience into an aesthetic principle: an escape from time and reality in a similar way that Tigerstedt later did when viewing the Gothic cathedral: »Das Höchste, was er vermag, ist, dass er das Ewige in seinen eigensten Formen erlebt. Das ist seine Bestimmung und sein Glück.«

»A manor-house, a park, and some 17,000 square acres of ground«

Örnulf Tigerstedt came to experience the World War and the Finnish Civil War in his most sensitive and formative years. He was born into an aristocratic family of long civil service and military tradition. His ancestors descended from Dalecarlia in Sweden and had been knighted by King Charles XI of Sweden at the end of the 17th century. A part of the family had moved to the eastern part of the Swedish realm in the middle of the 17th century. Finland's nobility or gentry was in most cases poor compared to their Continental equals but these old families had cherished high moral and intellectual standards. Duty, honor and obedience were the military moral codes of the Tigerstedt family, which moreover, through extensive landowning and financial activities was far from poor. Örnulf Tigerstedt's father, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt, had gained control of the family estate in 1901 through inheritance and the buying out of fellow inheritors. The estate was one of the wealthiest in Finland and included a saw-mill, a mill and plant-nurseries:
»Once there was a manor-house, a park, and 17,000 square acres of ground, an independent, defiant realm governed according to ultramonarchistic principles and embracing 1,500 souls. It was Imperium Romanum, the center of the world and its rigid firmament» (VIRS, p. 216). A man of vast learning, schooling and scientific experience (main field geology), born in Russia and partly educated in England, Tigerstedt senior had reached a high position in society. He was a mining engineer by profession and in 1913 he was appointed Under-Secretary of State («verkligt statsråd»). Retiring four years later, due to bad health, he spent most of his time attending to the estate. With the aid of his oldest son, Carl Gustaf Ludvig (»Tutti»), he founded a tree plantation, Arboretum Mustila, on his land, which was to become one of the most outstanding in the northern hemisphere. Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt was, by the time of his death in 1926, one of the leading dendrologists and arboriculturists of Northern Europe.59

Örnulf's cousin and fellow writer, Tito Colliander, has given a first-hand account of the Tigerstedt family, Mustila and their town apartment at Bergmangatan (Vuorimiehenkatu) in Helsinki in his memoirs - a sequence of seven books which begins with Bevarat (Preserved, 1964).

The picture we perceive of Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt is one of a conservative patriarch - a man with a peculiar and rich personality, a free spirit, not much attached to convention, and a cosmopolitan outlook upon life. One of his six sons, Olof, fought for the Czar in the First World War, fell on the Austrian front in 1914, and was given a »explicitly grand imperial military funerals according to Colliander.60

The owner of Mustila was apparently an adequate representative of the military and bureaucratic gentry in civil service. He thus actively participated in the procession at Bobrikoff's funeral,61 obviously showing no inclination toward an anti-Russian attitude at that time. In the same way as his forefathers of the Finland-Swedish gentry he obediently followed his monarch - be he the Swedish King or the Russian Czar. He demonstrated a high sense of duty as a civil servant, but the greatest record he has left is found in the fields surrounding his Mustila home in the shape of thousands of exotic tree species. His monarchistic loyalty and support of the Russian hierarchical bureaucracy made him a man of compliancy in the eyes of many Constitutionalists fighting for a free Finland. According to Rolf Palmén, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt therefore found himself isolated in the 1910s.62 This picture of the father of Örnulf Tigerstedt was not altered by his obituary notice in Hufvudstadsbladet, where it could be read that:

Under-Secretary of State Tigerstedt, who by upbringing and world view was a representative of a bygone era and a man equipped with willpower and a personality cast in one piece, could not, because of this, in many ways, find his place in the changed conditions of our days, [...] (HBL, 28 Nov., 1926)

The oftentimes witty dinner conversations at Mustila have been described by P. O. Barck referring to Örnulf Tigerstedt's friends of youth Olof Enckell
and Bertel Hintze. The discussions floated freely through the ages of history and the topics were often very exotic.¹ The later renowned Modernist, Gunnar Björling, was often seen in the house. He was for a while employed as a private tutor for the younger Tigerstedt brothers.⁶⁵

Örnulf Tigerstedt later described the interior of Mustila. The inheritance is about to be shifted among the heirs. The author is lingering in the abandoned main-building of the estate surrounded by memories. Coarse boots have now tramped in assembly rooms and parlors, great moving cases of wood stand everywhere and wood-wool lay spread all around...

I have strolled through the numerous rooms hunting for something - I don't know exactly what. I have lit my way through the dark drawing-rooms, where the family-portraits furiously and suspiciously follow my steps. [ - - - ] In the bedroom the drawers were opened and all empty, and in the library, where the carpets lay rolled up in a corner, gaps gaped in the rows of books. Some volumes were upside down, others had been placed in the wrong section by a careless borrower.

[ - - - ] [...], and a darker shade on the wallpaper shows where the old rapier still hung yesterday. (Utan örnar, pp. 89, 116)

Mustila, with its many rooms and strange atmosphere, always stood open to guests. The estate often served as a place of refuge, almost a resort for relatives. An eccentric place for bizarre, eccentric people, according to Colliander. The vigorous family history with its abundance of scientists, civil servants, military officers and adventurers in Russia, Alaska and South America must have formed a stimulating, exciting and colorful background for the childhood of Örnulf Tigerstedt. It was the mixed simmering brew in this strange melting pot of Swedish, Finnish, German and Russian ingredients that contained his formative elixir of life.

With the support of his private tutors it was thus in a Romantic atmosphere that the scion of generations of loyal monarchistic officers grew up. The world of Leonidas, Caesar, Alexander the Great, van Diemen, von Döbeln, Dumont d'Urville and Captain Cook never ceased to attract him - it was a world of adventure and endless borders to cross. Olof Enckell mentions that the Romantic young Tigerstedt wearing a wide-brimmed hat and a Spanish cloak used to ride out at dusk on paths and roads lined with his father's exotic trees.⁶⁶ In a letter to Olof Enckell's younger brother, Torger, the 18-year-old Tigerstedt proposed that they spend their summer with some gypsies previously encountered by the young aristocrat in the vicinity of Heinola.⁶⁷

But life at Mustila also had a less Romantic and darker side. In a letter dated June 9, 1919 Örnulf put in writing: »The coffin - that's the name of the drama that takes place here at Mustila!« He continued:

And my mother leans on my shoulder and embraces me convulsively! Nervously trembling her hand slips through my hair while her body rocks back and forth: »Blood of my blood, flesh of my flesh.« She whispers.
[- - -] Two human beings who are suffering for their own sake, because they do not want to be happy, [...] two other human beings also in love, but lovers with an intoxicating appealing clinging potency. They are drug addicts, doomed and yet so wonderfully great. - This is how the drama is acted while they are building the house, the house with the yawning windows, with the many rooms, the house which is called The Coffin! (ÖT, letter to Ella Pipping, 9 June 1919, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL)

The building project mentioned was the new main building at Mustila. The drama referred to the fact that the Tigerstedt couple had lost their only daughter, at an early age, and according to Collander this tragic event might have been the starting point of their misuse of narcotic drugs.

»No one went into the permanent twilight of aunt Mary's suite of rooms unannounced», Collander recollected. His description of Mary Helena Eleonora Tigerstedt, born von Schoultz and mother of Örnulf Tigerstedt, continues:

There was something unreal about »Moti Maja«. I don't believe I ever, except once on a hideous occasion, saw her outside her bed. Pale, with slack features, hagless eyes, a light laced nightcap and some grey wisps of hair below it. The color of her lips improved with rouge, the nose and her cheeks powdered. She seemed to me, at times, to be a painted corpse - and yet, curiously, attractively beautiful.68

Mary von Schoultz had been born into a cosmopolitan family and had spent a great part of her life abroad before marrying Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt. Her grandmother was from Scotland and Mary was brought up with English, German and French governesses. Her mother was referred to as »Mother« and preferably addressed in English. The family lived a nomadic life because of her father's occupation - he was a railroad engineer. They lived a life of constant change; from Runolinna in Finland to Persia, France, Germany, Bulgaria and back to Russia.69 Her diary from 1881-1901, kept in English, provides us with an impression of a young, well-bred and intelligent woman with a special gift for languages. The image of a very sensitive humanitarian creature with religious issues frequently occupying her mind comes to life. She also seemed surprisingly liberal70 - which according to other written family accounts appears to have been due to her mother's free spirited methods of upbringing and a strong Anglo-Saxon tradition in the family.71 Later providence did not bestow a life of joy on her - tragic bereavements more than once crossed her path. Mary's youngest sister, Hildur, had been burned to death and along with her the beloved Runolinna manor of their childhood went up in flames. Her parents died suddenly in a cholera epidemic in the distant Transcaucasia. The loss of Mary's little daughter and her son Olof has been mentioned and later her son Eric, the promising inventor, died in a car accident in Upstate New York. Her youngest son, Berndt, spent most of his time convincing his mother to sign bills, and speeding around like a maniac in his car on the dirt roads of the neighborhood, if we are to believe their cousin Tito. When Berndt later lost his driving license he hired a private chauffeur.72 We have
to bear these facts in mind when contemplating the above description of Mary Tigerstedt.

Örnulf Tigerstedt’s relationship to his father appears to have been complicated. In a letter to his second wife, Annita, he speaks of »the extremely frightful state of tension my father put all us children in, and what he expected from his sons«. Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt apparently brought up his sons in a authoritarian patriarchal and traditional way. He was stern, demanding and totally unpredictable, but also often jovial and unconventional. The atmosphere at Mustila was to a certain degree Spartan or Stoic: »It was a horror to stay the night among cousins whose parents promptly pulled down the shades and closed the door to make the bedroom pitch dark«, Tito recalled. Most of the family members wore suits made from a simple and rough, gray woolen fabric made on the estate. As a country squire Tigerstedt Senior was, despite his exacting and strict principles, obviously well liked by those under him.

The parents spent most of their time at Mustila, but also in the apartment in Helsinki and at various health resorts and hospitals. In a letter to his son Örnulf, when our protagonist was on the point of turning twenty and had obviously disobeyed his father, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt reminded him that the punishment in ancient times for showing lack of respect for one’s own parents, was death. He furthermore threatened his son with »such a spanking that it could be heard in Tornio« (Torneå). In all probability, this was not just an idle threat. Tigerstedt senior demanded total obedience to his authority. This can be illustrated by the fact that Eric Tigerstedt was kicked out of his home at the age of 15. The blow he received from his father on that occasion left him with a permanent hearing deficiency. Son and father were later reconciled and Eric Magnus Campbell Tigerstedt took part in the Civil War on the White side, directing their new broadcasting equipment.

The bizarre patriarch of the Tigerstedt family was, however, also a loving father that nursed his offspring with the same careful hands that replanted exotic tree-plants in the barren Finnish soil. This is obvious from the often concerned, emotional and loving tone we come across in most of the letters. On the whole, Örnulf Tigerstedt obeyed, admired and looked up to his father - a man who, along with his wife, for long periods lived a secluded life with very little contact with the outside world: It was as if »they somehow had lost contact with the surrounding world in the manner of an intoxicated person«. Later, at the age of fifty the author summarized: »My father has been such an authority and still is, in many ways«. In fact, the despotic looming shadow of the autocrat reigning the secluded Kingdom of Mustila seems to have both guided and haunted him all his life.

Due to the parents' misuse of drugs, periods of indisposition and sojourns at various resorts Örnulf Tigerstedt’s oldest brother and his father’s right
hand, Carl Gustaf Ludvig, seemed to have played the role of stepfather from time to time. Born in 1886 he was already a married man with children of his own around 1917. There are some indications in Örnulf’s early correspondence that this relationship to his stepfather-brother-tutor was problematic, troublesome, and containing the seeds of conflict. However the relation to this brother seems to have been good later on in life. Another important person at Mustila was the faithful old servant »Mandi«.

Nearly 30 years later, when interrogated by the Swedish police after his escape to Sweden, Örnulf Tigerstedt’s statement as regards his father and the political atmosphere at Mustila was:

Tigerstedt’s father, Under-Secretary of State Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt in Helsinki, was an extremely conservative and »Swedish-minded« man. Örnulf Tigerstedt was brought up in a conservative environment and retained the impressions he received in his home and from his father's political and cultural outlook. He remembers that his father supported Mussolini and approved of his politics. Hitler and his putsch in 1924 and everything else aimed at the Left and Communism were especially approved of in the home of Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt. [---] Tigerstedt and all his family were for the Germans and opposed the Russian policy in the first World War.82

Judging from this there must have been a change in Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt’s and the family’s way of viewing Russia during the armed conflict. He probably, like so many other Finns, saw the possibility of an independent free Finland rising out of the ashes of war. However, he appears to have had strong doubts as to whether the Finns were politically mature for self government. Above all the war revealed much of Russia’s true face - the obvious corruption and inefficiency when her Potemkin villages appeared in full daylight. On top of this came, in all likelihood, the growing revolutionary activity and its radical ideas threatening the very existence of the privileged classes. The revolutionary agitation apparently spread rapidly in Finland during the war, especially with the workers employed with the Russian fortifications along the coast. When the Civil War started in Finland, Mustila came to be situated in the heartland of Red Revolutionary Finland.

In the village of Elimäki (Elimä), close to Mustila, the Reds in command had summoned a first meeting on the 4th of February 1918. The gentry and most of the middle class kept away for about a week but then slowly returned. Needless to say, some men managed to get through to the White side to join the White army in the North. All things considered, it appears as if life was relatively peaceful in the area under the Red rule. Ransacking of the larger estates and searching for people who tried to reach the White forces still occurred and food supplies were often seized by the Red Guards.83 The railroad station at Koria, north of Mustila, was important to the Reds, and the revolutionary troops that held the community executed several men there. When the front was rolled up in early May, Elimäki’s Red Guards had already fled into the woods of the area. According to Eeva-
Liisa Oksanen, who has written a treatise on the local history of Elimäki, a large number of the Reds in the area came from the estate of Mustila. As stated by our other main source, Tito Colliander, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt escaped being murdered by the Reds only through the help of a private protection guard formed by loyal employees.

Örnulf Tigerstedt, along with the other students at the Svenskt Normallyceum in Helsinki, had been excused from participation at school due to shortage of food in the turbulent capital in October 1917 and on January 29th 1918, the school was closed. With his coming graduation thus postponed, the young nobleman participated in the last stages of the Civil War on the White side at the age of 17. The fact that he was later decorated with »Frihetskrigets minnesmedalj med ros« (The Memorial Medal of the War of Independence with a Rose) accounts for that. The words that accompany the award are as follows: »Served as group leader in the Civil Guard Organization; Participated in the battle at Nokkala. Comment: Obtained weapons«. There are no other sources mentioning Tigerstedt in this matter. Most likely he was not involved in active fighting. Many of the participants on the White side apparently could not enroll, until their area had been liberated. The Reds executed men who tried to reach the White troops. It is most plausible that the future poet only took part in the last phases of the conflict when Red troops were scattered around in the forests or tried to reach Soviet-Russia.

Even so the events of 1918, when class stood up against class in Finland, proved decisive for Örnulf Tigerstedt and for many of his social and economic equals. To them the tragic war was the revolt of the masses - this was what the new concept of democracy would mean in the long run. The new ideas would lead to annihilation of tradition and moral values - in short, the destruction of their very civilization - a civilization which had been won in permanent struggle against an unpredictable, chaotic nature in a remote part of Europe. The new ideas would bring about a world of cold materialism and savagery. Bolshevism stood for chaos and the lure of the primitive.

Additionally, the World War gave rise to new concepts. Concepts of a new unification, an idea of a new entity, as we have already seen. In 1925 Tigerstedt wrote an article in Studentbladet called »Det nya Siikajoki« (The New Siikajoki) the title alluded to Adlerscruz’s and von Döbeln’s victory at Siikajoki over Russian troops in 1808 - the war where Sweden lost Finland.

Our Europe of the 19th century was rich. Our Europe of the 20th century has turned poor. It has also turned callous, ruthless and harsh. The World War accomplished this. It commanded over so many human lives, that a human life no more has the same value. It ruined so many cathedrals, so many books and pieces of art were destroyed that we no longer can bewail them all. It brought us so much sorrow, so much misery and suffering, that it made the individual disregard himself and direct his train of thoughts toward the common best. It divided us, but also brought us together. [- - - ] [...], it taught us the distinction of subordination, and while it
received so many sacrifices, it moreover taught us to realize the power which lives in such sacrifices, the elevation to which they can give birth, the feats and the unflinching will they can bring. The World War captivated us.90

The young Tigerstedt returned to his studies after the Civil War. He had entered the Svenskt Normallyceum in Helsinki in 1911. In November 1918, after being seriously ill from enteric fever he regained his strength and managed to graduate in December the following year.91

The reader encounters a world of its own, when going through the young nobleman’s correspondence from the years around 1918. Tigerstedt and his young friends in the Swedish-speaking Jeunesse dorée of Helsinki appear to have been totally unaware of the social dimension of society. The ordinary, common people, when seldom mentioned, were generally referred to as »packet» or »massan» (»the pack» or »the mob»). In this respect, they however, gave the impression of making no greater difference between Finnish- or Swedish-speaking common people.92 Tito Colliander, who by that time had little contact with the Tigerstedt family, gives in his memoirs a good description of how secluded and isolated people of his own class still were from common people in those days in Finland. Colliander was forced by his parents to attend an ordinary secondary school at Viipuri (Viborg):

So this was »the people», my people, these cruel, spitting, filthy, snickering, cursing »mates». Not one single one of them defended me, no one could be trusted, no one was attractive enough to make friends with. They, to me, were an obscure, incomprehensible mass, which I, filled with agony, tried to hide from as soon as I heard the recess signal.93

An Eccentric Début

Örnulf had begun to write poetry and had some poems published in Svenskt Normallyceum’s student periodical Kamraten around 1917. At the end of 1918 his first poems were published at the publishing-house Söderström & Co. under the name Vågor (Waves).

A contemporary letter to his parents shows the searching uncertainty and hesitance of the young man: »I need strength and »earth». I’m seeking my own true self and I’m groping in the dark».94 In another letter from March 1919 the young author to be complained: »I hate and I’d like to suppress this stoic attitude which permeats everything here at Mustila. I despise this illusory semblance of life. [...] this seriousness, this crazy melting-pot. I felt like throwing Marcus Aurelius behind the outhouse».95 Since Örnulf was ill with typhoid fever at the time, the editor Oskar Tiderman at Hufvudstadsbladet took care of the editing and publishing.96

It was an extraordinary and eccentric debut. Olof Enckell has rightly called attention to the fact that »two years after Edith Södergran’s and Hagar Olsson’s appearance on the Finnish literary scene a seventeen-year-old poet steps forward and obviously very knowingly turns his back on the
contemporary world." Using old meters, connecting with the heyday of the Gustavian lyrical poets both in virtuous spirit and verse epic, Vågor appeared to have been written some 70 years earlier. The book seemed divorced from reality and written by an author who felt alien to his own time. It was rhetoric, epideictic and often balanced on the rim of the high-flown. It was clear that the author was more influenced by Karl Gustaf af Leopold, Esaias Tegnér, Carl Snoilsky and Johan Ludvig Runeberg than by contemporary literature.

Vågor also contained the manifest dualism between a profound love of his native soil and home district and a desire for Exotic Romantic and classical settings, which was to become so characteristic of Tigerstedt (the Nile, Greece, the Orient, Amen-Ra, Moors, - the young Finnish woods, the marshes of Finland). Quite obviously the words «death, dead and die» were very frequently used, especially for a young man of 17. In like manner the word destiny («öde») was a key word in this his first collection of poems. It evidently had a clearly metaphysical connotation and in the poem «Vanitas Vanitatum» he displayed his disapproval of the materialistic discipline of science. In the same poem, in the fifth stanza, we find some significant lines:

Ty, om ock sekler på vår jord förgått
Och byggt kulturer opp och störtat andra,
I evighetens flykt ett vingslag blott
Det var, och mänskan med sin längtan än ses vandra.
(«Vanitas Vanitatum», Vågor, p. 28)

(For, if though centuries have gone by on our earth/ And cultures have been developed and others overthrown,/ In the flight of eternity a wing-beat only/ It was, and man with his longing yet is seen awandering.)

In this poem and in several other poems (pp. 11, 14, 45) a strong cyclical vision of time, being and culture can be detected. This is underlined by Egyptian motifs of eternal renewal and regeneration. In the passage above we find for the first time in Tigerstedt's literary contribution an allusion to the idea of cyclical historical civilizations or cultures being born, maturing, aging and dying.

In an undated letter, almost certainly written in 1923, Tigerstedt wrote:

- Untergang des Abendlandes! The so called intelligentsia, or more correctly the urban advocates of freedom started it. [- - -] [...] the school teacher follows and the »pack» - »Das absolute Nichts« completes it. We are waiting for Caesar. Caesar in politics, Caesar in religion. Caesar within science. Caesar to drive out the »scientific pack», namely (sic!) Caesar within art.

Some years prior to this, Oswald Spengler had published his main work Der Untergang des Abendlandes - The Decline of the West, which he had begun to write prior to the First World War. Spengler, who was primarily inspired by the writings of Goethe and Nietzsche, outlined a new philosophy of history based on comparative morphology. His pessimistic conclusions about the decline of Western civilization so exactly suited the prevailing moods in defeated Germany that he almost instantly rocketed to world
fame. Spengler's whole outlook on life was that of an aristocrat, and in his later works, *Preussentum und Sozialismus* and *Jahre der Entscheidung* he advocated traditionalism, order and hierarchy, a strong state and an omnipotent leader paired with the cult of action. His reactionary writings have therefore been accused of paving the way for the manifestations of German Nazidom, although he later became *persona non grata* in Nazi Germany.

Tigerstedt became an ardent disciple of Spengler, whom he read over and over again throughout his life.

**Notes**

6. It must be pointed out here that there had been strong anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary opinions within the Svenska Folkpartiet (Swedish People’s Party) during the 20s, but by the time of the Lapua Movement they had subsided. A minority group led by P.H. Norrmén did, however, side with the Lapua Movement. Cf. Wahlbäck, p. 100.
15. The most famous example of this view in Swedish literature is provided by one of Viktor Rydberg’s last poems, "Himlens blå".
17. J. Hermand, pp. 103-106.
21. Knut Hamsun, *Segelfoss stad II*, pp. 145, 175. See also Bertel Gripenberg’s "mina böcker", *BLM* 1936, p. 604: "For a period Hamsun was my passionately adored favorite author and I still place him high and I do read him sometimes, yes, quite often".
235, 238 and 294. Ahti and Soikkalanen underline K.'s influence on the activist group that supported the Jäger movement.
25. Thomas Mann quoted from Mohler, p. 34. See also Hamilton, pp. 96-98.
26. Hyvämäki, p. 57. This message is also evident in V.A. Koskenniemi's "Pohjatuulen torvi" (*Kurkiaura-Ballaadeja ynnä muita runoja*, 1930).
27. Artur Eklund, 1917, p. 178 ("Den röda olympiaden").
29. E.Ekelund, 1956, pp. 129-133. Cf. also Nolte, pp. 106-107. Concerning *Réflexions sur la violence* Nolte makes the astonishing remark that Sorel's writings in reality were unpolitical!
32. See, e.g., *HBL*, 25 March, 1, 20, 29 April, 1, 21 May 1924.
37. Ibid., *En dröm om folkviljan*, 1918, pp. 39-40. Gripenberg proudly had the book republished after the Civil War. The books written in Swedish were fed into the fire in the autodafé. (p. 16) See also J.Paavolainen p. 86: "At least the higher social levels within the Swedish-speaking minority experienced the Red revolt as a 'Finnish' phenomenon. It meant, according to them, automatically a threat against "the more advanced" culture which represented the Swedish-speaking population and the upper class jointly."
41. Hamilton, p. xviii. See also Mohler, pp. 33-35, in the first place regarding Ernst Jünger's conception of the First World War. See also Märchen, 1976, p. 234: "Wehner teilt mit Ernst Jünger das Fronterelebnis als den wichtigsten Ausgangspunkt seines Denkens,...".
42. Also see Waltå, in *Horisont* 3/1991.
44. Thure Svedlin in the preface to Erik Grotenfelt's posthumously published *En pennas strid*, pp. XX-XXI.
47. Svedlin in Grotfelt, 1919, p. XXVIII.
49. Bertel Gripenberg: "Når trumpeten ljöd", Under fanan. Cf. ibid., Det var de tiderna, p. 252: "Without the least of doubt I can say, that to me, the War of Liberation really and completely was THE GREAT ERA". Cf. also ÖT's words in Granskaren March 1932 ("En strykares kärlekssförklaring"): "Something had started to move in 1914 and in 1918 it reached us. Everything was clear and simple once more,<...>".
50. Hyvämälki, p. 77.
51. Salminen, 1984a, p. 131. V. Quisling had spent several years in Russia in the 20s. Therefore his ideas on this topic could hardly have been plain import.
52. Jarl Hemmer, Ett land i kamp. See especially the poems: "Det ruttnar", "Det värsta", "Det röda ideale", Some of BG's later poems connect, however, the Reds with the Finnish-speaking part of the people. Cf., e.g., "Döden på slädfärd", Den stora tidern, pp. 58-66. This observation appears to be partly in opposition to Hyvämälki's view of BG's charged concept. Cf. Hyvämälki, pp. 83-90. However in the poem "Parad" in the same collection, as mentioned above, the "Swede and Finn" were reconciled.
55. La Rochelle, Interrogation, p. 88, quoted from Pfeil, p. 99.
56. Ernst Jünger, Feuer und Blut, p. 70. Quoted from Kaiser, p. 27.
58. For a detailed account of the reading habits of the Finland-Swedish gentry see Björkén. See also Alapuro, 1988, pp. 25-26. See also ÖT's article about his martial forefathers: "En krigarsläkt år 1808", Atlas Krönika, 6 May 1933.
64. Olof Enckell, Valo och båge, p. 9. See ÖT's own account in VIRS, p. 216. According to Björkénheim the libraries of the landowning gentry were amazingly well supplied with foreign literature, especially French books, Björkénheim, p. 11.
67. Letter from ÖT to Torger Enckell, 24 March, 1919, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
70. Diary kept by Mary von Schoutz-Tigerstedt 1881-1901 in Christina Hackman's possession.
73. Letter from ÖT to Anmit Tigerstedt née Catani, 18 Jan. 1934. ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
75. Letter from Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt to ÖT, 20 Sept. 1920. ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
pictures from Berlin to London. He also invented the first electric phonograph and further developed the technique of color photography. Eric lived in Copenhagen after the War, and in 1924 he moved to New York employed by Thomas Alva Edison. Eric Magnus Campbell Tigerstedt, "the Edison of Finland", held over 400 patents at the time of his death in 1925.

86. Svenska Normalcyclus i Helsingfors, p. 12.
87. Söderström and Tallquist. Vet och vad?, 1941 - "ÖT".
88. Communication to author from the Finnish War Archives, Helsinki, Sirkka Syrjö, 13 Nov. 1991. Judging from the correspondence he thus, most probably, stayed at Mustila between January and April 1918. Letter from Bertel Hintze to ÖT, 13 Jan. 1918, letters from Ingiert Charpentier to ÖT, 18 March, 29 June 1918 (ÖT's Coll., ÅAL). It is apparent from these letters that Tigerstedt had written letters from Mustila prior to this. The last letter mentioned White troops staying at Mustila. Years later Tigerstedt told his Swedish friend, Nils F. Holm, that White troops led by the voluntary Swede, Anton Olsson, were greeted as liberators at Mustila in May 1918. (Nils F. Holm in letter to author 9 April 1989. Cf. Donner, Svedlin et al, VIII p. 363) According to the family tradition Örnulf Tigerstedt did not take part in the Civil War (Axel Tigerstedt to author 2 March 1989). Nor did Tigerstedt in writing ever refer to a war experience that involved active fighting in 1918. This is obvious from his rather extensive correspondence (334 letters) with his publisher in Sweden, Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius, in which he on numerous occasions tried to defend himself against the rumours of alleged cowardliness because of his "escape from Finland". In these letters he never mentioned having ever closely seen real combat. He did, instead, refer to dangerous experiences in occupied France and Belgium and of course in Finland during W.W. II. In 1924 the poet left the Civil Guards after developing a severe stomach ulcer. He was thereafter exempted from active military service. After another severe attack around 1937 he was told to refrain from hard physical activity and sports. This malady, which was connected to his mental condition, came back during periods of distress. In the skirmish at Nokkala (18 April, 1918), close to Mustila a White scouting party was attacked by Reds forcing them to retreat. The White troops lost three men. (Oksanen, p. 526).
89. An interesting parallel here is Mikael Enckell's account of the social environment of Rabbe Enckell in the former's book Under beständighetens stjärna. Not only were ÖT and Rabbe Enckell close friends of the same generation and fellow artists, their background is similar. Both their fathers had agricultural interests. Both families lived at estates in predominately Finnish-speaking areas (The Enckells though in more unpretentious surroundings). Both men loved to summon forth ancestors and figures out of a redeemed past - "landet som icke är" ("The Land That Is Not") in contrast with the new social order. See M. Enckell, pp. 34-40, 50. Cf. Tigerstedt's poem "Gårdarna" and Bertel Gripenberg's "En öde heggård".
91. *Svenska Normalyticum i Helsingfors*, p. 123, letter from Bertel Hintze to ÖT, 11 Nov. 1914, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.


94. Letter copy from ÖT to his parents, n.d., in ÖT’s Coll. ÅAL.

95. Letter copy from ÖT to Oskar Tiderman, 3 March, 1919, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.

96. Letter from ÖT (no addressee) 23 Oct. 1919, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.


98. The letters in Örnulf Tigerstedt’s copy book are written in chronological order.

Modern Times 1919–1929

Ej känner jag den rikt smyckade poesins vällust,
och ej bär jag som riddaren en blek skönhets färger.
I börssalen sjunger jag om kärlek
och i väljarkön om bragd och öra.

Slagfältet vid Verdun tog min tro
och en negers bajonettruppsprättade mina drömda ideal.
Kulsprutans smatter sprängde mina jambers rytm
och i tagtråden blev min melodi hängande.
(––)

(I am not acquainted with the sensual pleasure of exquisite poetry/ Nor do I, like a knight, wear the colors of some pale maiden./ I sing of love in the Hall of Exchange/ And of deed and honor in the ballot line./ The battle field at Verdun took my faith/ And a Negro’s bayonet ripped open my dreamed ideals./ The rattle from machine-guns blasted my iambic rhythm/ And my tune ended up hanging from barbed wire.)

(«After Verdun/ After Verdun»)

Let us return to the political scene in Finland. The Civil-War of 1918 and its dire aftermath of executions and mass starvation in prison camps was followed by a period of rather unstable parliamentary democracy. The Social-Democrats, who had led the rising in the winter of 1918, reorganized themselves into a democratic party along Scandinavian lines and were soon back on the political scene. They were met with suspicion by conservatives and liberals.\(^1\) This meant that the ecstatic enthusiasm and activism, that according to Grotensfelt could tolerate no interruption, were pacified by the abortive attempt to found a Finnish kingdom in 1919 and by the Peace Treaty of Dorpat (Tartu) in 1920. Tigerstedt, who hailed the young ardent Finnish nationalism, recovered from his typhoid fever and was accepted for studies in the humanities at Åbo Akademi (Turku/Åbo’s Swedish-speaking University) in early 1920.\(^2\) Apparently pressed by his father to study agriculture, he did so in Helsinki, for a short period later the same year. After an argument over his future in early 1921 the young poet gave up his studies and went to Lichtersfelde in the vicinity of Munich to stay in a family for some time later the same year.\(^3\) Meanwhile, the political scenery was changing - the extreme right-wing groups which had formed the avant-garde of the war, lost their key-position and now devoted most of their time to the creation of national myths for the future.\(^4\) These were primarily: the myth of the war seen as exclusively a war of liberation from Russia, the myth of a Finnish irredenta in the east and west - which meant the doctrine of a holy Suur-Suomi - the Greater Finland - and lastly the Finnish version of the Dolchstoss-myth - the Reds had betrayed the nation in 1918 and the liberals had done the same in Dorpat two years later. Gripenberg gave his
and the extreme right wing's comment on the Peace Treaty of Dorpat in his »Dansen i Dorpat«:

Det dansas i Dorpat en dans i natt,
det dansas en dans med ryssen,
en glömskans dans med löften och skratt -
ack, vem får den första kyssen?
De män som köpte sin glans med blod
som andra för dem ha gjutit,
de dansa i Dorpat med muntert mod
och glömma det blod som flutit.

(»Dansen i Dorpat«, The Dance of Dorpat, Efter striden)\(^5\)

(They are dancing in Dorpat tonight, / They do a dance with the Russians, / A dance of oblivion with promises and laughter - / Alas, who gets the first kiss? / Those men who bought their fame with blood shed by others, / They are dancing tonight with joy / And forget the blood that has been shed.)

»Those men who bought their fame with blood shed by others« were obviously the democrats and liberals - men like President Ståhlberg and Heikki Ritavuori who worked for democracy and conciliation. The treaty was »a national crime« in the eyes of the men who Marvin Rintala called »the war generation«. On February 14, 1922 Ritavuori was assassinated on the streets of Helsinki. The murderer was a member of the extreme right-wing and Ritavuori had earlier tried to stop further military actions against the Soviet State in East Karelia.\(^6\) However the 20s was on the whole a liberal era in Finnish politics, with many points of comparison with the unstable democracy of Weimar Germany.

The Appeal of Fascism

The savage world war had made a whole generation lose their foothold in life. It had caused the disintegration of the old world and its standards. This process had been going on in science, religion and politics for a long time.

In Ireland, W. B. Yeats reflected the search for a new deliverer and the pursuit of the lost unity:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.

(»The Second Coming«, 1919)\(^7\)

In the new age the magic power to keep the world together is lost and man has lost touch with the Savior. We can feel the lure of the primitive again. Yeats's elitist and aristocratic stand had much in common with that of
Örnulf Tigerstedt. Undoubtedly, they shared the artistic conception of belonging to the chosen élite in a time of decay and disorganization.

The Swedish writer Bertil Malmberg, who had experienced the disillusion, disappointment and indignation over the treaty of Versailles during his stay in Germany, wrote in 1919:

Och kejsarkronorna, de sönderbrutna,
och kejsarmandarna, de sönderskurna,
och kejsarörarna med fläkta vingar
på marken ligga och förtrampas alla...8
(And the Imperial crowns, the broken./And the Imperial mantles, the cut up./And the Imperial eagles with split open wings/Are lying on the ground and down-trodden by all...)

Malmberg had early manifested an aversion against democratic principles and taken the stand of the aristocratic intellectual aesthete much in the same way as Yeats, Gripeberg and later Tigerstedt. In 1921, in a short essay with an anti-Semitic tendency in the Right radical Swedish journal Det nya Sverige, Malmberg prophesied: »The war has made people hard. Fanaticism and ruthless violence will gain victory over all kinds of pacifism, and it is only a matter of who will triumph - the radicals of the Left or those of the Right. (- - -) And, in truth, if ever a nation had been in need of a guiding hand as hard as iron, it is the German nation of our day.» (1921, p. 43).

In 1922, Mussolini had marched on Rome. Pensiero e azione - thought and action were the passwords in this year 1 of the new fascist Era. In the following years Mussolini and fascism appeared to many European intellectuals as the great promise. Fascism had an esprit de contradiction which was attractive - since it stood at the same time for both order and revolution. Fascism thus represented vitality, youthfulness and creativity. It was a daring, masculine, heroic and martial ideology. It did not appear to be vulgar and plebeian like socialism. To many among this cultural élite Mussolini was the greatest living European politician and leader. To them fascism contrasted with democracy and its petty party spirit in parliaments paralyzed by egotism. Fascism was, furthermore, artistic and represented the avant-garde within art. Its ambiguous ideology attracted both reactionaries like Yeats and Modernist Futurists like Marinetti.

To large numbers of these often rootless intellectuals, artists and men of letters, in a secluded élitist world of their own, this double appeal and the seemingly artistic freedom of fascism were of far greater significance than Squadristi's violent atrocities. In Studentbladet, Artur Eklund wrote enthusiastically in 1923:

The fact is, this movement has been primarily carried by feeling and enthusiasm, not by hate or envy like the attack on established society made by the Reds, but by love of everything beautiful and valuable in life, by a noble instinct, which lives in all sound and unspoiled senses. [- - -] Apollo is mightier than Marsyas and the distant archer still grants the poet's request to punish all those howling with envy with a
flaming bow, all those dark and base. Mussolini has showed us this, and because of that, aroused joy and gratitude all over the world.

After having repudiated the rotten party-system of democracy and the belief in human progression, Eklund concludes his article:

But we will know where the real Modernity is at hand, that Modernity which is the ultimate result of all the tensions of our time. It is to be found, where you with the uttermost success appeal to the youth, where you sing: Young people, young people in the beautiful spring of life! (SB, 4/1923)

Or in accordance with the original words in the famous fascist march which read: »Giovinezza, giovinezza - primavera di belleza.»

In Sweden K. G. Ossiannilsson was fired with inspiration and composed the poem »Mussolini» (Hjärtet sjunger): »en hyllning till den som allena stått fram, en livets och ordningens folk» (A homage to the one who stepped forward alone, and gave voice to life and order). Among Finland-Swedish authors, E. R. »Edi» Gummerus and Jarl Gallén bore special witness to the enthusiasm for Fascist-Italy. In Gummerus’s first real appearance on the literary scene with the novel Farväl Arkadien (A Farewell to Arcadia), the youthful and vital fascism is portrayed in contrast with the protagonist Andreas Bornemann’s vegetating and lethargic existence. Bornemann’s fascist friend Mario Andreini dies like a martyr for the fascist cause tortured by the Communists and is found dead with his hands tied behind his back. Some time prior to this, the young fascist had proposed that Bornemann should become a member of the party. Bornemann had exclaimed: »But I am certainly not a fascist!» and Mario had returned: »You are just that, whether you want it or not! It is a matter of time! One can’t escape one’s time».¹⁰ Andreas meditated, in a moment of perceptiveness, later at Mario’s funeral: »Poor Mario! Had he not been a theorist like Andreas himself, only a little hotter by blood, stronger, more enthusiastic and less filled with repression».¹¹

»Edi» Gummerus had published the book Fascismen och det moderna Italien (Fascism and Modern Italy) in 1930. He had spent several years in Rome, where his father Herman Gummerus (also belonging to the Finnish extreme right wing) had been the first Finnish chargé d'affaires and later minister. The following lines from the book provide a vivid illustration of his conception of fascism and its relation to culture:

The difference is immensely large between fascism with its relationship to culture and science and Communism with its Marxist mathematics, physics and chemistry. You can, indeed, say that fascism is responsible for some less pleasant actions against certain representatives of science, but for science, culture and civilization as such, Mussolini and the Blackshirts have not only shown appropriate respect, but also done everything in their power for them.¹²

Italian fascism thus stood not only for order, it stood for a humanist culture and tradition according to Gummerus. Yet, Gummerus nevertheless showed, that he had developed reservations about the movement both in
this book and in the earlier mentioned novel. It appears to be mainly the plebeian or popular traits which made him adopt an attitude of reserve toward the movement. At the same time he saw magnificence connected with fascism and especially with its followers' readiness to make sacrifices. With apparent sympathy Gummerus quoted in the last page of both books the fascist slogan «Meglio vivere un ora da leoni che cento anni da pecora». Jarl Gallén, who converted to Roman Catholicism at the end of the 20's, showed his devotion to Italian fascism in several articles in Studentbladet and Skyddskåristen. In 1930 he concluded an article in the following way:

Finally some words about the ultimate aims of fascism - the resurrected Roman Empire. Those who live will see. The contrast is obvious enough - on the one side the united and orderly Italy, on the other a chaotic Europe.  

_Ars militans: Dispassionately Detached Short Stories_

Örnulf Tigerstedt waited nearly five years until he published his second book. On the family estate at Mustila the young poet had an old wind-mill turned into a writer's den - a personal ivory tower, we might say. In 1923 and 1924 he published two collections of short stories - Noveller (Short Stories) and Exercitia (Exercises).

The setting of all the stories is exotic and historical. The cast of leading characters contains monks, rulers, Jesuits, Roman legionaries and inquisitors. The language is intermingled with military terms and metaphors. The style is Spartan, stern and exact without, it seems, personal detachment. It is a Roman heroic spirit that is conveyed to us in the stories. Tigerstedt was passionately committed to create a style which called to mind the great Roman authors from Augustan times. Emotionalism and sentimentalism seem carefully avoided in the manner that Caesar Augustus himself demanded of the highly prized limited expression of that time. Tigerstedt had also at an early age read and appreciated the meditations of Marcus Aurelius whose meditations he returned to and cherished throughout his life (we will have reason to return later to this source of inspiration to Örnulf Tigerstedt). Alongside Aurelius, Julius Caesar's dispassionately detached survey in _De Bello Gallico_ was also part of Tigerstedt's favorite literature, and the Roman concept of male virtue - _virtus_ - was his desirable guiding star.

Stylistically there were several other mannerisms which remind us of Antiquity. In the tradition of Homer he frequently employed a figure of speech to attribute the place names. He used compound adjectives or plain attribute to characterize places: »det hemlighetsfulla Phazania« (»the mysterious Phazania«, NOV, p. 105), »det stora lättjefulla Rom« (»the great indolent Rome«, NOV, p. 112), »den berömda staden Mecca« (»the famous city of Mecca«, NOV, p. 17, cf. _The Iliad_ 2:559, 7:413, 7:71). We find similar
epithets in Runeberg's Elgskyttarne and in the Finnish epic Kalevala - only, in the former they are more dynamically used in true dramatic tradition. In Kalevala we come across Homeric epithets attached to stock nouns but more limited to personal nouns. Tigerstedt's epithets are not genuinely Homeric since they are not used as repeated defining formulae as the case is with the Finnish epic. In addition to this the complexity of the sentences, with an abundance of relative and abbreviated clauses, especially in Noveller, seem directly or indirectly influenced by Latin. We will return to this in part two (cf., e. g., NOV: p. 56 line 18-p. 57 line 5, p. 55 line 7 to 12, EXC: pp. 21-22 line 14 to 5).

In the first volume, Noveller, we find Romantic under-currents, but in the second, Exercitia, these appear to be carefully avoided by the author. Tigerstedt probably also derived the title from Ignatius Loyola's work Exercitia Spiritualia. In the opening paragraph of his book, Loyola underlined his aim «to prepare and dispose the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments». To be sure, Tigerstedt tried to follow this motto: the writer of Exercitia was significantly obsessed, it appears, by violence and dire details and they are depicted to us in a austere, callous and unemotional style. The use of innumerable adjectives and verbs transferring and intensifying the rigid, cold and martial style was explicit in the text: »karga, kala, härdat, härde, kalla, strånga» (barren, bare, harden, harder, cold, austere) and so forth. The author's position of castigation, chastisement and self-restraint is thus strengthened.

The words »stone» and »wall» (»sten», »mur») are key words, and feminine attributes for softness, tenderness and frailty are totally lacking. Life and time are viewed with the firm belief that evil is more powerful than good in the world. His deep pessimism lacks all illusion it seems. The human condition is an everlasting struggle, the world a battlefield and the only satisfaction and possible aspiration seem to lie in the Nietzschean will to power. There is no clear evidence in Tigerstedt's works or correspondence of a deeper knowledge of Nietzsche. The existing use of Nietzschean expressions and terms could be derived from common observations in literary circles of this time. On the other hand, Tigerstedt was a man of extensive and wide reading. Thus, we find a total of around 450 different references to authors and books in his literary contribution. It would, therefore, be surprising if he had not read Nietzsche as well. However, we must here also bear in mind that Oswald Spengler and Vitalis Norström, among others, probably influenced Tigerstedt in a Nietzschean way. In a contemporary letter to his friend, Rolf Palmén, the author expounded on his stoic position and concluded:

A mobilization of all authorities is what I strive for. The mobilization of the will, the thought and above all the emotions. This means the acknowledgement of the absolute authority of necessity and destiny. [- - -] This means irrevocable perseverance beside the flag, the victory of the divine reason over the human and an inexorable
neglecting of one's own dear ego. [- - -] This letter declares my position [- - -] When time is ripe it will speak for its own singular self. Either it will be brought against me, as an accusation, or it will stand out as a document illuminating the preparations for victory.20

In another letter, lacking an addressee, dated October 1924, he stated:

[... ] our contempt for the big city and our apology for »asceticism«. [- - -] We have only one external enemy - Bolshevism. Only one internal - democracy, liberalism. [- - -] Our fortress is called »The State«. Our banner is called »Allegiance«, »Duty« and »Sacrifice«. [- - -] Let us ban all »humanitarianism«, all visions of happiness. [- - -] Bolshevism does not argue with its enemy. Neither will we with ours. The time is not ripe for »explanations« or »understandings«. [- - -] Surely, it cannot be mentioned too often that despite the fact that we are not conservative - that we do not wish to be placed among the so called »protectors of society«, that we, apart from being black reactionaries, are anti - any form of political freedom and more than the Renaissance half the Inquisition - we must still to a certain degree call ourselves socialists.21

This time, it seems obvious that the young littérature to be is attacked by »the vertigo of fascization«, using Payne's language. Tigerstedt's views in this letter are in agreement with much of the very essence of Italian fascism. For Sorel, Bolshevism and fascism had much in common, to be sure, but he saw the union of the national and the social as significant for fascism. The national and social »discovery«, which was the base of this reasoning, was purely Mussolinian.22 It must however also be noted that the passage quoted from Tigerstedt above is the only example found in the poet's writings and correspondence where he associates himself with any form of socialism. It is moreover possibly the most radical statement I have found in his writing. Since we neither know the contextual meaning, nor the purpose of the text it must be treated with caution.

Still, it is not unlikely that these ideas had emerged from the poet's avid reading in Spengler's book, Preussentum und Sozialismus, which had been published in 1922. In it the German doomsday prophet had turned the ideological concepts upside-down by advocating a Prussian socialism which had little to do with Marxist socialism except in the Hegelian view of the function of the state. Another plausible link is Rudolf Kjellén's kindred definition of what he called Nationalsocialism: A spirit of community involving the entire nation in strict obedience to a totalitarian collective.23 Tigerstedt had visited both Germany and Italy in the summer of 1925. Furthermore, he had, as already mentioned, lived with a family in Lichtersfelde close to Munich for three months at the end of 1921. It is more than likely that he encountered, if not directly, the ideas of the coming National-Socialism, at least the basic notions of die konservative Revolution.

Fascism had another appeal to Tigerstedt than that of its political lure. He was drawn to fascism in his capacity as an artist. Its aestheticism and conception of art attracted him as well. Tigerstedt had been strengthened in his belief of being a member of an élite, which was morally justified by the sheer superior quality of its members, through the writings of the American
Lothrop Stoddard in the mid 20's. Stoddard saw civilization as a heavy burden carried by a master aristocracy - a superior race, one could say in a condescending Kiplingesque tone - only presented by the former version in harsher and more vulgar tones. Beneath civilization lurked the »Under-Man« representing »the inferior individuals« - »persons beneath or below the standard of civilization«. Socialism, equality and democracy were viewed as »the revolt of the masses« and a step back to barbarianism and chaos. It was a message that agreed and fitted well with Spengler's notion of society. However, Tigerstedt never fully adopted the radicalness of Stoddard's thinking. But some did. The question of racial improvement by sterilization of large numbers of »inferior human beings« was actually openly debated in cultural and academic magazines, like Finsk Tidsskrift and Studentbladet and elsewhere in the 1910's and 20's. This is not very surprising since institutes and societies for racial improvement were founded in several European countries at the time. The idea of selective breeding and racial thinking had its hey-day and eugenicists supported restrictions on in-migration from nations with »inferior« stock all over Europe. And Sweden and Finland were no exceptions, in fact the first national institute for eugenic research in the world was opened in Uppsala 1922.

In 1924, Bertel Hintze, one of Tigerstedt's closest friends, published a book entitled Renässansmedaljer (Renaissance Medallions). On the surface it was a book on Italian Renaissance art. In reality it was a polemical pamphlet, outlining Hintze's conception of art, his admiration for Italian Quattrocento and its strict and cold monumental style. Its political relativism, its men and their strong will-power were contrasted with his own era of general »decay in all fields«:

Through the insistence on the same humanitarian-aesthetic view on life, the same fatal overrating of the individuality, which brought the brilliant art culture of the High Renaissance to ruin, the artists of our time forget that the type of beauty which is now significant as a factor of power, is to be found in every accomplished creation of our engineers. Because only this art of no recognition has yielded to the harsh demands of the time. Only the servants of this art have forgotten their own egos when facing their task. The cold strong-willed and manly style of steel - the only striking expression of the mighty and all-embracing movements of our time - has therefore become the creation of technicians and not artists. (p. 99)

In his review of the book in Studentbladet and in the dispute that followed in both Studentbladet and Nya Argus, Tigerstedt vehemently defended Hintze and further expounded their apparently common conception of art. In these texts we find some of the basic and vital germs of a fascist aesthetics:

* A contempt for humanism and its belief in progress.
* Society seen as rapidly deteriorating and degenerating, which manifested itself in the rootless and sterile world of abstract modern art.
* An attack on individualism, subjectivity in art and l'art pour l'art.
The need and search for a «Great Perspective», a unity or entity and ideals based on authority and a strong belief.

- The demand for a militant art - *ars militans* - under supreme discipline and controlled by an iron will.
- The notion that art should express myths, ideals and the «spirit of our time», seen in the light of a metaphysical destiny.²⁷
- The opinion that the action, virility and energy of our age were only expressed in modern technical and industrial objects.
- Therefore art should: «[...] not forget its natural mission to outline our banners and hurl out our rallying cries, which more than elucidatory words can ignite and thousandfold our strength. A steel bridge is such a rallying cry. What is more, it is a first-class work of art. Perhaps the very day is not far off, when the steel bridge mentioned above will completely surpass the work of a modern painter.» (ÖT, «Stålbroar och tavelmålare», SB 14/1924).

Tigerstedt's fascination with steel-bridges, energy and speed at this time is noteworthy, and points to Marinetti, Futurism and the avant-garde of Italian fascism. Alice Yeager Kaplan has drawn attention to early Futurism's attempt to bridge the gap between a traditional and primitive past and a mechanized future.²⁸ Further, in Spengler we encounter an outspoken admiration for engineering perhaps best expressed in his *Der Mensch und die Technik*. However, in the course of time our poet's attitude toward technical artifacts, and the force, *elan vital* and stamina they represented, darkened and gave way to more traditional attributes.

In an article in *Finsk Tidsskrift* in 1924 he compared the religious dreamer Pharaoh Akhenaton or Amenhotep IV with the faithful liege man Ribb-Addi. Preoccupied with religious and artistic innovations Akhenaton neglected his imperial responsibilities according to Tigerstedt. The Emperor Akhenaton searched for truth and beauty, whereas the vassal Ribb-Addi fell in battle for the preservation of the empire. Tigerstedt apparently sided with the loyal warrior but there was an under-current of sympathy for Akhenaton as well pointing toward a complicating dualism in his conception of reality.²⁹

In the summer and fall of 1925 Örnulf made a journey from Helsinki to Rome. Traveling slowly, by bicycle most of the time, he passed through Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria on his way South. The trip resulted in «Resebrev» (Travel Letters) in the magazine *Allas Krönika*, where he compared the Europe that had risen out of the ashes of the World War with Greece after the Peloponnesian Wars.³⁰

The Golden Twenties and Modernism

After a very active period in Tigerstedt's production around 1924, with articles, reviews and books, followed a second period of relative silence until 1928. Örnulf's father Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt had passed away in 1926. A year later the poet married Hilma Therese Löfjelm and sold his share of Mustila a couple of years later.³¹ The inheritance had made him a well-off man and he now settled in Helsinki. Apparently a life of relative inactivity
did not suit his lively and committed disposition, so between 1927 and 1930 he worked as a Public Relations man at »Finlands Annonssentral» in Helsinki. These years of employment and work in the modern, urban business world in the fast-growing Helsinki of the late 20's left a great impression on Tigerstedt. He now closely experienced the middle-class culture of commerce. It was a hectic period filled with innovations, prosperity, development and amusement-seeking. The author and his wife, »Tete», often went to parties and had an active social life. Örnulf Tigerstedt also became a well-known guest in many restaurants of the still, a bit provincial Finnish capital: Kämp, Börs, Fennia and Societetshuset. »I am an author, I write advertisements», he cynically remarked in 1928 and continued in another poem:

Jag har ätit middag  
med trävarudirektören  
och superat med chefen  
för Annonssentralen.  
Och sannting var senaste plakatet  
och gåtan löstes  
diskret, exakt och odisputabelt  
genom en enkel telefonpåringning  
till Aktiebolaget Kredit;  
upplysningssvådeningen.32

(I have dined/ With the president of the lumber company/ I have had supper with the managing director/ Of the advertising company./ And Truth was the latest bill/ And the enigma was solved/ Discreetly, exactly and indisputably/ Through a simple telephone call/ To Credit Incorporated,/ The information department.)

In fact, Tigerstedt seemed himself to become one of the busy, rootless, urban dwellers that had lost contact with reality and resided in the material world of neon lights, social clubs, advertising campaigns and index-systems. This was the very world of Zenith - of Sinclair Lewis's George Babbitt - a vulgar, trivial and levelling new modern world which the poet had feared and despised in his letters in the early 20's and which he was to react against over and over again.33 However, Tigerstedt's personality was contradictory. This new innovative world and with its technical acquisitions stood for vitality, power and conquest. Beyond a doubt the vitality of twentieth century Modernism - and other modern stimuli fascinated him as we have seen earlier, in his search for an ars militans.

In early 1928 the Swedish-speaking poet attacked »the anemic and to the marrow rootless humanism» which could not »hear what time the bell tolled». It is a matter of blood, pulse, brain - the roots», he continued. »Crises and a new war will soon come», he prophesied, and our time is the time of the steam-whistle and the neon signs. These humanists cannot detect that »the steel- and cement constructions of our age have a living heart, and they do not know that if they looked into this heart, there inside they would find both Dante, Michelangelo, Goethe and Ibsen».34
Tigerstedt's pronounced anti-intellectualism and reverence to action and conviction had somewhat astonishing parallels. Shortly after Hintze and Tigerstedt had declared their belief in an *ars militans*, Hagar Olsson had attacked aestheticism in art and literature and declared her belief in a seriously committed art based on a new collective force. She had apparently, along with others, been strongly influenced by Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West*. In 1930 she stated:

Action is the way of life of modern man, only action is able to satisfy him. Man is harboring a latent activity, which demands releasing and could become consuming if impeded. [...] Everything compulsory hampers and paralyses our activity [...] In its essence *Culture* is nothing else but a struggle against the annihilating forces, in nature, in society, in man's own character, a struggle against the great darkness which in all directions encircle the flickering light of life. [...] Under the cover of these symbols Culture has raised its bulwark against Chaos. [...] Only the useful beauty is beauty to us, only truth capable of surviving is truth to us. [...] 

What is most surprising here, apart from the pronounced pragmatism, taking Hagar Olsson's later development into account, is her conception of culture and chaos. It is Spengler or Tigerstedt - perhaps both - that reverberates here. It is equally noteworthy to observe that some of the reviewers and critics in those days apparently saw Tigerstedt and Olsson as representatives of much the same spirit. A spirit they often referred to as the New Mentality or the New Candidness (Den nya sakligheten).

In the summer of 1928 Örnulf Tigerstedt made his debut in drama with *Majoren på Björnby* (*The Major at Björnby*) - a tragedy in three acts. Composed strictly according to classical precepts of time, action and scene its conversation was decidedly lifeless and the lines were lacking in realism. It was Tigerstedt's one and only drama. The action in the play takes place in Finland around 1750. The Swedish Great Power is coming apart at the seams. The offensive thinking and aggressiveness are gone. The great perspective is fading away in »the Swedish soul». The young generation is under the influence of Mercantilism and early liberalism (Chydenius). They are attracted by a new materialistic world-view where duty, honor and sacrifice seem out-of-date. The young author thus, not surprisingly, sided with the old generation represented in the play by Major Johan Anders Ulfrcrona. The Major - an old Carolinian - apparently despises individuality and personal freedom. He admonishes his daughter Angelica:


(But don't let these powdered young gentlemen prowl around in front of you, my little one! What they have to say, is only chatter void of meaning and French tricks of seduction. They have no seriousness in themselves, you see. They have no manners and true fear of God. They lack the marrow, and I don't like their way of smiling.)
It is hardly surprising that we need not read far to find the same ideas in Knut Hamsun’s works. Modern man becomes void of true content, becomes changed, hollow inside and compensates for this with showiness and ostentatious display. It is the contact with urban society that does this. Man becomes trapped in a context in which he is severed from his roots - from the very earth, from the vitality of the soil. We find it in Eleseus in Markens Grøde (Growth of the Soil) and in Lassen (see earlier), Attorney Rasch and Young Theodor in Segelfoss by (Segelfoss Town). Something putrid and permanently ruined surrounds these characters who often wear galoshes as a sign of their mortal disease. So not surprisingly, returning to Tigerstedt, even the Major’s son Erik realizes that the soil is the origin of everything. It is instead Erik’s wife, Ulla, who is the most rootless individual in the play (MAJ, pp. 26, 71). There are more striking similarities between both authors’ attitudes toward usury, profiteering on the exchange-market and peddlers (Sw. »krämare»). They both take an aristocratic stance. Hamsun is however more explicit and he associates such conditions and questionable qualities with certain nationalities and peoples (Yankees, Jews, Swiss, English-men). This is not explicit in Tigerstedt, although he later attacked »the American Spirit» of materialism in the Spring Speech. Americanism and Communism were conceived of as purely animalistic doctrines: »die rein animalistische Gesellschaftsdoktrin, [...] [- - -] Optimismus à tout prix, des ‘keep smiling’» as Gottfried Benn expressed it. Americanism was directed against the meta-physical being. Utilitarian thinking and optimism would lead to intellectual mechanization where the dollar ruled. What Benn, Tigerstedt and Hamsun felt to be a sign of decay was equally felt by Oswald Spengler:

Man ist der Geldwirtschaft müde bis zum Ekel. Man hofft auf eine Erlösung irgendwoher, auf einen echten Ton von Ehre und Ritterlichkeit, von innerem Adel, von Entsagung und Pflicht. Und nun bricht die Zeit an, wo in der Tiefe die formvollen Mächte des Blutes wieder erwachen, die durch den Rationalismus der grossen Städte verdrängt worden sind. (Der Untergang des Abendlandes II, p. 583)

By the end of 1928, Tigerstedt published his second work of poetry - Vid gränsen (At the Border). The title suggested the author’s idea of a civilization on the verge of destruction. The last part of the book was entitled »Caesar» and envisaged what would come. Written in free verse it carried some of the features of modernism and emphasized the power and fascination the modern technical world had on its author. However by now this enchantment was mingled with a great deal of resentment.

Bertel Gripenberg had caused a minor sensation some years prior to this, when anonymously publishing a Modernist work of poems, Den hemliga glöden (The Secret Fervor, 1925) under the nom de plume of Åke Eriksson. The book was probably meant as a contribution to the contemporary debate about Modernism. A friend of l’art pour l’art and the significance of form in literature, free verse was something new to Gripenberg and he didn’t seem
to pay attention to the importance of rhythm. What was interesting to observe was a certain degree of social concern in the first part of Gripenberg-Eriksson's book, which gave us a picture of the decay, loneliness and misery of the big city - the Metropolis. Some of the visions actually bring to mind Fritz Lang's famous film, released a year later.

In Tigerstedt's works we never come across such choice of motifs or social pathos as in the example above. In 1927 Bertel Gripenberg, who had a great interest in Anglo-Saxon literature translated Edgar Lee Masters's Spoon River Anthology into Swedish. It was a book of epitaphs in free verse about the lives of those buried in a cemetery in rural Illinois - the fictional Spoon River. The expression was direct and simple when exposing this place of mostly unhappy people and their petty lives. It carried the bitter irony of Masters. He was apparently a man void of illusions about the nature of mankind. The frustrated lives of the small town's inhabitants passed by in file before our eyes against the background of a hypocritical society. The very category and model of the epigraph also required brevity, simplicity and directness.

It was obvious that Tigerstedt had been influenced by Master's style when writing Vid gränsen. Apart from a similar criticism of the idea of progress and the urban standards of materialism there were, in addition, some direct references to Masters in Vid gränsen. From the parallels and choice of words it was evident that Tigerstedt had read Gripenberg's translation. Above all, there was a link to the direct and striking commercial language used in Tigerstedt's everyday life at Finlands Annonscentral. Both Masters and Tigerstedt also abundantly and unhesitatingly made use of trivial and vulgar words of modern everyday life in their poems. They thus broke with old poetic tradition and referred to Modernistic practice (Masters: overalls, celluloid, wrist-cuffs, tractors, drugstores. Tigerstedt: gasoline, tractors, index-systems, self-greasing machinery, upper-cut, torpedo, water closet).

Continental stimuli should not be overlooked in this context either. Influence from the German Gottfried Benn is also possible. Apart from the related message and a certain affinity in attitude a parallel to Tigerstedt's frequent use of technical terms can be observed in Benn's poetic works from the early 20s. It is not unlikely that Tigerstedt discovered Benn during his German sojourn.

Tigerstedt had provided his book with a frontispiece that was in keeping with the advent of a mechanistic age. The vertical mass of a pair of asymmetrical skyscrapers were towering over a man's face that bore the unmistakable features of Il Duce - Mussolini. A manometer or a stopwatch and a propeller flank the picture - completing and evoking the association to Italian Futurismo. In the preface to the book he pointed out that since he was »the owner of a sufficient number of acres and staff member of a well-respected firm« he could very well do without an audience. If the reader
anyway continued to read the book and thereby exclaimed »These are not poems», he could as well call it »Architectural Prose» (VIDG, pp. 8, 10).

The significant watch or manometer of the front-page illustration was very representative of yet another leitmotif of Vid gränsen. Tigerstedt's conception of time (which we will return to in part two) was central to this book. The modern world was represented by its exactness, its mechanical precision, its measuring devices, its speed and love of motion. For all this, a part of his character held a strong fascination and a reluctant attraction. Yet this enchantment was mingled with additional disapproval and fear. It was the man of long traditions, rituals and institutions who assumed - or shall we say regained - control here.

A year prior to this, the Left radical Finland-Swedish author Elmer Diktonius had published a collection of poems entitled Stenkol (Pit-Coal). With intense revolutionary pathos he raged against bourgeois society. Revolution was the ultimate motion. The people had been turned into a state of fastness and rigidity by centuries of oppression. They were now like stones - so immobile and so distorted that no human being could imagine them alive. But the stones were alive! The very Nordic granite called: Let me live!, let me live!:45

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Granit
Förstenade är mina ådor,
alla atomer pressade till ett block,
kargt och grovt;
het var jag,
kall är jag,
härdbad;
ej sol smälter mig,
ej köld spränger mig,
mången borspets brustit mot mitt pansar,
ej finns den hålstäng som lyfter mig,
berg.

Granit.

Men jag har lust att rusa fram,
bli grön skog.
Jag ville flamma som norsken,
vridas i blixtparoxysmer;
rörelse ville jag vara,
dödligt livsliv,
ej denna konturattityd
mellan tid och evighet
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(Granite./ My veins are petrified,/ All atoms forced into one block,/ Bare and rough;/ I was hot;/ I am cold./ Hardened;/ No sun will melt me;/ No frost will break me;/ Many a drill point has shattered against my armor;/ A leverarm to lift me is not to be found;/ Rock./ Granite./ But I felt like rushing forward;/ Turn into green forest./ I wanted to be ablaze like northern lights./ To writh in paroxysms of lightning;/ Motion was my craving;/ Deadly living life;/ And not this attitude of outlines/ Between time and eternity.)
Whereas to Tigerstedt motion in reality was something basically uncontrolled despite man's progressive innovations - something out of nature and chaos. To him, of course, even more lethal and threatening when linked to »the Under-Man» and his aspirations as seen in Diktonius's lyrics. To the aristocrat this was the return to chaos and the sansculлотism described by Carlyle. It is because of this, but also from the parallels, and the contextual relations in diction used in the texts that we have reason to believe that Tigerstedt wrote his »Porfyr» partly as an antipode to Diktonius's poem in *Stenkol*:

Ett block ville jag vara,
i porfyr.
Ett mejslat anlete
lugnt seende över floden.

Tårarna äro så många,
så många nederlagen.
Så stor och helig
tystnaden kring ditt namn
och i ditt tomma rum.

En storm ven upp mot Olympen -
Men gudarna loga.
då vill jag trotsa dig,
tid
och dig, du rymd
omättiga
och dig, du blomma
formlösa, ljuvliga.

Ett block ville jag vara.
 Svart porfyr varde mitt anlete.
 Bj en rispa,
ej ett fäste för en sprängande rot.
 Tigande en blick
 seende över vatten.
(*Porfyr*, Porphyry, *Vid gränsen*)

(A Block I wish I were/ Of porphry:/ A chiselled face/ Calmly looking over the river./ The tears are so many,/ So many the defeats./ So great and sacred/ The silence surrounding your name/ And in your empty room./ A storm howled up against the Olympus -/ But the Gods were smiling./ At that moment I want to defy you./ Time/ And you, you Space/ Boundless/ And you, you Flower/ Formless, delicious./ A Block I wish I were./ Let black porphry be my visage./ Not a scratch,/ Nor a hold for a bursting root./ Muted a look/Looking over waters.)

Here the preponderance of one syllable words, the anaphora and the use of participle constructions are in tune with the emphatic beat and link up to suggest a heavy, controlled and stationary image. We will later return to symbols for eternity in Tigerstedt's poetry.

Tigerstedt let another antipodal concept to Diktonius appear in *Vid gränsen*. Diktonius had enclosed a poem in *Stenkol* which was titled »Ave! - Ve!» (Ave! - Woe!) - In it he attacked the inhuman side of the Caesar myth. Tiger-
stedt in his turn named the fourth part of *Vid gränsen* »Caesar«. Indeed he underlined in the preface:

Då jag sålunda på några ställen talar om »Caesar«, menar jag därmed varken den romerska kejsaren, påven, Mussolini, proletariatets diktatur eller Staten ehuru samtliga dessa företeelser rymmas inom ifrågavarande begrepp. »Caesar« är därför att uppfatta som en symbol täckande en stämning, ett idé- och känslokompex, som redan tusenden, börjande från Baldwin och Primo de Rivera och slutande med Lenin, Mussolini, Tanner och tidningen Ilkka göra sig all möda att var och en på sitt sätt söka klarlägga och förverkliga.

(When I thus at some points speak of »Caesar«, I thereby neither mean the Roman Emperor, the Pope, Mussolini, the dictatorship of the proletariat or the State, although all these phenomena fall within the concept in question. »Caesar« is therefore to be viewed as a symbol covering an atmosphere, a complex of ideas and sentiments, which already thousands of people, starting with Baldwin and Primo de Rivera and ending with Lenin, Mussolini, Tanner and the paper Ilkka, take great pains, each one in his way, to demonstrate and realize.)

In retrospect, many elements of the view on »freedom« in his works seem to have been implicit in the speculative essence of the poem »Före Caesar:

Vi, som sett kriget,
vi, som ur ynglingaårens tro
vaknat upp vid fanfaren,
som blottade våra fäders missgärningar
och av oss utkrävde råkenskapen:

Låtom oss icke fly verkligheten
eller misströsta om skönheten.
Föraktet träffar tungt
dem som avtåga ur linjer,
där vänner falla.

Låtom oss stå fasta
vid frihetens banér.
Icke fanflyktiges,
gravplundrades,
äreskändares
eller bakdantares frihet
utan den,
som repekterar gränsen,
händlar av aktning
och råder mellan män av heder.

När Caesar kommer
skall han tala till sådana män
och icke till uppskrämda,
själviska och blinda därar.
(»Före Caesar«, Before Caesar, *Vid gränsen.*)

(We, who witnessed the war/ We, who woke up by the sound of the flourish/ From our juvenile faith,/ Who uncovered the misdeeds of our fathers,/ And from us insisted upon a day of reckoning;// Let us not escape reality/ Or despair of beauty:/ The contempt will heavily strike/ Those who depart from lines,/ Where friends fall./// Let us stand steadfast/ Under the banner of liberty./ Not the liberty /Of deserters/ Grave-robers.,/ Violators of honor/ Or slanderers,./ But his/ Who respects the border/ Acts out of respect/ And rules between men of honor./// When Caesar
is coming/ He will speak to those men/ And not to frightened/ Selfish and blind fools.)

Not only does his poetry here result in an assault on the older generation, but it can also be read as an attack on liberalism. Thus, to Tigerstedt, freedom or liberty had a completely different meaning than to Diktonius. Freedom in Tigerstedt’s opinion was to respect, obey and maintain the borders of form and tradition. It is not completely unlikely that he once more had Diktonius in mind when writing the last stanza above. He let the next poem, »Caesars rätt», culminate with the stanza:

Men då jag väl vet,
att dessa frukters sötma
är kommen ur jorden,
uppugen av rötter,
vilkas helgd ingen må rubba,
är jag nu även beredd
att manligen
giva Caesar vad Caesar tillhör.

(But since I am well aware,/ That the sweetness of these fruits/ Has come from the earth,/ Sucked up by roots/ Whose sanctity no man may disturb,/ Now I am also prepared/ To manfully/ Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s.)

In the eyes of the aristocrat Örnulf Tigerstedt, Elmer Diktonius was eventually only an uncultivated and plebeian *Scriptor proletarius*. He looked askance at Diktonius's down-to-earth idioms and mania for dynamic motion.

In the spring of 1928, Tigerstedt set out on another long journey. By motorcycle he went westward this time through Denmark, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain down to North Africa. The purpose of the journey was to write a travel-book and he was accompanied by his cousin, the artist Gregori »Grischka» Tigerstedt. The result, *Vi resa söderut* (We Travel Southward, 1930), proved to be a very eccentric travel-book.

This old and much varied genre with its subgenres was abundant in Swedish literature including works by Carolus Linnaeus, Selma Lagerlöf, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist and August Strindberg. In the first decades of the 20th century there was a positive flood of travel literature of various kinds. The enhanced traveling and the widened horizons produced a steadily increasing number of works describing alien cultures and exotic places. In Finland Håkan Mörne, Sigurd Frosterus and later Olavi Paavelainen turned to this genre. Mörne and the Dane Age Krarup Nielsen are explicitly mentioned by Tigerstedt who apparently admired their simple way of traveling. However their books bear little resemblance to *Vi resa söderut*.

Tastefully and expressively illustrated by »Gr.» Tigerstedt, *Vi resa söderut* applied the »Great Perspective» on life and traveling. Tigerstedt meditated freely and most buoyantly over civilization. The topics, places and epochs were multifarious, and the style intense and fluent, and yet the book breathed of hopelessness and doom. The main theme was man’s futile ever-
lasting struggle against nature and Tigerstedt was extremely aware that his persistent enemy was sloth and lack of vigilance. Accordingly, man’s achievements and never-ending struggle were often symbolized by cultural artifacts - like a worn-out shoe (VIRS, p. 13), crude paleolithic chopper-tool (VIRS, pp. 36-37) or a sharp »puukko« (a Finnish knife, VIRS, p. 87).

Our apparently solid layers of culture were in reality like thin coats of fragile varnish. This was evident in Tigerstedt’s passage about the French cave paintings in the valley of Vezer. It was only the tie, the cuff-links and the shiny shoes that distinguished the guide from the original cave dwellers of the place - »the half-apes« or mammoth hunters. (VIRS, p. 51) In a stylistically exquisite chapter he painted the picture of the chaotic, and at the same time, alluring enemy in the symbolic shape of the wild sea:

På detta sätt avlägsnade jag mig alltmera från din svallande andedräkt, du stormarnas och de ensamma färdmännens moder. För kontinenternas tunga massa förnekade jag dina oberättna rörelsers skönhet, du lockelsernas och det okändas prästinha. Inför undergången, som hotar det av människor skapade, förblev din frid mig okänd, du berustningens och glömskans vestal.


(In this way I more and more dismissed myself from your refreshing breath, you mother of the tempests and the lonesome wayfarers. For the heavy mass of the continents I denied the beauty of your erratic movements, you priestess of temptations and the unknown. Before the destruction, which threatens the creations of man, your serenity was unknown to me, you the vestal of intoxication and oblivion. // Yes I saw an enemy in you. I suspected a wet-nurse of revolution and a birth giver of unrest in you. You nursed a strange longing for new things into the heart of men. Your melodious surge filled their ears as a song from Sirens, your fresh breath blew an improper pride into their bosoms, a pride which made them plume themselves with imagined strength and self-willed rights. Your distant horizon captivated their gazes and infused the spirit of revolt into their veins. They found the task of their day a bond. They despised the solidity of the slow building with bricks and they dreamed of a virginal coast, which tempted them with promises of a eternal and never satisfying felicity.)

As we can see in this passage Tigerstedt employed feminine attributes for the natural, chaotic forces which at the same time appealed to him and appeared to be his main opponent. The sea was a dangerous, luring woman, who called on him using her sweet, enticing Homeric Sirens. In the same way as Ulysses had himself tied to the mast so that he could not steer his ship off course, our narrator tried to navigate his vessel named »Civilization» using an inner dictatorship. And the parallel does not end here! Tigerstedt is simultaneously enthralled and enchanted by nature un-
bound. He must endure the thrilling chant and refuses to put wax into his ears like his Homeric predecessor.

The author thereafter compares the divided and split Europe with Greece before the rise of Philip of Macedonia and Alexander the Great in the chapter entitled »Det europeiska inbördeskriget« (The European Civil War). The outcome has always been anarchy and chaos and the remedy is called Caesarism, Tigerstedt maintains. Only through the emerging of a new Caesar can Europe be saved:

The way things are now it is perhaps destiny, that we once more, in mind and body, must plow through all the furrows of the civil-war, of sophism and its material consequence, all the way to Solipsism and anarchy, before the time is finally ripe for Caesar, the Principate and the Imperium Romanum. If Europe will ever become fused into an independent unity, then it is perhaps only the social war, which can allow this unity to fall as a ripe fruit into our hands. [...] The result of democracy has always been anarchy, its legitimate child Caesarism. The cultural liberalism will lead to the gradual decomposing and relativizing of the living tradition. (Vi resa söderut, p. 132)

»Sangre y arena« was the title of another stylistically well composed chapter - in fact a little masterpiece in its genre - on the art of bullfighting. Here Tigerstedt's vigilance subsided and he was transformed into a state of ecstasy. The chapter vibrated with primitive passions and ritual bloodshed with evident sexual undercurrents.

Apart from this, Vi resa söderut contained examples of refreshing self-irony, a trait that he did not share with many extreme right wing writers. Örnulf Tigerstedt, thus, in general kept a certain distance from his own ideas and constructions. He often tried to look at things from various angles and his reasoning often showed a dialectic approach. Tigerstedt, in short, was seldom dogmatic. Strange as it may sound, much of his conception of life and man was basically free from heavier prejudice.

Nevertheless, for Tigerstedt as for many other intellectuals, the soul and the spirit of their time was rotten or decaying. This was clearer than ever before to him when he was standing in front of Hans Memling's painting The Madonna. Our time was void of the holistic medieval spirit that made the painting possible. The cinema, the steel bridge and the art of advertising had come instead. The new functionalism and its »New Mentality« represented a style void of all genuine form and style - a product of the decadent Metropolis, the author argued (VIRS, pp. 107-111).

What we witness here is apparently a reaction to his own previous admiration for technical achievements like steel bridges. They still, however, represent something basically positive to Tigerstedt in their capacity as forceful human artifacts of civilization, but at the same time the artist experienced the abyss between them and what he saw as primeval values of tradition and culture, values that were firmly attached to the earth.

It was thus evident in Vi resa söderut that by the late Twenties the author had grown tired and discontented with modern times and the modern life-
style of booming Helsinki. Accordingly, Modernistic traits subsided and
gave way to a renewed orientation back to the roots - to the very soil and
blood of his forefathers.

Notes

2. Letters from Ingierd Charpentier to ÖT, 12 Feb., 12 Nov. 1920, letter from ÖT to Olof
   Enckell, 22 March 1919, letter from ÖT to Axel Fredrik and Mary Tigerstedt 15 Nov. 1919,
   letters in copy book lacking addressees, from ÖT, 11 Nov. 1919, 2 Feb. 1920. All in ÖT's
   Coll., ÅAL.
3. Letters to ÖT from: I. Charpentier, 14 Sept. 1921, Axel Fredrik T., 10 April 1919, 20
   Sept. 1920, Rolf Palmén, 2 Feb. 1922, letter from M. Campbell, Lichterssfelde, 29 Nov. 1921.
   All in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
4. Based upon Wahlbäck, Rintala, Lundin, Hyvämäki and Ahti, 1984. See also E. Karhu
   ("Zur Periodisierung der neueren finnische Literatur"). Nordeuropa 1977, p. 56: "Die weisse
   Lüge". See also Willner, 1968, pp. 22-23, 125.
5. Concerning the Peace Treaty of Dorpat, and the Finnish extreme right-winger Bobi
   Sivén ("the Finnish Horst Wessel") see Lagerborg, p. 186. See also Ahti, 1987, p. 288.
   Gunnar Mickwitz (colleague to Tigerstedt in the AS), in SB, 4/1931. Mickwitz called East
   Karelia "a typical irredenta" and 1920 "the year of the lost opportunities".
6. For a detailed account see Rintala, pp. 101-103.
8. The poem "Midvinterblot". Quoted from Bergman, p. 208.
9. E. Bergman, pp. 65-68. See also Lars Gustafsson, in Höskuldsson, 1975, pp. 73, 76.
11. Ibid., p. 360.
13. See Farvöl Arkadien, pp. 238-241. The masses are described with aloofness and
detachment: "To look out over the crowd was like looking down upon an animal with a
thousand faces, a thousand facets in the same curious, indolent indifferent face - the
collective face" (p. 240). Bornemann is nauseated by the smell of the people. They are
animal in their shapelessness and II Duce's face is coarsely chiselled - the face of an animal-
tamer (p. 241). In Fascismen och det moderna Italien the revolutionary stage of fascism is
viewed with a conservative reservation while later traits are approved of (p. 51).
14. "It is better to live like a lion for one hour than to live one hundred years like a
sheep.", Fascismen och det moderna Italien, p. 114, also in Farvöl Arkadien, p. 360.
15. SB, 7/1930. p. 133. See also: Ibid., 5/1930, pp. 91-93, 14/1930, pp. 238-239, Skyddskåri-
sten Nov. 1934, pp. 411-412. See also P.O. Barck, "Studentaktivister under 30-talet", in Nya
17. Already mentioned in a letter to Oskar Tideman from ÖT, 3 March 1919, ÖT's Coll.,
   ÅAL.
18. Cf. letter to Rolf Palmén, 25 July 1924: "...the book will be called Exercitia, our new
   password will be Exercitia Spiritualis", ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Concerning Loyola see The
19. A copy of Also sprach Zarathustra in Swedish was found among the books from ÖT's
   library in the possession of Christina Hackman at "Villa Hasselbacken". The book was
   printed 1913 and in it was a letter dated 11 November 1921 and addressed to ÖT. It
   therefore very likely that ÖT read it by that time.
22. J.J. Roth, pp. 189-190. (Sorel's statement made in March 1929).
24. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization-The Menace of the Under-Man*, pp. 1-6. See also Tigerstedt’s review in HBL, 10 Feb. 1925, "De färgade folkins uppmarsch" of Stoddard’s *The Rising Tide of Color, The New World of Islam*. Cf. Harrison who saw the fear of the new democracy (The fear of democracy destroying all cultural and traditional values) as one of the most important causes of anti-democratic notions among intellectuals. Harrison, p. 26.
25. See *SB* 2/1926 "Kulturen i fara", "Sund konservatism", 5/1926 "Ras och språk", "Sterilisering", *Nya Argus* 11/1930: Rolf Nordenstreng, "Inflammable racial issues in Finland", p. 138: "What is left to discuss is the racial issue [...] It is based on a sound thought, which our Western societies have not yet understood, but on the contrary counteract with all their might." Cf. Lars Ringbom, "Masspsykologi och folktidning", in *Finsk Tidsskrift* 1918. With ample use of Le Bon, Ringbom here expounded upon the alleged connection between "eastern barbarianism", race, the psychology of the masses and the Red rising of 1918. Ringbom later (Gränskaren, Jan. 1934) professed himself an adherent of Nazism. Cf. Lööw on Swedish racism p. 256.
26. ÖT, *SB* 14/1924, "Stålbroot och tavelmålare". *Nya Argus* 21/1924, "Konstopposition". It is interesting, in connection with this, to compare what Hans Ruin ten years later, in *Gycklare och apostlar*, wrote on the cruelty and vices of the Italian Renaissance man: "...the more cultivated man is, both in morals and aesthetically, the more man approaches the zero point as regards the creation of art. What comes out of it is only taste, or if he wants to be a philosopher - only logic. [...] The taste cannot be productive", Ruin, 1934, p. 14.
27. Cf. Oswald Spengler, *Preussentum und Sozialismus*, 1922, p. 21: "Ein grosser Mann ist derjenige, der den Geist seiner Zeit begreift, in dem dieser Geist lebendige Gestalt geworden ist." (Also *Der Unterg.-II*, p. 553) In 1917, the Swedish poet Bertil Malmberg had stated that the author should represent his day and express "the mystical entity, which constitutes the soul of the century", Bergman, p. 177.
29. *Finsk Tidsskrift* 1924, "Amenhoteb IV", pp. 149-168. This dual conception is confirmed in a letter to Torger Enckell (ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL), 6 March 1919, where the author is enthralled by Akhenaton.
32. *Vid gränsen*, "De vises sten", p. 22; "Balanserande konti", p. 37, Birgitta Gefwert (née Lagerspets) and Höjörd Gefwert to author, 19 May 1989. It is hard to obtain substantial information about this period of the author’s life. Most letters seem to be lost from the years around his first marriage.
33. For early reactions against city life and materialism: letters from ÖT to; K.T. Reuter, Aug. 16 1919, R. Palmén, 17 June 1924, and a letter lacking an addressee in the copy-book 1924. All ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL. For later reactions see "The Spring Speech", 1933.
34. HBL, 21 Feb. 1928, "Andans sovande stridsmän". Cf. also Spengler, *Der Untergang II*, p. 553, concerning understanding the present: "Deshalb gilt es die Zeit verstehen, für die man geboren ist. Wer ihre geheimsten Mächte nicht ahmt und begreift, wer nicht in sich selbst etwas Verwandtes fühlt, das ihn vorwärts drängt auf einer Bahn, die sich mit Begriffen nicht umschreiben lässt, wer an die Oberfläche, die öffentliche Meinung, die grossen Worte und Ideale des Tages glaubt, ist ihren Ereignissen nicht gewachsen."
35. Helene Svensson, "Hagar Olsson och 30-talets idévärld", in Höskulddson, pp. 301, 310. See also H. Olsson, *Arbetare i natten*, pp. 9-10, where cultures are viewed in a Spenglerian way in cosmic cycles.
37. See: Ragnar Granit, "Två blixtanalyser av tidsandan", *SB* 11/1924, Erik Ekulund, "Svensk skönhändlittatur i Finland 1928", *Ord och Bild* 1929. In a essay from 1935 P.O. Barck compared Hagar Olsson’s Romantic optimism to "a new form of irrationalism, a Leftist counterpart to Örnulf Tigerstedt’s worship of power: the established order of things
should be brought down. And this is done with the belief in reality’s ability to remodel and renew itself”. Barck, 1972, p. 103.


40. Gottfried Benn "Antwort auf eine Rundfrage" (Inquiry among European Writers into the Spirit of America), 1928, quoted from *Sämtliche Werke* Vol. 3, pp. 486-487.


42. See Bertel Gripenberg, *Den hemliga glöden*, "Berlin, morgontåget", and "Karlchen och Lieschen".


44. We have no written statement showing that ÖT read Benn. However, this is not surprising since the autobiographical material from the 20s is very scarce. Cf., e.g. the poems "Das Plakat", "Stadtarzt", "Dynamik", "Annonce", "Erst Wenn" (1923-25), in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 1. Some of the low frequency words used are also used by ÖT: "Reflektor, Annonce, Plakat, Rundfunk"). Cf. also Diktonius, *Stark men mörk*, e.g., the poem "Pot mot jord".

45. Elmer Diktonius, *Stenkop*, "Fart", "Stenarna lever!" and "Granit".

46. Ibid., "Granit".

47. See, e.g., *VIRS*, pp. 7, 20, 73-74.


49. This veiled reference is probably aimed at Hagar Olsson.
The Lapua Movement and the Advent of Caesarean Pretenders 1930–1935

Själv var jag blott en flöjt, en leende vårflöjt,
som skulle spela vid åstranden för vårens badande barn.
Men den konungsliga stormen valde mig,
en mäktig hand lyfte mig och förblindade sågo mina skygga ögon
det förfarande uppbröttet.

Se, fanan är strukken i Nanking.
Hör, marken dånar av återvändande härar.
Skeppen äro döda och förlamad sjunker hämdens hand tillbaka.

Se, gudarna störta, se, yra dansa avgrundens barn
och med vidriga åtborder utbreda de sin föruttnelles nesa.

(---)
»Den stora vreden«, (»The Great Wrath«)

(I myself was but a flute, a smiling flute of springtide/ Meant to play for children so full of spring and swimming by the creek shore./ But the regal tempest chose me./ A mighty hand lifted me and my shy, dazzled eyes beheld/ The terrifying decampment./ Look, they strike the flag in Nanking./ Hear, the rumbling in the ground from returning armies./ The ships are dead and paralyzed the hand of revenge is sinking./ Look, gods are falling, look, the children of the abyss are dancing in frenzy/ And disgustingly gesticulating they are spreading the ignominy of their corruption.)

Meanwhile, the Great Depression had gained a foothold in Finland in the late 20s. The country already had a new established tradition of weak minority governments showing the deficiencies of the newly won parliamentary constitution. In the wake of the economic crisis, labor struggles, strikes and Communist activity were intensified on the labor market. These circumstances, paired with the heritage of 1918, triggered off an agrarian and bourgeois reaction - the advent of the Lapua Movement in Finland in the »Lapua summer« of 1930 (»lapuakesä«). Initially a reaction to the Communists' renewed agitation, the rebellions movement soon developed into fierce anti-parliamentarism and anti-socialism, thereby threatening the young Finnish democracy. With its roots in the old conservative and religious areas of the Finnish-speaking part of Ostrobothnia it has been seen, on the one hand, as a second coming of the spirit of 1918.1 On the other hand it was, at one and the same time, part of the general fascist or fascist inspired movement which had appeared in Europe. Italian fascism had a especially strong influence on the movement. This was obvious from the display of Mussolini-like gestures among its leaders and the fact that one of its journals was called Fascisti. In the Swedish-speaking version of the movement's paper, Aktivisten, the program of a Nazi Party in Sweden was published and this printed program was accompanied with slogans of anti-capitalist and anti-Semitic type.2
One of the steady contributors in *Aktivisten* was Rafael Lindquist who used the pen name »Sepia«. The same man was the editor and the most prominent contributor of the periodical *Fyren*, later *Blinkfyren*. P. O. Barck has characterized Lindquist in the following way: »He represented the extreme right-wing of »the Swedish minded« and he »fought against the demands for general franchise, mocked the ideals of democracy and used a language directed against Fennomen, workers and temperance people unrivalled in vulgarity in the contemporary press.« P. O. Barck could have added fierce anti-Semitism to the list. Lindquist's periodical *Blinkfyren*, which was published in Hangö (Hanko) sided with the Lapua Movement from the start. In trivial and vulgar poems Lindquist attacked Jews, liberals, whom he often called »Bolsheviks of culture« (»kulturbolsjeviks«), and of course Social Democrats and Communists. Lindquist's Nietzschean, or rather Horatian, contempt for *profanum vulgus* was his basic posture - an attitude shared by the author and journalist Ture Janson. Poems by V. A. Koskenniemi were often translated by Lindquist and published as well as poems by the Swede K. G. Ossiannilsson, and the Finnish Nazi, Rear-Admiral Hjalmar von Bonndorff. Some of the articles and caricatures of the magazine could have successfully competed with the lowest and most tasteless Nazi-German expressions of anti-Semitism. What was interesting to observe, however, was that Warburton rated the magazine's influence as »surely not less influential« than *Nya Argus*. When Rafael Lindquist later published his memoirs: *Ur en sprakfåles leverne* (From the life of a Madcap, 1942) and *Sprakfålen, hans vänner och ovänner* (The Madcap, his Friends and Enemies, 1943), the latter book contained a description of a train-ride with orthodox Jews that probably was one of the most anti-Semitic passages ever published in the Nordic countries. The same controversial writer was also the man behind an edition of the scandalous *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* published a year before the first German edition.

»Raffo« Lindquist's son, Gunnar Lindquist, was furthermore an active member of Arvi Kalsta's organization the Suomen Kansanpuolue-Finlands Folkorganisation and later of the Samfundet Folkgemenskap - both Nazi or semi-Nazi groupings. Rafael Lindquist sympathized with, and was a frequent contributor of articles and poems in the heralds of these organizations. Gunnar Lindquist was legally responsible for, and chief editor of, *För Frihet och Rätt* - mouthpiece of the last mentioned organization. The headlines of two articles by Gunnar Lindquist reveal the jargon of anti-Semitic mumbo jumbo of this blatant publication: »Does 'democracy' turn France into a Jewish-Negroid state?«, »Jazzy-Jewish abuse of our language«. Other examples of a literary anti-Semitism in the spirit of »Raffo Lindquist« could be traced to works by Baron C. A. J. Gadolin. The latter's account of Polish Jews in *En bil sommar i Ostalperna* (From an Automobile Vacation in the Eastern Alps, 1932) (pp. 211ff) was in full agreement with Lindquist's worst passages (concerning Gadolin see ch., II:5).
Lindquist's and Gadolin's decisive, and fully-developed anti-Semitism has an interesting and common stylistic feature. Both writers form new compound nouns using the word »jude« (Jew) as modifier with a derogatory adjectival function: »judekrögar, judevagggonen, judefräckheten, judekö, judefötterna« (Lindquist, 1943, pp. 129-142), »Judestanden, Judenäste, judebarn« (Gadolin, 1934, pp. 213-214). The use of repetition of new compounds was very distinct and frequent in German Nazi propaganda. A Swedish historian, Ingemar Karlsson, has based his very compelling study on German historiography in the Nazi era on the use and frequency of new words and phrases in Nazi language.

Despite these radical examples it must be strongly emphasized that, on the whole, Gadolin, Rafael and Gunnar Lindquist with their fierce anti-Semitism were isolated phenomena in Finland-Swedish literature.

As already mentioned, Bertel Gripenberg had continued to romanticize the short period of action in 1918. The pain of having lost »the Grand Time« became sharper and more expressive in the words of a poem with the same title »Den Stora Tiden« (1928). Gripenberg's profound feelings of desolation and loneliness, which often made him turn to the cult of the dead and the ancestors, were interrupted by the advent of the Lapua Movement. To him this was the return of the spirit of 1918. The gray army of the people had once more risen. Only this time the men in »the White peasant army« were tanned by the sun and marched on the capital - in the so-called Farmers' Rally. In the poem called »Hyllning till den tysta kraften« (Tribute to the Silent Strength), published in Skyddskåristen in December 1931, the aging poet expressed what the movement meant to him

Jag kände bittert hat till tiden
och människornas usla ätt,
men dina fanors slitna siden
mig lärde åter tänka rätt.
Jag såg ett folk, som ej sig böjde,
jag såg ett nyväckt fosterland.
Till trohetsdom och hylning höjde
jag stolt och glad på nytt min hand.

(I nursed a bitter hate to the era/And the base family of man,/ But the threadbare silk of your banners,/ Once more taught me righteous thinking,/ I saw a people/ Who never yielded,/ I saw a Fatherland awakened anew./ To oath of allegiance and homage/ I proudly and joyfully anew my hand did raise.)

We can detect imitative allusions to Runeberg's Tales of Ensign Stal in the poem which underline the image of a shared historical destiny. Gripenberg's awakened activism formed the leitmotif of his next poetic works Vid gränsen (At the Border, 1930) and Livets eko (The Echo of Life, 1932). The first one in particular mirrored the poet's contradictory yearnings. The renewed longing for action and concurrently the strong crosscurrent suggesting an aging man's craving for peace and tranquility.
Shortly after publishing *Vid gränsen* Gripenberg wrote a letter to Örnulf Tigerstedt. In it, he apologized for using the same title as Tigerstedt had done two years prior. This was apparently the beginning of a deep and lasting friendship between the two men, between the 29-year-old Tigerstedt and a man old enough to be his father - the celebrated poet of the White Finland of 1918.18

**The Aktiva Studentförbundet and the «Black Guard»**

Needless to say, Örnulf Tigerstedt greeted the Lapua Movement enthusiastically. Its *action directe*, fervent anti-Communism and conciliatory standpoint when viewing the language controversy attracted him: »Eivät kysy tämän maan pellot, mitä kieltä sen kyntäjä puhuu« - The fields of this land do not ask what language the tiller speaks.19 Tigerstedt personally took part in the Farmers' Rally and in the following conference at Lapua (Lappo) where the polemical author represented Helsinki.20 In fact, the Lapua Movement divided the Swedish-speakers into two groups and threatened to split their political party.21 The majority defended law and Western democratic traditions, but a fairly strong pro-Lapua group was established. In the academic world of Helsinki they formed a society called the *Aktiva Studentförbundet* - the AS (The Active Student's League). Tigerstedt was present at the founding meeting on February 2, 1931.22 The gathering had been preceded by a political polarization among the intellectuals and students. The debate around the Lapua Movement and their goal of extinction of Communism in Finland in periodicals like *Studentbladet* and *Nya Argus* had been fierce. One of the most vehement attackers of liberalism, democratic tradition and the concept of international progression had been Jarl Gallén. Gallén, a history student with literary ambitions furiously attacked the radical modernists in early 1930:

> Why can Diktonius not write advertisements for some manure supplier, why can Björling not use his inventiveness to compose cross-word puzzles for some weekly magazine?23

*Studentbladet* was dominated by the AS and served as their voice from 1931 to 1933. The author Göran Stenius was chief editor, while Jarl Gallén as feature editor was in charge of foreign affairs. In an article in 1931 Gunnar Mickwitz, a prominent AS member, advocated the idea of Greater Finland and called Karelia a typical irredenta.24 Apparently the AS was considered by many observers to be a Swedish-speaking counterpart of the Akateeminen Karjala-seura (the AKS). Among other well-known members of the AS were Pehr H. Norrmén, Tigerstedt's publisher Bertel Appelberg, Göran Stenius, Torsten Aminoff, E. R. Guumerus, Bertel Gripenberg, Christian Fabritius, Jarl Gallén, Bertel Hintze, Stig R. Malmström, Lorenz von Numers and Örnulf Tigerstedt.25 Most of these men were, or became, either men of letters or columnists. Under Appelberg's wings at the Söderström
publishing company they became known as the »Black Guard« (»Svarta Gardet«).26

The Lapua Movement and the political polarization in the early 30s made Örnulf Tigerstedt plunge head-on into the political debate. With a vitality which reminds us of Eric Grotenfelt's force some ten years earlier, he produced books, articles, speeches and poems supporting a reactionary standpoint. At this point in the history of the young Finnish republic the Lapua Movement threatened the very basis of Finnish democracy. The unstable Finnish parliamentary situation in the 20s had exhibited several traits corresponding to Weimar Germany and in the new state of affairs many saw a chance to turn the clock backward.

Tigerstedt and his new intimate friend Bertel Gripenberg viewed the future in a similar way. In November 1930 he wrote to Gripenberg:

> Lapua is the first step on the road to Caesarism and the reborn era of personalities. [- - -] The cultivated liberals will fall for the roaring laughter of skepticism, relativism and objectivity and by way of anarchy and cultural nihilism we will pass »over the border« to obedience, authority and hierarchy. (ÖT to BG, 16 Nov. 1930, BG's Coll., ÅAL)

We can once more observe Tigerstedt's meaning of the title »At the Border« here. Bertel Gripenberg obviously agreed with Tigerstedt:

> Indeed, it is clear that the future will develop into a struggle between Bolshevism and Caesarism. But the main question is whether an operative Caesarism will flourish in the Western world before it is too late. Parliametarism, democracy and liberalism are evidently doomed, they will be pulverized between struggling forces of a mightier kind. They know or anticipate this themselves, that's why they develop this savageness and bitterness in their short-sighted defence for a lost cause. I am old and sick, I will never see the face of Caesar, [...] (BG to ÖT, July 3 1931, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL)

Tigerstedt's reply to Bertel Gripenberg bears witness to the fact that the author quite clearly sensed what was coming in the near future:

> How insignificant if Per loves Stina, if Stina loves somebody else or if our friend Jarl Hemner's heart is a »withered heap of brushwood«. How irrelevant our own worries are, how ridiculous the preservation of my own precious »personal tinge« is. An old world enters into the grave, a new and more heavy-handed will be born under the roaring of guns and volleys from the execution squads. Enormous powers are marching into position, the telegraphic news is speaking to us for those who can see the context. Alas! If they would only realize, if they would only consider the defence grants more than the threatened »civilization«, if they would only see what is inevitable and the necessary instead of the »law«. [- - -] But the world is vain, and Caesar is yet to be born... (ÖT to BG, 8 June 1931, BG's Coll., ÅAL.)

Judging from this, Caesar was not yet to be found and Tigerstedt concurrently pointed out the primitiveness and vulgarism of the Lapua Movement and the movement's dependance on the capitalists (»Ahlström et consorts«) in the same letter.

In the fall of 1931 Tigerstedt closely experienced a new type of fascism and a Caesarean pretender in Germany. He came in close contact with the
German Nazi party whilst visiting a literary conference in Lübeck. During the stay he also personally visited the local Nazi Party headquarters at Hedemannstrasse in Berlin and while paying a visit to Sweden's poet laureate, von Heidenstam, on his way back his enthusiasm grew stronger.27 The writer, now separated from his wife Therese, left his job at Finlands Annonscentral, and received his share of the inheritance. He bought a house at Gloskär close to Hangö (Hanko) on the coast. In December 1931 »Ulfven« (The Wolf), as he was nick-named by his friends, met the earlier widowed Annita Guilia Catani, daughter of a well-known Helsinki merchant, whom he married three years later in 1934.28 Meanwhile, he encountered the painful consequences of the Depression. Due to his wealth Tigerstedt became known as a provider of loans in intellectual circles in the Finnish capital. A number of letters in his letter collection bear witness to the need for money in the Finland-Swedish literary Parnassus. According to Rolf Palmén, Tigerstedt lost close to half his inherited fortune because of collateral turning worthless during the years of depression.29

»Ulfven's« third collection of poetry Block och öde (Block and Destiny) was published in late 1931. In it, he had his final settlement with the mechanized modern world of his day. Capitalism, advertising, the commercial spirit and the theme of the city were attacked in the opening poems. The first part of the book was the final farewell to the office world of Helsinki (»Farväl direktörer»):

Jag såg edra ljusreklamer fiamma.
Jag såg edra numrerade utklibbspöcker
för klämmiga brev,
er förbindliga service,
er träna över optimis
och edra uttråkade anleten.

Men jag är en långhåring,
en anarkist och osäker fordring,
(»Bland direktörer«, Amongst Managing Directors, Block och öde)

(I saw your electric sign advertisements blaze,/ I saw your numbered scrap-books/
Your too dashing letters,/ Your suave service,/ Your trained optimism/ And your
bored faces./ But I am a long-haired one,/ An anarchist and an insecure claim.)

It is interesting here to note the inconsistency: the same man who hails obedience and submission simultaneously hails anarchism! This may be interpreted as an indication of the complex relationship between proto-fascism and Western modernism as explored by Frederic Jameson. Oddly enough Tigerstedt's contradictions sometimes actually work the other way, they give a note of richness and vividness to his works. We reach the conclusion that by virtue of their ambiguities and dialectics, his writings often arrive at very human and vigorous inconsistencies! Along with this we can observe the typical anaphora pattern in the above quoted passage - a repetitive rhetoric device often used by Tigerstedt. The author's emphasis
on beat and rhythm in *Block och öde* is underlining its powerful pattern of pictures, dominated by visual images, predominately of shape, suggested representations supporting the poet's architectural claims.

On another level we now find new more subtle points of contact between the author and nature. They represent the subdued longing for freedom and surrender to profound emotions (e.g., »Farlig vällust«, »Flykt«). A yearning for unity and harmony which in reality is just an illusion. Tigerstedt is so aware of this that he can never really relax and float along with the stream (the poems: »Ljuvt bedrägeri«, »Etervind«, »Falska bilder«, »Liv och död«, »Skräck är summans summa«). Man is then just a by-product (p. 65), a young cuckoo (p. 49) or an uninvited guest (p. 65), small and primitive (»Astartes slöja«) and doomed to oblivion (p. 66). The only way to come to terms with our destiny is to surrender to it. To heroically accept and meet it with valor - *Amor fati* - Love your fate!

Bär bud om trots och starka vingslag,  
om isig luft,  
om höga skyars klarhet!  
Bär bud om hav, som famnar sjunkna städer,  
om tidlös rymd,  
ombrots horisont  
och mejselns hård slag  
mot formlös klippa! -  
Bär bud om tystnad och mitt ödes lugna välvning!

Tids nog vi möts. -  
I underjordens salar är ordet ditt.  
(»Amor fati«, *Block och öde*)

(Bring tidings of defiance and of wing-beats strong./ Of icy air,/ Of the clearness of high skies!/ Bring tidings of waters, embracing sunken cities,/ Of timeless space,/ Of horizons unbroken/ And the hard blows of the chisel/ Against formless rock! -/ Bring tidings of silence/ And the restful arch of my destiny./ In due time we will meet./ In the hails of the underworld/The word is yours.)

This invocation of the heroical defiance of Tyche and the destiny she provides us with, was an often repeated theme in Tigerstedt’s writings. An often nearly desperate appeal for stoicism, heroism and will-power to withstand the horrible and almost unbearable truth of being - the enigmatic maelstrom of existence.

Detta skäir,  
detta hyperboreiska hav,  
dessa blinda klippor och min uppgift,  
som kallar mig med ljudet av dombasuner och klangen i en skarp befalning.

Så vill jag förmå min dikt - ett block likt,
en tung vila,
ett prulsrag
fåttat i lydnad.

«Blocket» («The Block», Block och öde)

(This rocky islet,/ This Hyperborean sea,/ These blind rocks/ And my mission,/ Calling me/ With the sound of doomsday trumpets/ And the ring of a biting command/ Thus, I want to form my poem -/ Like a block,/ A heavy rest,/ A pulsation/ In obedience restrained.)

Another motif which Tigerstedt conveyed to us in Block och öde was the cyclical conception of time linked to his view of successive cycles. This stress on the cyclical nature of being and time can especially be observed in the part named «Bondpermission» (French Leave).

The logical consequence of the increased aggressiveness of the Lapua Movement came about in early March 1933 - the coup d'état attempt at Mäntsälä. In its aftermath none of the leading men of the AS defended the movement. On the other hand Tigerstedt's private correspondence shows that it was more the result and the means used, than the legal issue that were disliked by him and his friend Bertel Gripe. The poet instead exposed a political relativism fully worthy of Niccolò Machiavelli, whom he regarded as one of the Great Men of history.30 In a letter to Bertel Gripe, Tigerstedt discontentedly summarized »Parturiunt montes etc» (Horace: Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus - The mountains are in labor, but an absurd mouse will be born).31

Berlin Letters and Domestic Importers of National-Socialism

In July 1932 Örnulf Tigerstedt was back in Berlin, this time working as a correspondent for Hufvudstadsbladet and covering the turbulent elections in Germany. Like so many other right-wing intellectuals and conservatives in Finland, he nursed strong sentiments for Germany and German culture. The Waffenbrüderschaft of 1918 had deepened them further and the treatment of Germany at Versailles made them even stronger. Herman Laxén concludes in his essay on Tigerstedt's close friend, Pehr H. Norrmén - who was politically close to our protagonist during the 30s - that Versailles became decisive to him. It is evident that the events of 1918 and Versailles had a very important effect on originally Anglo-Franco - oriented Finns. The compassion for Germany was evident in poems like V. A. Koskenniemi's »Reinin vahti» (a translation of »Die Wacht am Rhein») and Jarl Hemmer's »Den slagne titanen» (The Defeated Titan) and »Åreporten» (The Triumphant Arch).

In his »travel letters» in Hufvudstadsbladet Tigerstedt saw the National-Socialists as the only truly positive power in Germany. He admired their youthful devotion, potency and certitude, as well as their concept of the nation seen as an organism and their reaction against the decadence of society and art (Entartung).
From an aesthetic point of view Tigerstedt was furthermore, in his capacity as an artist, attracted by the marching Nazi processions, stirring martial songs and field-banners. In addition, they were reminiscent of the old images of ancient Roman eagles to him. On top of this, he was perhaps most crucially attracted by the generated emotional power which almost seem to vibrate in the air.

In a letter to his fiancée and future wife, Annita Catani, he was even more outspoken:

This is what you call belief in something, steadfast, and diffusing throughout the essence, through social classes, permeating and uniting belief. What a terrible weapon in the hands of the leader, what a tremendous responsibility. What a Nemesis if it fails, [...][ - - -] I regret that You are not here. What I experience here and now I will never again experience. What happens here is great history and much of it has given rise to the notion in me that above this whole movement and its men I can hear the soft wing-beats of divine tragedy. (ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL, July 22, 1932)

History would later prove how right Tigerstedt was concerning »the great tragedy« and the nemesis. The dimension of divinity proved though, to be a truly tragic and disastrous mistake. The author was far from this recognition and the unpublished poem »Nazi« was probably written under the influence of this journey. Tigerstedt had however been cooled down in his enthusiasm by the time his fourth collection of poems was published. The poem was therefore sagely withdrawn.

Ej väger kärlek
mot ett värjhung,
ej vakna drömmar
mot ett järnhårt grepp kring båtens rorkult.

Må reklamens batterier ljunga
och de stora tyernas megafoner tjuta.
Må slagordstrumman slå,
tills hjärtats hinnor brista.
Må fanor smattrra
och kolonner taktfast tåga,
tills sorgen dör
och morgondagen lyser
och alla viljor sveisats samman
till en glödgad stållans
omotsståndligt slungad mot sitt mål.
(ÖT, »Nazi«, in ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.)

(Love does not weigh/ Against a blow from a sword/ Nor do day dreams/ Against a grip as hard as iron around the tiller of the boat./ Let the batteries of advertising flash/ And the megaphone of big type roar./ Let the drum of slogans beat/ Until the membranes of our heart are bursting./ Let the flags flap/ And the columns march in perfect time,/ Until the grief is dying/ And the morrow shines/ And all personal desires have been welded together/ To a white-hot lance of steel/ Irresistibly hurled against the target.)

Once more we can observe the characteristic repetitive device employed. Apart from this it is worthwhile observing that the expression »de stora tyernas megafoner« (»the megaphone of big type«) can be found verbatim
in Bertel Gripenberg's translation of Edgar Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology*.\(^{34}\) The fact that the implication derived from the phrase in its context in Master's poem is far from positive may speak for poetical license on Tigerstedt's behalf.

In order to attempt to understand Örnulf Tigerstedt and the extreme right-wing writers among Finland-Swedish intellectuals it is now necessary to recapitulate the situation in Finland around 1932. The political position of the Swedish-speaking extreme right-wing followers had in fact radically changed. The Lapua Movement reorganized itself into a political party called the IKL - the People's Patriotic Movement. At first among the leading men were Erkki Räikkönen and Herman Gummerus. They and the rest of the Swedish-speaking members and those who worked for a bilingual Finland, like General Mannerheim, soon left the party in protest against its new aggressive anti-Swedish policy. This policy had been advocated by the AKS since the early 20s and was based upon Snellman's pragmatic ideas of the unilingual Finnish state.\(^{35}\)

In a letter to the IKL board in October 1933 a group of Finland-Swedish pro-Lapua men (Bertel Gripenberg, Henry Hackman, Erik von Frenckell, Julius Polin, Alvar Berglin, Jarl Gallén, and Örnulf Tigerstedt) appealed to the committee. The appellants demanded that the Swedish-speaking Finns should not be considered by the new party as a foreign or alien element in Finland. In fact the expressions and phrases used suggest that it is not unlikely that Örnulf Tigerstedt was the author of the document.\(^{36}\) The liberal majority in the Swedish People's Party, where the majority had been anti-Lapua from the very beginning, had, under the influence of the illegal activities of the Lapua Movement, been strengthened. The Swedish-speaking organization for cooperation with the Finnish Conservative Coalition Party, the «Borgerlig samverkan,» which had helped Svinhufvud gain the presidency, and the AS now stood isolated. The new situation of polarization worked in two directions: liberals against extreme right-wingers within the Swedish minority and the Finnish-speaking majority against the Swedish-speaking minority. In fact voices were raised in the new semi-fascist IKL party to compare Finland's Swedish-speaking inhabitants with the Jews of Germany.\(^{37}\) After all, the parallels were actually there. Fascist movements tend to use objects for their organized aggressiveness and the stimulus was there: the largest part of the Finnish industry and commercial life was still decidedly controlled by Swedish-speakers at this time.

A fierce and bitter language struggle now developed and initially burst into full flame over the issue of the language at the University of Helsinki. Extreme nationalists had a complete fennicisation of the university and the school system on their agenda. Since Finland, despite the relative turbulence and violence during the time of the Lapua Movement had, after all, well-grounded democratic traditions, the acts of violence in this language-struggle were few. It was mostly a question of minor street-fighting and
harassment. However, no doubt the majority of the Swedish minority felt their cultural identity and language threatened.38

To Örnulf Tigerstedt, the language issue was not a primary cause in a time when he felt that the independence of Finland was threatened. To him it was a matter of both an external enemy, Soviet Russia, and an internal, the liberals, the socialists and the Communists. In his socially and economically privileged position, the question of «the Swedish soil» was hard to fully comprehend. Unlike a large proportion of the common Swedish-speaking people most Swedish-speakers of the upper class like Örnulf Tigerstedt already spoke tolerable Finnish.39 Still on the other hand the Swedish language and culture was his legacy, and only in an ultimate situation where the choice stood between a Communist Finland and an entirely Finnish Finland would he choose the latter.40 Tigerstedt had joined the IL - the League for Independence (Itsenäisyyden liitto), founded by his business associate Erkki Räikkönen in 1924. The league worked for a bilingual Finland but in the same breath embraced the concept of Greater Finland.41 The poet apparently linked the language question to what he called «the tyranny of the people's majority», i.e., democracy.42 When doing so, he quoted the words of Pehr H. Norrmén: «There is no injustice, no baseness against the Swedes of this country which could not be committed in complete legal order by a democratically elected majority of the people, without the least violation of the legal text» («Framtidens krav», Nyland, 6 July 1933).

In the fall of 1932, Tigerstedt's attraction to, and interest in, the Nazi Movement in Germany made him give a lecture on German internal policy at an AS meeting. A series of lectures on Nazism and fascism were given at AS's meetings by Jarl Gallén, E. R. Gummerus, Gunnar Mickwitz and Dr. B. Ohling from Germany.43 The last-mentioned, who spoke Swedish, was stationed in Uppsala and worked as «Auslandsgauleiter» for the Nazi Party. In the presentation of Dr. Ohling, who had been engaged by Tigerstedt,44 Örnulf Tigerstedt contrasted «the unimaginative egotism» and «the marshes of Marxist liberalism» with the brave German youth that dared to enroll under the new leaders.45

In March 1932 another new party called the Isänmaallinen Kansanpuolue (The Patriotic People's Party) had been founded as another successor to the Lapua Movement. The party used a Swastika as symbol and Henrik Ekberg has in his study of Finnish Nazism shown that the party platform was heavily influenced by the NSDAP - program of 1920. A year later Örnulf Tigerstedt applied for membership. The application was not granted automatically since the author «had been a full member of the Freemasonry». The poet was finally admitted as an associate member on special grounds: he could not hold a leading position in the party.46 This insignificant party soon vanished and most of the members joined Captain Kalsta's SKJ/FFO Finland's People's Organisation.47 In his extensive survey, Ekberg has found
no evidence of Tigerstedt being a member of the SKJ/FFO or any later Nazi-organizations. This is supported by the fact that no articles from Tigerstedt's hand have been found in Finnish Nazi papers or periodicals.

**Martial Poetry and Controversial Essays**

In 1933 the AS invited the Nazi demagogue Arvi Kalsta and representatives of the AKS to lecture at their meetings. Tigerstedt had held his earlier mentioned spring speech in May 1933 and by the end of the year a new collection of poems - *De heliga vägarna* (The Holy Roads) was brought out. In many respects this became the author's most well-known book. The influences he had been subject to recent years from the Continent echoed in the collection.

The poet stood in front of us clad in mail this time. The texts vibrated with premonitions of war and coming misfortunes. The land was heavy and pregnant (*HVÄG*, p. 42) and omens were visible in the sky. The vision of doom or the gathering of a terrible storm, a waiting filled with agony and an obscurely perceived menace were overwhelming. In this respect parallels can be drawn to contemporary Swedish literature - to Per Lagerkvist and Bertil Malmberg. But we have to turn to Heidenstam's *Invocation and Promise* to find Tigerstedt's prayer for power and strength to bear «the blessings of harsh destinies» (*HVÄG*, p. 42). The hour of decision was near at hand and a feeling of preparation for departure was conveyed. Oswald Spengler had also published his *jahre der Entscheidung* the same year and Tigerstedt felt the lure of Spenglerian power politics. The time of Caesarism had come.

*De heliga vägarna* started with a dedication to »his brother-in-arms and friend Bertel Gripenberg». Like most of Tigerstedt's work this collection was uneven in quality. Some excellent poems like »Gårdarna», »Heliga vägar», »Echnaton» and »Marcus Aurelius» were mixed with quite poor ones - »Röda dagen» and the first part of »Döda skepp». The innovative word compositions of »Röda dagen», for instance, seemed too constructed, too fabricated, it was hard to find a recognizable form here. The poem gave the impression that the inspiration had instead shattered the mold it was intended to adapt.

The earlier described search for roots and the return to the land was obviously now more profound and deepened. The poems »Just av denna jord...», »Levande och döda», and »Rödskäggen» could be seen as the culmination of Tigerstedt's *Blut und Boden*-poetry. He was a product of the very earth, from the very soil, (»vår bidande myllas», p. 49) and would in due time return to his ancestors burial-mounds. He was a descendant of the soil and his forefathers and shared their blood, their yearning - their very same flesh. The author often employed contrasts, or used juxtaposition of disparate or contrasting images in his poetry in order to exhibit his ideas. Some of these contrasting images reoccur over and over again in his poetry.
In *De heliga vägarna* we can thus find several contrasting variants of one theme - Levity - Seriousness:

- The depraved city (Rome) - the valiant, sacrificing outpost (»XIII: de legionen»).
- The flute, the violin - the sword (»Min ensträngade lyra»).
- The usurer - the warrior (»Korsfarare»).

He often returned to Marcus Aurelius, whose *Self-Communings* was a true source of inspiration to him. When most of the readers were captivated by Caesar Aurelius' sincere human views, Tigerstedt turned his attention to the fact that the Emperor finally did his duty. For unlike Akhenaton, Caesar Marcus Aurelius pulled himself together and defeated the invaders:

> Var hälsad, imperator - I
> [- - -]
> Därför att du slog markomanerna
> och upprätte deras byar.
> Var hälsad därför, att du uppbygde ditt mått som Roms kejsare
> och frimodigt offrade ditt hjärta på ditt öde altare.
> (»M. Aurelius», *De heliga vägarna*, cf., »Echnaton»)

(Hail to Thee, Imperator! Because you defeated the Marcomanni/ And burned their villages./ Hail to thee, because you fulfilled your obligations as a Roman Caesar/ And candidly sacrificed your heart on the altar of your destiny.)

It is not the act of violence as such which appeals to the author here. The poem does not reflect a taste for violence. What Tigerstedt admires is an Emperor accomplishing what destiny demanded from him. In performing his duty he acted regardless of his own disposition - Marcus Aurelius showed that he did not live for his own glory but for the Roman ideals of *pietas* and *virtus*. Apart from the expressed Stoicism the strong sexual undercurrents in *Heliga vägar* were quite significant. Military objects were libidinalized and made to convey phallic symbolism. They served as a mythical apparatus to enhance the author's virile, martial state of mind. This was perhaps most consequentially carried out in »Det stora uppbrottet»:

> Si, han är kommen,
> i vigda händer bär han ljungande svärd.

> Si, bergen stegar sig
> som stridshingstar
> och fältens barn hövses
> som havande kvinnors. (The Great Decampment, *De heliga vägarna*)

(Behold, he has come./ In hands ordained he carries a sword ablazing./ Behold, the mountains are rearing./ Like stallions of war/ And the bosom of the fields are heaving/ Like the bosom of expecting women).

Caesar adapts religious dimensions here with the allusion to the *Revelation of John*. The earth, the fields and the mountain are ready to receive him, to surrender and to give Caesar what he demands. The potent, powerful emphasis on sensual images and the complex interplay between words,
rhythm and meaning are very suggestive here, in a poem which in addition is dominated by sound and kinaesthetic images. The poet's masculine and virile frame of mind is underlined by the bellicose objects, martial metaphors and warlike images in the collection.

Nevertheless, it was surprising for the reader to stumble on the sudden removal, drawing away and self-irony of »Molntrollet« (The Cloud Troll). All the creatures in nature laughed at »the royal poet of thunder and the scarecrow of the gods«. On closer scrutiny, though, once more a poem seems a little too constructed and isolated despite the obvious reservation. Still this was, in fact, part of Tigerstedt's dualism. In the last part of the book, called »Kallt stål« (Cold Steel) he summarized what he thought were the feelings of the young generation in the provocative poem »Bevis« (Proof). At a press-conference, in Oslo in late 1933, Sven Stolpe had maintained that Tigerstedt represented »the puritan side of Nazism, Nazism in its most delicate form« and that Örnulf Tigerstedt was the greatest name in modern Swedish poetry.52 We will return to this poem in chapter III:9.

Some irrational features in Tigerstedt's poetry increased by this time. The development seemed to correspond to the author's strong yearning for his roots, the herrgårds, and the soil. He was undoubtedly fascinated by the Nazi Movement. It was, however, a fascination paired with restraint from the beginning. In a letter to Anni he turned against the anti-Semitic side of Nazism, the »narrow spiritual atmosphere« of the Nazi paper Völkischer Beobachter and the »stupid fury against Spengler«:

Therefore, I cannot pay tribute to the IKL because then I have to throw both my brain and heart in the slop-pail. I cannot pay tribute to the »Pillemarism«,53 because its asexuality is choking me. And never while I'm still breathing can I speak with Bolsheviks except with a cannon. I called: Long live the heroes and the mob struck up Hell Oljemark! I wanted authority and heroic achievements and the pack seconded by hissing at Josephine. I have hated democracy since I was born and now when the masses join hands with me against the same enemy, yes, then it will end with a democratic anti-democracy, a plebeian dictatorship, where the Jacobins with Robespierre and Danton and Marat are lurking and awaiting their chance.54

After all, to be sure in the long run after the initial fascination, Hitler and his followers in Finland, like Jäger Captain Kalsta and his crown prince Oljemark with their mouthpieces Herätä Suomi and Hakkorset, proved to be far too plebeian or Jacobinical for an aristocrat like Örnulf Tigerstedt. He instead envisioned a patrician authoritarian society, »a gentleman's fascism« as he once monstrously put it.55 Tigerstedt, moreover, rather early, publicly rejected the biological racialism of Nazism and the German Nazi attack on the Church.56

When pressed about his political attitudes he often used the word »Caesarism«. There is actually only one absolutely clear reference in his writings (including private correspondence), where he labels himself »a fascist«. In this case Tigerstedt discussed his »fascist alter ego« - »mitt fascistiska jag«.57 He thus rejected the label »Nazi« at an early stage, and he
also avoided the term »fascist«, and instead often referred to »Caesarism«, »monarchism« and »authoritarianism«. Still, since Tigerstedt was a man of immense activity at this time - he published articles on various topics, held speeches, was broadcast on radio, reviewed books etc. - his poetic licence in the eyes of the public was infinitesimal when it came to poetry.

In mid 1934 Tigerstedt's 9th book was published - *Skott i överkant* (Aiming Too High). It has been described as a »personal handbook on fascist criticism of civilization«. The book contained a collection of essays on politics and culture written in a passionate and sparkling style. Typical of Örnulf Tigerstedt was the daring metaphors which seldom appeared in this genre. The book was dedicated to his neo-activist friends in the Active Student's League and in the preface he underlined that in the core of his soul a Jolly Roger flapped merrily (p. 11). In the first essay »Liberalt contra antiliberalt« he called liberalism »the myth of the 19th century«:

Redan begreppet parti är ett liberalistiskt påfund och försöken att bevisa partiernas onödighet har städse strandat på att man redan vid själva bevisföringen använt sig av liberalistiska begrepp, termer och tankegångar. Konservatismen hade inte någon egen arsenal, den kämpade med motståndares vapen och därför står den nu där den står, inrangerad som en sekt i den gemensamma kyrkan. (*Skott i överkant*, p. 22)

(The mere concept »party« is a liberal invention and the efforts to demonstrate the redundancy of parties have always failed owing to the fact that liberal concepts, terms and mode of thought have been used in the very argumentation. Conservatism did not have an arsenal of its own, it fought with the arms of the opponent and that is why it now stands where it stands - as a sect - fitting into our common Church.)

Even Hitler, as opposed to Mussolini, had in the beginning, fallen for the »liberal invention of the political party«. He had used the parliamentary system and worked according to its rules in order to gain power. Reasoning in a strictly dialectical way Tigerstedt maintained that:

The social idea started to march in the direction of the national, the national in the direction of the social. During the all-embracing revolutionary storms of the World War they met as brothers-in-arms in the trenches and were welded together to a inseparable unity, under the drumfire at Verdun, Ypern, Somme and Piave. The synthesis was the Italian fascism and the German National-Socialism. (*Skott i överkant*, pp. 27-28)

We can additionally observe the sustained holistic theme here - the great perspective to unite, find the main thread again. The thread that in Tigerstedt's judgment had been lost with the appearance of the concept of progress and Rousseau's *Du Contrat social*. The way back to this vital main thread led through a land of myths. His attacks on parliamentarism, »idealistic humanitarian ethics« and his appeal for authority make it very likely that part of his ammunition had been derived from Carl Schmitt's »Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus«.

In another essay entitled »A Sketch Concerning the Relationship between Bolsheviks and 'Managing Directors'« the author saw the new materialistic spirit embodied in Capitalism and Bolshevism:
They will completely understand one another, when together on neutral ground they can have a real good laugh at the so-called «ideals», and in mutual passion they might perhaps some time later turn rather poetical, when for one another they describe the great future Metropolis with its excellent efficiency, ingenious clocks for supervision and hygienic methods of prepacking. As the good materialists they are, they will hardly once pronounce such an inexact and compromising word as «soul». *(Skott i överkant, p. 105)*

Thus Tigerstedt was inclined to adhere to the concept of a world without classes often used in fascist propaganda. The class-struggle had to be viewed as fictitious and such tendencies had to be fought *(p. 106)*. Looking at the problem in this fashion the poet consequently made an attempt to bridge the gap between White and Red in Finland. For the first time he now used the term «Civil War» (with certain reservations - «the civil-war within our War of Liberation», SKOTTÖ, pp. 114, 120). It was no longer virtue that fought vice in 1918, it was «the greater and more primary idea that defeated the lesser and more secondary» (p. 114). For after all we were trapped in the same destiny - the destiny of the nation. Tigerstedt called his remedy the «New Puritanism» and by it he meant a stoical activism. He bitterly assailed the process of decay which had gone too far:

For dessert progress is offering us jazz and rumba. Sexual culture is the latest opiate, the grin sneers at the site of our great men's graves and at the threshold of our very homes the larva of decomposition is gnawing and spreading uneasiness and hostility between parents and their children. In truth the King of Rats is already sharpening his teeth. Cynicism is parading under the mask of liberty, advertising is sounding a flourish over selfishness and the *marche macabre* of an existence devoid of ideas and the Evil One is holding his shield over it all. *(Skott i överkant, p. 136)*

The young generation had already realized that «A new myth and a new conviction are in the making in the Northern countries» *(p. 141)*. It is the capacity for living, the élan in us, which gives the impulses. We understand that we were united and bound to a communion in a nation *(cf. Sw. «folkgemenskap» or the Finnish IKL concept of «kansakokonaisuus»)*, the borders of which go through the centuries and in reality consist of the very soil where the roots take their nutrition *(pp. 144-145)*. This passage contains much of the very essence of the concept of *Boden*.

In the stylistically perhaps most brilliant of the essays of *Skott i överkant*, «Björneborgska sjukan» and «Röpet från Savolax», Tigerstedt finally successfully juxtaposed the outpost Savolax (fulfillment of one's duty) and the city Åbo (laxity, lack of ideals).

The impact of Oswald Spengler had been great on many intellectuals and authors not only in Germany and Finland. In 1935 the earlier mentioned Swedish poet Bertil Malmberg published his *Dikter vid gränsen* (Poems at the Border). The border alluded here, as well as in Tigerstedt's previous work, to a decaying Western civilization. In these poems we find that the Swede shared much of Tigerstedt's outlook. Themes such as anti-intellectualism, eternal recurrence, myths and a metaphysical destiny were evident
in Malmberg’s book. Europe had lost contact with the earth and vitality. Our hegemony was lost to the colored peoples:

Vi måste avstå ledningen och rangen
åt mörka folk från fjärrbelägna trakter,
som ännu ej ha brutit sammanhanget
med urbegynnelse och skaparmakter.

(We must give up the leadership and position/ To dark nations from distant regions,/ Who have not yet broken the connections with/ The original source and the powers of creation)

However there was still hope for one last heroic stand:

Men innan våra tunga fästen falla
kan rasens liv förvandla sig från grunden.62

(But before our weighty holds fall,/The life of the race must be basically changed.)

Tigerstedt’s formalism was not an isolated phenomena. Tigerstedt was a dominant figure in the small circle of intellectuals grouped in the AS. This was due not only to his powerful personality but also to the fact that his eclectic ideas formed a system with a philosophical basis in broad outline which could be applied to art as well as to the field of social and political theory. In an anthology named 1929, which had been published the same year, Jarl Gallén had presented himself as the armor-bearer of the uncompromising black knight. Their brotherhood in arms would last for many years in the debating columns of the Finland-Swedish journals. In reverence to Loyolan asceticism Gallén preached authority, form and morality against freedom, nature and chaos: »[...] because form is life and chaos is death. And our time, is the very time of chaos« (p. 111).

In 1934 another member of the AS and disciple of Tigerstedt, Göran Stenius, steps out on the small but impressively talented Finland-Swedish literary scene. The book is called Det okända helgonets kloster (The Monastery of the Unknown Saint) and the setting of the novel is in the remote marshlands in north-east Finland. The protagonist, Doctor Forss, sets out to find the woman who had been his youth's tender passion. Once in the marshes Forss encounters the husband of the woman, Barzow, who in the eyes of the citizens of a small town, had abducted her. He finds her dying and in the course of the novel discovers what strong obedient faith can accomplish. The moral is that the legend had a higher value than rationalism, materialism and science ever could offer.

Stenius apparently owed much to his friend Tigerstedt. One of the metaphors which recurred over and over again in the novel was the imposing black spruce forest towering over the small isolated community (pp. 17, 24, 31, 145, 203, 235, 288). Nature stood for chaos, disorder and decay. We could constantly feel the smell of decaying vegetation and dissolving dead matter in the marsh:

Vattnet, det svekfulla vattnet var urkraften i denna ondskans värld. Det steg ur avgrunden, ur mäktiga strömmar i underjordens döda hav, dem intet obrustet män-
niskoöga skådat. Dess väg ur djupet förde uppåt genom ändlösa lager av mossar och åter mossar, av förintelse och upplösning, av förvandling och skuggliv, och dess iskalla yta mötte männens röda flämtning i ett svart löje. Det spred sig i mossarna och förgiftade sin omgivning, det samlade sig till grunda gölar, där igtarna krälade bland murknat trä och spindlarna ilade över den blanka spegeln. Likt mörka tankar kväldde det upp ur urdjunten, och i dess fann trädde Döden fram [...] (pp. 240-241).

(The water, the deceitful water was the primordial force in this world of evil. It rose from the abyss, from mighty streams in the dead sea of the nether world, which no unbroken eye of man had laid eyes on. Its way up from the deep went through endless layers of bogs and yet more bogs of destruction and decomposition, of transformation and shadowy existence, and its icy surface met the red panting of the moon in a black covering. It was spreading in the moss and poisoned its surroundings, it gathered into shallow pools, where the leeches sped over the shiny mirror. It gushed forth from the primitive depths, as dark trains of thought, and from its arms Death stepped forward [...]).

Against this, which on another level stands for our own very decaying civilization, the author lets his spokesman Barzow instead acclaim unconditional faith. A faith which is a delivering entity that can stop time itself - which in true nature means decomposition (pp. 285-286). Quite in line with this, Stenius had earlier in a review over Tigerstedt's »Spring Speech» enthusiastically uttered: »It can probably be said that this speech and its importance could be measured as an expression for a weighty opinion.«

Stenius's later collection of poems Fiskens tecken (Sign of Pisces, 1940) indicates the strong feeling of kinship between him and Örnulf Tigerstedt. In a letter to his political mentor Stenius described the political situation in the AS:

[...] the idea. Where is it to be found? One is a Catholic, and another is an astrologer, a third is a Nazi and a fourth calls for Caesar [- - -] If we are then to discuss in a Spenglerian fashion, then we had better look around for a Macedonia. Which at least to me would be rather lamentable. And then there is only one country, when it comes to Europe that would be considered [...] [- - -] The massacres in Germany seem to me rather insignificant. You are right when you say, that such things have happened so often before. (Letter from Göran Stenius to ÖT, 18 July 1934, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL)

The reference to massacres in Germany referred to the so-called »Night of the Long Knives« in June 1934. Since Tigerstedt often returned to archaic times in his writings and since he shared Spengler's view of a decaying civilization we might suspect that he longed for the heroic past and felt misplaced in history. If he did so it was at least not a profound feeling. The 30s was in many ways the hey-day of his life. He was extremely active, a well-known controversial poet in both Helsinki and Stockholm. Or using his own words:

These times are certainly not colorless, inactive or uninteresting. Therefore we should be grateful to live right now. [- - -] »Yes, those were the days. Lucky were those who lived in Ukkö Pekka's days. Then the destiny of the world walked on razor's edge. What decisions, what parties, what men! Yes, in those days, living was joyful!« (ÖT, »Världen och vi«, in Granskan, Dec. 1934)
In the early spring of 1935 Örnulf Tigerstedt and Jarl Hemmer spent two months in Petsamo (Pechenga) in the northernmost part of Finland (lost to the USSR in 1944) on the coast of the Arctic Sea. It turned out to be a rendezvous with tumultuous nature at its extreme. Almost inevitably, it seemed, his next book, carrying the title Utan örnar (Without Eagles, 1935), ended with the notion of icy winds, blue-white arctic slush, and howling wolves. It was the cry of the wilderness and part of the message was that nature would reclaim and win back what she had previously lost to man. The meaning of the somewhat strange title, Utan örnar, was that Tigerstedt had put his sinister-looking chain-mail aside and now stood in front of us without the usual military insignias, watchfulness and vigilance.\textsuperscript{67}

The epistolary mold of the book is indeed hard to place in a literary class or genre. Centered on letters written to a beloved the author meditates philosophically over various topics - often touching on classical profound questions on existence. Utan örnar is cyclical in composition and starts in early spring and runs to New Year's Eve and the style is hectic and accelerated. It can be described as Örnulf Tigerstedt's personal meditations or communings with himself, a fact which is apparent from a letter to his publisher Bertel Appelberg, which reveals that the first title was »Rhapsodie Pathetique - Letters to Nobody«.\textsuperscript{68}

It is in many ways a book about the Janus-head that was Örnulf Tigerstedt. His dual world-conception, and anti-theses in a world of opposing forces reverberate in the work. His meditations are often inconsistent and contradictory, but they nevertheless give the reader a vivid picture of his views on the meaning of existence since the questions seem authentic and profoundly meditated. Yet, it is an artist that speak to us, not a logician or philosopher. And we can never expect any artist to be fully consistent - if he is, he would surely be boring. Boring is one thing Tigerstedt never becomes. There is also a hint of self-irony working as an agent of refreshment in the book. Neither can its controversial author stay quite true to his title-motto - sometimes the military metaphors become too dominating and manifest (pp. 26-28, 132-135) and on page 103 he admits that when Caesar calls - he will answer all, go!

Above all, Tigerstedt is painfully and constantly aware of the emptiness of existence, and of man's rottenness. Here, the author makes an attempt to master this curse of knowledge and nerve himself for responsibilities in much the same way as Marcus Aurelius tried. He reasons with his own soul, and tries to champion the impulses of the flesh.\textsuperscript{69} A stoical stance of heroism is the motto, and to Tigerstedt it is Aurelius' »to the rational creature alone has it been granted to submit willingly to what happens, mere submission being imperative on all« which contains the only beacon of guidance: »[...], it was not the highest degree of happiness we aimed at, but the best possible execution of the task that had been placed before us.« p. 56) What counts when the Doom of the Gods\textsuperscript{70} comes is the old saying of
Havanal: »Man dies, and so will his livestock, but one thing that never will pass away is the sentence passed over a dead man:"

Men när jag nu ser denna strimma i öster, då tyckes den mig som en fanfar. Var dag har sin möda, och morgondagens uppgift kallar. Stå fast med gudarna och begär inte att få leva evigt! I gudarnas sällskap kan intet hånda dig, åtminstone inte något värre än Ragnarök.

Nu godnatt! Kunde jag fånga denna gryning, skulle jag slunga den som en lans över vattnet, så den nådde dig som en hyllning och en blixtande morgenhälsning.71

(But when I now behold this streak in the east, then it seems like a blare of a trumpet to me. Each day has its toll, and tomorrow’s mission is calling. Be firm with the Gods and do not ask to be living for ever! In the company of the Gods nothing can befall you, at least nothing worse than Ragnarök. / Now good night! If I could catch this break of dawn, I would hurl it like a lance across the water, so it would reach you as a homage and a flashing morning greeting.)

This passage provides us also with another good example of Tigerstedt’s firm, catching and elated rhetoric style supported by martial, warfare images. A style which sometimes alarmingly verges on the pompous or the bombastic.

Notes

3. Quoted from Warburton, 1984, p. 182.
4. Horace, Carm. III 1,1: Odi profanum vulgus et arceo, i.e., Janson, 1918, p. 134, Janson 1923, p. 112.
6. See, e.g., Blinkfyren 3-4/1933. See the article "Europas förjudning" (The "Jewization" of Europe) with an accompanying caricature of a lurking black spider with distinctly Jewish features. The spider is on its way to rape an immaculate blond and half-naked, outstretched woman representing the innocent Aryan Germany. See also Blinkfyren 5-6/1936: the poem "Horst Wessel" by "A.L.", Blinkfyren 3-4/1937, poem by "Sepia" (Rafael Lindquist) entitled "Nationernas förbund" (The league of Nations) and an additional caricature of a Russian Jew.
7. Warburton, 1984, p. 182. However, it is plausible that he in the first place meant the influence of the magazine prior to 1930.
10. Concerning the first organization see the periodical Hakkorset (The Swastika), 3 Oct. 1933. Regarding the second see the periodical För Frihet och Rätt, (The Quoted headlines from No 7/1938 and 5-6/1942). See also Herrell Suomi, 16 June 1933. For a detailed account of G. Lindquist’s activities when leader for a group of White Free Corps in Estonia in 1919 see Allas Kronika Nos 17, 18 and 24/1924. See also Frontmannen" 4 Sept. 1942, an article about SS by G.L. and ibid., 5 June 1936 "Europas kulturkris" by G. Lindquist. Lindquist later fled to Sweden and when interrogated by the Swedish authorities admitted that he had been engaged in the recruiting of volunteers for the Finnish SS-division. Henry Lindahl, a Finnish security agent, claimed that G. Lindquist had been working as an under-cover agent for the Gestapo together with Unto Boman and that they had reported
11. See Voigt, Winckler and Wulf.
13. Ture Janson also displayed a slight anti-Semitism in several of his books, e.g., Jansson, 1923, pp. 7, 43.
14. See, e.g., the ballad "Döden på slädfärd" by Bertel Gripenberg in Den stora tiden pp. 58-66.
15. See poem by Bertel Gripenberg in Borgåbladet, 15 July 1930, "Till bondehären av 7 juli 1930". According to Hornborg (1960, p. 48) 2,400 of the 12,000 participants were Swedish-speaking. The term "Farmers' Rally" was probably derived from the Swedish Farmers' Rally of 1914. See also Nygård, 1982, p. 88.
16. Bertel Gripenberg also wrote a number of articles in the conservative press in Sweden about the Lapua Movement. See Wältä, 1978, pp. 15, 56.
17. These opposing emotional perceptions can be observed in Gripenberg's Vid gränsen if we juxtapose poems such as: "Germansk dröm" - "Final" and "Natt vid gränsen" - "En dåres farväl".
18. Letter from Bertel Gripenberg to ÖT, 16 Sept. 1930, ÅAL, ÖT's Coll. The title "alludes, you see, partly to my own situation at the border of old age, and partly to Finland's situation at the border of Russia". Bertel Gripenberg was an old acquaintance of the Tigerstedt family and a good friend of ÖT's brother Carl Gustaf Tigerstedt. They shared an interest in gardening and in Gripenberg's memoirs Mustil is mentioned. See BG, Det var de tiderna, pp. 283-294, 288-289.
19. Atos Wirtanen, Mot mörka maktser, pp. 59ff. There is, however, several indications of the fact that the conciliatory attitude to the language question of the Lapua Movement was mainly a tactical move. Cf. Hornborg, 1960, pp. 47-52, and a letter from ÖT to BG, 8 June 1931, BG's Coll. ÅAL : "Of course the puristic Finnish movement ("aitofinskhet") is behind the Lapua Movement <*>. Cf. also Alapuro, 1988, p. 215.
22. The Interrogation Record, p. 3. Tigerstedt is, however, not mentioned in the articles in SB from this meeting (SB, 1931, pp. 12, 40-41). On the whole, the sources about Tigerstedt's participation in the Lapua Movement are few also in his correspondence. This is somewhat surprising and lead us to venture an assumption that Tigerstedt played a minor role here. Bertel Gripenberg was more involved in the movement on the local level in his hometown at the time, Borgå (Porvoo). See also Meinander, pp. 32-35.
23. SB 1930, p. 28. Quoted from Meinander, p. 25.
24. SB 1931, pp. 57-58: "Finland och Östersjöpolitiken".
27. Letter from ÖT to BG, 30 Sept. 1931, BG's Coll, ÅAL, the Interrogation Record, p. 3. Letter to Annita Catani (later Tigerstedt) from ÖT, 15 Dec. 1931: "I once, filled with doubts and quite unwillingly, went to a congress in Liibeck. Three days and my world had been completely changed". This statement should, however, not exclusively be interpreted in political terms. The trip was in the first place important to Tigerstedt on a more personal level. Shortly hereafter he divorced his first wife.
28. Letter from ÖT to Annita Catani, 15 Dec. 1931. ÖT's Coll, ÅAL.
29. Rolf Palmén, p. 43.
30. Letter from ÖT to Annita Catani, 8 March 1932, ÖT's Coll, ÅAL.
31. Letter from ÖT to BG, 8 March 1932, BG's Coll. ÅAL.
33. Letter from ÖT to Annita Catani, Sept. 1933: "<...> and of course I have definitely dispensed with 'Nazi'."
36. The text of the document was published in *Ajän Suunta*, 9 Oct. 1933, here quoted from Uola, 1982, pp. 488-489. The phrases that sound especially Tigerstedtian start: "<...> pyydämme Teitä yhteisen kohtalomme nimesä estäämään..." (<...> in the name of our common destiny we ask you to put forward.)
37. Hornborg, 1960, p. 21. Lagerborg, pp. 311-313: Ensio Uoti, the Suomen Kansallissosialistien Liitto (SKSL): "Germany has its Jews, we have our Swedes". Cf. letter to Olof Lagencrantz, see Stora, p. 101.
38. Lagerborg, p. 275. Cf. Statement by Eirik Hornborg quoted from Lagerborg, p. 315: "We stand with our backs against the wall, fighting for the heritage, which we neither can nor may give up: our Fatherland!"
39. Örnulf Tigerstedt's "The Spring Speech", 12 May 1933, to some extent also advocated unification among the Finland-Swedish students against the attacks on the Swedish language in Finland.
40. Cf. Hyvämäki, pp. 24-31, 84-87. Hyvämäki tried to summarize BG's standpoint on the question of nationality and arrived at a conclusion concerning Gripenberg which was not very different from Tigerstedt's, as we shall see later. Cf. letter from BG to ÖT, 1 Jan. 1938, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
41. See the emblem of the IL where parts of northern Sweden are incorporated with Suur-Suomi (Greater Finland).
42. ÖT, "Betraktelser angående demokratien I", *Viborgs Nye Heter*, 14 Jan. 1934, cf. Hyvämäki, p. 27. BG also used the expression "majority oppression".
43. *SB*, 4/1933 p. 75. Cf. Meinander, p. 132 (A reconstructed schedule over the AS meetings) Meinanders "Pro Gradus-essay" is well written and interesting. The brief presentation of ÖT, however, mentions "Tigerstedt's entusiastiska italienskildring Vi reser söderut (1928)" (p. 86) which is a misconception since the book does not deal with Italy.
44. Thulstrup, pp. 157, 173, cf. Meinander, p. 67. Shortly thereafter, 9 May 1933 and later 23 Aug. 1933, Berhard Ohling in letters to ÖT urges the latter to try to influence Jarl Hemmer toward a pro-German stand; ÖT's Coll. ÅAL, Ohling was later ordered to leave Sweden (Feb. 1934) *Vägen Framåt* 4/1934. ÖT and B. Ohling were also in contact as late as on 25 May 1943, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
47. Ibid.
48. Ekberg to author, 8 June 1990.
49. ÖT was a member of the Svenska Folkpartiet in 1938. (Membership card 0036/1938 in C. Hackman's Coll.) Even if there is no guarantee that ÖT was affiliated to several parties, another document is of value here. A German intelligence document regarding ÖT, dated 19 Nov. 1942, reads: "und steht seit Jahren der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung nahe". The Germans were usually very well informed through Finnish agents concerning who belonged to the Nazi movement and especially regarding persons with cultural connections. They would have known if ÖT was a member of a Finnish Nazi party. (Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Potsdam, AA 60 878, p. 525.)
52. *Svenska Pressen*, "Konstrevy", 23 Dec 1933. It must here be emphasized that Stolpe's attitudes about Nazism appear to have been dim at this time, (in 1933). Since he, according
to the article above, linked Hjalmar Gullberg, K-G Hildebrand and Tigerstedt to Nazism at a press conference in Oslo. He also refused to answer the question if he was a Nazi himself. Cf. Stolpe, 1935, (pp. 212-213: "<...> it is fortunate that Nazidom in the Swedish language is not exclusively represented by a vulgar veterinary - or "a sergeant's philosophy" but also by wit and a cultivated style. (However) its pathos is no less disgusting because of that.<...>" Judging from the last passage Stolpe had now understood the true nature of Nazism (Cf. Ibid., p. 202).

53. "Pillemar" - one of Tigerstedt's favorite expressions meaning liberal or simply humanitarian, that is, "All-to-human", cf. Nietzsche. Oljemark was a leading member of Kalst's organisation the Suomen Kansan Järjestö-Finlandis Folkorganisation. He was in charge of its Swedish-speaking herald Hakkorset.

54. Josephine Baker had given a dance performance in Helsinki some time prior to this (Cf. Hakkorset: "J.B. dekadansar hos oss", 1 Dec. 1933). Letter from ÖT to Annita Catani, 11 Dec. 1933, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Cf. Letter to Adrian Molin, 28 Nov. 1934, the Royal Library, Stockholm. Cf. also Hyväräniki, p. 131, concerning Bertel Gripenberg's attitude to fascism. In two articles in the Swedish Nazi paper Den Svenske National-Socialisten, Christmas 1934 and 19 Jan. 1935. Collander, Stenius, Tigerstedt and Ralf Parland are presented in very positive words, although the first article criticizes Tigerstedt's ignorance of "the terminology of modern racial science" and his appreciation of Dollfuss. Cf. also letter from ÖT to Annita 18 Jan 1934: "My God, if you really had the faith and really could go for this Kalst. To use him for teasing the Pilemars is good enough. But to enlist in the forces of this splendid and decent Free Church preacher-man - No Thank you!"

55. Letters from ÖT to Annita Catani, 11 Dec. 1933 and Sept. 1933 (n.d) in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

57. UÖ, p. 47. When asked about his political stand his answer was "Swedish extreme right-wing and anti-Modernist" (Vem och Vad?, 1936).
58. P.O. Barck, 1936, p. 187.
60. Cf. Bertel Gripenberg's poem "Parad", Den stora tiden, which also calls upon reconciliation between Red and White.
61. Tigerstedt had already employed this expression in his Spring Speech, SB, 27 May 1933.
63. For some other similarities and alluding details to ÖT's conception in Stenius's book: Destiny; pp. 158-159 et passim, artifacts symbolizing culture; "a piece of cloth" p. 242. Cf., e.g., "the chopper-tool": VIRS, pp. 36-37, "the oar": ÅDE, pp.52-53, the concept of "Amor fati"; pp. 76, 286.
64. SB, 27 May 1933, p. 185. Stenius was editor of SB between 1932 and 1934.
65. Cf., e.g., the poems "Morgon i Venedig", "Den gamle kaldén", "Vår längtan" and "Den sista refraktorn".
66. Another letter, this time from ÖT, dated July 1934 (lacking an addressee) shows that Tigerstedt was worried about the reaction in the press in connection with the massacres in Germany (ÖT's Coll., ÅAL).
67. The eagle was the Roman war insignia also used by the Nazis. ÖT's very name alluded to three carnivorous animals: Örm= eagle, Ulf= wolf and finally tiger. His first Christian name was thus a typical old Norse name in the tradition where the bearer was meant to receive the animal's gift, cf. UÖ, p. 103.
68. Letter from ÖT to Bertel Appelberg, Sept. 1935, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. It is not altogether unlikely that Tigerstedt had his favorite Marcus Aurelius in mind when he outlined the book, even if the points of real correspondence are few.
70. UÖ, p. 111. Old Norse "the Doom of the Gods" in Scandinavian mythology, cf. the German word "Götterdämmerung", the destruction of the world. Cf. the use of the word in the Swedish press 1939-1940 then often symbolizing the Russian threat against Western Europe. See also Landgren, 1975, pp. 110-111.
71. Cf. UÖ, p. 86.
The influence exercised by the AS upon the Swedish-speaking students, in the area of student policy, was much more limited than the AKS's influence on the Finnish-speaking students. Nevertheless, in 1937 the faction supporting the AS started a weekly paper called Svensk Botten (Swedish Soil) to promote their policy. Leonard Lundin has given a good description and analysis of the heterogeneousness of this group. The American was also accurate in concluding that the keynote in their political creed was based on the reactionary values of an old aristocracy. To them the New Germany and fascism could be used as a means of restoring order and to erect a dam against Bolshevik barbarity. Using Payne's later terminology this group consisted of authoritarian nationalists, mostly radical Rights and conservative Rights. Örnulf Tigerstedt wrote a number of articles for the paper and was one of the most radical in this circle.

The main threat to him and the nation was embodied in the Soviet-state and her proselytes in Finland. Liberalism, democracy and "the mass-sentimentality" of society were viewed by the author as metastases of the main cancer - Communism. Against this menace Tigerstedt demanded Argus-eyed vigilance, sacrifice and heroism. One of the important men in this group was Tigerstedt's publisher Bertel Appelberg - the managing director of Söderström's publishing company between 1917 and 1960. Appelberg had taken part in the Jäger Movement and shared Tigerstedt's blue-black right authoritarianism. He was chairman of the AS between 1931 and 1939 and this, paired with his key position as publisher, made
his influence considerable. Our protagonist, who had been vice chairman during the same period (1931-1939), became the new chairman of the AS in 1939.

The most influential of the journalists in this circle was undoubtedly the author's close friend Bank Manager Pehr H. Norrmén. Norrmén was a brilliant stylist and his articles were generally small masterpieces of intellectual analysis. He quite obviously made a contribution to Tigerstedt's dislike for democracy and parliamentarism. For them the levelling forces in society stood for mediocre equality and ressentiment. A ressentiment to which Runar Schildt had given literary form in his protagonist, Aapo, in the short story with the same title, in *Henkomsten* (The Homecoming, 1919). If Schildt showed a certain psychological understanding of the background of the Red rising, this was not shared by Norrmén and Tigerstedt. Norrmén argued instead that the onslaught of the masses in democracy threatened individualism. From which followed that the only true constitution must have an aristocratic background. Pehr Norrmén combined a right-wing authoritarianism with a pronounced liberal capitalist view of society and economic life. Free enterprise and economic liberty were the cornerstones of his political outlook. Only true capitalism was in his eyes impossible during the »economic democracy« with its unstable party life. Norrmén was more willing than Tigerstedt to criticize the liberal press and the democratic attitudes in Sweden. Sweden had, in his opinion, failed to provide Finland with military help in 1918 and its liberal press spread lies about Hitler and Germany. Often writing under the signature »Civis«, he was not decidedly and pronouncedly anti-Semitic and neither was *Svensk Boten*. Despite this, he did at times drift into anti-Semitic expressions. Norrmén found in an article »the anonymous international Jew-journalism in Europe« intolerable with their sentiments of rancune. The language in this passage unmistakably shows the influence of the Nazi press.

The neo-activist circle around *Svensk Boten* worked for a Finnish nationalism based on reconciliation between the language groups as did the AS program. The AKS concept of a Greater Finland was also partly supported. The grounds for that support had, however, another origin. For Tigerstedt and Norrmén the issue primarily concerned geophysical military aspects and historical tradition, while Gallén and Mickwitz apparently was closer to the AKS's concept of the national Finnish irredenta. They Nevertheless most probably did not fully share the almost divinely ordained view of the AKS concerning the Finnish-speaking peoples.

In 1931, Erik Kihlman analyzed and connected quite accurately the Finland-Swedish extreme right-wing support for the dream of Greater Finland with the activism of 1918 and the romantic ideas of a future crusade that Bertel Gripenberg and Erik Grotenfeld had hailed. In full
consequence, the crusade march had already been written by Bertel Gripenberg: Österut! - Eastbound!

Än emot öster som fordom den brinner,
korsfarärättlingens krigiska hâg.
Bort, dit där vägen i wildmark försvinner,
längta vi åter till ledungatåg.
Västerländsk odling och frihet och ära
vilja vi värna med vapen i hand,
österut, österut vilja vi bära
frihetens fackla till träldomens land

(As in bygone days still,/ The martial spirit of the scion of crusaders is ablaze towards the east./ Away, out there where the road disappears into the wilderness,/ We long again for new Viking raids./ Western culture, freedom and honor/ We want to shield with weapon in hand,/ Eastbound, eastbound we want to carry/ The torch of liberty into the land of bondage.)

Here Gripenberg places himself in the position of a true representative of the so called »Germanic Spirit« that Spengler referred to as Faustian. Goethe's Faust was looked upon as the incarnation of this dangerous concept of an eternal drive outward over the borders of which the generated energy was provided by Wille zur Macht. Gripenberg, however, did not draw so heavily on Oswald Spengler as his younger fellow poet did. On the other hand, concerning the offensive traits in this Faustian drive, Tigerstedt was more careful and realistic in his views on this point than Gripenberg. Not until »Operation Barbarossa« was launched by the Germans in the summer of 1941 did he really envision a Suur-Suomi and still this idea does not seem to have been wholeheartedly accepted by him.

»The Nordic Cause« - Nazi Propaganda in the Cultural Field

The new Nazi regime in Germany made great efforts to spread their propaganda after the Machtübernahme in 1933. A lot of these efforts were aimed at what they considered to be their Germanic brother peoples. Sweden in particular, with its heroic military background (The Kings Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII) and key position in the North was in focus for this propaganda. This was of course true as well concerning Finland, which had been a part of the Swedish Great Power, and had showed that this spirit had survived in the war of 1918.

German propaganda and indoctrination were especially channeled into the cultural and intellectual field of society. The German love for »der nordische Gedanke« and the world of the Vikings had deep roots and part of the goal was to make the German people more Nordic-minded. In 1921 the »Nordische Gesellschaft« (NG) was founded in Lübeck. During the 30s this organization became one of the most important tools of German propaganda in the North. The magazine Der Norden was one of
its publications. Some of the often mentioned Swedish authors in this magazine were Sven Hedin, Fredrik Böök and Verner von Heidenstam.\textsuperscript{16}

As previously mentioned, in 1931 Tigerstedt had been to a German-Nordic writers’ conference in Lübeck which was sponsored by the NG. In 1934 Dr Fred Domes, a German lecturer in Aarhus, Denmark, and a leading NG-man and secretary in »the Nordic-German Committee of Authors«, invited Nordic writers to a villa in Travemünde. The house was to serve as »das Deutsch-Nordische Schriftstellerhaus« or as it was later to be called, »das Dichterheim«. Representatives from the young writing generation in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Finland were to be invited every summer to spend three months in the villa.\textsuperscript{17}

The first representatives from Finland were Finnish-speaking Lauri Viljanen and Swedish-speaking Tito Collander. The Nordic reactions from this first summer did not fully satisfy the German expectations. The Swedish delegate in 1934, Johannes Edfelt later fiercely attacked National-Socialism and the Swedish Writer’s Union had difficulties in finding a new willing representative the following year.\textsuperscript{18}

Tito Collander, one of the authors of the Black Guard and a representative of the Swedish Writer’s Union of Finland, did not share Edfelt’s opinions. In a letter to Örnulf Tigerstedt he reported on the good conditions for writers in Nazi-Germany, where Goebbels paid their travel expenses:

»Besides, I greatly enjoy being here and I also see more and more clearly the base attitude of the Scandinavian press towards the New Germany. Something is being done here, instead of all sorts of general vegetating. Heil Hitler!«\textsuperscript{19}

We must, however, not take Collander’s passage here too literally. It must be viewed in its context. In letters to Bertel Gripeberg and Örnulf Tigerstedt, Collander seems anxious to display a very reactionary attitude. Yet this journey appears to have been the starting point for Collander’s period of admiration for some aspects of the New Germany. In a couple of articles and in the book Glimtar från Tyskland (Glimpses from Germany) Collander naively described the idyllic German resort. We have been misinformed. SS- and SA-men »are not brutal, animalistic and cruel barbarians [\textemdash] No, not at all!« They are described as tolerant and pleasant young men who learn that »violence must never be used, since they are taught to realize that the time of violence is gone«. On top of that Collander assured us that this information had been passed on to him »from an absolutely reliable source« (pp. 50-51). Other passages in the book show that the sensitive Collander was attracted by the vitalistic features he saw: »Here, between these walls, where files of Germans have come together, the rumbling steps were turned into pulsations, living, strong, and deep down into the earth they reproduced themselves, as in a
vigor. Colliander apparently often got carried away by Nazi aestheticism - the dimension Walter Benjamin called »die monumentale Gestaltung und Ewigkeitszügen« of Nazism. Time and space are abolished and everything including the observer is dwarfed by the mighty vision of the leader at the end of Colliander's book:

And the silence, which followed the instant Hitler appeared - a silence so incomprehensible, almost terrible, unnatural, a silence as if constituted by fixed matter, enabled us to perceive the fullness of these moments. [- - -] Colossal in posture, he is standing there, looking down at the men of the new time, his outline mirrored in every young eye. The duty towards the family, the village, the town, the country in its entirety. The self-imposed, the self-possessed chastising discipline, the pleasure in sacrificing oneself for the whole, embracing the masses.

Tigerstedt's cousin returned several times to Das Dichterhaus and demonstrated a pro-Nazi attitude in more than one article. This is undeniable, although Colliander's book Korståget (The Crusade, 1937) started a new period in the author's life which led to his joining the Greek Orthodox Church. It is noteworthy in this context to mention that Elmer Diktonius sarcastically stated concerning the book: »[...] our domestic fascists, as previously Göran Stenius, seem to have a certain inclination to be taken in by orthodox Catholicism.«20 As late as 1938, in two articles in Svensk Bottens, Colliander attacked »the liberal press«, and in the latter he admiringly described Hitler-Jugend and condemned »the Czechs' open policy of extermination of Germans«.21 Still, for the most part, Tito Colliander did not commit himself politically, in obvious contrast with Örnulf Tigerstedt. However, his sympathy for Germany and his connections with Nazi Germany were obviously far more extensive than he later recognized. We will return to this in the next chapter.

In 1936 Sven Stolpe represented Sweden and Olavi Paavolainen and Göran Stenius Finland at Travemünde. Paavolainen and Stenius published books as a direct result of their stay and Stolpe wrote several articles.22 Even if both Paavolainen and Stolpe, and especially Paavolainen, saw Germany and described it with both dislike and a certain admiration, they both later, when viewing it from a distance, assumed decidedly anti-Nazi opinions. Paavolainen's book was by far the most important and it was given much attention, partly because of its unstable position on Nazism. Despite Paavolainen's ambiguous attitude it was the Swedish-speaker, Göran Stenius, who, consistent with his earlier opinions, tended to gravitate toward the Third Reich. The title of his book, Femte akten (The Fifth Act), alluded to Act V of Goethe's Faust. Stenius described the prevailing intellectual atmosphere of the New Germany in the preface as »a popular spirit of community, mainly devoted to a gigantic work of edification« (p. 10). Accordingly, Act V of Faust was the chapter where Faust took on the gigantic mission of reclaiming land from the sea. The people had to sacrifice their individual
cravings for the common cause under one will. The Nazis interpreted *Faust* in their own way and stressed the *Gemeinschaft* and altruistic endeavor when:

Gerettet ist das edle Glied
Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen:
>Wer immer strebend sich bemüht
Den können wir erlösen.»23

In the first place, Steniš admired was the Nazi willpower - *Triumph des Willens* - and their belief in form and discipline. Chaotic nature had to be controlled and subdued.24 Although this was manifest, we can see that in the same way as »The Fifth Act« could be interpreted in other ways Steniš had second thoughts about Nazism. He was not impressed by Nazi poetry and the vulgarity of Nazi racial doctrine repelled him. Here we must, however, point out that his rejection was by no means total. In the same breath he willingly accepted its »positive social significance«.25

It is evident that the Nordische Gesellschaft was an instrument for Nazi propaganda in Scandinavia, although many Finns, like the pro-German V. A. Koskenniemi, only recognized its cultural dimension. Koskenniemi (in *Uusi Suomi*, 1936) and Maija Talvio readily accepted the German concept of *Nordism*. Indeed, Maija Talvio, together with her husband J. J. Mikkola and the author Lauri Haarla co-founded the Nazi-influenced »Suomen Sisuliitto« in 1940.26 A couple of years later Sally Salminen accepted the invitation to Lübeck. She, however, clearly understood the nature of Hitlerism: »the narrow-minded doctrine of self-righteousness, violence and hate« (in *Åland*, 30 July 1938).

In 1936 the NG started a propaganda campaign against the German pacifist and socialist Carl von Ossietzky, who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1935. In Norway this had led to a fierce fight in the Norwegian Writer's Union where Knut Hamsun opposed von Ossietzky.27 In a letter to Örnulf Tigerstedt in July 1936 Otto von Zwehl (representing the German Chamber of Commerce in Finland) urged Tigerstedt to write an article against Ossietzky: »What I had in mind was, for example in *Åbo Underrättelser*, with which you surely have a good relationship«.28 Tigerstedt, however, probably did not write such an article, since no article on Ossietzky by Tigerstedt has been found in the contemporary press.29 It is, moreover, obvious in the letters to Tigerstedt from Bernhard Ohling and Fred Domes that they, knowing his warm feelings for Germany, often urged him to write articles with a pro-German tendency.30

**The Dream of a Nordic Block**

The 1930s could be described as a very active period in Örnulf Tigerstedt's life. In July 1935 his only child - a daughter named Christina - was born. The writer had a busy schedule, being on the board of several
societies such as Dante Alighieri, the Pen-Club in Finland, and the Swedish Writer's Union, and he was, besides, often engaged to make speeches in Stockholm and Helsinki. In domestic politics, his main concern in most of the speeches was the strengthening of the national armed forces and the national spirit. Disarmament in Sweden in the 20s and 30s had highlighted Finland's isolated position close to the USSR. The relations between the Soviet Union and Finland lacked any real mutual trust and the Finnish bourgeoisie regarded the USSR as a continual threat. The growing tension and the rearrangement of Europe called for the nation to make huge sacrifices in order to strengthen its defence in time before war came. To Tigerstedt this was absolutely inevitable. He thus clearly envisioned the looming shadow of death and war:

Ack, natt är över hela världen
och mörkröd lyser förstörelsens lava.
Natt är över de stora städerna och över de
folkrika arbetsplatserna.
Natt är över min hembygd å
och bedrövligt klaga dess övergivna alar.

Se, profeternas stora vrede är kommen -
Nu sjunker Karlavagnens stjämbild,
nu talar det stora jordskalvet,
nu svänga ödets guldskimrande portar
och i den breda bågen stå caesarernas stridsvagnar redo.31

(Alas, the night is over the whole world/ And the lava of destruction is gleaming
dark-red./ The night is over the large cities and over/ The populous work-
places./ The night is over the creek in my home/And its deserted alders are
waiting miserably./ Behold, the wrath of the prophets cometh./ The Big Dipper
is sinking now./ The mighty earthquake speaks./ The golden, shimmering gates
of destiny are turning now/ And in the wide arch the chariots of the Caesars are
prepared.)

The time of the Caesars would surely come and Tigerstedt hailed the
Roman proverb Si vis pacem, para bellum (He who wants peace must pre-
pare for war).32

Under the influence of the deepening crises in Europe, Finland now
turned to a policy of closer relationships with Sweden and Scandinavia.
Forces in both Finland and Sweden worked for a defence union.33 Tiger-
stedt and many other Swedish-speakers belonged to these groups. In July
1938 Örnulf Tigerstedt wrote an article in Svensk Botten where he pro-
posed military cooperation at regimental level between Sweden and
Finland in the spirit of the old Swedish-Finnish state.34 Accordingly,
much of his political activity since the time of the outbreak of the
language struggle had been aimed at closer links with Sweden. A
number of factors were involved here: the conservative aspect of tradition,
a living history linked to a Germanic past, Finland's isolated and
threatened position, the outpost myth based on a West-East outlook and
of course the threat to the Swedish-speaking Finns. In the war years to come influencing opinion in Sweden became the guiding star of Tigerstedt's political activity in Finland and Sweden. His contributions to *Svensk Botten* were also more extensive than has previously been thought. Thus, he wrote a number of unsigned articles between 1938 and 1939. These articles were, in the first place, aimed at opinion in Sweden. Above all, they advocated defence cooperation between Finland and Sweden, but their main objective was to make Stockholm realize that what Finland and Sweden inevitably had to choose between was the Soviet Union and Germany.\(^{35}\) Tigerstedt's reasoning was largely based on a book with the Kierkegaardian title *Antingen - eller* (Either/Or) written by a group of officers in the Swedish army, edited by Major Helge Jung, and published in 1930. The book started with the assumption that a Russian expansion westward was to be expected in the future. The option for Sweden was either an active policy of rearmament with an additional defence union with Finland or »an isolated policy of neutrality«. The major difference in reasoning was that Tigerstedt was convinced that this defence union would need German support and he saw Germany as a natural ally.\(^{36}\)

*Svensk Botten*, however, often quite clearly underlined the IKL concept according to which the Swedish press and cultural climate were viewed as influenced by Marxism and in clear opposition to the awakened nationalism in Germany and Italy. This view was very pronounced in Pehr H. Norrmén's, Jarl Gallén's and Bertel Gripenberg's articles. Örnulf Tigerstedt seems to have been more optimistic about Swedish opinion. This might partly be due to the fact that he had been in more contact with Swedish extreme right-wingers than the others. Generally speaking his outlook was also on the whole more cosmopolitan. Thus, Tigerstedt seldom openly criticized Sweden and the Swedish press in his writings. Even though he did not conform to the prevailing trend in this circle he most probably, to a great extent, shared Jarl Gallén's opinion when the latter bitterly remarked after the Winter War:

Men den skandinaviska Norden var blind, fången i en utopisk liberal världsuppfattning, som bredde sin smitta även till oss. Liksom svenskar och norrmän tillät vi oss väl, utgående från vår egen falska trygghet, att kritisera nyare politiska och sociala system, låto oss vilseledas av en internationellt dirigerad tidningspress rörande stormaktpolitiska syften.\(^{37}\)

(But the Scandinavian North was blind, trapped by a utopian liberal world view, which spread its contagion to us, as well. Like the Swedes and Norwegians we have allowed ourselves, acting on our false sense of security, to criticize certain new political and social systems, we have allowed ourselves to be misguided, as regards the Intentions of the Great Powers, by an internationally controlled press.)

Gallén's use of the phrase »den skandinaviska Norden« instead of »Norden« (the Nordic countries) is noteworthy here. It is perhaps not too daring to suggest a certain relationship to the IKL's definition of the term
«Scandinavism» which in their eyes represented something decidedly influenced by Marxism. In a similar way the IKL often referred to Stockholm as «Little Moscow».38

The Spanish Civil War and the Attack on the Popular Front
Among the events in the turbulent 30s the Spanish Civil War often appeared in the headlines. In Spain the extremes of the Right and the Left turned to violence in their attempts to seize power. In early 1936 the Popular Front won the elections. Six months later a military uprising became the signal for a pitiless civil war. Not surprisingly Gripenberg, Tigerstedt, Gallén and the group around Svensk Botten viewed the tragic Spanish conflict in much the same way as they had viewed the events of 1918. In January 1939 Bertel Gripenberg wrote in Svensk Botten:

But for more than two and a half years unspeakable atrocities have been perpetrated in Red Spain. Peaceful, noncombatant, unarmed and defenseless men, women and children have been murdered, tortured and raped, in thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, only because they do not hold the same religious and political views as the Reds in power. [---] Why do all these liberals not realize that the treatment of the Jews in Germany is a thousand times more lenient than that meted out to the unarmed bourgeoisie of Red Spain? [---] Is it because the liberal major newspapers of the world are owned by Jews, [...] [---] A democracy, which is blind, rotten and malevolent to this extent will dig its own grave and that will be the most fortunate outcome for mankind.

Gripenberg felt a deep sense of identity with the lower Spanish aristocracy embodied in the heroic Hidalgo. In much the same manner he had previously hailed the Japanese Samurai.39 The analogy between the Spanish conflict and the Finnish Civil War of 1918 seems to have been more widely accepted among the Finnish bourgeoisie than in Sweden. Indicative of this was the fact, that Eirik Hornborg had to point out that «there are no parallels between Finland in 1918 and Spain in 1936» in Nya Argus (15/1936). While most intellectuals in Western Europe and Sweden in various ways, in the press, literature and explicit action manifested their support for the Popular Front, many Finnish intellectuals chose to remain silent or take a neutral stand.40 In a study of the Swedish authors and the Spanish Civil War, Diktarnas krig (The War of the Poets), Åsa Risberg could not even find one unequivocal Franco supporter among Swedish litterati.41 The cultural climate was quite different in Finland and the extreme right-wing Finland-Swedish writers attacked Swedish intellectuals' support for the Spanish republic. Gripenberg led the way, fuming with hatred for the radical Swedish intellectuals. His correspondence is inflated with vehement attacks on the «liberal» Swedish cultural establishment. In a letter to Tigerstedt he confided that apart from himself and the addressee he only acknowledged two poets writing in Swedish - Frans G. Bengtsson and Einar Malm.42
Göran Stenius's article, »Litteraturkritiken och samhället« (Literary Criticism and Society) which appeared in Svensk Batten on 12 November, 1937, is very typical of the view of the extreme right-wing in Finland-Swedish literature:

A whole literary group, »the Proletarian Writers«, is now speculating in the class struggle. The advent of the literary superman has long been expected, but instead the concept of »Untermensch« has sprung up here and there. With the slogan of »renewal« the life-affirming poets are storming the very core of a society of civilization - tradition. In the name of natural morality, pacifism and liberalism all sorts of nihilistic tendencies are appearing.

The private correspondence between Tigerstedt and Gripenberg during the late 30s reveals that Bertel Gripenberg in particular closely followed the news from the Spanish scene. Gripenberg often ended these letters with a laconic »Viva Franco« and on several occasions with a »Heil Hitler«.43

The Swede mentioned above, Einar Malm, was a good friend of Gripenberg and Tigerstedt and in fact he is the literary instance Risberg could not find since he actually clearly sided with Franco. This was done in the poem »Folket i Alcazar« (The People of Alcazar) published in Ungsvensk Jul 1936 - a conservative magazine. The poem describes the heroical fighting of »the Whites« in the fortress of Alcazar, Toledo, and was written shortly before Franco broke the siege. The White troops were fighting for »everything the generations of the past fought for, fatherland and their homes« against the »barbarians«. The poem ends:

De äro folket - ej de vilda horder
som mördar allt som hukar snyggt och vitt
och skända kyrkan på barbarens order.
Viva Español! Land skall leva fritt!
Vita i alla land, där klasskamp trorar
frihetens blodbesudlade standar -
än är ej allt förlorat i Alcazar,
än finns en gnista av förnuftet kvar!

(They are the people - not to the wild hordes/ Who murder everything proper and white/ And desecrate the Church on the order of the barbarian./ Viva Español! Countries are meant to be free!/ Whites of all countries, where class struggle is tearing/ The bloodstained banner of liberty,/ Everything is not lost yet in Alcazar,/ There is a spark as of reason left yet!)

The image-pattern of this poem is based on the contrast of white and red colors and Malm's way of employing the word »vita« (Whites) is interesting in this context. It suggests an analogy between Spain in 1936 and Russia-Finland in 1917-18 - the claim of the extreme right-wing in Finland. Other circumstances, which we will deal with in the following chapters, show that Malm was close to the neo-activists politically, although politics was something Malm tried to keep out of his literary production. The difference between Malm as an isolated intellectual phenomenon in Swedish literature and the intellectual extreme right-
wing in Finland is worth keeping in mind. Obviously inspired by his Swedish friend, Gripenberg later translated a book about Alcazar written by the French fascists Henri Massis and Robert Brasillach.44

Another frequent contributor to Svensk Botten was Lt. Col. Johan Christian Fabritius, born in St. Petersburg in 1890. A scion of generations of officers he had received his military education in Hamina (Fredrikshamn) and in St. Petersburg. He fought for Russia on the eastern front in First World War and later held command over White troops in Åland and on the Satakunta front in 1918. An engineer and expert on fortifications, Fabritius planned and created, as a technical advisor, the greater part of the Finnish fortifications erected on the eastern border in the 30s on the so-called Mannerheim Line.45

Fabritius was a close friend of Gripenberg and Tigerstedt and from the mid-30s the three men established a political camaraderie, meeting on a regular basis in Gripenberg's private stronghold on top of Harju.46

Fabritius's articles in Svensk Botten were on military and strategic matters. In 1932 he published Mitt vittnesmål (My Testimony) - a biographical work about his wartime experience on the East Prussian and Galician front. Mitt vittnesmål gives an interesting account of how a loyal Finnish officer in the Russian army is gradually forced to reconsider and regard Russia with new eyes. The conflict stands between duty, loyalty and comradeship on the one hand and the Fatherland on the other. The testimony is partly formed as a moral accusation against those responsible for the meaningless and senseless slaughtering of human beings. This is most explicit in the excerpts from his contemporary war-time diary, which provide us with the image of a broad-minded humanitarian with a strong social and ethical pathos mixed with pacifist attitudes. The author combined this with a stark realism in the war scenes devoid of any naive heroism. »War makes men callous« was part of the message. The impression is, however, not consistent and the writer's moral accusations result in a general misanthropy in the postscript at the end of the book (pp. 308ff).

What makes the book a very interesting document of the time is its strong psychological approach to the developed mentality of the men in the trenches, the forging into a collective, a »we« overshadowing the individual (pp. 135ff., 277ff.). This is contrasted with the cynical betrayal, the Dolchstoss im Rücken or the stab in the back carried out by defeatist civilians who did not suffer at the front. This was the theme of the Myth of the Trenches - one of the chief agents contributing to the growth of fascism. Not surprisingly, the book was quickly translated and published in Germany under the title Was Europa nicht hören will.47

Fabritius further developed this theme in his next book, a novel entitled Män som inte glömma (Men Who Do Not Forget, 1936). The protagonist, Nord, is a Finland-Swedish officer whose adventures resemble Fabri-
tius's own. Unfortunately from a qualitative point of view, Fabritius seems to have undergone a veritable metamorphosis. The novel is a failure in almost every literary respect. The sensitive psychology has been replaced by sweeping statements and simplifications. The earlier humanism, the unbiased attitude, the sense of justice and the social compassion of the young front-line officer have been substituted by a world devoid of illusions about mankind. The world has turned into we and them. Anti-intellectualism, an apology for action, pragmatism and perhaps most astonishingly, in view of the earlier book, a strong contempt for weakness runs through the book. The descriptions of the red enemy are now artlessly biased and an unmistakable anti-Semitic tendency has developed. The narrative is, to say the least, naively composed and we would leave the book at that if it was not for the radical political development it suggests in its author. The Spanish theme, which ends the novel, is also noteworthy. This is worth pointing out since Thomas Warburton claims that Håkan Mörne's Destinera till Yemen (Destination Yemen, 1937) is the only novel in Finland-Swedish literature which touches upon the Spanish Civil War.48

Prematurely consigned to oblivion, Fabritius's novel actually serves as a literary counterclaim to the anti-fascist outlook on the Spanish drama found in the works of the contemporary Swedish authors Josef Kellgren, Eyvind Johnson and Peder Sjögren.

Nord, the White Russian Petrov, the Englishman Weston, the Frenchman Maunois and the German von Arnim were all fighting in Russia in 1917 and they meet again on Franco's side against, to use Petrov's words, «the Reds, who are led by our eternal and mortal enemies - the Jewish Bolsheviks in Moscow» (p. 222). The world had now forgotten the great sacrifice of the Great War - «liberalism and progression» have come instead paving the way for Bolshevism - but the men from the front cannot forget. This time Fabritius even implies that the First World War had a meaning.

The difference between the two books and the radical polarization in Fabritius's development is striking. The world view of the writer of Män som inte glömma contains most of the vital ingredients of National-Socialism. One of the explanations could be that this development had started earlier, but the autobiographical material from 1916-1918 used in the first book colored the narrative. The period between the two books also coincides with the rise of German Nazism.

Fabritius, who had strong connections in the army, was a man who not only verbally approved of action. Shortly before the outbreak of the Continuation War in 1941 he tried to interest the Germans in a Quisling regime in Finland. Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess was contacted. In a memorandum Fabritius claimed that 80 percent of the Finnish population was positive to Nazism and that the army and the Civil Guard Organi-
zation only needed an impulse from outside to establish an authoritarian constitution in Finland. In the event, a German delegation under SS-Obersturmführer Grönheim which went to Helsinki to investigate the matter found Fabritius's claim exaggerated.49

There are no signs of either Tigerstedt or Gripenberg being involved in this activity, but it is not altogether unlikely that they knew about Fabritius's undercover activity because of their close contacts with the adventurous and colorful fortification officer. At the end of 1944, when an armistice had been signed by the USSR and Finland, Fabritius was one of those persons who negotiated with the new enemy, Germany, in order to organize a resistance movement in Finland. Weapons were concealed, an illegal paper started and a radio station planned.50 In January 1945 Fabritius, in true James Bond style, was picked up at sea off Kristinestad (Krisiinankaupunki) on the Finnish coast by a German submarine.51 His destination was Sonderkommando Nord near Danzig and the negotiations were about the establishment of a Finnish exile government under T.M.Kivimäki in Stockholm. After the mission Fabritius, along with a German spy, were parachuted near Pori (Björneborg). A year later Fabritius was arrested, interrogated and taken into custody.52

In 1936 Örnulf Tigerstedt had signed a contract with the Hackman company to write a historical work about the Hackman family and their trading firm. This was a new challenge for Tigerstedt and the work entailed a lot of research work in historical archives. As already mentioned, the polemical poet was widely read, especially in history, and this new project appealed to his historical interests. The Hackmans were of German origin and the same can be said about much of the history of their home town Viipuri (Viborg). Naturally enough, then, his work on Hackman's history deepened contacts with the German language (which he already knew well) and German culture.

Parallel to this, the situation in Europe had become more tense. It became more and more apparent that Sweden's interest in participating in the defence of the Åland Islands, not to mention the whole of Finland, was half-hearted and the belief in Sweden's military strength was faltering in the circle around Svensk Botten. Finland was isolated and its only hope seemed to be Germany. On the other hand, Tigerstedt was offended by the racial doctrine and the Nazi view on culture, although in his view Germany and Nazism still stood for idealism in a decadent world, where liberalism, democracy and socialism spread the deadly disease of materialism. We can compare this with Drieu la Rochelle's statement: »Je suis fasciste parce que j'ai mesuré les progrès de la décadence en Europe«.53 Fascism for Örnulf Tigerstedt formed the only bulwark against the urban and mechanized atomization process of rationalism. To him - a «fasciste malgré lui» - authoritarianism represented the only road back to heroism, valor, tradition and idealism.
On the basis of similar reasoning Tigerstedt in an article called "Opinioner i Söder" (Opinions in the South), written on the eve of the Second World War, admiringly described the German military cohorts - "iron forged to steel!" - and compared Nazi Germany with Sparta. The aristocracy was, according to Tigerstedt, returning to serve in German society, although "the deplorable Jacobin type" was still too common. "But apart from this there is no doubt that the new spirit of community has broken through and inspires society." Two months later Tigerstedt's world came tumbling down with the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Hitler's primary virtue to Tigerstedt had been his unwavering, fervent, anti-Communism. Idealism, if it had ever existed in international relations, was abolished and Finland's position was, to say the least, nightmarish. A week thereafter everything was prepared and the 20th century pretenders - the new Caesars of the world - rolled out their chariots from their triumphal arches, just as Tigerstedt had prophesied, to wage the inevitable war on mankind.

Notes

1. Lundin, pp. 86ff. The admiration for Hitler and the New Germany, which was militarily stronger and directed its aggressiveness to the east, was exclusively not confined to the extreme right-wing of society in Finland. The fervent nationalism within the Conservative Coalition Party, the Kokoomus, was strong and a fascist dictatorship was often regarded as a less evil than a Communist one. The Finnish Conservative Coalition Party thus had a lot in common with the Deutschnationale Volkspartei, and often at first sided with their aggressive and disobedient bastard—the fascist influenced IKL, Lundin, pp. 60-70. See also Hiedanniemi pp. 42-44.

2. Lundin, pp. 82ff. Cf. also letter from Göran Stenius to ÖT, 18 July 1934, ÖT's Coll., ÅAAL: "One is a Catholic,..."


4. Appelberg was seldom extreme in his political articles, but his private correspondence with ÖT shows that his opinions in many ways were close to the latter's. Confirmed by Christoffer Ericsson (to author 23 Feb. 1989). See moreover Meinander, pp. 32, 35, 47-48, 100-102. In 1935 still around 30% of the books published in Finland were in the Swedish language. (Uppslagsverket Finland, Vol. I, p. 445).

5. Meinander, pp. 66, 122-123.


9. Normén, 1941, p. 173 (7 Oct. 1938). Cf. also Carl Gallén in SB 1933, p. 122 concerning "Jewish internationalism". The persecution of Jews in Germany was, however, on several occasions the object of criticism in Svensk Bottens. Cf. Svensk Bottens 11 Nov. 1938, "Judeförföljelserna". However anti-Semitic statements and cartoons could be found: Cf. Svensk Bottens 5 Feb. 1941: "Juda vandrande lejon".

11. Normmén, "Den öst Karelska krisen", *Finsk Tidsskrift*, 1922. He touched upon the question of the border. ÖT showed little interest in this question prior to the launching of "Operation Barbarossa" in the summer of 1941. He then wrote the article "Den ödesdigra gränsen", *Svensk Botten*, 30 July 1941. The idea of a Finnish expansion in the East is primarily motivated by strategic military concerns in this article. To ÖT the hope of military cooperation with Sweden had been of greater concern. See, e.g., "Kompaniutbyte Sverige-Finland", *Svensk Botten*, 1 July 1938.


14. Thulstrup, pp. 144ff. Apparently the German propaganda agents were frustrated and irritated over the poor feedback from their propaganda efforts in Sweden during the 30s and the War. Concerning interest for Sweden see also O. Finckenstein, "Besuch in nordischen Ländern" *EL* 2/1943 and R. Baumgardt, "Karl XII von Schweden", *EL*, 2/1943.

15. Thulstrup, pp. 16, 32-33.

16. Ibid., pp. 124-147, Hiedanniemi, p. 70.


19. Letter from Tito Collander to ÖT, 22 July 1934, ÖT's Coll., ÄAL.


24. Stenius, 1937, pp. 18-20, 73, 78. Cf. also the earlier mentioned *Det okända helgonets kloster*.

25. Stenius, 1937, pp. 167-168. See also letter to ÖT (See below) "base as a peasant's cabin - yes an industrialized peasant's cabin in giant size". It is also striking how some passages in the book call to mind Örnulf Tigerstedt's style, both in content and form. See, e.g., p. 43, cf. also letter from GS to ÖT, Travemünde 20 Aug. 1936, (In Christina Hackman's poss.): "The most positive surprise out here is Norway, through E.Mehle from the NS, blacker than Hitler and Stolpe's worst stumbling-block. The Nazis are "Pillemars" compared to him." Stenius also expressed an anti-democratic right-wing authoritarian view in several articles in *Svensk Botten*, see, e.g., "Litteraturkritiken och samhället", *Svensk Botten*, 12 Nov. 1937, "En diktare i politiken", *Svensk Botten*, 19 Nov. 1937. Concerning Göran Stenius in Travemünde, see also; Stolpe, 1975, p. 113; "...the morose Swedish-speaker Göran Stenius who in many ways expressed his sympathy for the Nazi ideology", cf. Olavi Paavolainen, 1936, p. 28; "Stenius on saapunut Saksan kansallis社保ialistiseen ajattelunin perehtyneenä. Hänelle ei siis tuota mitään vaikutta esiintyä 'kännä pystyssä'." (Stenius has, well acquainted with Nazi thinking, arrived in Germany. It causes thus no problems for him to appear with 'his arm raised to salute'.


29. Tigerstedt mentioned Ossietzsky in an article in *Isenåthen Suomi*, 2/1937, p. 52, which was based on a speech held by him in Swedish at the Finnish Opera house on the Finnish Day of Independence 1936, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
30. The requests generally had no specification. They referred to previous articles: "...etwa im Sinne Deines Artikels im...", letter from B. Öhling to ÖT, 27 May 1943, ibid., 9 May 1933, 23 Aug. 1933. Letters from Fred Domes to ÖT, 18 Jan. 1939, 1 Sept. 1939. All in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
31. "Den stora vreden", HVÄG. This poem is very central in the collection with its striking and intense image of breaking up and departure. It is a poetical version of Spengler's *Jahre der Entscheidung* and it conveys some of the same sentiments transferred to us in Malmberg's *Dikter vid gränsen*.
33. Wahlbäck, pp. 123ff.
34. ÖT, "Kompaniutbyte Sverige-Finland", *Svensk Botten*, 1 July 1938.
35. The articles were: "Folkförbundets kris" (21 Jan.1938), "Problemets Åland" (4 Feb. 1938), "Kämproblemet i Finlands nordiska orientering" (20 Jan. 1939). "Tillbaka till utgångsläget" (3 March 1939). The articles had no signature, except for the last one which was signed "Mr. X". It is not unlikely that Tigerstedt wrote more articles anonymously in *Svensk Botten*. He seems however to have generally preferred using his own name. But since these articles were primarily aimed at a Swedish audience, he did not. The articles were mentioned in: a letter from ÖT to Bertel Gripenberg 1 Jan. 1937 (misdated, should be 1 Jan 1938), ibid., 10 Feb. 1939 both in BG's Coll., ÅAL and letter from BG to ÖT, 24 Jan. 1939 (In Christina Hackman's possession).
37. Jarl Gallén, *Tionde regementet*, p. 15. Cf. B. Gripenberg's *Tankar om status quo*, p. 15: "The greater part of the Nordic press are dependent on the large, international, and by Anglo-Jewish capitalism directed English press and Finland is no exception in that context." See also ibid., p. 17, "<...> the fanatically anti-German Sweden."
38. The IKL policy of an exclusively Finnish-speaking Finland, was of course impossible to accept for Tigerstedt. He was also disappointed about the practical policy of the IKL. To him the party acted like all the other parties in Parliament (Cf., e.g., manuscript in ÖT's Coll. ÅAL: "Aktiva Student-förbundet vidjade..."). The IKL, on the other hand, showed Tigerstedt a great deal of attention. At a time when Swedish-speaking writers and intellectuals were fiercely attacked by the party, the so-called "cultural magazine" of the IKL, *Pohjatuuli*, published a long and approving review of Tigerstedt's *Skott i överkant*. Basically Tigerstedt's views were in line with the views of the IKL. Tigerstedt's conception and criticism of "a liberal world view" also appealed to them. Cf. Eino Mikkola, "Täysosumula liberalistiseen maailmankuvaan", in *Pohjatuuli*, 25 July 1934, pp. 228-231.
39. See Bertel Gripenberg's "En påvlig kondottär", *Sista ronden*. The Japanese Samurai was another nobleman admired by Gripenberg. Compare the devotion to blood, duty and sacrifice. Cf. BG's poems: "En Samurai" and "Japanskt valspråk" in *Livets eko*.
41. Risberg, p. 95: "I have not found a statement in favor of Franco made by a Swedish author".
42. Letter from BG to ÖT, 15 June 1934, in Christina Hackman's Coll.
44. *Kadettiera i Alcazar*, Helsingfors 1937. The Spanish government troops are described in it as followers of "the Jewish-Marxist religion" (p. 46).


47. *Was Europa nicht kören will- Erinnerungen an die Ostfront 1914-1917*, Königsberg 1934. In 1933, the book was offered to the Eber Verlag (publishers of Mein Kampf) by the Finnish Nazi Torvald Oljemark who claimed that Fabritius was a warm admirer of Hitler. Part of the fee was meant for the Kalsta movement! See Ekberg, 1991, pp. 86-87.


50. Ibid., pp. 278-282.

51. Sastamoinen, 1947, pp. 178ff., the author however claims incorrectly that Fabritius was picked up off Kristiansand in Norway. Sastamoinen must have confused the two towns. I owe this information to Henrik Ekberg, March 8 1993.


54. ÖT, "Opinionier i söder", *Svensk Bottens*, 16 June 1939. Cf. Bertel Gripenberg's poem "järnets lof": "- Ur led är tiden,/den svage knotar./Med järn vi vrida den rätt igen./Framåt till striden,/ty järnet botar/hvad orden aldrig förmådde än./O järn, du hård/du hvassa klinga/på dig vi lita på farans dag", *Under fanan*, 1918. ("In Praise of Iron." -Time is out of joint/The weak complains./With iron we will wring it right again./Forward to the battle,/Because iron cures/What words never yet accomplished./Ah, iron, you hard/You sharp blade/We trust in thee on the day of peril.)
While the sky darkened over a Finland still enjoying the warm, motionless and ominous heat of the late summer of 1939 Tigerstedt had a nervous breakdown. Finland's desperate situation had gradually become clear after Hitler's and Stalin's partition of Poland. A *fades da capo* situation was at hand, recalling the fatal Peace Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, where Napoleon gave Alexander I *carte blanche* in dealing with Sweden.

The difference between word and action can sometimes be great in men and in Örnulf Tigerstedt's case the stoic attitude of »the inner dictatorship« had little to do with reality. In fact, a not too daring conclusion would be to assume the existence of a personal coping strategy - a developed, compensating behavior in his devotion of the bellicose world.

In a poem published in *Nya Argus* on the very day the German armies marched into Poland Tigerstedt expressively captured something of the atmosphere of the summer of '39 described in so many memoirs. The poem was called »Ultimatum«:
Två timmar ännu varar freden.
Minut för minut förkortas fristen,
sekund för sekund,
och med urets saka knäppning,
med steg så låta som när höstlöv falla
nalkas ovevekligt öde sin fullbordan.

När tornets klockspel slår
tolv dova slag,
när riddarn springer fram
och tolv apostlar skrida,
då sprängs minerad bro.

Tungt eko rullar,
tylläta slöjan brister,
och med dånande eskadrar,
snabbvingade som ondskans fåglar,
sveper helvetesorkanen över jorden.
[- - -]
År du beredd, o själ?
Snabbt socknar stridens rus,
förintande och snart förbrinna hatets lågor.

I småntans ring du står,
ur glömda djup du söker
vindlösa källans spegel,
undrets dryck,
den frid
som offret helgar. (»Ultimatum«, September 1939)

(Two hours still the peace will last/ Minute by minute the time assigned is short-
ened/ Second by second,/ And with the sluggish ticking of the clock,/ With steps
gentle as autumn leaves falling/ Unrelenting destiny approaches the fullness of
time./ / When the chime of the tower strikes,/ Twelve dim strokes,/ When the
knight leaps forward/ And twelve apostles stride/ Then the bridge laid with mines
is blown up./ A massive echo rolls./ The thin veil of tulle splits,/ And with roaring
squadrons,/ Swift-winged as the birds of evil/ The hurricane of hell sweeps over
the earth./ / [- - -] Are you prepared, Oh soul?/ The intoxication of war has soon
died down,/ Annihilating and speedily the flames of hatred are consumed./ In the
circle of pain you stand,/ From deeps of oblivion you seek/ The mirror of the wind-
less well,/ The drink of the miracle,/ The tranquility/ Which the offering sancti-
ifies./)

Here time itself, the devourer in Tigerstedt’s poetry, took on the form of a
lethally looming shadow. The anticlimactic collocation in the second stanza
«stridens rus» and «vindlösa källans spegel» pointed to a less martial con-
ception of reality than before. The stoic attitude of the poet changes when
reality draws closer. The intoxication over battle was short-lived, instead
feelings of despair, desolation and loneliness prevail. The poet longs for
serenity and peace. The word «Frid» (peace, tranquility) was not new in
Tigerstedt’s poetry, but it carried a new dimension here.
The Appeal to Hermann Goering and "The Escape from Finland"

In early October 1939, the Soviet Union had concluded its compulsory negotiations with the three Baltic nations and now turned to Finland. Apart from the external threat, Tigerstedt's position was certainly unpleasant. Germany had sold Finland to the Soviet Union in the eyes of many and the poet was a known friend of Germany. Tigerstedt could not believe what was happening in his emotional state of shock.

It is now very important to closely recapitulate the incident that followed (especially since my version here is based upon new material) and since it is vital to Tigerstedt's reputation and future life. The new documents show that the following problem is considerably more complex than has been previously thought. The episode also seems to be unknown today since, for example, Risto Peltovuori does not mention it in his *Saksa ja Suomen talvisota* (Germany and the Finnish Winter War).

In a desperate effort to personally try to contact and appeal to Hermann Goering, Örnulf Tigerstedt left Finland with his wife and two children on the 13th of October - the same day the negotiations that had been forced on Finland started in Moscow. Once in Stockholm he tried to get in touch with the Swedish explorer and Rightist Sven Hedin. Hedin had, however, already left for Berlin (probably on the same day Tigerstedt arrived) on a mission of a similar kind. Hedin met with Hitler on the 16th of October and the mission was partly designed by King Gustav V of Sweden. Faced with this, Tigerstedt instead approached Hermann Goering's brother-in-law, count Erik von Rosen. Von Rosen, who knew Goering well, persuaded the disturbed poet to wait in Sweden. He agreed after some hesitation and Count von Rosen went to Berlin and met with Goering. Von Rosen handed over a private letter from Örnulf Tigerstedt and a poem dedicated to the German marshal. It contained an appeal for "the cause of Finland."

In the letter to Goering Tigerstedt pointed out that he took a risk of being mocked as a coward for leaving Finland and that he was not, and had no intention of ever becoming, a member of any political party. Furthermore, he appealed to the previous ally to save Western civilization in a Scandinavia, "the original home of the Germanic tribes," threatened by devastation and transformation into an Asiatic region. Finland - the guardian of Germanic civilization in the north - was betrayed. The poem "Det raka svärdet" (The Straight Sword), dedicated to Goering, appeared later, now without a dedication, in the author's next book, *Sista etappen*. The title of the poem and its meaning was probably inspired by one of Tigerstedt's favorite authors, Frans G. Bengtsson and his poem "Kung Karls vårta" (The Sword of King Carl). The straight sword stands for Western culture and tradition (opposed to the curved eastern scimitar), uncompromising, daring, and patriotic in a time of spiritual and moral decay.

Tigerstedt had left Finland on this personal mission in haste and had probably informed only Pehr Norrmén of the nature of the trip for security
reasons. Shortly after arriving in Stockholm with the stream of evacuees the controversial Finnish poet was interviewed by the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter*. When asked what his plans in Stockholm were, Tigerstedt, aware he could not reveal the true nature of his trip answered that his wife and two children would be staying among Swedish friends for the time being and that »he himself had no plans whatsoever. I might stay, but I may also have to leave suddenly tomorrow« (*Dagens Nyheter*, 15 Oct. 1939).

His ill-advised answer was quoted in the liberal Helsinki paper *Soenska Pressen* the day after, and in *Huvoudstadsbladet* and other Helsinki papers and became part of the press campaign against what was called »the escape to Sweden« (»flykten till Sverige«). The climax of this storm of agitated opinion against the immorality of those who fled the field was reached when Bertel Gripenberg indirectly attacked Örnulf Tigerstedt (at least so it was generally interpreted) in *Huvoudstadsbladet* on 25 October. Under the influence of the press campaign in *Dagens Nyheter* and in Finland Tigerstedt then returned hastily without awaiting von Rosen's answer. Halfway across, on the Sea of Åland, he was reached by a telegram from his wife who urged him to return immediately. Tigerstedt went ashore in Turku and made his mission known to the military command there, (Colonel Lindh) and returned to Stockholm by air the next day. He met von Rosen who reported from the meeting with Goering. On the basis of this Tigerstedt wrote a memorandum which was delivered by Annita Tigerstedt to the Finnish Foreign Minister Eljas Erkko.

Goering had spent six and a half hours altogether with von Rosen and carefully studied Tigerstedt's letter and poem. It was evident that not only Hitler but other leading men in the Third Reich were annoyed over the anti-German sentiments in the North. The Russian threat against Scandinavia could certainly be used politically to soften the Western Powers, von Rosen found out. Goering's personal sympathies were with Sweden and Finland, but nothing could be done at present. The German Field Marshal had, apart from this, indicated that Germany had no interest in the long run in Russian dominance in Scandinavia, that many politicians and officers in Germany disapproved of Hitler's policy during the Russo-Finnish conflict and that the situation would probably change in »due time«.

The remarkable thing about this episode was the fact that the poet's private unofficial endeavor succeeded in making an impression on the number two man in the Third Reich hierarchy and managed to produce such candid information. In von Rosen's words: »The poem and the letter made a considerable impression on Goering and helped my mission, since both Goering and Hitler (to whom the field marshal presented the matter) were not in favor of the Finnish cause, but after reading Tigerstedt’s appeal were to some extent influenced in a positive way.«

The poet returned during the last days of October to Helsinki after having met von Rosen and Sven Hedin several times. These meetings took place at
von Rosen's apartment in Stockholm and at the Rosenbad restaurant. During his visit Tigerstedt stayed at the apartment of his friend, the Swedish author Einar Malm, at Sveavägen 77.

Back in Finland Tigerstedt disclosed the situation to the boards of both the IL and the AS, which both accepted his explanations after new meetings. Both the poem and the letter were copied and handed out to Members of Parliament, activists and extreme right-wingers. But it was far too late. Tigerstedt’s escape - it had been interpreted as such in Helsinki - branded him in the eyes of Finnish opinion forever, it seems. Even though he was back in Finland on the 30th of October 1939 (a full month before the outbreak of war) one often comes across the erroneous statement in the literature that he escaped from Finland at the outbreak of the Winter War. It is, however, true that Tigerstedt’s nerve had failed him, he also suffered a severe stomach ulcer attack in early October, but this seems to be primarily due to abuse from political opponents and not from fear of staying in Finland. True enough, on the face of it Tigerstedt’s behavior and the interview seemed suspicious and cowardly, especially for a man who had worshipped and paid tribute to burdensome destiny. Moreover, his conduct seemed to jeopardize the credibility of the whole activist group connected with Svensk Botten. On top of this, the true nature of his trip could not be made public.

It is obvious from later remarks that Tigerstedt himself was displeased not only with the situation, but with his own conduct as well. However, and this is important, Tigerstedt never tried to hide the fact that his nerves failed during this time - this and the acceptance of his conduct by the board of the AS after an investigation speak in Tigerstedt’s favor. Judging from the correspondence between Tigerstedt and Gripenberg, the latter, accepted the reason for Tigerstedt’s trip: a clandestine mission of a delicate nature to appeal for Finland. There is ample evidence, therefore, to indicate the need for a revaluation of Örnulf Tigerstedt’s behavior in October 1939 in view of the new documents.

It may be that there was a great discrepancy between rhetoric and actual deeds in his personality. It may even be »that authors of the most virile prose and verse are at heart the meekest of men«, as Van de Water once observed in connection with Rudyard Kipling. Yet Örnulf Tigerstedt did something which, in the light of the new documents, was truly heroic: he sacrificed his reputation for what he thought was for the benefit of his country. He was thus a man of integrity and honesty. For this we must give him his due, regardless of what we think of his political endeavors.

A month later the USSR attacked Finland. The poet spent December and January in Tornio (Tornetä), where he established an international press agency for foreign reporters. According to Tigerstedt he resigned when he learned that influential people in Helsinki viewed him as unsuitable for the
job on account of his German connections and his «escape» in October 1939.17

The Winter War
During the course of the Winter War a lot of effort was made to influence public opinion in Sweden to force the government into military intervention. Despite a strong popular movement in favor of Finland's cause a policy of isolationism and independence prevailed.18 Instead, substantial material aid was placed at Finland's disposal, some 9,000 volunteers joined the Finnish forces and Sweden undertook the role of mediator between Moscow and Helsinki.

Some of the political pressure was exercised by Finnish intellectual leaders at numerous rallies and public meetings all over Sweden. Among others Eirik Hornborg, Emil Zilliacus, Atos Wirtanen and Hugo E. Pipping addressed Swedish audiences.19 Ture Janson and Edi Gummerus and other Finland-Swedish journalists employed in Stockholm newspapers wrote articles. The mass meetings were organized by activist groupings such as the Finland Committee (Finlandskommittén) and «Freedom of the Nordic States» (Nordens frihet). In the latter organization some eminent Swedish authors were active members: Harry Martinsson, Eyvind Johnson, Vilhelm Moberg and Olof Lagercrantz. The view that Sweden's mightiest cultural achievement had been the conquest and civilization of Finland permeated this grouping, which was dominated by academic scholars. Finland had been saved for Western culture and this was now threatened by a new Eastern onslaught.20

The fact that radical authors like Martinsson, Johnson and Moberg had joined Nordens frihet shows how much sympathy there was for Finland in the winter of 1939/1940 and how very heterogeneous groups could unite for Finland's cause. These writers had all an unequivocal anti-fascist stand during the 30s and in the Spanish conflict.21 On the other hand few politicians were willing to translate words into action and under the surface political difference of opinion were strong. This is clear from the criticism directed at Olof Lagercrantz in the Social Democratic press. Lagercrantz had advocated a more active policy in February 1940.22

The attack on Finland made a strong impression on Swedish and Finnish poets. Some of their poems were collected and published in Dikterna om Finlands kamp (Poems about Finland's Struggle), which appeared in 1940. The vision of Runeberg in the Tales of Ensign Stal comes to life in several contributions.23 Another recurrent theme is the lonely outpost fighting for the Nordic countries.24 This leitmotif is often transferred to the battle of the Hellenes (Spartans) against the Persians.25 In the contributions of Karl Asplund, Ivan Pauli and Emil Zilliacus this is developed into the hopeless but heroic Spartan stand under Leonidas at the pass of Thermopylae.
Some of these Swedish poems have a strong undercurrent of disappointment at Sweden's refusal to intervene. This can be detected in Eyvind Johnson, Sten Selander, Olof Thunman and Gunnar Mascoll-Silfverstolpe. Olof Lagercrantz displayed an even stronger feeling of despair, shame and indignation in his poem »Den trettonde mars» (The Thirteenth of March).\textsuperscript{26}

Örnulf Tigerstedt was part of the overall Finnish propaganda effort to gain military aid from Sweden. In early 1940, he started to work on a propaganda album for the benefit of the Volunteers' Movement in Sweden. This project was carried out under the direction of the IL and the National Information Service (Statens Informationsväsende). The IL's Financial Manager Rickard Winter worked with Örnulf Tigerstedt on this project in Helsinki. On February 25 they moved to Stockholm to conclude and print the work. Tigerstedt and Winter established a Finnish propaganda bureau on Sveavägen in Stockholm and officially founded a Swedish division of the IL - the Självständighetsförbundet.\textsuperscript{27} This work resulted in two illustrated albums: Finland landet som kämpade (Finland the Fighting Country) and I österled (East Bound).

After Finland's heroic resistance and the initial victories which stunned the whole world the naked truth became obvious: a nation of 3 million could not fight and withstand the 160 million of the Soviet State in the long run. The peace treaty between Finland and the USSR was signed in Moscow on March 13, 1940. The heroically fighting Finland was forced to cede the Karelian Isthmus and lease Hangö (Hanko) for use as a Soviet naval base.

Hangö - Tigerstedt's summer paradise - was lost to the Red Army and Finland's existence among the free nations seemed destined to be short-lived. The poet was devastated. Everything seemed to be lost: the War, his good name in Finland (»since whatever I do, I will still be a 'discarded card' or a 'bad number' in my good fatherland«),\textsuperscript{28} his house and land at Gloskär, the Viipuri (Viborg) he had grown to love during the work with the Hackman book, and all his illusions about politics. »I am now looking into this empty room, whose existence I have been aware of and anticipated so long, this empty room which has paralyzed the blood in the innermost cavities of my heart through all these months of horror«.\textsuperscript{29}

But there was no time for despair. In less than a month Hitler ended »the Phoney War« and invaded Norway and Denmark. Sweden and Finland were now left surrounded and isolated by two totalitarian Great Powers. The impact of this new political situation and the warm feelings for Finland demonstrated by Sweden during the Winter War cannot be left unmentioned in our efforts to define the author's view of life. The newly awakened nationalism in Sweden, mostly due to the external threat, called forth slumbering thoughts hidden deep in the poet's subconscious:

There is something peculiar about old Sweden. In some way in these days I hear voices from distant bygone times asking me to come home. [- - -] Although they are still your own people who speak your own language but in another country than
your own native country, there is still something strange and inexpressible which links Finland and Sweden in a communion beyond all the borders which history and progress have drawn up.30

The emotional pattern established between the author and Finland's neighbor in this letter was to deepen in the years to come. This development was probably enhanced by the fact that, by now, he felt unappreciated and misunderstood in his native country. In addition, he did not share Olof Lagercrantz's bitterness over Sweden's refusal to intervene in 1940.

Under the influence of the German victories in Western Europe in the early summer of 1940 Tigerstedt renewed his belief in Germany as the future New Rome. Europe needed consolidation and unification in order to withstand the threat from Communism, and Hitler appeared to pave way for the coming of a new Alexander the Great.31 Undoubtedly, in the event of a future Neuordnung in Europe Finland's chance of regaining lost territory lay in participation in a future crusade against the stronghold of the crass materialism of a decadent age - the Soviet Union - Tigerstedt argued. Still, it is important here to recognize that what Tigerstedt had striven for above all, ever since the mid-30s, was the reestablishment of the »Old Realm« - the old unity between Sweden and Finland.32 The support of Germany and Hitler was necessary in order to accomplish this. The spirit of the New Germany could be a guiding star. He hoped for a revival of duty, honor and national idealism, which he also thought were embodied in fascism. In his opinion some of this national spirit had been awakened in Sweden in the winter and spring of 1940. What he never realized, was how deeply rooted this new nationalism was in the concept of democracy and independence, so he misjudged the situation. Nor could Tigerstedt ever realize the reality behind what Solshenitzyn later wrote: »Sweden's good fortune started at the defeat in Poltava«.33

In June 1940 he was invited to Germany by the Verein des Deutschtums im Auslande. The official purpose of the trip was negotiations about German translations and editions of Utan örnar and Huset Hackman. On arriving in Berlin he was asked to go on to Munich where the publishing firm was situated and there deliver a speech about Finland. Tigerstedt was, even so, cautioned not to dwell on the Winter War because of the delicate Nazi-Soviet relations. He delivered the speech in front of an audience of 1500 including General von Epp and Rudolf Hess. After the speech the Finnish poet was invited to have tea with Hess. It is worth recapitulating that when Tigerstedt later described this trip he characterized the German secrecy and execution of the trip as typical of the prevailing relationship between Germany and Finland in 1940.34

Shortly thereafter he received an invitation to accompany a diplomat at the Finnish Embassy on a trip to the Atlantic coast. The journey went through Germany and the newly occupied France, Belgium and Holland.35 This resulted in four articles in the conservative Swedish press and two
articles in *Helsingin Sanomat* where Tigerstedt envisioned a New Europe united under Germany: »These Germans are strange men. They are realists, hard as iron, ice cold men of reality...« he concluded in the first article. The small states of Europe could not be neutral, in this fight between giants they had to choose and to Tigerstedt it was a choice between idealism and materialism - Germany would solve the unemployment caused by the Western capitalists - the plutocrats. The articles were thus decidedly pro-German and described the firm optimism on a German home front practically untouched by the war effort. In a letter to Bertel Gripenberg he urged Gripenberg to write pro-German articles. »We small nations must help Germany. Not only for our own sake but for Europe's sake. For if the Germans survive, then we will all survive, but if Germany is defeated then we will all go to hell no matter what we do«. He also naively reported that the German army treated the population of the occupied countries well and that Nazi Germany »is not in the least interested in further occupation.«

In late 1940 Bertel Appelberg printed and distributed Örnulf Tigerstedt's fifth collection of poems, *Sista etappen* (The Last Stage). Seven years had gone by since the publishing of his last poetic work. Olof Enckell was perfectly right in assuming that some of these new poems had been produced over a long time, but much indicates that most of its content was created in 1939-1940. The collection contained much of Tigerstedt's old rhetoric and dual approaches to life (»Det stora konstverket», »Den stora katedralen», »Fontän i en park», »Ett herrgårdsminne», »Ishavsfantasi», »En tempelruin», »Det raka svärdet»), but they were now blended with a pronounced desolate feeling of despair. A new motif, which already loomed in the letters, now appeared supported by recurrent images of ice, darkness and cold stones (»stennatten, hälögsa skräcken ylar, kyla fannar, stelnat universum, kallhårt, det sista rummet, blott denna mörka blomma, sorgnatt, Giacomo Machiavelli, Den falske staren»): the secret of the innermost chamber was emptiness. The last illusion had faded away, is seems, and left the poet with agony and anguish: A stigmatized - It is finished! (Ja det är fullbordat.), *Consummatum est!* - rings out.

De är dock verklighet, synerna.
De är fullbordade, dikterna.
Drömmarna, aningarna:
i levande gestalt vandrar de över jorden.

(Alas, they are real - the visions./ They are consummated-the poems./ The dreams, the premonitions./ In the guise of the living they are walking the earth.)

and yet,

Varför darrar mina händer?
Varför skälver mitt blod
som i spänningsfylld ångest? »Det är fullbordat«. (It is Finished, *Sista etappen*)

(Why are my hands trembling?/ Why does my blood quiver/ As if in excited anguish.)
It was the experience of the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939 and the Winter War that had left its mark on the collection. Even the illustration on the title page signaled something new. The capitals of the columns were Corinthian and adorned with rows of acanthus leaves and not heavier and disciplined Doric as one would have expected when Tigerstedt was concerned. This is worth mentioning since it was obvious from other sources that the poet always paid great attention to the design of his books. Moreover, there was also, for the first time in Tigerstedt’s poetry, a new emotionally sincere and relaxed attitude towards nature. (»Gröna lågor, »Den svarta pärlan, »Hangö, »Hav i vårsol, »Sommandag i skärgården«) The poet was off-guard for the first time: love was present at last and »Huset som skall bombas« (The House that Will be Bombed) even carried a deeply humane and pacifist concept. The writer gave his poetry a new dimension:

Och nu ser jag dig där ute, du min dotter,
du min ovetande, i sandlådan lekande dotter.
Bruna strumpor har glidit ned
och lilla handen stryker undan det bångstyriga håret
under rödtoaftad sjömansmössa.
Så mjukt spelar solen mellan gulrande löv,
så leende glittrar springbrunnens stråle.
Hvå drömmar jag väl?
Allt detta skall bombas. (Sista etappen)

(And now when I see you out there, you daughter of mine,/ You my unaware, in the sand-pit a-playing daughter./ Your brown stocking has come down/ And your little hand brushes your unruly hair away/ Under red-tasseled sailor's cap./ How softly the sun plays between leaves turning yellow./ How smilingly the rays of the fountain are sparkling./ Why am I thus dreaming? /All this will be bombed.)

In fact with this poem of the threatened welfare state with its idyllic and provincial atmosphere, Tigerstedt now connects to a established theme in Swedish inter-war poetry. Still his apocalyptic visions, unlike those of Anders Österling and Harry Blomberg, do not result in real pacifism or total rejection of violence. The poem, nevertheless, shows that it had finally dawned on Tigerstedt, behind his martial mask and medieval warlike insignias, what modern war was all about. As can be expected the poem additionally somewhat modifies a modern reader’s probable antipathy to the poet’s earlier inhumane statements.

Tigerstedt’s massive saga, Huset Hackman - Ett handelshus i Viborg (Hackman House - A Trading Firm in Viborg, 1940), the book about the Hackman company, followed this very year when the town of Viipuri-Wiborg had been lost to the USSR. The first part in a planned trilogy it was completed after nearly five years of hard work. Given free hands to philosophize and meditate about history while recapitulating the firm’s past, the writer showed a good sense for dramatic effects and displayed remarkable skill in bringing history to life. The book was closest to the documentary novel but contained features of the historical romance. His style was vigor-
ously animated and amusing. The book was in that respect a forerunner and ageless in its genre.

Yet, simultaneously Tigerstedt could not refrain from applying the great perspective and giving the book a strong color of his view of history and mankind. No wonder Destiny was thus also here a key word. German and Swedish order was contrasted with Russian turmoil. An interesting and striking passage was the one in which he compared the Gustavian Swedish furniture style with contemporary Russian furniture:

Because those of us, who are used to the pleasure of the Western manorial interior, where the Gustavian style still lives strongly in the firm lines of the furniture and in the playful embellishment of the wall decorations, flinch back terrified when they see Old Finland's »Imenarkitektur« stretch out their atrocities from St. Petersburg. […] What a flood of unjustified, loosely nailed brass-works, of festoons, garlands, griffins and swans, impersonal stiffness, heavy gloominess alien to our country, and scooped up latitudinal extravagance, which probably was meant to represent some sort of imperial splendor. This is and remains the hallmark of the imported furniture style from St. Petersburg. Poor Wiborg and poor »Alt Finnland«! (Huset Hackman I, p. 479)

The contrast to this was his own Gustavian classically inspired style with a rococo lightness of touch. Culture and refinement were thus not to be found in the barbaric Asiatic East. Instead Örnulf Tigerstedt was very fascinated by the, in Finnish eyes, exotic German features of old Wiborg. In addition, he probably exaggerated their historical importance and influence in this part of the country.43

Meanwhile in Sweden Per Engdahl, chairman of the South Swedish board of the Riksförbundet Nya Sverige, published a collection of poems - Fast vinden ligger mot (Against the Wind). Tigerstedt had been in contact with and stood close to this fascist organization and in May 1940 he wrote to his wife about a meeting with Engdahl: »It was a merry and very agreeable reunion showing that we stood closer to one another than ever«.44

Although Engdahl's strange mixture of rhetoric and plagiarized style and down to earth modern expressions cannot be compared with Tigerstedt's literary ambitions, we can notice similar content matter:

Tiden är hård och dess fågel är ören;  
hör ni de mäktiga vingarnas brus?  
Grät ej för såren av tistlar och törnen:  
endast den glade ger solen sitt ljus.  
[---]
Handligen, offret... Brant slingrar sig vägen  
nu liksom förr mot förnyad kultur.  
Hårda bli ödena, tunga bli stegen:  
spänning och drama är livets natur.  
("Offret", The Sacrifice)45

(The time is hard and its bird is the eagle;/ Can you hear the roar of its mighty wings?/ Do not cry over the cuts from thistles and thorns;/ Only the joyful gives the sun its light./ [---] The deed, the sacrifice...Steeply the road winds/ Now as before toward renewed culture/ Hard our destinies will be, heavy our footsteps;/ Excitement and drama is the nature of life.)
Tigerstedt's poems were frequently presented to the readers of the periodical of the Engdahl group - *Vägen Framåt*. (However so were also poems by Jarl Hemmer, Edith Södergran, Bertel Gripenberg and Verner von Heidenstam.)

Engdahl and Tigerstedt shared a longing for *Gamla riket* - The Old Realm - the old Swedish Kingdom, where Finland was a part of Sweden. They shared an admiration for men like Caesar, Mussolini, King Charles XII of Sweden. They, furthermore, cherished the memory of the idealized General von Döbeln and his motto: Honor, Allegiance, Willpower.46 What is more, they also came to share the same publisher in Sweden: Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius at *Fahlcrantz & Gumaelius*. Along with Tigerstedt and Engdahl a number of writers belonging to the extreme right-wing wrote for this publishing house: Rüdiger Essén, Sven Hedin, Sanfrid Neander-Nilsson, E. R. Gummerus. It is also without doubt, judging from the vast correspondence between the close friends Örnulf Tigerstedt and Hummel-Gumaelius (334 letters), that the latter shared Tigerstedt's political views in large.47

Between 1940 and 1943 E. R. Gummerus published a trilogy consisting of the novels, *Fästningen* (The Fortress), *Arvet* (The Legacy) and *Sönerna* (The Sons). Gummerus not only believed in Tigerstedt's concept of destiny and form, he, more importantly, fully agreed with the former's contempt for democracy. Thus the title »The Fortress« could be understood by the line: »Man is the fortress of his own destiny« (*Arvet*, p. 212, *Sönerna*, p. 260, *Fästningen*, p. 72). Man had been deprived of ideals and the entity of living. A rotten civilization had brought materialism, Hollywood products and intellectual shallowness. The protagonist in *Arvet*, Boris, the scion of an old noble Finland-Swedish family of military traditions had an élitist image of himself (p. 106). Boris's political testament is to be found in his last letter. The Finns are regarded as »the chosen people« in the final letter to his beloved Helen:

We, he wrote, we Finns have not yet understood the magnitude of the mission we have been given; we will perhaps understand this some day. [- - -] It has been allotted to us, and our entire history pointed in this direction, that under given circumstances we would stop the present development, give the signal to a showdown with the powers which threaten us with the end of all we love and honor. (p. 292)

Thus, the foreordained destiny of the Finnish nation is to start the struggle against materialism and the powers of decomposition. Even though Gummerus had a more academic and intellectual attitude towards life than Tigerstedt, he continuously stresses the view of man having been severed from his roots by a vulgar, banal and decaying contemporary society. The true epitome of the entity that has been lost is General Victor Salander in *Sönerna*. Returning like a ghost of the past he isolates himself on a country estate and in a brief meeting with the vulgar world of booming Helsinki at
a wedding party he makes a speech: »- jag är rädd att vår samtid är blind för tecknen, att den tror sig kunna undvika plikt och bestämmelse; att den ej vet att allt kan fräntagas oss, allt utom vårt öde.« (Sönerna, p. 150) (»I'm afraid our age is blind to the signs, it imagines that it can dispense with duty and assignment; it does not know that everything can be taken from us, everything except our own destiny.«)

The General's wedding speech is held in the same spirit as Örnulf Tigerstedt's Radio Speech in January 1938. In most respects, Gummerus's attitude towards Sweden was significant. The Swedes of the contemporary age do not understand the importance and meaning of their glorious martial past. King Charles XII made history and did not just exist in time (Johannes; Arvet, pp. 178, 198, 278.). The General clearly sees what is coming but the wedding guests find him too old-fashioned, rhetorical and serious. To some extent, no doubt, Gummerus bears resemblance to another Scandinavian author in this context. Ole Ravn pointed out how important the myths were to the Danish author Harald Raage (Ravn, p. 54). In 1934 Raage published a novel called Svamp (Fungus), in which he described the fungus of materialism, intellectualism and denial of history which was growing in the very heart of decomposition - the city. The parliamentary system and its democracy were the true paradise of the mediocre middle man (Raage, pp. 138-139). But Raage, however, clearly distinguished himself from Gummerus and Tigerstedt with his vulgar and narrow anti-Semitism and hate of foreigners. His sexual repression and pronounced misogyny are more explicit although juxtapositions with Tigerstedt could be made as we shall see later. (Cf. Raage, pp. 23, 143-148, 164 and also Pfanner on Hanns Johst, p. 115). Emancipated free women represent to Raage the very fungi of society. The stress on hatred and fear of the female sex is obvious when Raage's protagonist, John Halbek, exclaims to his sister:

I forneder jeres hvide Kroppe, men I skænker aldrig jeres Sjæl. Rimeligvis fordi I ikke ejer nogen. Derfor er I Svampen i Bykulturens Bygning, Svampen, hvis Raaddenskab æder sig op i Huset, til det styrer i Grus.

(You degrade your white bodies, but you never give away your souls. Quite rightly so, since you do not possess one. Because of that you are the fungus of the house of urbanized culture, the fungus which like rot eats its way through the house, until it comes tumbling down.)

Another characteristic feature was Raage's pronounced anti-capitalist attitude and his interest for the social conditions of the unemployed and hard toiling laborers (Cf. Engdahl ch., III:11). The Dane's metaphoric language, with the concentration on animals of the marshes and swampland in connection with uncontrolled nature (often feminine), could also be found in Alfred Rosenberg's Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts (Cf. Stenius, 1934!) Raage thus in many ways represents an attitude closely bordering on Nazism in literature. Returning then to Gummerus, the concept of something lost can be observed in the description of the haphazard growth of the
city of Helsinki - a booming superficial Metropolis in the years of indiscretion:

[...] it is as if the continuity has somehow been broken. Everything carried out seems temporary, momentary, produced by chance. There is no leading idea to be seen, no organic connection. (Sinnerna, p. 250)

Thus, in Gummerus's trilogy we find the same conception and image of the decadent theme as we have earlier discovered in Tigerstedt's writings. The West was in its final stage of decline and this theme of fin de siècle prophecy is to be found in a great part of this generation in Europe. Yet unlike D. H. Lawrence and the Swedish Vitalist group - men like Harry Martinson and Artur Lundkvist - who searched for the heart of darkness or the African experience in the lost roots of ancient or more primitive down-to-earth cultures, Gummerus, Tigerstedt, Gripenberg and Stenius turned to form, tradition and the concept of historic destiny.

Military Assignment: Propagandist

Örnulf Tigerstedt, who had turned forty in the autumn of 1940, never really lost belief in Germany. He had, after all, been convinced that ideological differences would sooner or later result in a war between Nazi Germany and the USSR. The author was often seen in the German circles of Stockholm, where he still worked hard for the sake of Finland and the Independence League. He continuously promoted his main objective - a closer connection between Finland and Sweden. That way Sweden would not stand neutral in case of a second war with the Soviet Union. True enough, Tigerstedt interpreted the new German signals quite accurately. In the spring of 1941 he was once more invited to Germany by the »Verein des Deutschstums im Auslande«.

In the new rapidly changing climate between Finland and Germany, Tigerstedt was allowed to speak about the Winter War in Lübeck. Meanwhile the Swedish Security Police had begun to keep an eye on Tigerstedt and his German connections. The poet was hence refused a new working permit in the Swedish capital after his return from Germany. He was also suspected of connections to a certain Finnish diplomat by the name of Stackelberg, who had been ousted from Sweden for alleged espionage. These suspicions were later proved false. In spite of this the writer was allowed to settle in Stallarholmen, close to Strängnäs with his family in order to work on his new novel, Katedralen (The Cathedral), which he had started in 1940. When Operation Barbarossa was set in motion in June 1941 Tigerstedt hurried back to Finland.

It was hard not to notice the enthusiasm of the extreme right-wing in Finland this time. They were now fighting in concert with the mighty Germany against the Russians, revenge, regaining lost territory and perhaps the defeat of the menace from the East once and for all did not seem impossible.
As Tigerstedt later put it: There were three times in his life when both heart and intellect were unified with the events of the day; in 1918, in 1930 and for a while in the beginning of the Continuation War in 1941.\textsuperscript{52}

Tigerstedt was sent to the front as a propagandist and war correspondent by the Statens Informationsverk (The National Bureau of Information). In a letter to Bertel Gripenberg he passionately exclaimed: »Richtung Ost! Then at last we are finally where we should be«. He signed the letter: »Heil Hitler! Viva Finlandia« and so did his brother Carl Gustaf Tigerstedt in an appendix note.\textsuperscript{53} Without doubt Hitler’s crusade to the East was welcomed by large groups of intellectuals by that time. If we consider the fact that the Soviet Union had attacked Finland in November 1939, truncated the nation and left it at the mercy of its policy, the reaction in these extreme right-wing circles was not so hard to understand. The concept of a joint European venture against Communism which Hitler’s propaganda had envisioned was, thus, readily accepted not only by extreme right-wingers in Finland.\textsuperscript{54}

Herman Gummerus had been engaged in the Lapua Movement and in 1940 he wrote an essay in Svensk Tidskrift using a Kiplingesque proverb as the title: »Öst är öst och väst är väst« (East is East and West is West). In 1943, when editor-in-chief of Svensk Botten, he wrote Ukraina under bolsjevikhotet (The Ukraine Under the Bolshevist Threat). In the first essay he underlined »the Mongolian traits« in the Russian people (p. 410) and in the latter he claimed that the German invaders were hailed as liberators in the Ukraine. He primarily hoped for a modus vivendi between Germans and Ukrainians in the fight against Bolshevism, (pp. 8ff).

Gummerus Senior’s route to right-wing extremism is of great interest since he arrived at that political creed by way of socialist sympathy prior to the First World War. He had belonged to group of young Swedish-speaking idealists in the first years of the new century which then included the authors Arvid Mörne and Ture Janson.\textsuperscript{55} But the leftist sympathies were turned into contempt, hatred and hostility after witnessing the Red violence of 1917–1918 and later from what he saw in the Ukraine. The same development is valid for Ture Janson, who had gone underground during the Red rule in South Finland and had used a Helsinki basement for a hideout in early 1918.\textsuperscript{56}

Ture Janson had much in common with the radical Swedish-minded activism of Grotenfelt and Ekhammar and in time, as did the latter, preferred living in Sweden. In Janson’s daily column - »I blinken« - in the Stockholm paper, Aftonbladet, he often demonstrated sympathy for Nazism and Germany in the mid 30s.\textsuperscript{57} On October 17th 1933 after one of Hitler’s radio speeches he wrote: »A cultivated and manly voice, [...] The speech vibrated and lived, and you did not attain the impression of idle words but of gravity and action. [...] - his appearance gives you the impression of honesty and sincerity.« Eight years later when the Stuka dive bombers were releasing their deadly load deep inside White Russia, on the 22nd of June
1941, he wrote the editorial. Janson greeted the German's «European mission of historic world importance to shatter the Red regime which has formed a perpetual threat against the very ethics of liberty». But, everything considered, Ture Janson was not a political man to the core and after his initial pro-Nazi sentiments his articles were more balanced, as P. O. Barck has shown. Quite in line with this, there were not many traces of Janson's political stand in his literary production so there is no need to further dwell upon the author. However, his way of regarding Germany, could in many ways be said to be representative of a large portion of the Finnish bourgeoisie at the time. A bourgeoisie which had experienced the events of 1918 and had suffered personal losses, like Janson, during the Russian aggression of 1939-40.

In 1943, one of the more prominent AS members, Torsten G. Aminoff, published a book entitled Mellan svärdet och kroksabeln (Between the Sword and the Scimitar). In it Finland was viewed as the shield protecting Western civilization. The Finnish nationalist Bobi Siivén, who had traits in common with the Nazi hero Horst Wessel, was heroically described in the text (p. 386). Aminoff had been a member of the Kalsta-group and the book was prohibited by the censorship after the war.

Some went even further in their pro-Germanism. One of them was the previously mentioned Swedish-speaking political economist, C. A. J. Gadolin who expressed views in full agreement with the official Nazi picture of the USSR in his book Nyordningen i öster (New Order in the East, 1942). He adhered to the German ideas of Lebensraum, anti-Semitism and discussed the future German colonization of the east. Gadolin hoped that St. Petersburg (note the term) should be levelled with the ground - a view he shared with Bertel Grippenberg and many others among the activists of 1918-1920. The explicit idea of Neuordnung meant: »After this war Russia will be a province (gebiet) and not a state.« Fabritius absolutely agreed in his »Einsatz des finnischen Volkes im Kampf gegen den Osten«. Compared to this, Tigerstedt's zeal was far from blind. Not even when a German victory seemed close at hand. This was clear from a letter to his wife:

You should really be rejoicing - but [...] [...] ...how far should we accompany them and what will happen after this? What will the world look like when peace comes? Sometimes you're seized by the anticipation of the advent of a totally militarized society where there will be little room for literature, poetry and fairy-tales. And Sweden this land of misfortune. What will happen there if we consider the way they have misbehaved themselves since 1939. Yes, ever since 1918? (ÖT, 3 Nov. 1941, In C. Hackman's possession)

There are, however, signs in Tigerstedt's writings that the German influence on him at this time was continuously growing. Part of his work as an editor in the foreign department of the Statens Informationsverk consisted of writing propaganda articles in Finnish, German and Swedish periodicals and papers and in an article entitled »Die europäische Aufgabe aller
Germanen» published before the outbreak of the Continuation War (on June 7, 1941). Tigerstedt once more compared Europe with Greece and Hitler with King Philip of Macedonia. All Germanic peoples now had to follow the signal from Central Europe or else European culture would surrender to the powers of chaos (which meant the USSR). The two largest Teutonic peoples (Germany and England) had to join forces in the struggle for a New Europe - this was in keeping with Hitler's original ideas and the Nazi concept of *Neueuropa*. This view of polarization was hardly surprising taking Tigerstedt's earlier concept of a divided Europe on the eve of cultural destruction into account, but what was astonishing was a heavy prejudiced view, which appeared to be based on a racially grounded conception, earlier only slightly implied in the poet's writings. In describing the Nordic and Germanic Faustian *will to power* the author now used a decidedly Nazi-influenced language: »Germanischem Holz«, »Germanische und nordische Blut«, »warmblütige, gesunde Frauen«, »ehrliches erstklassiges Mannsvolk«. From this example, however, two objections may be anticipated. First, this was a propaganda article intended for Germany. Secondly, Tigerstedt wrote his texts in Swedish and some of these figures of speech may be attributed to the translator. However, the signs of a growing German influence on the poet were unmistakable.

Several Finnish writers, poets and intellectuals were assigned to do their military service in the National Information Bureau during the Continuation War. The later well-known Finnish novelist Mika Waltari and Örnulf Tigerstedt were in 1941 assigned to write the history of »Bolshevik espionage« in Finland. This assignment resulted in two books, Waltari's *Neuvostovakiolun varjossa* (Under the Shadow of Soviet Espionage) and Tigerstedt's *Statspolisen slår till* (The State Police Strikes Back). This propaganda enterprise kept Tigerstedt busy during the last part of 1941 and the summer of 1942. The book was released in the autumn and in the preface he wrote:

> Det är en grå och dyster film om förrådare, härsklystnad, läghet, brott och fanatism som hör kommer att upprullas för betraktarens blickar. Många av de medagerande voro okunniga och missledda stackare, många ha av hatets och egenkärlekens förblindelse forts in på den olyckliga vägen, många ha redan från början burit den mörka ödesstämpel som kännetecknar »der Untermensch«. *(Statspolisen slår till, p. 12)*

> (It is a gray and gloomy tableau of treason, desire for power, baseness, crime and fanaticism which is unrolled in front of the observer here. Many of the performers were ignorant and poor misled creatures, many of whom, infatuated with hate and egotism, have been guided onto the unhappy route, many have already since the start carried the dark signs of destiny which mark »der Untermensch«.)

The effect of this metonymic mode of comparing reality to a revealing newsreel here, where nightmarish visions of the undermining work of traitors, is strong and serves as a forcible narrative method. Already the use of the word »Untermensch« speaks of the German influence. The concept was by no means new to Tigerstedt, but he had prior to this used
Stoddard's equivalent the "Under-Man" since the earlier mentioned reading of the Lothrop Stoddard in the Twenties.

The book, which was immediately translated into Finnish unlike the poet's other works, became a bestseller. As the closing chapter, "With the War in Sight", openly indicated the author attributed the sole responsibility of the Second World War on the Communists (STAPO, pp. 298-300). It was also obvious that Tigerstedt's already manifest anti-Communism had deepened. The metaphoric language describing Communism and its supporters were related to sickness, lethal diseases and abnormality. Actinomyces, fungus, metastases and malignant tumors were trying to gain foothold in the Western society through the work of undermining Bolshevik agents. The civil war of 1918 is consequently now called "the insurrection" (cf. SKOTTÖ) and the author does not refrain from letting the reader know when a person is of Jewish descent (pp. 144, 146, 198, 229, 230, 233). There is no question also that Mika Waltari, in his previously mentioned corresponding book, often uses the word Jew. To be sure, Waltari even employs it in a biological sense, contrary to Tigerstedt. On the whole there are quite striking similarities between the two books.

Returning then to Tigerstedt, in Statspolisen slår till he moreover now used the word "kulturnbolsjevism" ("cultural Bolshevism") in a wide sense thus connecting it to liberals and democrats (pp. 302, 320). We can here surmise what kind of development was at hand, namely a radicalization, probably under the influence of the growing bitterness and totality of the War. In addition to this we have to consider the effect of the heavy German propaganda and the work at the Statens Informationsverk. This work had meant recurrent contacts with the Federal police under Arno Anthoni, a man who fled to Sweden in September 1944 but was handed over to the Finnish authorities. Arno Anthoni had Gestapo connections and was later accused of war-crimes and placed under arrest. The former head of the Finnish Security police, the Statspolisen, was, however, acquitted.

The European Writer's Guild
An important part of German war propaganda was aimed at uniting European cultural enterprises under German management. Thus Goebbels for instance founded an "International Film Association" in 1942. The field of literature was of course equally important. After a first meeting in October 1941 and a second in March 1942 a "European Writers Guild" was founded on German initiative in Weimar, Germany. The German "Propaganda ministerium", Reichsminister Goebbels and Hanns Johst were present at the event and the official name on the document read: "Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung". The text of the document underlined that the guild was founded in a time when the European culture was threatened and that "die geistigen Werte unserer Völker aus gemeinsamen Wurzeln und in ununterbrochener Wechselwirkung herangewachsen sind". The document was
signed by the Finnish representatives - Arvi Kivimaa and Örnulf Tigerstedt. In the next meeting in October 1942 Hans Carossa was elected president, the Italian Giovanni Papini first vice president and V. A. Koskenniemi of the University of Turku (Turun Yliopisto) second vice president. It was evident that the board reflected the German view of the importance of its fides Achates at the time. Koskenniemi, who in the absence of Carossa and Papini, led the meeting, addressed an assembly, consisting of 60 authors from 14 countries, by underlining the high values of threatened European culture and the importance of the overall acceptance of a manifest European destiny. A theme earlier developed along with the concept of Greater Finland in his »Suomalaisen SS-pataljoonan marssi« (The March of the Finnish SS-battalion). In every respect, Koskenniemi's key position and great influence in the field of culture in Finland during the first republic is striking in view of his right-wing extremism. It can serve as yet another good illustration of the great difference in cultural climate between Sweden and Finland.

During the mid 30s Örnulf Tigerstedt had been in contact with the Nazi-influenced Union Nationaler Schriftsteller, where Hanns Johst was president. Tigerstedt now became Der Sprecher of the Swedish-speaking group of writers in Finland and Arvi Kivimaa the Finnish-speaking counterpart. Thus, several Finnish writers took part in the so-called »Weimarer Dichtertagen«: Maila Talvio, V. A. Koskenniemi, Örnulf Tigerstedt, Yrjö Soini, Viljo Kajava, Tito Colliander and Mika Waltari.

In the report in the society's periodical, Europäische Literatur, Paul Hövel stressed that the base of the Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung's work was the concept of a new spirit - the spirit of a New Europe. That Tigerstedt actually himself believed in this is clear from an enthusiastic letter to Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius. Furthermore, the letter showed that the basic idea behind the Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung was to organize the field of culture into corporations. In actual practise this had already been put into effect in Fascist Italy's system of corporativismo:

You surely realize the importance of a European Writers' Guild in the coming New-Europe. I'm positively convinced that everything (sic!) in our part of the world, painters, musicians, lawyers, sculptors, journalists etc., etc., in due time will be organized in a similar way.

Tigerstedt worked hard on promoting membership in the Guild and in early 1944 the Finland-Swedish representation was as stated by Tigerstedt by far the largest in the guild in relation to the ethnic group's actual population. According to Tigerstedt the Finland-Swedish group included the following names: Bertel Gripenberg, Hjalmar Dahl, Harald Hornborg, Lorenz von Numers, Tito Colliander, Jarl Gallén, J. C. Fabritius, E. R. Gummerus, Ulla Biaudet (Ulla Bjorne), Joel Rundt, Ture Janson, Göran Stenius, Olof Enckell. Even Jarl Hemmer has joined us, he exclaimed to Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius and the whole Finnish section totalled 53 authors.
Olavi Paavolainen mentioned this fact in his published war diary Synkkä yksinpuhelu (Gloomy Soliloquy). He claimed that, in all, 44 Finnish authors were members of the E. S-V. «If we take the population into account - more than in any other country - very significant». Those among the European intellectuals who did not «realize the importance» of the Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung were the neighboring neutral Swedes. Fredrik Böök had been invited to the conference but the correspondence between him and Tigerstedt reveals that Sweden was not represented. Böök was not personally unwilling but he was certain that his fellow countrymen would not accept something under control of the German Propaganda Ministry since Sweden was neutral. «There are no Swedish authors around who would accept that». You must see «that Finland is altogether a different matter, you are at war, and you are brothers-in-arms with Germany». He went on:

If you succeeded in making Yrjö Hinn and Emil Zilliacus accept affiliation, then matters would appear somewhat different - it would then be in the Swedish interest to support the Swedish authors in Finland and oppose biased views.62

The fact that the well respected Swedish literary magazine, BLM, did not even bother to mention the existence of the »Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung« gives a good picture of the insignificance of the society outside German-controlled or influenced territory.

Tito Colliander accompanied Tigerstedt to Germany in October 1942.83 Colliander was employed by a German press agency in Lübeck, during the Continuation War, and wrote short stories in the German press.84 His letters to Bertel Gripenberg from this period show a deepened interest in politics and a high appreciation of National-Socialism: »By large we seem to share the same views, at least when it comes to politics«. Adolf Hitler is called »This fantastic genius«.85 Not surprisingly Colliander later refrained from mentioning his war-time views, his German employment or the Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung in his memoirs.

During his stay in Germany, Tigerstedt promoted Finland-Swedish literature and authors. In the first place Bertel Gripenberg, Harald Hornborg and Olof Enckell were praised by him.86 His own books, De heliga vågarna, Sista etappen and Utan örrnar, were already translated by the Rütten Loening Verlag in Potsdam and the printing had started.87 Shortly thereafter the whole printed edition was destroyed in an Allied air raid against Leipzig.88

Back in Finland Tigerstedt had been engaged to write the history of the Finnish saw mills (a book which never was completed) and the author also had in mind to complete his novel Katedralen. Most of his time was still occupied with the work in the Information Bureau. A second part of his study of Russian espionage was planned. The turn of the year brought what was viewed as the disastrous news from El Alamein and Stalingrad. Both Tigerstedt and Gripenberg nevertheless still believed in German
victory. The alliance between the Western Powers and the USSR was to them artificial and temporary.

In 1942 Örnulf Tigerstedt was elected member of the board in the society, the Svenska Tysklandvänner i Finland (Swedish Friends of Germany in Finland), formed the same year. According to the poet the society was established since the old society, the Finsk-Tyska Sällskapet (The Finnish-German Society), which was meant to be bilingual, neglected Finland-Swedish interests. What is interesting to observe was that Tigerstedt estimated the membership figures of this new society to around 3,500 in the summer of 1944 while the old, now Finnish-speaking society, had around 4,000 members.

Örnulf returned to Germany in March 1943 to give a series of lectures on Finnish literature. The invitation also came this time from the Nordische Gesellschaft. One of his speeches on the tour was entitled: »Ein Dichter sieht Neueuropa«. In it the author described Finnish nationalism as seen through literature. The theme was the theme of the Western outpost fighting alone its bitter, eternal battle for Europe and culture against barbarianism. In the frosty winter of 1939/1940 a lonely soldier carved these words into a tree-trunk: »Einsam stehen wir hier an der Grenze, oh, Europa, wo bleiben deine Männer?« Tigerstedt continued: »Aber noch mehr muss sich die Erkenntnis verbreiten, dass es nicht um einzelne Völker gehe, sondern um ganz Europa. Darum gibt es nur einen gemeinsamen Sieg oder Untergang.«

This and other examples make it thus clear that Tigerstedt did not share the early official Finnish concept of a separate Finno-Russian War. His German tour was this time longer than the one previously undertaken and in April 1943 he was still in Berlin. He was then invited by »Der Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda« to see the newly discovered mass graves of around 12,000 Polish officers which the Germans claimed had been executed by the Russians.

According to the Danish historian, Tim Toftekaer, the Nazis were so confident about the whole thing that they let almost anybody see the graves, not only the pro-German journalists to which category Tigerstedt undoubtedly belonged. Since the massacre at Katyn is vital to the understanding of Tigerstedt’s later actions we will dwell more on this incident. The German propaganda machine tried to use Katyn in order to shift the spotlight from the hideous exterminations and genocide they themselves carried out behind their facade of Pax Germanica. To a certain extent their propaganda was successful since it led to a break between Moscow and the Polish Government in Exile in London. The German propaganda, under Goebbels’s personal direction, used the common Nazi manoeuvre to make the Jews or »jewish Bolsheviks« responsible for the massacre: »Das Werk jüdischer Schlächter« (Völkischer Beobachter, 15 April 1943). Tigerstedt was obviously emotionally very upset by what he had witnessed together with other European writers in Katyn (close to Smolensk). And more im-
portantly, what he saw agreed perfectly with his general conception of Communism.

This event led to a series of contributions to the Swedish and Finnish press in the spring and summer of 1943. These were generally viewed in Scandinavian liberal and Leftist circles as pure German propaganda. The Foreign Office in London did however at an early stage put the responsibility on the Russians and so did the Americans, but they kept quiet about it. The incident and the articles were later used against Tigerstedt in the press campaign for his expulsion from Sweden 1944-46. What is important to observe however is that Tigerstedt never used the word »Jew« in these articles or attributed the responsibility to Jewish persons, which the Nazi propaganda machine did.

Let us then turn again to the correspondence between Tigerstedt and Gripenberg. The year 1943 had brought proof of the coming decline of the Axis powers to most people, and plans were made for a separate Finnish peace with the USSR. The so-called »Peace Opposition« which appeared on the scene in Finland in 1943, had a pronounced Finland-Swedish composition and the newspaper Svenska Pressen, which was later banned, irritated the German Waffenbruder. Tigerstedt, in his turn, refused to believe in defeat. Instead he directed his bitterness against America, and the liberals in Finland and Sweden. The Finnish war effort had been a half measure, defensive instead of offensive, now everything had to be put at stake - he did not use the word 'but readers' thoughts went to Goebbels' proclamation of Der totale Krieg. In short, Tigerstedt's view of the political order of things grasped the essence of the whole without showing any regard whatsoever of a democratic awareness. To be sure, this was the very totalitarian background which encompassed autocratic and fascist conceptions.

In the summer of 1944 the writer finished his second book on Soviet espionage, Hemliga stämplingar (Secret Conspiring). Today only a handful of copies exist of the book which was never published. The copy at Åbo Akademi is still obviously considered politically controversial and cannot be ordered through the normal procedure. The book is obtainable after a private interview with the Head Librarian and it is the only copy preserved with the unique original illustrations. Printed at the Mercator Printing Works in Helsinki it was meant to be published by Söderström in Helsinki and Fahlcrantz & Gumaelius in Stockholm. The compulsory censorship which then (in September 1944) worked under new guidelines stopped its publication and the edition was later destroyed. According to Bertel Appelberg, the book was planned to be published after the War but discreet inquiries had shown that among others Prime Minister K. A. Fagerholm was negative to a new edition. Two chapters of the book were however printed in Svensk Botten’s successor Aftonposten in July-August 1944 and in Sweden in the German propaganda magazine Tidsrevyn.
There were several circumstances that made the book a delicate matter. In the first place, its pronounced and unreserved anti-Communism was decidedly undesired if not outright illegal in Finland after September 1944. Secondly, Tigerstedt mentioned the names and the book included photographs of several persons that had been freed from penitentiaries after the appearance of the allied commission in Finland.

If we choose to compare the two books, *Statspolisen slår till* (1942) and *Hemliga stämplingar* (1944), there were some differences. Tigerstedt's anti-Communism had become more intense along with the growing realization that the War had taken a bad course. Apart from this Tigerstedt was indisputably pro-German and in the last chapter, entitled »The Face of Titism», he foresaw the coming of the Cold War. In addition to this he in detail also described what he called the Soviet »War Organization» which aimed at world hegemony, according to the author. Moreover a certain radicalization of the metaphors, and in the characteristics of the persons could be observed. Equally notable was the striking correspondence between Spengler's and Tigerstedt's style. Tigerstedt's description of the social and psychological background of the so-called »Waste-Land General« Eyolf Mattson (*HES*, pp. 69-71) and other figures in the book could be related directly or indirectly to the ideas of Spengler.

The preference expressed for »civilization« over »barbarity« struck a somewhat surprising note when Tigerstedt used a couple of pages to describe the misery, squalor, poverty and general vulgarity of the environment where »the germ of Bolshevism« spread. However, this new concern for the living conditions of the poor were isolated in his writings. He certainly, in an elementary sense, never simultaneously saw the economic circumstances underlying this reality and the pages by no means represented an indictment of the political and economic system.

In June 1944 the Soviet Union launched its enormous offensive. Viipuri (Viborg) fell on the 20th and the Red Army broke through on the Karelian Isthmus. Through a desperate last effort the Finns managed, at least temporarily, to stop the massive attack. President Ryti's withdrawal from the scene made a new foreign policy possible, the diplomatic relations with Germany were cut and on September 4, 1944, cease-fire was proclaimed between Finland and the USSR.

Instead Finland was forced into a third war - this time with its erstwhile military associate Germany. The accelerating speed of the events and the pivotal change of the foreign policy came as a shock to Tigerstedt, both politically and economically. The heavy taxes of the War and his own disinterest in economic matters had nearly ruined him and the entire edition of his new book *Hemliga stämplingar* had on top of that been confiscated and could not be published under the new order of things. The Russians now controlled the country according to his interpretation of the terms of the surrender. This was indeed the end of the dismal saga of the Niebelungen
and Europe to him. His German friends urged him to leave the country. In a letter to Bertel Gripenberg dated September 20th, 1944, Tigerstedt bitterly summarized:

> You see, it's not governmental systems or social reforms that worry me. A society can, when it boils down to it, exist under any sort of system. [- - -] But the fact that we will be under Russian rule again and become the target for a system of annihilation without parallel in world history - this is what's horrible. Kill a couple of hundred thousand in Finland and the people is eternally ruined in its innermost substance. And 200,000 is surely not a high figure in the general debacle. Then only the wood is left, the unfertile crude ground, that is, hereditary factors without further potentiality. Fellaahentum, as Spengler has foretold. No cathedrals, no edifices with form and soul, no (higher) purpose except the purely animal and vegetative. [- - -] But we who dreamed of a united Hellas between the Persians and Rome, we have nothing to find there. [- - -] [...] I regard myself as a sort of a living dead nowadays. One single tiny hope do I still maintain, a tiny spark is still glowing somewhere deep down in my soul. And that is the hope that one day I will be able to write the story of this catastrophe, the story of this European tragedy the way I myself saw and experienced it. A kind of closing of the accounts and the key to this «Gone With the Wind» and the heroic struggle and fall of these modern Confederate States.107

The relation between Tigerstedt's view of culture as something opposed to nature which had been refined through cultivation in generations in a national élite, and his perception of man is here evident. Ragnarök is at hand and Europe is lost to the «Untermensch» and his materialism represented by the USSR and the West Powers. There is a link here not only to Spengler, as mentioned, but to Thomas Carlyle, and Lothrop Stoddard as well. The Doom of the Gods is at hand, accompanied by moral chaos. In this catastrophe the poet sees no hope for a return of Balder, no rise of the earth, no brightening of the darkened sun. The cruel winter will come and Europe and its splendid civilization will sink into the sea of oblivion.

Notes

1. The Interrogation Record, p. 6.
3. For a thorough account of the following incident see Waltå 1990, the Interrogation Record, p. 6, memorandum made by Annita Tigerstedt, ÖT's Coll. AAL, and a written message made by the board of AS to the members, 10 Nov. 1939, in Bertel Appelberg's Coll., AAL.
5. The Interrogation Record, pp. 6-7, memorandum by Annita Tigerstedt in ÖT's Coll., AAL. A copy of this letter to H. Goering, dated 16 Oct. 1939, is in Christina Hackman's possession. It is signed by ÖT and also countersigned and verified by R.Öigaard. Another copy of the letter and a written confirmation of the story by Eric von Rosen dated 2 Nov. 1944 addressed to the Foreign Commission (E.Bexelius) is kept at the National Archives in Stockholm - Central File, ÖT.
6. It is doubtful whether this statement is true. ÖT was at least a member of the Swedish People's Party in 1938. An interesting difference between the two copies of Tigerstedt's
letter exists. They are identical except for the following passage, which is missing in von Rosen's copy, addressed to the Swedish Foreign Commission: "What has been my dream and for what I have been working - the Great European Germanic State - is starting to fall apart in Scandinavia". Von Rosen probably omitted this passage since his letter and copy was a plea for ÖT in order to prevent deportation. ÖT's sudden ample use of the word "Germanic" in this letter should be viewed cautiously and in connection with its aim.


8. Cf. the coat of arms of the Finnish border province of Karelia.


11. The telegram and the trip to Turku (Åbo) is confirmed by copies of letters from ÖT to Count Eric von Rosen, 17, 18 Oct. 1939 in C. Hackman's possession. Concerning the memorandum see the Interrogation Record, pp. 7-8 and a letter from Annita Tigerstedt to Ivar Harrie, Expressen, 8 Jan.1945, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Written commentary by Anita T. in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

12. Letter from ÖT to Normén, Stockholm 20 Nov. 1939, (In Christina Hackman's possession), von Rosen's letter at the National Archives above.

13. Von Rosen's letter at the National Archives (above), See also Waltå, 1990.

14. The Interrogation Record, p. 8. Message from the AS-board, 10 Nov. 1939, B.Appelberg's Coll., ÅAL. Cf. letter from Fabritius to BG 29 Oct. 1939: "The flight of the Eagle was by no means an escape in panic." etc., BG's Coll., ÅAL.


16. ÖT several times in letters implied that he himself was partly to blame. But at the same time he showed bitterness over how his friends and the general opinion had misjudged the situation. Letter to A.Hummel-Gurnelius, 26 May 1945: "För nog var även jag gjord till en fager knapp i livets väst. Men det var en bedrövlig tvekan inhombords och jag hade aldrig den rätta tillitaten som ger det rätta modet." (Since I myself had surely had forged to a fair button in the rest of life. But deep down inside I felt a frightful hesitation and I never was self-confident enough to keep up my courage.), ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. See also: The Interrogation Record, pp. 6ff., and letters to BA, 9 Oct. to BG 2 Nov. 1939, 8 Aug., 22 Aug., 5 Sept. 1940. BA's and BG's Coll., ÅAL. Letter to Annita T., 10 April 1940: Living under the direct threat of a coming German attack on Sweden he wrote: "I can't leave Sweden now, after all Sweden has done for Finland, even if it will be attacked. I just can't. "<-> <--> no one shall be able to say that your Örnulf is a coward person. Then (referring to Oct. 1939), much was different - so much broke down inside of me and I was sick in my soul." ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

17. The Interrogation Record, p. 9


27. Letter from ÖT to Annita Tigerstedt, 9 March 1940, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL, letter from ÖT to Bertel Appelberg, 9 Oct 1940, BA's Coll., ÅAL, the Interrogation Record, pp. 9-10.
28. Letter from ÖT to Bertel Appelberg, 9 Oct. 1940, BA’s Coll., AAL.
29. Letter from ÖT to Anitna T., 17 March 1940, ÖT’s Coll., AAL.
30. Ibid, 10 April 1940, ÖT’s Coll., AAL.
31. Ibid, 19 May 1940, ÖT’s Coll., AAL. This privately expressed opinion can be juxtaposed with similar views in his article in Upsala 16 June 1940 and earlier in Svensk Boten 22 Sept 1939.
32. See chapter II §4, letter to Bertel Gripeenberg, 22 Aug. 1940, BG’s Coll., AAL: “It will clearly be shown to the world that Finland belongs to Sweden and that the twain are one. If the concerned cannot realize that fact, then for centuries to come the Nordic cause is lost.
33. Alf Johansson stresses that the forces of activism in Sweden during the Russo-Finnish War were refrained to Rightist circles of academic background with no strong popular support (p. 365). Cf. Wahlbäck and Boberg, pp. 27ff.
34. The Interrogation Record, pp. 10-11.
35. This account is mostly based on the Interrogation Record made by the Swedish police in November 1944. Parts of it are, however, supported by a letter to Bertel Gripeenberg, (10 Aug. 1940 in BG’s Coll.) and by a letter to his wife from Berlin, 7 July 1940 (ÖT’s Coll.) It is plausible that Tigerstedt told the truth when interviewed in Sweden for several reasons. By that time, he was so strongly convinced that his imprisonment in Sweden was due to a dreadful mistake. He had a clean conscience the way he saw it. He was not enrolled in a Nazi party. He had worked for what he believed was in the interest of his country and his German connections had been in the interest of Finland, he thought. He could have kept quite about most of his German contacts, but since he saw no crime in them, he did not. He could not realize that the Swedish authorities and opinion did not share the then prevailing Finnish conception of the Continuation War.
37. Letters from ÖT to Bertel Gripeenberg, 10 Aug 1940, cf. ibid 22 Aug. 1940, BG’s Coll., AAL, the Interrogation Record, p. 11.
38. “<...>aldras (sic!) minst intresserade av fortsatt besättning”, letter from Öt to BG, 10 Aug. 1940. See above.
40. This motif was not new in Tigerstedt’s works. We find it already in Vågor ("Vanitas vanitatum") and in an uncompleted manuscript to a novel entitled, "Kontot spärrat", written ca 1931 (pp. 2-3, ÖT’s Coll., AAL). The expression is also to be found in VIKS, p. 95.
41. Letter from ÖT to Bertel Appelberg, Sept. 1935, BA’s Coll., AAL, letters from ÖT to A. Hummel-Gumaelius, 7 and 19 Aug. 1945, ÖT’s Coll. AAL.
42. See Landgren, 1975, pp. 112ff.
43. Undated letter from the historian Harald Hornborg to either Bertel Appelberg or ÖT, probably written ca 1952, after the publishing of Huset Hackman II, ÖT’s Coll. AAL.
44. Letter from ÖT to Anitna T, 4 May 1940, ÖT’s Coll. AAL.
47. There are 207 letters between 1941-1959 from ÖT to A.H-Gumaelius and 127 letters from A.H-G. to ÖT, all in ÖT’s Coll. AAL. A.H-G. moved to Strängnäs in the 50s. Birgit Hummel-Gumaelius to author, 21 July 1988.
48. Cf. Here Verner von Heidenstam’s poem "Hälsning till Finland år 1900", Nya dikter, 1900: "--->De sista svenskarna lågo/i blod och trasor på stäppen. -->> Nu slästa vi ej mer och begrava/ej stupade kungar i valven./VI hunnit vårt andra Poletta;/den stora gyllene kalven. (The last Swedes lay/in blood and rags on the steppe -->> Now we no longer
fight or bury/Fallen kings under the vaults./We have reached our second Poltava:/The great Golden Calf.

49. Letter to BG, 2 March 1941, BG's Coll., ÅAL, letter to BA, 9 Oct. 1940, BA's Coll. ÅAL: "...agitate for the Old Realm." In May 1940, ÖT prophesied to his wife "things will happen next spring", 19 May 1940, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

50. The Interrogation record, p. 12.

51. Ibid., p. 12. Letter to BA, 9 Feb. 1941, BA's Coll., ÅAL. In a letter to BG, 2 March 1941, Tigerstedt bitterly claimed that it was partly signals from Finland that had made him persona non grata in the eyes of the Swedish authorities. Cf. also letter from ÖT to A.H-G, 6 Sept. 1941, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL, The Swedish Security Police file on ÖT.

52. Letter to A.H-G, 5 April 1947, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

53. Letter from ÖT and Carl Gustaf Tigerstedt to Bertel Gripenberg, 9-10 July 1941, BG's Coll., ÅAL.

54. Svensk Botten, 2 July 1941: "But we are proud of participating in the great European onslaught against the Bolshevist barbarity". Cf. Wirtanen, 1963, p. 73, Svensk Botten, 2 July 1941: "Europe's largest and mightiest nation is at the head of this general European crusade". Lundin (p. 308) attributes this article to Herman Gummerus (on loose grounds it seems). Cf. Lundin, pp. 307ff., concerning Liisi Suomi, Helsingin Sanomat and the awakened dream of a Suur-Suomi.


56. Ibid., p. 118.


59. At the battle of Summa in February 1940, Janson tragically lost his only son, leaving a wife with two infants. Needless to say, a terrible shock to Janson (Mikael Janson to author, March 15th 1992).


61. Gadolin, 1942, p. 31, See also pp. 28-31, 54-55 et passim. As early as 1923, Gadolin had advocated a joint Germanic "Minority Fascism". In SB 1/1923.

62. The Interrogation Record, p. 13. See also Ölander, pp. 35ff., 68ff.

63. In 1942 Erkki Rääkkönen started a paper called Liisi Eurooppa. It was, as the title indicates, based on this Nazi concept. Among others, Karl Jansson and Gunmar Lindquist wrote articles for this anti-Semitic paper.

64. Statens Informationsbyrå.

65. Tigerstedt later claimed in his appeal to T.Nothin (12 Oct. 1944, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL: "Överståthållare i Stockholm"), that the edition was 5,000 copies in Swedish and 25,000 in Finnish.

66. The metaphors of this kind become even more pronounced in Tigerstedt's successor to this book - Hemliga stämplingar.


68. When ÖT used metaphors of disease and cancer, Waltari employed metaphors of poison (often in connection with snakes and spiders), Waltari, pp. 29, 32, 74, 124 et passim. Stylistically Waltari often made use of the simile instead of the implicit metaphor. Tigerstedt preferred the metaphor.


73. The document from 1941-42 included Sweden, but no Swedish representative had signed it (EL. 1/1942). Arvi Kivimaa did however include Sweden in his article; "Euroopan kirjailijaliitto on perustautunut" (The European Writer's Guild has been formed), in Valoja-Aika 1942, pp. 162-165. The same thing happened at the next meeting. This was also reported in Uusi Suomi "Among the Scandinavian countries Sweden was conspicuous by its absence" (Uusi Suomi 13 Oct. 1942). Cf. EL 7/1942. This is confirmed in a letter from Tito Collander to B.Gripenberg, 31 Oct. 1942 BG's Coll., ÅAL.


76. Letter from Union Nationaler Schriftsteller to ÖT, 20 March 1934, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


80. Letters from ÖT to B. Gripenberg, April 18, and November 23, 1942, BG's Coll. ÅAL, pro memoria from ÖT to "Udänningskommissionen" (The Aliens Commission), Nov. 1944, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL, letters from ÖT to A.H-G, 25 Aug. 1942, 19 Nov. 1942.

81. Paavolainen, 1946, pp. 463-464. Cf. Interview with Tigerstedt in Dagsposten, 30 April 1943, where he claimed that around 40 Finns were members and 15 of them were Swedespeaking: "As far as I know there is no person, neither within the Finnish nor the Finland-Swedish group, who can be labeled "a Nazi".

82. Letter from Fredrik Böök to ÖT, 7 April 1942, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. In a letter to A.H-G, 25 Aug. 1942 Tigerstedt mentioned that the Germans were very eager to see Swedish authors in the Guild. The General Secretary of the union, Carl Rothe, made a reconnaissance tour to Scandinavia in the summer of 1942. Tigerstedt's own speculations concerning the Swedish authors who might join can be of interest: 1. F.Böök, 2. Rüttger Essén, 3. Albin Widén, 5. Hammenhög, 6. Sven Hedin, 7. Per Hallström and "of course Einar Malm". Both Widén and Malm had visited "Das Dichterheim" in the 30s (ÖT's Coll., ÅAL). Thulstrup believed that the German interest for Widén was based on a misconception. They thought he was a 'Blut und Boden'- writer. (Thulstrup, p. 152). Thulstrup quotes a report from Fred Domes. According to it Malm often showed pro-German opinions but was not interested in making "a political effort" (Thulstrup p. 155).

83. Letter from ÖT to B.Gripenberg, 23 Nov. 1942, BG's Coll., ÅAL.

84. Letter from Collander to BG, 3 June 1942, BG's Coll., ÅAL. See EL, 12/1942, "Der segenspendende Regen" and other articles during 1943 in the same periodical. The Diedrichs Verlag had the copyright of his German editions.

85. Letters from Collander to BG, 16 June 1940 and 28 June 1942, BG's Coll., ÅAL. See also letters from 1 April, 16 June, 14 Sept, 31 Oct, 21 Dec 1942, 14 May, 15 Sept and 3 June 1944 in BG's Coll., ÅAL.

86. Letters from ÖT to BG, 18 April, 23 Nov. 1942, in BG's Coll., ÅAL.

87. Letter from the Verlag Rütten & Loening to Tigerstedt, 6 Jan. 1942, letter from ÖT to A. H-G, 19 Sept. 1942, both ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. The planned German editions were entitled Der grosse Aufbruch (poetry) and Ohne Feldzeichen (Utan Örnar). Press release from R&L, EL, 4/1944, p. 19. A chapter from Ohne Feldzeichen, "Die Wildmark", was published in EL 5/1944, pp. 18ff. This is not mentioned in Kunze's Deutsch-finnische Literaturbeziehungen.


89. Letter from ÖT to BG, 23 Nov. 1942, BG's Coll., ÅAL.

90. Letter from ÖT to Ragnar Numelin, 9 May 1946, RN's Coll., ÅAL.


92. Tigerstedt also readily underlined this in the Interrogation Record, p. 13.

93. Tim Toftebaer in a letter to author, 22 March 1989. 12,000 turned out to be the total number of missing Polish officers. The bodies of around 4,000 were found in Katyn.
96. Expressen, 4 Jan. 1945: "...saftiga greuel-rapporter om fynden i Katyn."("...Juicy atrocity propaganda about the discoveries in Katyn"). Göteborgs-Tidningen, 10 Oct. 1945; "...sådana ohöljda propagandaalster" ("...such unveiled works of propaganda").
100. In fact, Fox connects Katyn with the "Endlösung", p. 468.
103. Tidsrevyn 15-16/1944, "Uppmarsch för tredje världskriget". This article must, however, be treated with great reservation. ÖT mentioned in a letter to A.H-G, that Tidsrevyn had published the article without his consent. He feared that the text had been rearranged and altered. A careful comparison of the two texts (HES and Tidsrevyn) also reveals their differences. The text in Tidsrevyn thus mentioned "Kraft Durch Freude", "Mutter und Kind" and "Organisation Todt" and generally viewed Nazism with high approval. This passage is missing in HES. Cf letter from ÖT to A. H-G, 21 Oct. 1944, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL: "Fan må taka T.R.!" ("May the devil hit T.R.!!")
104. Oswald Spengler, Der Jahre der..., p. 89, letter from ÖT to B.G, 20 Sept 1944, BG's Coll. ÅAL, letter from ÖT to A. H-G., 8 Oct. 1944, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Tigerstedt mentioned in the last letter above that a notorious double agent, the Irishman, O'Brien Hiching, who was confined with ÖT at Sörby, was interested in translating the book and have it published in England and in the U.S.A.
105. HES, pp. 169ff.
106. Letter from ÖT to BG, 20 Sept. 1944, BG's Coll., ÅAL. According to Stjernschantz ÖT managed to receive the fee for a Swedish and a Finnish edition (1991, p. 173). This statement is surprising since his other wartime books were royalty based.
107. Ibid.
Back Door Homecoming – Aftermath in Sweden
1944–1962

Från äventyr i österled och segrar och nederlag
han vände hem till Dalom en disig martii dag.

Men ingen stekte den gödda kalv, och brännvin stod ej på is.
Han kom i den svarta bilen med eskort av en bred polis.

Förtty han kom som biltog man, en flykting på hemlig stig,
en spillra av nederlagnet och ett förlorat krig.

I alla dalars allmogemän, I koppar- och järnbergsmän!
Så många gemensamma vägar ha glömts och grott igen.
[- - -]

Med trenne sekler så mycket glömts, och så mycket har bäddats i grav,
så mycket med älvarnas vatten har runnit mot djupan hav.

Mot öster flyter Dalaälv. I öster är sorgens strand.
Så mycket förgicks i öster, som fött i Dalaland.

Var hälsad kärva fädernebygd! Det var en martii dag.
Och jag var ett flarn och en spillra från fjärran nederlag.
(- - -)

(»Återkomsten/The Return«, Den lyckliga jokern)

(From adventures in the East and victories and losses/ He returned home to Dalecarlia on a misty day in March./ But nobody grilled the fatted calf, and no aquavit was iced./ He came in the black car escorted by a broad-shouldered policeman./ Because he came as an outlaw, a fugitive on a hidden path, / A wreck from the defeat and a lost war./ All Ye Dala country folk, Ye men of copper and iron mining! / So many common roads have been forgotten and overgrown. / [- - -] Along with three centuries so much has been forgotten, and so many has been lowered in graves, / So many things were carried along in the water of the rivers flowing to the deep sea. / The rivers of Dalecarlia run to the East. The shore of sorrow lies in the East. / So much vanished in the East, which had been born in Dalecarlia/ / Hail to thee harsh fatherland! It was a day in March. / And I was but a fragment and a wreck from distant losses.)

After the armistice the future development of the situation in Finland in the fall of 1944 seemed hard to foresee. What intentions did the Russians have? Men like Tigerstedt had no illusions concerning Soviet power. They expected the genocide he had earlier anticipated in a letter to Gripenberg. A shot in the neck, the fate of the Polish officers, was the nightmare that the poet almost hysterically envisioned. There were many factors which contributed to make his picture of the USSR so decidedly categorical and dogmatic. It had probably been further biased through German propaganda, confidential work with the Finnish Security Police and above all his experience at Katyn.
He later claimed that according to a telegram from Reuter, the Bulgarian visitors at Katyn had been executed by the Red Army. Moreover he insisted that, in a radio program broadcast by the Russian propaganda transmitter, he himself had been named and threatened. Apart from this, all sorts of rumors and misinformation were rampant. Some of these reports spoke of death-lists and deportation of Finns to Siberia. According to his stepdaughter, Birgitta Gefwert (née Lagerspets), Tigerstedt had received personal threats ever since his books on Russian undercover work in Finland. Some of the persons mentioned in the two books, convicted and serving sentences for espionage, were to be released according to the Russian demands, the rumors said.

In short, the way Örnulf Tigerstedt interpreted the situation, suffering from his seriously cramped outlook, he had reason to fear for his own safety in Finland. The choice was not hard to make since he, additionally, longed to be back in Sweden. He had done this ever since 1941, when he had the profound experience of returning to his roots in the vicinity of Strängnäs (Stallarholmen).

[...] And still every fibre of my body is longing for my precious Selaän. I was completely happy there, happy since its such an old and refined Swedish district with cultural traditions and because all the oaks and the burial-mounds are whispering exactly the words to me that I felt were part of my being.

Except for Sista Etappen the author had not written what he conceived of as proper literature for nearly ten years and although his historical interest was strong the poet yearned for belles lettres. His detective stories and historical works were just leipäkirjoja - books to secure a steady income - to him. The author had wanted to return to Strängnäs ever since 1941 to complete the novel Katedralen but the War had changed that. His nine-year-old daughter, Christina, was already a boarder in a Stockholm family and so were thousands of Finnish children at this time.

Tigerstedt had, in his state of nearly paralyzing shock, asked to be relieved of his military service in the air defence of Helsinki to where he had been transferred in August 1944. This was granted on September 12. According to the author he and his wife decided to leave the country illegally for Sweden, after having discovered that all permission to go abroad was controlled by the Allied (Russian) Control Commission. Along with this, they received »persistent and urgent requests from reliable persons in Helsinki to immediately leave the country».

The Tigerstedt couple were secretly escorted by military officers to Gamla Karleby (Kokkola) and on the evening of the 29th of September 1944 they left for Sweden in a small open motor boat. Annita and Örnulf Tigerstedt arrived in rather poor condition at Skelleftehamn the morning after and were immediately detained and confined in separate buildings. Upon arrival he immediately claimed the right to asylum on political grounds.
Looking back today the whole venture of escape and Tigerstedt's fear of reprisals appear to be tremendously exaggerated and desperate, and perhaps they were, but on the other hand no one knew then what would happen. Viewing it from another perspective the call for revenge and retaliation was perfectly understandable - the Soviet Union had lost nearly twenty million lives in the War and large parts of her territory lay wasted - and in wartime justice is seldom scrupulous. Even with hindsight, he surely had reason to fear since he had been an influential intellectual anti-Communist and pro-German.

On Trial: »The Tigerstedt Affair»
The stream of refugees from Finland and the Baltic countries to Sweden was rather considerable in 1944. People arrived in all sorts of vessels, often in bad condition, and a wild variety of escapees were represented: Finnish Nazis, German deserters, SS-men in civilian clothes, war criminals, Swedish descendants, Baltic citizens who had served in the German army and of course common people scared of the Russians.Örnulf was first put under quarantine. He was in a rather good mood at first, certain that he could stay and confident that he could not be accused of anything. He had only fought for his country with pen in hand and in his view he moreover had fought for Europe and Sweden as well. »Today, 135 years ago we were sent to hell! And 135 years later we returned and were locked up in the same town!», he cynically reported to his publisher. The treatment in the camp seems to have been good but the whole experience of detention, the questioning, the frisking, the lodgings, »Its gloomy to end up here together with a bunch of Nazi blackguards I wouldn't dream of holding with a pair of pincers», was humiliating. Later he was addressed »Hey, you there», dressed in army clothes, forced to hard labor, and what was more, asked »whether he had served time earlier in his life?». This surely must have been most degrading and disgraceful for a man who regarded himself a member of the cultural and intellectual élite of the neighbor state - a man who belonged to a family introduced into the Swedish house of nobility which had always obediently and loyally served the Swedish state and kings.

The development of the »Tigerstedt Affair« took a different course from that which our poet had expected. He had been a suspicious person in the eyes of the Swedish Security Police ever since 1940. It is clear from the Security File that he then had been subject to bugging and his correspondence was secretly checked. His German liaisons had appeared suspicious and his relationship to the earlier mentioned Stackelberg had been thoroughly checked and Tigerstedt had been interrogated in 1941. Stackelberg had received notice to leave the country on grounds of alleged espionage for Germany. It appears that the Swedish police had suspected the Swedish daughter branch of the IL to be a undercover organization and
Stackelberg had in fact stated that he worked for them. However, although nothing tied Tigerstedt to the case, he became, like many other foreigners, a person whose activities were constantly supervised. Because of this, as we have seen, he had been denied permission to work in Sweden several times during the Second World War. This time it soon became clear that he probably would receive notice to leave the country. And yet the overall Swedish reaction after the outbreak of the Continuation War was incomprehensible to Tigerstedt who was trapped in an elitist concept of society. The Swedish verbal support, the economic help, the military equipment, the volunteers had subsided into growing repudiation and distance when Finland allied herself with Nazi Germany. Refugees had reported what went on in German-occupied countries and especially the fate of Sweden's sister nations, the Norwegians and Danes, had made an already dominant democratic opinion see the war on the Continent in strict terms of dictatorship versus democracy. This appears to have been absolutely beyond comprehension to Tigerstedt on all levels of intellectual reasoning.

A press campaign was launched against Tigerstedt and Pehr H. Normén who had accompanied him to Sweden. They were called war criminals, Nazis, fascists and Quislings. The last epithet was probably what hurt Tigerstedt the most, and however we approach the problem the accusation of being a traitor to one's country seems absurd. The poet had loyally served his country - this cannot be denied.

The reactions became even more preposterous in the letters to the editors. The poet was accused of personally having sent Finnish opponents of Nazism to concentration camps in Finland (Expressen, Jan 6 1941), and two days earlier the same paper presented a touched-up picture of the writer, where his features had been made explicitly disagreeable and callous. Normén was accused of similar crimes and of being a sworn enemy of Sweden. Ole Eklund, in the society Finland-USSR, connected Tigerstedt with what he regarded as the fascist aitosuomalaiset (zealous supporters of a puristic Finnish Finland) and their propaganda of the holy Suur-Suomi. This, he told, was directed against the Swedish minority which would be crushed along with the Finnish working class.

A large part of the Swedish press thus demanded that Tigerstedt and Normén should be ousted from Sweden and pressure was put on politicians. It was particularly evident that Tigerstedt's articles about Katyn played an important role in the debate. His name appeared even in the leading articles and the editorial of Morgon Tidningen on October 18th 1944 was representative of the prevailing Swedish reaction to Katyn: »We still remember the abominable article on the discoveries in Katyn, which had been arranged by the Germans - an article which he was allowed to publicize in Svenska Dagbladet to the sincere surprise to most of us.« In Sweden the Katyn Affair was thus viewed as Goebbels's propaganda fraud until the truth was revealed during the Khrushchev's Era in the 50s.
Indeed from a certain point of view the reactions were understandable. The democratic opinion in Sweden stood for a fighting humanism, and in the absence of responsible real Nazis the aggression was directed at these pro-German Finns. Reports, at first unbelievable, about the holocaust in Europe now arrived daily and the USSR, which had been linked to totalitarianism and imperialism even by a large part of the Swedish Left, only three years earlier during the Winter War, was now heroically fighting to make the world safe for democracy. The result, however, on a personal level was tragic. Pehr H. Norrmén collapsed and died at a Swedish railroad station and Örnulf Tigerstedt had to be sent into psychiatric care. Whereas other refugees like Gunnar Lindquist, who had actually edited anti-Semitic Nazi papers, been a member of the board of Nazi parties since the 30s and in contrast with Tigerstedt strongly criticized Sweden, were hardly mentioned.

There is no space here to give in detail the account of the investigation and the turns in the »Tigerstedt Affair«. The Swedish Foreign Commission at first ordered Norrmén to be ousted, highly probably under the influence of the successful press campaign, which once more started when Tigerstedt published his next work of poetry in 1945. The same treatment was recommended initially in Tigerstedt's case. Yet, Tigerstedt had many influential friends in Swedish Rightist circles and with the aid of Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius a lobby for Örnulf Tigerstedt was organized. According to A. Hummel-Gumaelius it was finally King Gustav V's words in a cabinet session »Honom skall vi släppa« (This man shall be released) which finally acquitted Tigerstedt.

The author was later in the early 50s, after having received restricted freedom of movement, at last granted permanent permission to stay in Sweden. The key feature of all the appeals, petitions and interrogation protocols had been that Tigerstedt had maintained that he had not been affiliated to a Nazi party. Instead he stated that he had hailed the New Germany as the bulwark against Communism. He also admitted having approved of some of the »social reforms« and the spirit of Germany but he had disliked its biological racialism. He claimed that the Herrenvolk concept and the way the Nazis had behaved on occupied territory had been disapproved by him and all real friends of Germany in Finland. Reasoning strictly pragmatically he claimed that Finland had no other option than to turn to Germany. Furthermore, the author also insisted that he had tried to criticize this with all his German contacts, however in a very cautious and paraphrased manner. On various occasions he had been invited to speak and lecture in German occupied areas but had always in different subtle ways declined.

Örnulf Tigerstedt was not, as has previously often been suggested, weakened in his political extreme right-wing creed after the War. In December 1944 during the sudden German counter-attack in the wooded
plateau land of the Ardennes he exclaimed: »Long live Rundstedt!«22 and when peace was declared and people were cheering on Kungsgatan in Stockholm he proclaimed: »These fools! What do they know about war and peace? And what do they know of what will soon come?«23

In support of Eli Heckscher’s article in Svenska Dagbladet he called the Russian participation in the Nuremberg-trials hypocrisy. It is additionally highly probable that he never fully realized the extent of the German war crimes against humanity.24 In Örnulf’s eyes the age of the masses had now finally and inevitably come - profanum vulgus had taken over. In the new order of things the road to survival went through the acceptance of a bourgeois existence in the small conservative Swedish town of Strängnäs. His correspondence from the 50s and early 60s displays a downright reactionary attitude to democratic society and a fanatic enmity toward the modern welfare state. He was a member of the reactionary Nationella Förbundet, he hailed de Gaulle and the apartheid policy of South Africa,25 he proposed »Arbeitsdienst« against freewheelers and young »motor freaks«,26 he disliked the idea of female priests27 and he despised the »imbecile cult of freedom« and »cultural laisser aller«.28 Instead he hoisted the Southern Confederate flag, which he saw as a symbol of a society closely related in spirit and way of life to the herrgård - the old manorial culture - in Finland. The poet used to gather his friends on the 19th of August to celebrate King Gustav III’s coup d’etat in 1772 - which symbolized »the revolution from above« that he had been dreaming of in the spirit of Spengler and General Primo de Rivera.29 According to his uncompromising stance on national and social issues the new society suffocated heroism, brilliance, wittiness, eccentrics and nonconformists such as Bellman, Milton, Lasse Lucidor and Frans G. Bengtsson.

Perhaps one of the best poetic examples of Tigerstedt’s unchanged and steadfast view of culture and society is provided by his short poem, »Den döda skogen«, which appeared in his last poetical work, Den blå porten (The Blue Gate). This poem conjures up the vision of a devastated European civilization symbolized by the naked, rustling branches of a dead forest - calling to mind Eliot’s arid waste land. Evil shadows, representing foreign races and peoples, are slowly drifting in from the surrounding marshes and slowly absorbing the wood.

In contrast with this reactionary pattern, there are, however at the same time, clear signs in the poet’s poems and letters of a more relaxed attitude toward democracy, Social Democrats and working class people. Nor was his relationship to nature as reserved as earlier. This development had, as we have already accounted for, started in the mid 30s. Tigerstedt later experienced the Swedish model of the »Middle Way« in the mills and foundries of Bergslagen and slowly came to realize that the Social Democrats were also defenders of culture. There is no space to discuss with proper thoroughness the declining course of Tigerstedt’s literary reputation.
in the late 40s and 50s but we will, to some extent, try to give a picture of his literary aftermath. For it was an aftermath. He never reached a position in Sweden anywhere close to the one he had reached in his native country prior to the Second World War. The author never really seemed to regain the vitality and independence after having witnessed the downfall of the authoritarian regimes and the new map of Europe. Tigerstedt, living under the perennial threat of extradition from Sweden, now wisely refrained from all public political activity or statements. Perhaps this is most obvious in his choice of genres. The writer now turned to historical works and then returned to poetry. When he published a talented travel book consisting of essays in 1953 it was entirely free from direct allusions to the political world. But let us not move too fast in time. Let us return to late 1944.

The Armor: A Jeering Joker

The poet's first reaction to camp life, in the Swedish prison camp, was one of self-defence. In doing so he also assumed the stance of the harlequin. The world was hypocritical and, as the medieval Swedish Västgötalagen pointed out: »if a Jester or Joker is slain, all petitions are rejected, no one will be held responsible«. This was how he felt. His next work of poetry, Den lycklige jokern (The Happy Joker, 1945) was written in this spirit. The protagonist who returns in the first poems was a melancholic, cynical, aristocratic jester representing a dying culture, that of Europe but also of the »Finland-Swedishness« of the effete manorial culture. The harlequin jeered at us and bowed - he was not dead yet; he was after all alive and teasingly, deceitfully smiling at the hollow and phony world. There is, moreover, no question of the fact that by using this approach Tigerstedt also stressed that he was first and foremost an artist and entitled to some poetic licence.

The story of the publication of the book was a turbulent one. Tigerstedt's poetry was entirely judged from a political point of view, except for one review (in Nord Sverige) and the attacks were unrelentingly fierce. In the Finnish edition three of the poems were excluded by the censor: »Nederlagets sång«, »Sörj Europa« and »Under den mörka vingen«. Perhaps the most unexpected aspect, from a literary point of view, was Tigerstedt's use of rhyme again, which he had not used since Vågor in 1918, according to the critics. Indeed, when he did so he employed a very old-fashioned approach, using an abundance of rhyme, alliterations and playful harmonic games - a technique much approved of in Swedish 18th century poetry. However this was not altogether new in his poetry. We find it in Vågor and he employed rhyme in a poem published in Finsk Tidskrift in 1942 called »Grannarnas«. This last poem presaged the poetic form of the ballad used in Den lycklige jokern. Another thing that escaped the critics was that Tigerstedt deliberately strove for a cadence resembling a wheezing, arhythmic barrel-organ in the meter. He thus consciously used words carrying too many unstressed syllables in relation to the meter. He hoped to achieve a
lively, jesting and unpredictable effect by the use of this technique. The poem "Hjärter kungens bal" captured much of Tigerstedt's philosophy. In it we find his old counterpoints of Culture - Nature, Order - Chaos, Nobility - Vulgarity, Originality - Levity. The atmosphere of "after us - the masses" was compressed in the hoarse, vulgar, Jacobin "Ça ira" - the cry of the oppressed masses in Paris 1789 (JOK. pp. 36-38).

In part three of the collection, "Nederlagets sänger" ("Songs of Defeat"), the poet's voice turned grave, stoically bitter and melancholic. He honored and paid tribute to the memory of his friend Pehr H. Norrmén in the poem "Quand même - Till en död vän." (Q.m. - To a Dead Friend). The truth shall prevail ("Gyllne spännet") over the hypocrisy of a world populated by the powers of perjury ("giftpokalen", "mörkostupet") was the central theme in this poem based on the juxtaposition of light and dark elements (JOK. pp. 111-112). The three censored poems opened this part of the book. The first two, "Nederlagets sänger" (Song of Defeat) and "Sörj Europa!" (Mourn Europe!) forcibly expressed the bleak desolation of a civilization laid waste. The heroic battle had been lost and the Western world and its culture was ruined. Knowing the author's earlier political stand it was not hard to imagine what "the cruel face of the Serpent Goddess/ and the terrible nature of the Land of the Abyss" in this context alluded to. The metaphorical use of "brödratvisten" and "tvedräktsfolken" (the fraternal dispute, the peoples of discord) in both poems was probably linked to the United States and Britain by the censors. The Western powers had betrayed Europe when they joined forces with the enemy of true civilization - Communist Russia.

In "Under den mörka vingen" (Under the Dark Wing) Tigerstedt had momentarily regained some of his exacting cold beauty and this time it was underlined by an enchanting rhymed rhythm:

Vi levde fort och vi åldrades snabbt
under den mörka vingen.
Vårt avsked blev kort, vårt tal blev knappt.
Försonad och glömd blev ingen.

Vad vi ägde, vad vi ärvit och fått
av mynt, av möbler och kluther
blev döda ting, blev intigt och smått,
blev bjällra och makstunget läder.

Och allt vi offrade, allt vi gav
var fåfängt och förmådet.
Det sjönk som en sten i sorgens hav
begabbat och förgätet.

Ty nattens vinge låg väldig och tung
över den brinnande jorden.
Och döden tälte till gammal och ung
de halvt förglömda orden:
»Av jorden är du kommen, till jord skall du bli.
Vid en sinande källa du rastar.
Ditt hus skall tömmas, och bo skall däri
läderlappar och gastar.«

En gång över Troja, Kartago och Rom
låg straffande gudarnas händer,
Nu vilar ödets förkastelsedom
över Europas länder.

Så fäller sorg kring by och stad,
och åkern står övergiven,
och normona bränner det gyllene blad,
där sågan om Faust står skriven.

Snart famnar natt vår kallnade härd.
Tomhet är borta och hemma.
I eld förgicks vår strålande värld
och i dårskapens vind vår stämma.

(»Under den mörka vingen«, Den lycklige jokern)

(We lived fast and we aged quickly. Under the dark wing. Our parting was short, our speech was brief. None spared and forgotten. What we owned, what we had come into and had inherited. Of coins, furniture and clothing. Turned into dead stuff, became empty and petty. Turned into jingle-jangle and worm-holed leather. And all we sacrificed, all we gave, we did in vain and presumption. It sank like a stone into the sea of grief. In mock and oblivion. Because the wing of the night lay mighty and heavy. Over the burning earth. And death spoke to old and young. Words partly forgotten. Earth to earth, ashes to ashes. You will rest by a well running dry. Your house will be emptied, and therein will live. Bats and phantoms. Once over Troy, Carthage and Rome. Lay the punishing hands of the gods. Now Destiny's verdict of rejection rests. Over the states of Europe. The sorrow is descending now over hamlets and towns. And the tilled land is deserted. The Norns are burning the golden sheet. Where the saga of Faust is written. Soon night embraces our chilling hearth. Emptiness is everywhere. In fire our radiant world vanished. And so did our voice in the wind of folly.)

Finis Europae, Finis Finlandiae! The dark wing, here and in other places in Tigerstedt’s poetry alluded to the inevitable destiny. A destiny which earlier had carried tidings and hope of heroism in the spirit of the new nationalism (»The New Puritan», SKOTTÖ, p. 148, »The Spring Speech», »The Kynmnene Speech») had now turned into the destiny of death and final destruction.

When Tigerstedt had settled in Strängnäs he invited his old friend Bertel Gripenberg over to convalesce and undergo medical care in early 1947. Gripenberg was suffering from tuberculosis, and his condition proved worse than expected. In May 1947 the old reactionary bard passed away in Sävsjö, Sweden.

Bertel Gripenberg and Örnulf Tigerstedt had shared a very similar view of life and art. Perhaps it is not wrong to speak of a spiritual affinity. Yet Bertel Gripenberg went even further in his Right authoritarianism. He was in fact more radical in his solutions. Moreover, his anti-Semitism is manifest
in several articles and letters. He directly contributed articles to Finnish Nazi papers such as the Nazi mouthpiece *För Frihet och Rätt*. Gripenberg complained that in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the most important Finland-Swedish paper, he could not write what he really wanted. In fact, articles by Gripenberg were even rejected by *Svensk Botten* because of his anti-Semitism. In addition to this he wrote in the IKL's *Ajan Suunta* and adhered to their rejection of a democratic Scandinavia. Furthermore, it was obvious from his dabbling in politics, as shown in his private correspondence with Örnulf Tigerstedt, that when advocating a radically new order of things he certainly did not flinch from radical measures:

- Tanner naturally should be »abgeschossen«, but who will take care of that? [- - -] It is a matter, then of staking everything on one card, to stage a white coup, a military overthrow à la Franco, [...] (To ÖT, 28 Sept. 1937, In Christina Hackman's possession)
- It would, of course, be necessary to have some of the most dangerous and artful criminals liquidated (»abgeschossen«), in the first place Tanner, Holsti, Siervo, Niukkanen and Cajander - but who will do it? The rage has not yet gathered enough momentum. (To ÖT, 1 Jan. 1938, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL)
- At that moment the object is to take the chance quick as lightning and without mercy. However, the representatives of the »Popular Front-minded« bourgeoisie are few here, and I believe that they could be silenced if you had a couple of hundred of the most distinguished liquidated. The rest of them would probably shut up after that. Concentration camps or expatriation would only lead to gossip and agitation, (To ÖT, 28 Sept. 1937, In C. Hackman's possession.)

Gripenberg, in his cynical pragmatism, did not even seem to hope for a coup d'etat without violence. Nor is there any reason to believe that these private letters were written for the purpose of impressing Tigerstedt with a callous attitude. The instances displaying a mythology of violence in his public writings are all too easily found. However, Bertel Gripenberg was a poet and an artist and not a politician dealing with *Realpolitik*. He was an aesthete trapped in a dogmatic world view beyond good and evil, who believed in an unconditional pragmatic policy, an ultimate policy of Faustian *Wille zur Macht*.

Tigerstedt, in reality, found it hard to be so callous. Typically, Fabritius once reported to Gripenberg: »Franco is something of Örnulf's type - he can suddenly let 'feelings' speak and let the arms rest. But Örnulf is entitled to that - he is a poet.«

It was a characteristic feature of Gripenberg's way of thinking that the Reds could once and for all be silenced through a military *putsch*. Even Tigerstedt clearly realized that in order to unite the Finnish people the labor movement had to be manipulated and not annihilated. Shortly prior to the death of the old poet, Tigerstedt expressed his *Après nous le déluge* sentiments in a letter:

I do have a burning longing to press your hand after such a long period of separation. It's going to be fun to be able at last to speak with a like-minded person about the essentials of life. [- - -] But concerning such matters it's really only possible to talk to a brother under a Finland-Swedish manorial ceiling. We can't, to be sure,
ever escape that symbol. That ceiling belongs to us as heaven to those who have found salvation. And we can be proud of being the very last. After us - yes, what will come after us???

The Towering Cathedral

Tigerstedt completed and published his novel Katedralen in 1946. He wanted to publish it in his own name but was talked into using a pen-name, because of the reception and negative publicity that met The Joker. The front page shows the protagonist of the novel, a mighty cathedral, lined with scaffolds, dark and looming, towering over a small town. For above all, the cathedral is really the protagonist of the novel. Its human characters are only grouped around it as part of the environment. This impression is enhanced by the book's wooden and stilted dialogue. In many ways it could be seen as a reaction to contemporary literature, a literature which the author found obsessed with individual problems and psychology. It is a novel of ideas and written in the pursuit of a complete entity - a whole, the longing for a hierarchical and uncomplicated old society.

The symbol of the cathedral is familiar in Tigerstedt's poetry and it goes back to the concept of the lasting work of art or culture, a monument which shatters the very dimension of time - something more important than individual human lives. It is perhaps this that makes Tigerstedt's world so frightening.

The continuity of this vision of the cathedral is striking. In addition to this we can observe that the symbol of the cathedral was also used by a writer who agreed with much in Tigerstedt's outlook upon the world, namely Drieu la Rochelle. To the Frenchman the cathedral represents the collective gathering place around a faith, an idea, beyond national and social antagonism. La Rochelle even imagined his fellow French writers working on the cathedral in corpore but in different lodges - an allusion to the medieval guild system. They formed a body of their own - an organic entity we might say:

Dans cette cathédrale redressée par les meilleurs écrivains français, au-dessus d'un peuple morne et assoté qui reste reconnu dans son bistro ou dans son salon, Céline est le puissant sculpteur de gargouilles, Giono trace la grande flore terrestre et céleste des chapiteaux, Beurmann retrace le Christ en gloire au milieu du tympan, le grand Christ blanc et viril de notre religion, aryenne. Et il y a Jouhandeau dans un coin discret.

Tigerstedt's alter ego, Örjan Sten, puts a mighty yoke on himself and strains all his power to build the cathedral. He neglects his wife who cannot share his blind submission to the cause. He is blind to everything else and close to victory when the cathedral strikes back and he falls from the scaffolds. Thus we are often close to self-realization in our hubris when our destiny calls on us. Yet this theme cannot be directly transferred to the contemporary political level - Tigerstedt had started the book in 1941 but the
principal story had been in his mind even earlier. Instead it should be interpreted as a leitmotif: the earlier mentioned concept of man's irrelevance. As a novel the book was a failure and could serve as a worthy illustration of Viktor Rydberg's word in 1864: »[...] what can be called an abortive fiction of tendency is when the practical purpose has thwarted the wings of fantasy or suffocated or prevented an artistic treatment of the subject, when the characters are mere concepts, which have been dressed into a coat or a kirtle and been given a talking mouth to drum the moral of the book into the reader».

A New Existence: Bourgeois Life in Strängnäs

Tigerstedt was granted permission to stay in Sweden. He settled in the small, beautiful old town of Strängnäs on Lake Mälar which had provided most of the background scenes to Katedralen. The author made many new friends in Sweden and he appears to have been accepted quickly. He was viewed as a somewhat exotic, eccentric and popular person in the cultural clique of the small town. Tigerstedt's life in the social world of Strängnäs revolved around four points; the military set at the regiment, the academic world of the local college, the traditional clergy group and finally the artistic coterie at »Liefwendal's art colony«. Among his closest friends were his publisher Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius, the author »Edi« Gummerus, the poet Bo Setterlind, the archivist Nils F. Holm, the poet Einar Malm and the chairman of the Conservative party in the town - Gunnar Tingdal.

In contrast with his social life, his reputation as an artist was, to say the least, still bad in large circles. The following incident gives a good picture of how controversial his name still was around 1947. Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius planned to publish a historical work called Det svenska svärdet (The Swedish Sword). Various essays by well-known historians on Swedish military history were intended for the book. However, several of the contributors threatened to withdraw from the project when they learned that »Örnulf Tigerstedt, the Lapua- and German supporter who escaped to Sweden« was to participate. Tigerstedt's old antagonist, the great humanist Birik Hornborg, saved the situation. In a letter to Nils F. Holm he put forward that, although he as a democrat disliked Tigerstedt's political views, no one had the right to deprive an author of the opportunity to practice his trade, particularly not »those Swedish gentlemen who sat there in peace and tranquility when Finland was fighting for its life«. Tigerstedt was, according to Holm, moved and grateful for this letter and voluntarily withdrew from the project.

Instead, he commenced his next poetic work, Floden rinner förbi, (The River Flows By, 1948) robed in the black and white dress of the joker again, only this time the perspective was more distant. The self-irony was back and the bitterness seemed to have slowly faded away. The dream of Caesar, the imposed inner dictatorship and the fear of chaos were giving away to the
oppressed side of his nature: the one he called Mr. Hyde in _Utan örnar_, the one who loved nature and longed for freedom. However, nothing was really altered, these feelings had always been there in Tigerstedt. He had always been a dual person, employing dual conceptions, dialectic reasoning, counterbalancing, contradictions and opposing concepts. The title, _Floden flyter förbi_, was probably derived from his favorite author Marcus Aurelius, and the agony and anguish which formed the undercurrents echoed hollow and frightening to the reader. It was the inevitable march of time - the knowledge that Tigerstedt found so hard to bear - in the heroic spirit of Marcus Aurelius:

As a river consisting of all things that come into being, aye, a rushing torrent, is Time. No sooner is a thing sighted than it is carried past, and lo, another is passing, and it too will be carried away. (Marcus Aurelius, S.C. IV)  

Some of these sentiments, which remind us of Aurelius' abrupt, concise and sincere language paired with an air of complete aloofness and detachment, can be detected in the following lines by Tigerstedt. However the previously so stoic heroism now seems more distant and his Finnish heritage comes to life, as in these _Kalevala_-inspired passages:

Men du ser hur strömmen glider
sakta gungande vid gröna stranden,
ser dig själv, din styrkas farkost,
sér din ungdoms purpursegel
bleknat under höstens himmel.

Mycket, alltför mycket
bär den bruna böljan
sakta gungande mot havet.
Alltför mycket tar det stora havet.
Alltför kallt är havets gröna öga,
alltför djup dess fann,
där allt är tystnad.

("Floden rinner förbi", The River Flows by, _Floden rinner förbi_)

(But you see the stream passing by/ Slowly rocking by the green shore,/ You see yourself, the bark of your strength,/ Behold the purple sail of your youth/ Faded under the autumn sky./ Much, too much/ Is carried along the brown billow/Slowly rocking to sea./ Far too much is swallowed by the big sea./ Far too cold is the green eye of the sea,/ Too deep its lap,/ Where all is silence)

The important part of this collection of poems was part three. In this part Tigerstedt consciously repeated the scheme of ideas and themes he had employed since the 20s. The work of art was what mattered, and it had to be cut out of crude unwilling rock, chiseled out of nature's pure chaos. Only the product gave freedom and real freedom meant sacrifice and only then could time itself be defeated.

Yet in the poem »Fruktan« he, in a moment of clear-sightedness, attributed the authoritarian dream to his own fear:

Det var din fruktan blott.
I fruktan lyfte du det tunga blocket,
byggde jagets murar,
höjde valvets bön
och reste spiran
som ett skri mot nattens skyar.

("Fruktan", Fear, Floden rinner förbi)

(It was nothing but your fear./ In fear you lifted the heavy block,/ Built the walls of
the self,/ Raised the prayer of the vault/ And erected the scepter/ Like a scream
against the skies of the night.)

This stanza also provides us with a good example of Tigerstedt's meta-
phorical language, which was still very centered on rigidity and stone
material. In this passage he let the metaphors »jagets murar« and »valvets
bön« be followed by the metonymy »spiran« which, of course, stands for
ordained authority.

Most critics seemed to have been of the same opinion here. They saw this
as an act of purification, a closing of old accounts for the poet. »The old Ör-
nulf Tigerstedt does not seem to exist anymore«, Bertel Kihlman exclaimed
in Nya Argus. What had escaped him and several other critics was that
Tigerstedt, from time to time, had stopped for a while and with self-irony
viewed things from the other side, often in doing so displaying his inner
uncertainty and fear (Cf. VIDG: »Valvet«, BÖDE: »Broadway«, »Flykt«,
»Bondpermission«, SISTE; »Huset som skall bombas«, »Den falske siaren«,
»Stängningsdags«, HVÄG. »Preludium I-II«, »Molntrotlet«). Even in his most
martial collection of poems, De heliga vägarna, he let a noisy magpie burst
into laughter over the poet of thunder and his warlike appearance. For
Tigerstedt had all the time maintained a certain distance. No matter how
hard, cold and bellicose he appeared, under the visor of his knight's armor
he was another man - uncertain, and peaceful. And indeed some men need
masks to cope with reality and a being they find unbearably void of
meaning.

Tigerstedt's next project was a commisioned historical work - another
bread and butter book. Det ekar under valven (Echoes Under the Vaults, 1949)
was the story of Hässelbyholm's estate in Södermanland, Sweden. In the
closing words the poet could not refrain from using the political perspective
again. It was his old dream of a united Europe - a bulwark against
Communism that he envisioned in the time of the Cold War:

[...] in reality we are already in the middle of the -Third World War-, although for
the time being - and why not to the end - it is fought with the modern and subtle
ways of the Cold War. If the East is winning, then we will sooner or later have the
sovkhoz and the kolkhoz here and we will furthermore be completely freed from all
further discussion of any future whatsoever. If the West, on the contrary, is win-
ning, then the unity of Europe - already so atomized by nationalist thinking - will be
permanently lost. Above all, we will until further notice not have to engage in
speculation, so popular up to now, about how to assure a supply of daily bread »in
case of a blockade«, [...] (Det ekar under valven, p. 459).
The view displayed here was not very different from the one he held prior to the Second World War. Soviet and Asia still represented collectivism and annihilation of culture.

In 1950 Tigerstedt's eighth collection of poems was published: *Fällda vind-brygga* (The Drawbridge is Down). Here the author returns to the cyclical conception of time, man's irrelevance is underlined by his own futility, being a captive of his own prison: time. *Fugit irreparabile tempus* - we cannot recall lost time, we are helplessly flowing with the river and our destination is set. We can build our fortresses and watchtowers, and we should, but behind it all the desert is ever to lay waste to all that has been accomplished (cf. »Vesper i klitterland«) - and the desert awaits in our own hearts. The feeling of anxiety and emptiness that had always been there has deepened. In fact, as we have seen from the autobiographical material, he had always struggled to maintain his self-imposed stoic attitude. The mask concealed a sensitive and delicate artistic temperament. But most of the critics linked this to what they called his personal »political failure«. What they did not understand was that Tigerstedt mourned a culture and a way of life and that the poet now found it difficult to keep up his mask, his heroic pessimism, for lack of trust. For he also lacked true faith. Religion to him was primarily a matter of tradition and subordination under a commander, a leader. What was left was to turn to nature, and this he did, as was obvious from the first stanzas of the first poem »My Black Wall«: »The ivy is harmoniously curling over an un guarded crest« of the wall. Nature had played an important part earlier in Tigerstedt's poetry but never before had it been so harmoniously combined with fortresses and walls. The poet was now finally off guard, not only momentarily. This development was probably enhanced by his absence of true faith.

The second part of The Hackman House - *Huset Hackman II* - came out in 1952. The book was very well written and Tigerstedt certainly had a way of making history and especially cultural history come alive and stimulating the reader. The exotic cosmopolitan atmosphere of the old »Wiburg - die Festung« had once more captivated his romantic disposition. Indeed among economic historians Tigerstedt's account of the trading firm is considered a minor classic.

*Den blå porten* (The Blue Gate) was released in 1953 and this ninth collection of poems was to be his last. The martial attributes which had been rare in his postwar poetry were now entirely gone. The vision of the empty room stood almost intolerably naked in front of the poet who almost desperately searched for something divine in this »world devoid of stars«:

Men där finns intet,
intet utom du själv
tystnaden
och stenen.

(»Den ofräknomliga vägen«, The Inescapable Route)
Det finns inga öar
ingen kust på den andra sidan. --
Det finns ingen morgon.
(»Vindstilla«, Windless)

När drottningen rider in
skall han i stadsparten
överlämna dina tomma salars nycklar.
(»Övergiven stad«, Deserted Town)

(But there is nothing there,/ Nothing but you, yourself/ The silence/And the stone.
- There are no islands/ No coast on the other side. - - /There is no morn. - When the
queen is riding up/ He will hand over the keys to your empty halls/ In the town
gate.)

Even the great cathedral is dead (p. 80). And yet the poet still tries to
imagine a salvation, a forlorn hope, although deep inside he already knows
that the Cista Mystica behind the Blue Gate is empty - the arch is void of
everything (pp. 79-81).

The symbol of the arch, so familiar in Tigerstedt's poetry, was part of a
Masonic allegory which went back to King Solomon's Temple. Tigerstedt
had joined the freemasons in 1931 and the importance of the fraternity to
him was now growing. This could be seen in the veiled references and the
symbolism in his last works of poetry. The notion of a tension between
former rigidly cast forms and an incipient tentative release from such forms
can be sensed in this last act of his poetry. However, Den blå porten prompts
the observation that some of the masculine virility in Tigerstedt's verse is
not altogether gone. In »Slagregnet« (The Pelting Rain) the earth, the very
land is conquered and raped, not by a Caesarean warlord this time (cf.
HVÄG: »Det stora uppbrottet«), but by nature itself.

Örnulf Tigerstedt seemed to have accepted his new placid bourgeois life
in Strängnäs, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife and politics. It
would be misleading, though, to give the impression that Tigerstedt's
adaptation to the new environment and pace of life was frictionless. Some-
times his artistic mentality reacted against this new conventional and un-
exciting existence.47 He was after all a romantic adventurer, who loved to be
on the move - an indefatigable eternal explorer - a Geomailer as his friend
the poet Bo Setterlind often referred to him. At the end of the 40s he dis-
covered the Danish island Bornholm - a paradise for artists in the southern
Baltic. To Tigerstedt the island represented something more - this was the
ancient Romantic dream of the Island in the Sea (Cf. Yrjö Hirm's book Ön i
världshavet, The Island in the Ocean, about the legend of Atlantis and litera-
ture), it was order and culture surrounded by the wild and chaotic sea - an
ultimate fortress. (Cf. Den blå porten, pp. 8-9). He found a Scandinavia in
miniature here and it was all enveloped in rich, dense lush green and the
soil was rich, almost vibrating with history and culture. The poet returned
here summer after summer and wrote several articles and a book with
motifs from the island. The book Ön i havet (The Island in the Sea, 1955)
consisted of short stories all linked together by the landscape and the people of the island. It was an extremely well-written book, perhaps the best Tigerstedt ever wrote, displaying how well the genre agreed with him. The book further demonstrated the tendency, indicated toward a more relaxed view. Nature was beautiful and it could provide peace and tranquility. The poet's perennial battle had finally resulted in a cease-fire. The short story about Ola Hansen's garden even suggested that sterility and lifelessness may be the ultimate result of form and discipline.

**Last Writings**

Tigerstedt's last works can be characterized by a despairingly willful search for God in nature. This old motif is perhaps most familiar to us from Goethe's *Faust* - the Doctor's painful perception that all earthly things are transient and that man can find no escape from this truth in nature, a nature which our protagonist had earlier regarded with such distrust and wariness. The earlier dialectical opposition between nature and culture was thus weakened in the 50s. If Tigerstedt's poetry from the late 40s and 50s did not reach the level of his work from the 1930s his reputation in other genres was increasing. A sign of the aging poet's recognition as a cultural historian was his new assignment to write a substantial part of the planned history of the Swedish iron works at Fagersta. The result, *Floden av eld och järn* (The Flood of Fire and Iron, 1957) was a solid book of 700 pages, published in 1957. His growing interest in the mining and iron industry in this region of Sweden in his later years was presumably partly due to family history. His forefather Erik Falander had been the scion of an old family of mining men from Falun in the Swedish province of Dalecarlia. This was a return to his roots, to his ancestors and their earth. *Floden av eld och järn* presented a cross-section of Swedish history with the focus on Fagersta Works and its leading families. History and its mainspring, destiny, were seen in the large view once more and most obviously through the eyes of an omniscient narrator, moving freely among characters and episodes. Sometimes, it seems, too freely. It was, thus, primarily the technique and method of an aesthete and a poet, not a modern historian.

The small patriarchal foundry world led by a gray-bearded fatherly proprietor was described with strong sympathy. The authoritarian secluded society, with its traditional guilds, was compared with an organism (*FLEJ*, p. 155) living a contented life of its own. This idyllic, industrious society was contrasted with the Enlightenment, and the following French Revolution. The new ideas of liberty and equality were slowly decomposing the old society based on medieval ideals. Materialism and its mongrels, Socialism and Capitalism, came instead. (*FLEJ*, pp. 77, 162, 241, 277, 298-99 et passim)

Tigerstedt's dualism had accommodated the antipodes Feeling - Will, Irrationalism - Rationalism, and in his last books the irrational under-
currents grow stronger. A good example of this, but also a good illustration of his often brilliant style, is provided by these closing passages from *Floden av eld och järn*:

Men i jordens innandömen var ursprunget till allt detta, och det är samma glödande ström som flyter fram genom seklerna. En egendomlig trollmakt utgår ur det flytande järnet, den glödande smältan, den ringlande ormen i valsverkets käftar. Eldkvasten över masugnens krans, gnistregnet och flamman ur bessemerkonvertens gap, helvetsbadet innanför martinvagnens tåthål - där är något i allt detta, som ger begreppen järnkarl och smed en särskild tryngd av mandom och en av hemligheftsfulla makter förlämnad kraft. Och så har de en efter en bundits av järnets magi, gett sitt och försvunnit igen såsom bessemergnistornas kaskad stocknar i en lysande gul men snart skingrad rök. (*Floden av eld och järn*, p. 682)

(But in the interior of the earth lay the origin of all this, and it is the same glowing torrent which flows forward through the centuries. A strange magic power emanates from the floating iron, the white-hot smell, the coiling serpent in the jaws of the rolling mill. The besom of fire over the blast-furnace platform, the shower of sparks and the flame from the mouth of the Bessemer converter, the hellish bath inside the peep-hole of the Martin furnace - there is something in all this, which invests iron workers and smiths with a special weight of manhood and a power endowed by mysterious forces. And so they have one by one been captivated by the magic of iron, made their effort and disappeared again like the cascade of the bessemer sparks fading in a brilliant yellow smoke that is soon dispersed.)

The intermingling of red hot melting iron, irrational undertcurrents, virility and manhood underline the sexual atmosphere of this passage. The objects are once more libidinalized with an almost pagan ritualism in Tigerstedt's texts (Cf. *De heliga vägarna*) reminding us of the Futurist attempt to bridge the gap between private and scientific reality.49

Örnulf Tigerstedt passed away on November 6, 1962 - the Swedish day as it is called in Finland. His last years had been filled with many different projects. He was writing the third part of the Hackman House and preparing a book about Sweden. The latter was posthumously published by Nils F. Holm according to Tigerstedt's wishes in 1964. The book was called *Källorna sortar i väster* (The Sources Are Rippling in the West) and in it Tigerstedt once more envisioned his everlasting dream of *Det Gamla Riket* - The Old Realm - the united Swedish-Finnish state.

His final years had been very fruitful. His last book on Sweden had been preceded by popular readings from the script on the Finnish radio. He had traveled and given lectures in both Sweden and Finland on Bornholm, Finland-Swedish culture and local history. These lectures were often given under the egis of education organizations owned by the Swedish labor movement, like the WEA (ABF), a fact that serves as another indication of the once so controversial poet's more understanding and less antagonistic view of the labor movement.50

In a letter written ten days prior to his death while awaiting an operation, he summarized his life for his old friend and Finnish publisher Bertel Appelberg:

(There is so much I wanted to do and get finished and so much has been frittered away in the service of alien princes. It has been instructive, to be sure, but it has taken too many years of my life. And then all these years of hard, stubborn struggle to crawl out of the "vomiting pits"! At last I have managed, but unfortunately, just when I got my nose over the edge this came along. I had already managed to make it to Svenska Dagbladet and stood a good chance of broadcasting on Sweden's Radiodio! Irritating, wouldn't you say?)

Notes

1. According to letters from ÖT to A.H-G., 28 Oct. 1944, 2 Feb., 25 July 1945, the frightful thought of being executed by a shot in the neck was very much alive to the author.

2. The Interrogation Record, Preface. The broadcast had been in Finnish and ÖT had been attacked by the well-known propaganda voice "Tiltu" and by Armas Aikä, ex-minister of culture of the Russian puppet government on occupied Finnish territory in 1939 - the so-called "Terijoki-government".

3. The Interrogation Record pp. 15, 18-19, Birgitta and Kaj Gefwert to author, 19 May 1989. By request of Tigerstedt, Kaj Gefwert disposed of all ÖT’s Katyn material in one of the harbor basins of Helsinki.

4. Letter from ÖT to A. H-G., 5 Aug. 1941, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.

5. His daughter, Christina Tigerstedt (later Hackman), had lived at Storgatan 38, Stockholm, since February 1944. Christina Hackman to author, 19 May 1989.


9. Ibid.

10. Actually, a report in the security police file shows that the Russians in Finland did make unofficial inquiries about Tigerstedt in 1946 or 1947. The report was dated 25 Nov. 1948 and came from a Swedish agent with the code-name "Benjamin", (Sw. Security Police File on ÖT). Around 20 Finnish Citizens (the so-called "Leino’s prisoners") had been handed over to the USSR in the spring of 1945 (O. Leino pp. 144ff).


12. Tigerstedt alluded here to von Döbeln’s good-bye speech to the gathered Swedish-Finnish army, in the same town of Umeå where ÖT was confined, letter to A. H-G., 8 Oct. 1944 ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.


14. Documents under file no. 4853/40, Sw. Security Police file on ÖT.


17. The Swedish-Polish historian A. Uggla, "Den besvärliga sanningen om Katyn", Radio program, broadcast on Swedish Radio PI, 11 Feb.1989. Cf. also the official report made by Kjellberg, *Den tyska propagandan i Sverige under krigsåren*, (Sou:1946:86), p. 43: "<...> the consulate tried, with little luck, to have this 'news item' publicized in the Swedish press" even *Svenska Dagbladet*, where Tigerstedt's main article had appeared, indicated 3 months later that they no longer believed in Tigerstedt's account! (*SvD* 22 July 1943)

18. Tigerstedt, who on several occasions wanted to sue Swedish newspapers, was advised not to do so by his publisher, A.H.-G. He had also personally made several direct appeals to King Gustav V.

19. According to A.H.-G., (letter to ÖT, 19 Dec 1945, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL) those words were uttered by King Gustav V in May 1945 in session. "It was of course the result of Mrs N's lobby ('doktorinnan N'), but they show that the words of the old King are not totally irrelevant". A check up in the Swedish National Archives confirms that ÖT had been on the agenda that day and that King Gustav V had been present. The protocol is however missing. An earlier file from the decision of November 24th 1944 of banishment show that some of the letters speaking for ÖT had been handed over by the Kings personal side. This might point at a personal interest on the Kings behalf. If the King had uttered something, he would most probably have done that informally anyhow, judging from his few comments during the the Second World War. The National Archive, Stockholm, Agenda for Gov. Meetings 1944-45, Cabinet Meetings 18 May 1945, Cabinet Documents, 24 Nov. 1944 and 18 May 1945.

20. *Pro Memoria to the Interrogation Record*, 10 Oct. 1944, Appeals to King Gustav V 12 Oct.1944, 25 May 1946. All in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. In a letter to A. H.-G., 19 Sept 1942, Tigerstedt mentioned that Waltari's and his own book on Soviet espionage were going to be published by the German "Antikommintern". ÖT was not too happy about the arrangement since "this publishing house has such political features".


22. Letter from ÖT to A.H.-G., 18 Dec. 1944. ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

23. Ibid., 26 May 1945. ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


25. Concerning the Nationella Förbundet, cf. letter from B. Löfstedt to ÖT, 17 Aug. 1960, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. See also letter from Nils F. Holm to ÖT, "Christmas 1960", ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. The correspondence between ÖT and Holm show that they shared a common political view concerning contemporary events in South Africa, France, the Congo etc.

26. Letter from ÖT to Annita T., 21 March 1961, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.

27. Ibid, 26 Aug. 1957, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL

28. Ibid., 21 March 1961, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


30. See, e.g., "Kortleken", pp.7-10, stanza: 1, line 2, stanza: 16, line 1, 2, stanza 14, line 2 started with 3 unstressed syllables. See also "Jokern till spader tvåan" and "Balen".


32. Von Heidenstam uses the same expression in his "Den druckne titanen", Nya dikter. The wing metaphor is, moreover, to be found in several poems in his Nya dikter.

33. Letter from ÖT to John Landquist, 8 May 1947, the Royal Library, Stockholm, No. L. 33: 1.


36. Letter to ÖT, 26 Dec. 1936, in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Cf. also Steinby, p. 294: "BG who could not have his vehement statements publicized in HBL.<...>." Concerning Svensk Botten see letter from the editor Herman Gummerus to B.G. 9 Oct. and 14 Nov. 1942 in BG's Coll., ÅAL.

37. Letter from J.C. Fabritius to BG, 19 Feb. 1939, in BG's Coll., ÅAL.

38. Letter from ÖT to BG, 18 Jan. 1947, BG's Coll., ÅAL.

39. Finally, Tigerstedt gave in and the name "Axel Falander" was used (Axel being his first Christian name and "Fahlander" the old family name). It did not take long before the secret was revealed by the press. Letter from ÖT to A.H.-G., 28 Sept. 1946: "Preferably it should honestly and decently be marked Örnulf Tigerstedt". See also letter from A.H.-G. to ÖT, 1 Feb. 1947, Both in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


41. The fact that Tigerstedt himself really saw his protagonist, Örjan Sten, partly as an alter ego is clear from a letter to BA (21 Feb. 1946, BA's Coll., ÅAL): "and in this novel I fell down and broke my hipjoint". Nevertheless, the character Sixten Möbius also bear traits that remind us of Tigerstedt's personal dualism, (Cf. KAT, pp. 106, 131).

42. Viktor Rydberg: "<-->misslyckad tendensdikt är den, där det praktiska syftet stäckt fantasiens vingar och kvåvt eller förhindrat ämnets konstnärliga behandling - där figurenna åro blotta begrepp, som man iklätt rock eller kjortel och givit en talande mun för att i läraren inplugga bokens sens moral". Quoted from Björck, 1983, p. 27.


45. Marcus Aurelius, p. 91.


47. Cf. letter from ÖT to A. H-G., 17 March 1947, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL; "I can only create when I feel the free winds of piracy and irresponsibility blow around me". Letter from ÖT to Bertel Appelberg, 10 Dec. 1950, BA's Coll., ÅAL. "No wonder that, since I once hurriedly came down to the Mammon's temple wearing slippers and at another occasion sat down on top of Herr Chief Accountant's desk saying 'mornin'".


II. Örnulf Tigerstedt's World View

I have so far made an attempt to place Örnulf Tigerstedt in a social, geographical and historical environment. It is now time to look deeper into his world view and its roots.

Beyond doubt, regardless of whether there is such things as »fascist« literature, certain opinions and common features as regards views and style can be found in the works of writers like Pound, Yeats, Lewis, Benn, Hamsun, Maurras, Brassilach, Jünger, Gripenberg and Tigerstedt. However, it would be wrong to speak of a special literary group, school or movement. They were all, in the first place, artists and their way of viewing the world was that of the aesthete. They lived at a time of change and with change would come conflict. At a time when a fundamentally closed society of long tradition was giving way to ideas of a new open society based on individual freedom, specialization and rationalism, they were attracted to totalitarianism. Old standards, traditions, customs and eternal truths were shattered at a rate previously unknown to man. The upper classes and the old élites in particular sensed a new vulnerability. A feeling of insecurity and uncertainty spread in those circles. The modern world became a vacuum of uncertainty and the pressure was felt at both the intellectual and emotional levels. Urbanization and the rapid change in social patterns called for a new complexity - a new and personal responsibility. Man had to choose between right or wrong, good and evil.

Trapped in the eternal interaction between society-artist-creation they turned their backs on modern democracy and their aesthetic achievements often displayed features typical of contemporary fascist movements. They all regarded the process of the Industrial Revolution and the consequences of an overall social transition as a step backward - a degeneration - both in terms of aesthetics and ethics.

Their reaction to this conflict could be described as a strong desire to embrace a fixed and simple principle - something unadulterated, pure and based on emotional intuition rather than intellectual rationality. Back to harmony, back to the »true sources of life«, or in Tigerstedt's words »back to form«. It was a radical reaction and revolt which hoped for a return to an autocratic and hierarchical ideal society - in short a reversal of civilization. Their ultimate conviction was that man could only accomplish culture by rigorous ethical and political discipline.
Coincidentia oppositorum: Culture-Nature, Form-Chaos

Ubi homines sunt modi sunt! There are modes wherever there are men. It is the deepest law of man's nature; whereby man is a craftsman and 'tool-using animal'; not the slave of Impulse, Chance, and brute Nature, but in some measure their lord. [- - -] Alas, then, is man's civilisation only a wrappage, through which the savage nature of him can still burst, infernal as ever? Nature still makes him; and has an Infernal in her as well as a Celestial.

THOMAS CARLYLE


OSWALD SPENGLER

Skogen är barbariets urhem och plogens fiende, alltså kulturens. När nu en kulturmänniska i hast avklädes sin kulturhärighet, sitt så konstigt hopvävda rykte, blir hon i ett ögonblick barbar eller villebråd. Så löst hängtar kulturhabiten på kroppen.

(The forest is the original home of barbarity and enemy of the plough, and therefore the enemy of culture. Now, if you suddenly deprive a man of civilization, his cultural splendor, his artfully woven repute, he instantly becomes a beast of prey or game. This is how loosely the cloak of culture is wrapped around our body.)

AUGUST STRIMDBERG

The Feminine and Masculine Principle Leading to Coincidentia Oppositorum
Örnulf Tigerstedt consequently tried to establish a holistic, »great« perspective in his opinions on contemporary society. The conflicts and transitions of modern society were generally viewed and regarded as controversies based upon substantially different views of mankind and civilization. His own conception was firmly based upon his view of Civilization and Mankind.

Our point of departure is the following lines from Vi resa söderut and Utan örnar:

Everything I saw around me, everything I acquired concerning the way of the world during my adolescence, impressed me with and strengthened me in the belief that all changes come about slowly; the way is long from sowing to reaping and only continuous, unimaginative and stubborn stamina is capable of reaping the sparse bounties the gods have bestowed on us the right to hope for. (Vi resa söderut, pp. 91-92)
My cardinal thought is as follows: Culture is anti-nature. Nature and culture are two eternally incompatible, everlastingly hating, loving and embracing antitheses. [- - -] We belong to culture. The destiny of culture is our destiny, the mission of culture is our mission. Fulfill this mission of yours, fulfill your destiny! (Ubon örnar, p. 8)

The normal condition is thus chaos, a state characterized by impermanence and »a timeless lethargy» void of all order and form. We detect here initially one of the basic conceptions of Romanticism: man's mission and destiny to ascend from this turmoil of nature to spiritual greatness. However, and this is important, what attracted most Romantics to nature was its untamed disorderly manifestations, the natural, primitive and uncivilized way of life, its formless dimensions, a way of turning back to one's roots under the influence of Rousseau's thinking, something essentially opposed to the classical concept of order and fixity. Tigerstedt was truly attracted to nature, but to him it was an attraction that must be fought. Nature to him was something man is unhappily in love with. Nature to man is like a women who bewitches and enchant and finally ruins and corrupts every man in her way. Her scents are intoxicating, her seducing colors and caressing foliage are alluring, her whispering winds are tempting and voluptuous. She is vagueness, eternal change, everlasting decomposition, she is »the wet-nurse of subversion» (VIRS, p. 93). Tigerstedt returned to this theme of the »Chaotic Feminine Principle« over and over again. His metaphoric language when it comes to untamed uncontrolled nature is firmly based on this conception of femininity. One of many striking examples of such a way of expressing reality can be found in his novel, Katedralen, where the park surrounding the castle (obviously laid out in a Romantic free English style trying to imitate true nature) stands for aphrodisiac lust and temptation. This, which mirrors the fall of Magda, is then contrasted with the masculine principle of form, here represented by the planted and pruned avenue of oaks:

Men som det manliga kärva symbol bar den långa ekallén sin fasta vilja mot parkens vekare lummighet. Här fanns hårt sinne och massivt virke. Här var romansk bredd och låga, tunga valv på bastanta pelare. (Katedralen, p. 139)¹

(But as the harsh symbol of masculinity the long avenue of oaks imposed its firm will against the softer leafiness of the park. Here was hardness and solid stuff. Here was Roman width and short, heavy vaults on substantial columns.)

The opposing masculine principle is contained in what Tigerstedt calls kultur. The word civilization (Sw. »civilisation«) is never used by the author in this context - a fact which we will return to later.

Another parallel to Antiquity can be drawn here. Tigerstedt's conception of nature is related to the Roman love of the landscape of horticulture. Classical man lacked understanding and appreciation of the wild beauty of the storming sea, the deep forests or the dry deserts. He preferred the pruned landscape of cultivation - the bucolic and Georgic idyll.²
Culture, then, is Form to Tigerstedt. He starts from the belief that culture is radically insecure and that a constant effort is required to prevent it from lapping into barbarianism and inertia. Similarly, one of Spengler’s starting points is »geprägte Form« - imprinted form - which the German historian saw as manifest in all accomplishments of a culture and its very language - »Formsprache«.  

In this context the anti-naturalistic development of the 1890s in European literature and its echo in Sweden must be mentioned. At that time, a new literary climate was heralded with influences from the Medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites, a Romantic-exotic coloring, nationalism and a reaction against the »problem literature« of Strindberg and Ibsen. The Naturalism of August Strindberg and the radical political efforts of the 1880s in Swedish literature were now attacked by conservative and more traditional authors. Von Heidenstam and above all Oscar Levertin put forward the image of the »Poet of Culture« (»kulturskalden«) as the aesthetic ideal. His antithesis, the »Poet of Nature« (»naturskalden«), as personified by August Strindberg and Rousseau in Levertin’s later criticism, was raw, primitive and plebeian. The attack on Naturalism, in aesthetic terms, although seldom very pronounced, went back to the fundamental conflict between Culture/Form and Nature/Chaos. The works of the contemporary Swedish philosopher Vitalis Norström formed an influential part of this overall conservative reaction. In them the conflict Culture-Nature was basic and firmly established. Already fully developed in Naturalismen i vår tids filosofi (Naturalism in the Philosophy of Our Time, 1895) and Hoad vi behöfva (What We Need, 1901) this basic idea permeates Norström’s view on man and society. Norström gave the concept its perhaps most widespread and influential expression in his Massekultur (Mass Culture, 1910):  

Människans första steg på den historiska utvecklingens väg är en viss grad af befristelse från och makt över naturen, ett steg, som hon tager samtidigt med det att hon grundar städer. Stad och land är en motsats, som nära nog sammanfaller med motsatsen kultur och natur.  

(Man’s first step on the road of historical evolution is a certain degree of liberation from and supremacy over nature, a step which he makes at the same time as he lays the foundation of cities. City and country form a contrast, which, almost, coincides with the contrast between culture and nature.)  

Vitalis Norström’s thought strongly influenced the young Swedish extreme right-wing and his dichotomy is echoed unmistakably in Rudolf Kjellén’s Nationell samling (National Rallying, 1906). Kjellén, who was influential among both Swedish- and Finnish-speaking ultrarightists in Finland, demanded a »harsh Formalism« based on discipline. His and Norström’s writings agree well, in both attitude and content, with Tigerstedt’s ideas and it is very likely that they played a vital part in strengthening and deepening Tigerstedt’s world view. Their appearance in time also coincided with his maturing political process.
According to Tigerstedt, the perpetual aspiration of man is to ceaselessly mold and form his chaotic environment. This is his mark of nobility, his raison d'ètre. He must form, create law and order and strive for permanence. This and only this is the meaning of culture. It is our natural disposition and it is what makes us human beings. Only those who strive for life and power deserve real freedom and life: »only violence and the will for new conquests gives them a prospect of living« (UÖ, p. 130).

The search for plasticity, restraint and permanence is firmly rooted in Antiquity and in Goethe's and Schiller's classical revival and attack on the »Sehnsucht nach der Natur« of contemporary German Romanticism. We know that Tigerstedt studied Goethe and that he often returned to Faust's internal struggle.⁹

Tigerstedt endeavored to accomplish something permanent, something rigid, fixed and finite in a world marked by the uncontrolled maelstrom of being. This accounts for his fascination and admiration for elements of fixture and solidity: stone statues, structures and megalithic monuments. The Egyptian pyramids and the Great Wall of China are thus viewed as the ultimate paragons of form and beauty. Their mystery and power inspired to awe. This becomes a twofold outlook since culture is a collective achievement which can be accomplished solely by discipline under a common aim and a common authority.

The masculine principle of culture is oftentimes represented by human artifacts in Tigerstedt's poems and essays (the oar; BÖDE; p. 53; a dressed bowl of marble; SISTE; p. 37, the axe; HVÄG; p. 47, the worn-out spade; BLÅP, p. 13). Moreover, since the concept of culture is seen as a struggle or conflict of war waged upon Nature - Chaos, it is usually represented by masculine attributes (the sword, the axe) or symbols of military fortification.

A stylistic trait associated with this is the use of anthropomorphisms in connection with these artifacts of man: »flåsande skär/ stälplogens vilja/ genom världen« (BÖDE, p. 54), »mörkt sjunger mitt svärd« (HVÄG, p. 10). (Pantingly / the steel plough's will / cuts through the world / In a deep voice / my sword sings) Notable here is also the reversal of word order or inversion, a feature often used by Tigerstedt. This figure of style gives emphasis to the importance of these products of culture. They are often charged with the generative principle and take on a phallic imagery apart from their anthropomorphous dimension. Our manmade objects are so pregnant with the essence of man's soul that they are given human features and libido.

However in the same breath Tigerstedt is deeply aware of the dialectical dimension of culture, and this is partly a contradiction. The creation of a masterpiece demands movement because man is essentially motion and nature. Nietzsche distinguished between two dimensions in Greek culture: the Apollinian - form, restraint and harmony - and the Dionysian - anarchy,
ecstasy - in his *The Birth of Tragedy*. The exploits of art and civilization were created by the everlasting dialectic in this dualism.¹⁰

To Tigerstedt man is himself a part of the flow (ever-changing nature) and therefore his creations are accomplished in the dual meeting of form - finitude and motion - infinity:

[...] (This is) the most touching testimony of the double and irrevocable perspective which gives all creations of culture their tragic and suspenseful content. For only under the protection of form can the life of man flower. No matter how he proceeds he must form, build in form and think in form. But form itself is immobile, while man belongs to motion and change. (*Utan örnar*, p. 82)¹¹

Tigerstedt's basic dichotomy is thus based on the principle of the creative paradox. His conception of reality is based on contrary forces which form an entity. The world forms in matter an infinite variety of substances and forces but regarded together they form a unity - a whole. This is analogous to what the medieval German philosopher Nicholas Cusanus named *Coincidentia oppositorum* - »union of opposites«.¹²

*In Quest of a Lost Unity*

Over and over again Tigerstedt emphasizes the need of a return to a lost unity, an organic whole. This whole, often referred to as »a central idea«,¹³ reverberates in Tigerstedt's works. Modern society, as we shall discuss to later, marked by its will to particularize, specialize and dissect. To meet this challenge from nature we must try to return to the totality of medieval Gothicism and the Great Perspective of viewing.¹⁴ This outlook is also, as we shall see below, closely connected with his temporal perception. The belief in organicism and longing for holism are also evident in Egon Friedell, Vitalis Norström, Rudolf Kjellén and Oswald Spengler.¹⁵ The two latter, furthermore, had a tendency to see the world in opposing forces meeting to create syntheses.

This thinking basically emanates from the bourgeois reaction against the dynamics of the modern world, against the philosophy of general emancipation. The connection with a political Romanticism searching for a golden age in days gone by is evident.¹⁶

This search for a whole in an atomistic and progressively specialized world was one of the main characteristics of the Conservative Revolution in Germany in the 20s.¹⁷ At its most potent, this was obvious in the works of Gottfried Benn and Ernst Jünger from this time.

Russel A. Berman has also seen the generative theme of return to a lost unity as one of the foremost features of fascist literature.¹⁸ However, a contemporary writer like Hermann Broch displayed an analogue holism and emphasized a related »Zerfall der Wertsystems«, as shown by Bengt Landgren. To Broch, though, Nazism and fascism were the ultimate phenomena of decadence.¹⁹
The conclusion must be that Tigerstedt's holistic search and belief in a whole are not in themselves a sign of fascism. Only in combination with other structural themes can we speak of a fascist inclination.

_The Concept of Morphology_
As already briefly outlined in the first part, Tigerstedt and Oswald Spengler both viewed culture as something man accomplished in his eternal struggle against nature. Spengler usually used the term _history_ (Geschichte) for the force opposing to nature. However, history was a morphological process and it was the form (Gestalt, Form) that shaped history. _Geschichte_ and _Natur_ were the rudimentary poles of existence upon which everything was based (der Physiognomie alles Werdens). The terms _Kultur_ and _Geschichte_ seemed also synonymous to the German philosopher. The total form or structure of a culture or an organism was studied, its development, like a flower from seedling to bloom and withering, like the layers of geological sediments. »The destiny of nature and not its causality constitutes the morphology or »form language« of human history, its periodical structure, its organic logic in the fulness of its evident single manifestations.«

Tigerstedt’s essay from 1931, »Frihet och Lydnad« (Freedom and Obedience) takes up a key position in his production. Once again, great megalithic monuments were towering over tragic man:

[...], det färdiga verket är petrifikatet av deras själv, slutklämmen, det åskådliggjorda grundmotivet i deras livsrörel, Människan kan icke fatta rörelsen och förändringen utan strävar till ett slutigt och fast. (»Frihet och Lydnad«, 10 May 1931)

([...] the finished product represents the petrification of their soul, the ultimate touch, the manifested main motif of their life rhythm. Man cannot seize the movement and the change but strives toward a final and firm form.)

This is nothing more than the result of an ultimate morphology, a form so firm and fixed that it is the petrified consequence openly expressed. As might be expected, this is most likely related to and probably a radical development of Norström's and Kjellén's formalism and the Spenglerian concept of _geprägte Form_. In Spengler's morphology or »Formensprache« the imprinted form of a culture is evident and manifests itself in all the accomplishments of a culture. In the last stage of culture - _Zivilization_ - art is void of form - _raumlos_ - and degenerate - _entartet._ According to Tigerstedt it was possible for the individual artist to reach »a final form«. Thus, in this conviction he apparently did not agree with Spengler. By virtue and discipline it was still possible to achieve just that. The only way to complete this monument of the immaculate form led through total obedience to a higher principle and to a greater cause. Freedom, Tigerstedt thus argued, was the most dangerous of all enemies of culture. Emancipation makes us subject to the irresponsibility of the masses. The great masterpieces of art and literature were never accomplished in societies based on freedom.
Vitalis Norström's best known book, *Masskultur*, (Mass Culture) displays a perhaps unparalleled correspondence with Tigerstedt's main thought. And yet Tigerstedt never mentions Norström, neither in his production nor his private correspondence. One of the reasons may be that Norström died as early as 1916. However, in a letter to Adrian Molin Tigerstedt later stated that he had been an eager reader of the publication *Det nya Sverige*, to which Norström was a frequent contributor. Apart from the agreement in their thinking, some phrases and formulas in Tigerstedt's private correspondence from the early 20s can be found nearly verbatim in *Masskultur*.

Tigerstedt's *Wachtsum der Kultur*, to use a Nietzschean phrase which is highly relevant in this context, his attacks on Naturalism and anti-intellectualism, his way of defining liberalism, his pessimism and his stress on form, order and aristocratic authority reflected the core of Norström's thinking. The belief in noblesse oblige, in subordination and obedience as necessary for the creation of civilization, which Tigerstedt had expressed in »Freedom and Obedience«, can be found in *Masskultur*. Not emancipation and freedom but bondage and allegiance had created culture:

Hur karakteristiskt är t.ex. icke för den indiska kulturen kastväsendet, som på en samhällssockel av evigt sjätttradt och sjättrande kroppssarbete reser en härlig bild af frigjord andlighet! Eller feodalsystemet för medeltiden.

(Imagine the importance of the caste system for Indian culture. A caste system which, on a social foundation of eternally fettered and fettering manual labor, erects an image of liberated spirituality! Or consider the feudal system of the Middle Ages.)

Three years after Tigerstedt's »Freedom and Obedience«, in 1934, Gottfried Benn emphasized in his »Dorische Welt«:

Die antike Gesellschaft ruhte auf den Knochen der Sklaven, die schleifte sie ab, oben blühte die Stadt. Oben die weisen Viergespanne und die Gutgewachsenen mit den Namen der Halbgötter: Sieg und Gewalt und Zwang und den Namen der grossen See, unten klirrte es: Ketten.

To Gottfried Benn this meant that it was power that gave life to art. His conception of the heroic and tragic was evidently altogether based on the acceptance of a Spenglerian *Schicksalsbegriff* - concept of destiny. Benn's cardinal claim »der Staat macht das individuum kunstfähig« is therefore not surprising. Art to Benn was very much a question of *Form* - something basically »unnatural« - and the disciplined antipode to nature and vegetation.

Benn's concepts of *Form und Zucht-Stil und Zucht* and perception of a mutual destiny for the nation were close to Örnulf Tigerstedt's and it is highly plausible that they partly had their origin in Spengler's theses.

*Libertas oboedientiae – Real Freedom is Serving*

In the realization of our mutual destiny we must accept this destiny and together erect the cathedral of the state. An often used leitmotif or recurrent image in the author's work is therefore the creation of the Great Dome. The
spirit of community in cultural achievements is thus in opposition to individuality and materialism. In this mutual endeavor of ours we represent »a living organism« with an organic life of our own. An omnipotent and all-seeing leader of patriarchal dimensions guides us. (Cf. Tigerstedt’s later interest for the small Swedish foundries and their society). All classes and estates are abolished and the workers are organized in guilds or corporations. The dream of a hierarchical medieval society is echoed here, and also influences from contemporary Fascist Italy and its »corporate state«. A society which in various ways had captivated several of the men in the AS circle. Göran Stenius and Jarl Gallén became religious converts, Gunnar Mickwitz, Torsten Aminoff, Herman Gummerus and Bertel Hintze became scholars of art and history and Tigerstedt and Norrmén turned to active political journalism.

The novel *Katedralen* is based on this medieval conception. Örjan Sten is the leader of an organic entity - a group of artisans working *in corpore*. They are part of a communion of an almost religious magnitude and are also animated by a holistic idea. Under the guidance of their Caesar they also come together in a spirit of brotherhood after work to attend mass meetings and »fellow-worker evenings«:

Örjan Sten was the one who had started these »comrade-evenings« many years ago. Thanks to them the single members of the workshop could also follow what happened outside their own branch. The knowledge of the whole also put the detail in a living perspective and endowed it with a value of its own. [---] [...] In reality, it was this atmosphere of trust and interest that had finally given rise to the feeling of community which characterized the team of workers at the cathedral shop. The medieval guild and foundry had found itself a strange offshoot in our time.

Duty and obligation are key words in Tigerstedt’s works and with them follow obedience and loyalty. The vassal or loyal officer who pays tribute to his lord is therefore one of Tigerstedt’s favorite characters (Cf. Ribb-Addi, General Lee, von Döbeln, the Roman Centurion, Major Ulfcrona, Gordon, Duncker, von Frundsberg). Personal freedom and liberty are viewed as dangerous attitudes - they are clearly linked to nature and the conception of something uncontrolled, untamed - Chaos. Let us consider yet another example:

Det finnes i själva verket ingen farligare fiende till kulturprincipen än friheten. [---] Den värmer hjärtat och kommer blandet att rinna snabbare i vardagens ådor. Men intet är i själva verket tomvara och till sina följder gruvligare än just friheten. Friheten har aldrig gett upphov till det stora mästerverket. Det var icke friheten det soliga Hellas skalter och skulptörer följde utan lydnaden som i vördnad börjar sig inför höga gudars stringa och eviga lager. Frihetens härskri tillhör stunden och det alltför mänskliga. (My underlining)

(In reality, there is no more dangerous enemy to the principle of culture than liberty. [---] Liberty gives heat to our hearts and makes the blood run faster in our veins. But, in fact, there is nothing more empty and horrible in its consequences than freedom itself. Freedom never gave birth to a great masterpiece. The poets and sculptors of sunny Hellas did not follow liberty but allegiance, which in reverence
yields before the everlasting and rigorous laws of mighty gods. The war-cry of freedom belongs to the moment and the all too human.)

Real freedom is instead disciplined and subordinate to authority. This is the creative intolerance where the will rules and the heart and the everlasting yearning for chaos and emotions are suppressed - the Real Freedom.33 It is likely that this idea of Tigerstedt's partly originated from the works of Vitalis Norström and was further developed through reading Spengler. Spengler called this concept die Freiheit im Gehorsam or libertas oboedientiae and described it as freedom in a wider sense or Prussianism in his work Prussentum und Sozialismus.34 Perhaps it is not too daring to partly link the key Nazi concept of Arbeit macht frei to Spengler. The notion of freedom is thus dangerous if it is not related by loyalty to an authority. It is without doubt the freedom of the masses - of the common people - which scares men such as Spengler, Lothrop Stoddard and Tigerstedt. The masses to them were chaos - nature embodied. Tigerstedt's reading of Stoddard had been preceded by studies in Gustave Le Bon in the late 1910s. The young resident of Mustila had recommended the kindred soul Bertel Hintze to read Le Bon and in several letters the latter thanked him for the advice.35 Le Bon's view of the masses and their development into a new collective, barbarian and chaotic entity which threatened civilization and order was early adopted by the author and transplanted to the chaotic situation in Finland. We live in the Age of the Masses he wrote in the winter of 1919 alluding directly to Le Bon's opening page.36 Culture to Le Bon was entirely attributed to an intellectual élite. In Tigerstedt's case the masses mean raw nature. This is revealed when he suddenly acknowledges that freedom also exists in what he called the dangerous liberal sense:

In reality only two groups can make use of freedom - the philosophers and men of culture. Under the reign of the free constitutions the great masses have in stead turned more and more melancholic and criminal. (Till nationalismens kreditkonto, 1936)

It is the stance of the born aristocrat we meet here. The poet recognized himself as a man of culture (kulturmänniska), without hesitation, and such cultivated souls were capable of appreciating and justifying the previously despised liberal freedom. In the 20s Tigerstedt had studied and been influenced by Lothrop Stoddard. With a single sweep Stoddard divides humanity into Men of Culture and Under-Men (Stoddard's personal translation of Untermensch). The latter, the Under-Man, is a menace to civilization, the call of the wild, nature-chaos personified, in his cravings for freedom, equality and a voice in society. Stoddard's influence on Tigerstedt is strongly supported by the fact that the word Under-Man appeared verbatim without translation in several of the author's articles.37
The Heritage

Looking back, we have pointed out that Oswald Spengler, Vitalis Norström, Rudolf Kjellén and Örnulf Tigerstedt had a similar outlook on culture. Spengler influenced Ernst Jünger's basic terms Gestalt or Gesetz and also Gottfried Benn's conception of form.38 Kjellén's and Norström's thought was based on formalism. We do know that Tigerstedt read Spengler at an early age and most probably the both Swedes as well. However, the author's concept of form - chaos can also be found in the early short story entitled »Öknens ande« (The Spirit of the Desert) in Kamraten written in early 1916. This was nearly two years before the publication of Der Untergang des Abendlandes and apart from that Spengler's basic idea was not very innovative. And more important, in my view, Tigerstedt's form concept can also be found in the Finland-Swedish tradition and in his family legacy.

Therefore, my hypothesis is that the core of this basic outlook was passed on to Tigerstedt from his father and the unique form of Western civilization that was to be found on the Finland-Swedish estates in inner Finland. The descendants of generations of loyal officers and state servants, this relatively rich and small minority was dependent on tradition, customs and form for their survival among a majority of peasants speaking another language. In their capacity as the ruling class, equipped with the proper instruments - education, tradition, connections and access to the language of the powers that be - to remain a select gentry, they naturally saw themselves as an élite - bearers of culture in a remote area. Moreover, 250 families with this background practically dominated and governed Finland between 1809 to 1918. They saw themselves as protectors and guardians of Western civilization and this feeling was not weakened but probably strengthened during the years of Russification, the democratic reforms, the Fennoman struggle for justice, the Russian Revolution, and finally by what Alapuro called »the abortive Finnish Revolution«.

A large number of men from this infinitesimal clan of 250, of whom Field Marshal Carl Gustaf Mannerheim is perhaps the best known, made fantastic careers within the vast Russian Empire in the 1800s. The possibilities within Russia appeared enormous for this well-educated group of »ståndspersoner« - »persons of standing«,39 totalling 26,905 persons, or 1.5 percent of the total Finnish population, in the later part of the 19th century.40 Swedish was a unifying link in this group comprised of members of different social groups who derived their superior position from education, office, property or relative wealth. Many members of this group thus reached leading positions in the Russian bureaucracy, the army and the navy. In fact every fifth adult Finnish nobleman served in the Russian army as early as 1850 and over 3,300 Finns served as officers during the period of autonomy.41 Over 300 advanced to generals and 70 reached the rank of admiral.42 The story of some of these men was, to say the least,
fantastic. Johan Casimir Ehmrooth governed Bulgaria for a while as dictator, Admiral Oscar von Kraemer was head of the Russian marine headquarters, Arvid Etholén and Tigerstedt's relative Johan Hampus Furuhjelm were both governors of Alaska and so on.43 According to Örnulf Tigerstedt there was even a saying in this »Clan of the 250«: »Russia! It is ours!« Örnulf Tigerstedt and his family definitely belonged to the very cream of this group.

The concept of the Western cultural vanguard and man's struggle against a chaotic nature, which permeated this group, has left many traces in Finland-Swedish literature. The following passage can be found in Karl August Tavaststjerna's novel, Hårda tider (Hard Times, 1891) - a book which was partly a social accusation against the complacent upper class:

>Men dimman från ån och från träskmarken växte minut för minut, spöklik och hemska det vita människan och tog Kotkais stora sädessätt allt säkrare i sin kalla omfamning, icke en fläkt kom den att bäva. Ljuslöst flöt den fram i dälderna och nivellerade markerna, så att slutligen endast kvarnbacken med tallungarna, den stora väderkvarnen och mjölnarens röda stuga, stod som en ö ur det orörda havet. Ett stycke ifrån låg en annan större ö: - Kotkais herrgård med trädgård och hela komplexen hus, [...] (Tavaststjerna, Hårda Tider, pp. 112-113)

(But the fog coming from the creek and the marsh grow minute by minute, ghostly and horrible in the white moonlight and encircling the wide fields of Kotkais in its steady and cold embrace. Nothing made it tremble, not even a breeze. It floated mutely down through the glens and levelled the grounds so that finally only the hill with the windmill and the miller's red cabin stood out as an island in the motionless sea. Not far away another larger island rested: Kotkais's manor with gardens and a cluster of houses.)

The early summer frost serves as nature's instrument when she reclaims what is rightly hers. The results of human cultivation protrude as forsaken and remote islands in an indifferent and uncontrolled sea.

In the very first lines of Örnulf Tigerstedt's first work, Vågor, we find some of the roots and basic elements of this view - the opposing forces of nature and culture. Culture is symbolized by rural virtues, such as cultivation and enrichment of the fields. The opening ode, dedicated to his parents' wedding day, was a homage to the strong, noble and virtuous man, who knowing his duty and destiny stoically cultivated the barren soil and people of Finland. The symbol of culture was his own father, former Under-Secretary of State Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt (»Ode 19 10/6 18«, »Vågor« and »Öknens ande«). It is very probable that this concept of opposing forces of order and disorder, was partly derived from, or at least strongly influenced by, his father's dendrologic enterprises at Mustila - both in an actual and symbolic sense.

Let us for a while visualize the planting of trees in barren ground and the breeding of plants as evolution in action supervised and controlled by man. It is a venture that demands the meticulous control, patience and protection of the gardener. Selection and cultivation are based upon the advances achieved by generations. It is the creation of form and culture in an
anarchic, disorganized and chaotic nature which in these northern latitudes often strikes back in the form of devastating frosts. The cultivator is the patrician intermediary, an upholder and protector of civilization in a borderland and his site of cultivation is a small advanced guard for Western civilization in Ultima Thule.

In support of this theory one could mention the large number of words and metaphors connected with trees and cultivation in Tigerstedt's poetry. The link here to an old Swedish Protestant dualism of Lutheran origin cannot be overlooked. Nature is evil and so are the ways of man and his physical side which we will discuss in the next chapter. The puritanism and pietism that followed in the footsteps of the disastrous defeat at Poltava was part of a Carolinian heritage among these descendants of generations of officers.

Another interesting aspect of this special Finland-Swedish environment of secluded estates in a linguistically and culturally alien environment which we might consider is that the heart of this culture is often described by Örnulf Tigerstedt as »Gustavian« in spirit and true soul.

The Gustavian Golden Age was a period of Neoclassicism. It was preceded by an era in which rational concepts were recognized and when men like the Swedish scientists Linnaeus (von Linné) and Swedenborg worshipped civilization. Paradise to them was controlled, cultivated and analyzed nature and hell was untouched wild nature. It was an Augustan era in Swedish history. Culture and refinement, not least aesthetic appreciation, the cult of great men, honor, and perhaps above all the judgment of posterity were key concepts during the period of Gustavian Absolutism which was also marked by a new emancipated spirit in arts and social life.43 In Finland this period represented the heyday of the Finland-Swedish manorial culture.

Thus, the primary condition in men and nature was marked by violence and uncertainty. Only by cultivation could man rise above this initial predicament. Man's ingenuity in mastering the environmental circumstances constituted the roots of civilization. This was clear to the Gustavians. It was not nature but culture and breeding which produced the diverse fruits of horticulture. The Gustavian Enlightenment thus represented rationalism, but the Romantic undercurrents were strong. The Swedes were beginning to explore the world, a Swedish East India Company sailed the seas, mysticism flourished, Swedish army officers served in America and elsewhere, the pupils of Carl von Linné had journeyed in all directions and so on. The period was marked by the fashionable Romantic longing for new exotic places and peoples. It is this strange and perhaps illogical mixture of rationalism and Romanticism, a love of the native soil and a cosmopolitan extrovert ambition which constitutes the main element of Tigerstedt's heritage.
However, the Gustavian spirit of refinement in the cosmopolitan world of the rococo and the Herrgård seemed to have developed into a rather terse and candid style which aimed at a reduction to essentials and restraint when art was concerned. In this context the contemporary movement of Neoclassicism is important, the virtues of the ancient Romans and the clean lines and great simplicity of Greek Antiquity. As we shall see later the Gustavian heritage was not limited to spirit alone, but left decisive traces on Tigerstedt's style.

This social and historical background becomes more interesting if we once more consider E. R. Gummerus's words about Örnulf Tigerstedt's ideology that are quoted in the preface. In fact, several authors like E. R. Gummerus, Jarl Gallén and Göran Stenius, as we have shown, shared Tigerstedt's dualistic (culture-chaos) view of existence. And they were rooted in a Finland-Swedish tradition which had literary predecessors.

From Anor (Ancestry, 1891) and onwards, Jacob »Jac.« Ahrenberg exhibited a similar conception of civilization. As an architect he showed a passion for architectural form in language. He wanted »the immaculate, the austere and the restrained« and despised Rousseauism. In the novel, Vår landsman (Our Fellow-Countryman, 1897), he described the upbringing of Finland-Swedish gentry at the Czarist court: »Here le double extrait from those most blue-blooded, those lacking the ideas of democracy, socialism and nihilism of the time, should be brought up and educated for the defence of the throne and the altar.«

Nor should the influence of the novels of Zacharias Topelius be ignored in this context. The cold rationalism of the Enlightenment versus the sacrificing, patriotic heart was one of his favorite themes. King Gustav III is accordingly the subject of Topelius's homage. Several of his novels take place during the Gustavian Age in the vicinity of Mustila. The Romantic atmosphere in them makes the reader think of a Scandinavian parallel to the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and later of Edward S. Ellis. In this relationship it may be pointed out that Cooper's most evocative theme was none other than the struggle between the wilderness and the encroachments of civilization. A high regard for fidelity, duty and patriarchal relations runs through Topelius's works, along with a Romantic affection for the mysterious and inexplicable. Topelius's well-known populism and aversion to the nobility is, moreover, not aimed at the Finnish army gentry but the depraved high nobility in Stockholm. Topelius's sentiments are echoed in Tigerstedt's foremost homage to this gentry: »Ropet från Savolax« (The Call from Savolax, SKOTTÖ) - a minor stylistic masterpiece. What, in the first place, distinguishes this grand old man of Swedish children's literature from Tigerstedt is his pronounced Christian belief in providence and his populism.

However, not only domestic authors had a strong influence on Tigerstedt. Another important author, well represented at Mustila, was Thomas
Carlyle. Although Carlyle recognized and paid homage to sentiments and intuition in his hero-worship, his fundamental view of the world was based on the puritan conception of man's eternal struggle for form in a chaotic nature. To him man's ingenuity in mastering the environmental factors constituted the root of civilization:

His mission is Order; every man's is. He is here to make what was disorderly, chaotic, into a thing ruled, regular. He is the missionary of Order. Is not all work of man in this world a making of Order? The carpenter finds rough trees; shapes them, constrains them into square fitness, into purpose and use. We are all born enemies of Disorder [...] 54

Despite the fact that the great Scotsman nursed a democratic pathos and dreamed of a society of equals, at least in his earlier days, he simultaneously shared Tigerstedt's blue-blooded fear and repugnance of the masses and this he vividly illustrated in The French Revolution. Örnulf Tigerstedt's older brother, Carl Gustaf Ludvig Tigerstedt, was devoted to Carlyle and there is reason to believe that Carlyle was avidly read at Mustila.55

These are a few observations which perhaps will enable us to understand the background of our protagonist's dual basic conception. Firmly based on a historic and social situation, it was deepened and further developed under the influence of studies of authors such as Oswald Spengler, Thomas Carlyle, Egon Friedell, Lothrop Stoddard and perhaps above all the Swedes Vitalis Norström and Rudolf Kjellén.

Under the influence of the Second World War Tigerstedt's conception of chaotic nature as the enemy of all culture was confirmed. His social background, his readings of Spengler and Stoddard and the events of 1918 had convinced him of the strong link between nature and the masses. The Sansculottes or Jacobins of Carlyle and their hoarse and savage «Ça ira» represented a paranoid threat in their new incarnation in the Soviet state. Katyn became the final proof to him and we will finally render an illustrative example of how this concept permeated his style. When describing the way from Germany to Smolensk he sees the whole landscape as animated with the opposing forces of culture-nature, form-chaos, order-confusion, finiteness-infinity, humanism-bestiality, individualism-collectivism, West-East, Europe-Asia. After having described the neat gardens, houses and parks in a Germany of light early spring breezes and budding flowers we commence our journey eastward:

In Poland the picture was still largely European; an individual European colonization with palatial manor houses, surrounded by parks, and each farm house on its own, enclosed by its own fields. Thatched roofs, low gray huts, a striking absence of gardens, neglected roads. But still Europe.

As soon as we had passed the Niemen River another world commenced. Immense and enigmatic, desolate and depressing the east European plains expanded below our wings. Endless, monotonous villages with the dilapidated farms in long rows on both sides of a country road derelict and as wide as a desert. And swamps! Mile after mile of these humdrum forests void of paths, where the dark waters of the
swamps gleam between withered tree trunks. [- - -] Here Napoleon's great army, with the stirring Marseillaise playing to apathetically listening vast expanses, wallowed forward eastward and after an infinity of hair-raising horrors it turned back in rags and with terror written on the soldiers' haggard faces and fewer hot gazes. [- - -] But now: infinite and apathetic, menacing and lurking the plains lie down there as if nothing had happened.

[- - -] The plains, the swamps and the woods have devoured everything.

Notes


6. Rydén, 1977, pp. 211ff., Björck, 1946, pp. 96ff. Björck has also underlined the importance of Kjellén's writings to von Heidenstam. It is on the whole striking how basic racial conceptions and generalizations about nations are in both Levertin's and von Heidenstam's texts. Levertin also makes ample use of metaphorical language connected to blood.


10. This concept was also accepted by Yeats, cf. Bridgewater, pp. 69-81.

11. Cf. KAT, p. 139: "The heavy oak of the North and the liberated and nomadic entity of Hellenism - here they met and their rendezvous in fruitful sensual pleasure turned into excitement and creation."


13. Cf. Ibid., p. 104: "einer übergeordneten Zentralidee fehlt <...>", quoted by ÖT in SKOTTÖ, p. 133, without mentioning the author. Some phrases and expressions seem also influenced by Friedell. Cf., e.g., Friedell, Kulturgeschichte I, p. 104, where the masses are described as "melancholic". ÖT used the same expression in "Nationalismens kreditkonto", p. 121.


15. Spengler, Der Unterg.-I, p. 35: "<...>alles gehört einer umfassenderen Einheit an", also p. 54. Jahre., p. 71 Preussemum., p. 5. Friedell, Kulturgeschichte I, p. 37: "<...> die grosse organische Einheit, die alle Lebensbetätigungen eines Volkes bilden,<...>", see also p. 104, Kjellén "1914 års idéer" in NDA 29 April, 7 May 1915 and Norström, 1910, pp. 67, 75, 81.


17. Möller pp. 10, 122 et passim. See also Schwarz, pp. 45-46, Nolte, pp. 515ff.

20. Cf. Spengler, Der Untergang..I, pp. 7, 34, 373, 378-379. The study of "Formgeschichte" - Form Criticism had been developed in Germany prior to the First World War. Regarding Finland cf. Artur Riklund's article in Nya Argus 6/1926, "Formernas värld". One of the leading scholars was the German Hermann Friedmann who wrote Die Welt der Formen - System eines morphologisches Idealismus. From it we can read: "So mögen wir denn die Zeichnung dort aufnehmen, wo wir sie verschwimmen liessen: am Bilde der formberaubten haptischen Zeit, die das Erbe zweier Formgedanken mehr aus dunkler Sehnsucht als aus innerer Notwendigkeit nicht ganz sich entfressen liess, ihrem eigenen Wesen folgend aber den höchstgespannten Kultus der Maschine und des Begriffes der Kraft entfaltet hat. Immer um Kontinuität bemüht, mögen wir nun auch in dieser Welt, die der Welt der Formen fremd und feindlich ist, das unzerstörbare Residuum der Form aufspüren und Freundliches und Feindliches so endgültig scheiden." (p. 499.) Friedmann hoped for the development of a "Third Culture of Form" in Germany. It was the dream of a second Rome or a Third Reich that echoed here disguised in philosophical robes. Note the overall conception of contemporary society: void of form.
22. ÖT in HBL, "Frihet och Lydnad", 10 May 1931.
23. Cf. Some favorite words used by both Norström which are frequent in ÖT's writings: Själlos, form, natur, kultur, öändligt, fättra, öde, mekanik, frihet, positivism, organisik, masskultur, opersonlig, massa". For conceivable verbal and syntactic influence see also letter to Rolf Palmén, 25 July 1924, and undated letter ca 1923 in ÖT's copy book with Norström, 1910, pp. 39, 56, 199.
27. Ibid., pp. 290-291. Benn and Tigerstedt frequently used the word "unnatural". However, Tigerstedt seems to have used it earlier than Benn did.
30. Norrmén had also at several times displayed an interest in the medieval society, see, e.g., his "Pro gradu-paper" was about the Guild System, Laxén, p. 8.
31. KAT, pp. 121-122, see also ibid., pp. 25, 39-40, 124.
33. ÖT used this term, "den skapande intoleransen" in the article "Konstopposition", Nya Argus 21/1924.
34. Spengler, Preussentum.., pp. 32ff, 46. Cf. also Spengler's view of the servants of the state, Jåvere.., pp. 26-27, 139. A copy of Preussentum.., marked "UIÖ 1924" with frequent underlining, is to be found in the remnants of ÖT's library, along with Spengler's other works at Frästkulla. Cf. Norström, 1910, pp. 62, 67, 81, 93-95, Kjellén, 1906, pp. 79ff. Note Kjellén's contempt for diplomacy in the spirit of Topeltus, ibid., p. 86.
35. Letter from Hintze to ÖT 28 Nov. 1917: "On your recommendation I've purchased Le Bon's *The Psychology of Peoples*, which is extremely interesting and easy to read". See also letters from Hintze to ÖT 13 Jan. 1918 and 18 Aug. 1919. All in ÖT:s Coll., ÅAL.
36. Letter from ÖT to T. Enckell, 6 March 1919, ÖT:s Coll., ÅAL. Cf. Le Bon, pp. 1, 3.
38. Cf. Schwarz, p. 41, Kaiser, p. 78, G. Benn, "Dorische Welt", p. 285, et passim. But to Benn the body and the biology was the foundation of form.
39. Screen, p. 11. The term has no precise equivalent in English.
41. Screen, pp. 287-288.
45. See Delblanc, pp. 136, 143, 167, 171
46. *Finlands Gustaviad*, p. 5.
50. Ahrenberg, Vår landsman, p. 26. Tigerstedt adopted Ahrenberg's favorite sentence "For the throne and the altar" and used it, e.g., in an essay on the Vendée-rising.
52. Conn, p. 121.
54. Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1841), p. 328, cf. ibid, p. 331: "It is meritorious to insist on forms; religion and all else naturally clothes itself in forms. Everywhere the formed world is the only habitable one", see also Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, pp. 414, 443, 522.
55. Two letters from C.G.L. Tigerstedt to Bertel Gripeberg and ÖT are filled with quotations of this type from Carlyle (25 May 1940 BG:s Coll., ÅAL, to ÖT 26 Jan 1946, Tigerstedt's Coll., Ep.T. 22:2, the Royal Library, Stockholm). In a pro memoria to the Interrogation Record, dated 27 Oct. 1944 in ÖT:s Coll., ÅAL, Ormulf Tigerstedt also mentions Thomas Carlyle among the writers who have influenced him. Cf. Peeschken, "Klassizistische und ästhetizistische Tendenzen in der Literatur der faschistischen Periode", pp. 207-223.
56. ÖT, "Dödsskogen i Kotyn", in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 28 April 1943.
The Image of Man: homo homini lupus

Keep in memory the universal Substance, of which thou art a tiny part; and universal Time, of which a brief, nay an almost momentary, span has been allotted thee; and Destiny, in which how fractional thy share? [- - -]

Presently the earth will cover us all. It too will anon be changed, and the resulting product will go on from change to change, and so for ever and ever. When a man thinks of these successive waves of change and transformation, and their rapidity, he will hold every mortal thing in scorn.

MARCUS AURELIUS

L'homme n'est rien, l'oeuvre est tout.

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT

Dieser Kampf ist das Leben, und zwar im Sinne Nietzsches als ein Kampf aus dem Willen zur Macht, grausam, unerbittlich, ein Kampf ohne Gnade. Denn der Mensch ist ein Raubtier. [- - -] Das Raubtier ist die höchste Form des freibeweglichen Lebens. Es bedeutet das Maximum an Freiheit von andern und für sich, an Selbstverantwortlichkeit, an Alleinsein, das Extrem der Notwendigkeit, sich kämpfend, siegend, vernichtend zu behaupten. Es gibt dem Typus Mensch einen hohen Rang, dass er ein Raubtier ist.

OSWALD SPENGLER

The permanent constitutional condition of the manufactured man, thought Ahab, is sordidness.

HERMAN MELVILLE

Man - a Tragic Product of Degeneration

If we wanted to single out only one more basic factor of ultimate importance to Örnulf Tigerstedt's vision du monde it would undoubtedly be his image of man. As we now begin to deal with this question I choose to let the reader consider these passages from Utan örnar:

Detta JAG är människan, denna vidriga företeelse, denna illaluktande, missbildade, storordiga varelse med de stickande ögonen, den värmlinga smaken i munnen och det nästan kvälljande grundobehaget av att existera. En anankrosim i livets planhushållning, en av tandrötta, håravfall och hemska psykoser angripen degenerationsprodukt som för länge sedan dukat under, om inte en ofattbar nåd utrustat detta monstrum med förnuft och därmed satt en himmelens ängel att regera över detta narariglassall av avskyvärd och upproriska laster. (Utan örnar, p. 34)

Jag tänker på vårt sällsamma släkte och dess korta historia. Ofattbart i sin vidrighet synes mig innehålet i dessa flyktiga årtusenden. Krig och lögn, mord och brott och skändlighet. Stora ord och falska hjärtan, teaterkostymer och bedrägligt smink över hungriga djursäkten. (Utan örnar, p. 143)

(This EGO is man, this abominable phenomenon, this bad-smelling, malformed creature with piercing eyes and a big mouth, with a nauseating taste in his mouth
and an almost sickening basic discomfort of existence. An anachronism in the planned economy of life, a product of degeneration affected by loss of hair, caries and terrible psychoses, who would have perished long ago if an inconceivable grace had not provided this monster with reason and thereby placed an angel of heaven to rule over this Augean stable of abominable and rebellious vices. I am thinking of our strange species and its short history. The content of these fleeting centuries appears to me to be incredible in its nastiness. Big words and deceitful hearts, theatrical dresses and the fraudulent make-up over hungry animal faces.)

We meet here quite obviously an author who regards mankind as predominantly evil. He is disgusted and nauseated with man on both a physical and ethical level. Man is la bête humaine and l'homme de la nature in a true sense. We can detect a feeling of anxiety here, a flinching for man as a biological creature, a retreat from life itself. Perhaps it is not too bold to suggest an emotionally tinged inhibition here.

As already mentioned, we stumble upon an essentially Protestant Christian concept here - original sin - connected with predestination, lack of freedom and the emphasis on man's double nature. In Swedish literature we find something similar in August Strindberg's The Son of a Servant in the author's struggle with his own pietistic legacy.¹

Man and the history of man are filled with vices, crimes, atrocities and dissimulation. Under his make-up lurks the carnivorous animal - the Spenglerian Raubtier - the beast of prey - which is man's true self. To Spengler, however, this was something basically positive.

The wild beast thus lurks in a world which is described as a place of continual struggle for existence where only the strongest survive. This Darwinian theme of struggle for life permeates the works of Örnulf Tigerstedt. This was also the view of Nietzsche, who had found the will to power in all sorts of human behavior and valuation. Furthermore, Tarmo Kunnas arrived at the conclusion that the image of the world as an eternal battlefield was crucial to Drieu la Rochelle, Céline and Brassilach.²

\[ Nature \text{ Contrasted with Man } \]

The normal condition to Tigerstedt is thus war and this »product of degeneration«, with his alien status in nature, will in due time perish from this earth like the ancient mammoths, leaving no trace whatsoever. Man is thus profoundly and decidedly tragic.³

Stylistically, man's insignificance and the anguished awareness of man's predicament are often enhanced by the description of nature. In \( \text{Vi resa söderut} \) the sea serves as an occasion for increasing the individual's realization and awareness of his own insignificance and transitory existence.⁴

We find the same circumstance in the arctic, icy winds of Pechenga in Utan örnar:

Oceanvägen slår dåande upp bland skifferkippornas såtgänder. Som dräglet ur en jättedrakes käft strömmar skummet tillbaka. Snöstormen far tjuvande in bland söderslita strandformationer och brusar vrålänga vidare över tundrans breda ryggar. Molnen vältra sig fram som domedagsandar, mörkna och tätan och slingra

(The roaring ocean wave breaks in among the saw-teeth of the shale rocks. Like the drooling from the jaws of a giant dragon the froth floods back. The wailing blizzard darts in amid broken shore formations and roars and howls on over the broad backs of the tundra. The clouds roll forward like doomsday demons, grow darker and thicker and wind their threatening clasping arms around the world. [---] Each trail is blocked by drifting snow. It is the land of the severe winter, the land of icicles and ghosts. Wrath strikes up a dance and evil gives a feast. Balder's pasture is far away. Among the mountains of the tundra the white wolf of fear moves, and as a premonition of coming destruction its howling reaches out over the world.)

The feeling of coming disasters and wars and our own helplessness can be perceived. There is no hope, irrational nature will reclaim what once was hers and we will perish. Titanic, uncontrollable and diabolic forces are at work here to an extent which seem to dwarf man altogether. It is the wolfish world of Ishmael - only Melville finds his comfort in human sympathy and Christian brotherhood. Tigerstedt does not.

The metaphoric language is quite striking in the passage above - it is the beast of prey which prowls out there in the very fury of the elements. It is essentially an authoritarian concept of nature we find here. Leo Löwenthal found something similar in Knut Hamsun. However, and this is important, Tigerstedt, unlike Hamsun, was actually more influenced by the philosophy of liberalism than he realized and admitted on this point. His dualism in subject and object, form and nature, is fundamentally a product of the Enlightenment. Therefore he cannot surrender to nature and become a part of a timeless pantheism like Hamsun's heroes. Nevertheless this is exactly what Tigerstedt, behind his self-inflicted dictatorship, secretly dreams of - to relax from his watchfulness and become a part of nature. This endeavor became more and more accentuated in the 50s and during his last years. It appears that the author then, occasionally, did find this peace. Finally we detect another tendency to underline man's irrelevance in the use of reification and objectification. Man is turned into objects or items.

Perhaps also his avid reading of William Shakespeare strengthened Tigerstedt in his view of the destructive forces in man - the callous egotism, the cunning cruelty, the vicious brutality and the sheer barbarity are present in many of the great playwright's evil characters. There is no doubt that Tigerstedt had read his Shakespeare and was a great admirer of the Englishman.

Conditio humana - The Ethic Cornerstone

Tigerstedt's image of man's irrelevance was thus something the author shared with other extreme right-wing writers. Ernst Jünger had this view in common with Tigerstedt and when this conditio humana could not be altered, then the individual could only realize himself in the Great Cause, in the Great Idea:
»Ein höheres Glück als in der Persönlichkeit liegt in der Hingabe. Devotion and sacrifice become the redeemer of life! We find here a notion which reminds us of Erik Grotenfelt's proto-fascist ideas of the ultimate sacrifice. This is in fact the very essence of the fascist spirit of self-sacrifice. However, Tigerstedt, unlike Grotenfelt and Jüngler, hardly ever paid homage to or promoted the ultimate sacrifice. The thought of obliteration and final extinction was probably too frightening to him.

The ethical question of the image of man is perhaps the most crucial one when we are trying to find a common base for the thinking of the extreme right-wing. What brought men like Tigerstedt, E. R. Gummerus, Stenius, Gripenberg, Gallén and Engdahl together was in the first place their common view of man. This outlook was fundamentally opposed to the altruistic and rational conception that had permeated a progressive Western civilization ever since the days of the Enlightenment and Rousseau: »[...] que la nature a fait l'homme heureux et bon, [...]«.

A pessimistic view of human nature is the core of old-fashioned conservatism. The ultimate consequence of such a concept must be a bias toward order, tradition, religious faith and social bonds in support of the individual and maintenance of civilization.

This dark vision of man, although not always pronounced, underpinned the contemporary extreme right-wing movements. This was also what, above all, separated them from modern conservatives, democrats, liberals, and socialists. In these political groupings the majority would answer in the affirmative when asked if man was predominantly good by nature.

To a man like Tigerstedt mankind had a double nature, and in Utan örnar he labeled this side of himself after R. L. Stephenson: Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. It is the form that represents man's positive, constructive and good side. Man must hang on to a principle, a tradition - a mold. The existence of this form is continously dominated by the struggle against man's evil nature. In other words the concept of form - chaos is nothing more than a magnified mirror of man's own eternal dualism - coincidentia oppositorum. The roots are to be found right here in this moral valuation of man.

Let us conclude by juxtaposing the two authors Jarl Hemmer and Örnulf Tigerstedt: two men who in spite of political differences traveled together and from time to time enjoyed one another's company. Jarl Hemmer was predo-minately conservative in his view of life. Judging from his attack on Tigerstedt in »Rader till en Spenglersk romantiker« (Some Lines to a Spenglerian Romantic), Brev till vänner (Letters to Friends, 1937) he also shared Tigerstedt's view of history (»detta värmliga skådespel - this disgusting spectacle«). However, deep down Hemmer still believed in the good in men, at least on the individual level. Therefore he found Tigerstedt's aestheticism callous and inhuman. His attack here and in a personal letter therefore take the form of a moral indictment.
Furthermore, if we consider man as predominately good by nature, it follows logically that all men are equally good by nature and then we have the roots of political democracy, liberalism and what Tigerstedt considered to be the powers that decomposed and annihilated form: that is, the culture of men. Thus, if all men were good by nature then we would need little guidance and authority. Original sin was abolished, the need for a savior or a profane Caesar was gone. The masses could themselves assume the responsibility and choose between right or wrong, good and evil. This fundamentally modern view of mankind would surely be revolting to Tigerstedt’s basically skeptic, aristocratic and pessimistic stand.

**Conception of Time: Fugit irreparabile tempus**

*Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus.*

**VIRGIL**

Fluxes and changes perpetually renew the world, just as the unbroken march of time makes ever new the infinity of ages. In this river of change, which of the things which swirl past him, whereon no firm foothold is possible, should a man prize so highly?

**MARCUS AURELIUS**

-Alles Gerade liegt, murmelt verächtlich der Zwerg. Alle Wahrheit ist krumm, die Zeit selber ist ein Kreis.

**FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE**
(Also sprach Zarathustra)

Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion’s paws,
And make the earth devour her own sweet brood;

**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE**

**Time - The Devourer in the Heraclitean Flood of Being**

I have frequently emphasized the search for form in Tigerstedt’s works. Form meant a state of permanence, a state of fixity when motion was stopped. Motion is both nature and man, hence we live in a Heraclitean flux. This flux is the chief enemy of form. It is the everlasting reminder of transitoriness and death. Time, then, is constantly the reminder of our briefness on this earth. The march of time shows us what we continuously
have lost. Time is the Devourer: »Time which undermines everything and devours everything«, »Behold, the hand strides/ Quietly, incorruptibly« (NOV, p. 94, HVÄG, p. 72) - Fugit irreparabile tempus. Time is thus viewed as fundamentally tragic.

In addition, time is basically uncontrolled and without mold, something formless, lacking proper outline, like everything from nature to Tigerstedt - something irrational. This is the time of the present. »Only the ticking watch on my arm gives me a measure to calculate with, where all measurements seem annihilated in vague outlines and enigmas.«

The object of man must therefore be to defeat his worst enemy time itself - and only the great human achievements like the Egyptian monuments could accomplish this. They were all the remnants of enterprises undertaken under the rule of an autocratic leader. They often served as symbols of a condition of motionless harmony and rest - rest from the vigilant mission of safeguarding culture against the powers of freedom and chaos in Tigerstedt's poetry. Man must reach a level where time is abolished. The great work of art is »a portion of life liberated from the chain of motion, cast in the mold of form and erected into the immobile and in itself resting in the world of the spirit« (»ett stycke liv, befriat ur rörelsens kedja, gjutet i formens ram och lyftat upp i den orörliga och i sig själv vilande andens värld«, UÖ, p. 78). »The Great Wall was the will of the Emperor unified into one act. Its erection was a campaign stained with blood, its stone blocks proclaimed the unification of the disintegrated through fire, its moral stature was the defeat of time« (EXC, p. 30). Note once more the explicit regenerative and holistic theme and the prospect of vanquishing time by the collective erecting of monumental megalithic structures.

In this ideal state, the struggle for life is brought to victory. Perfect harmony is achieved. We are released from this world of sorrow, this world of eternal struggle, ambition, impermanence and fragmentation. It is a Schopenhauerian concept that echoes here; it is the moment when »Ibion's wheel has stopped«. Schopenhauer also recognized the struggle-for-life concept, but like Tigerstedt rejected Darwinian evolution or progression.

**Eternal Recurrence - Natural and Ahistorical Time**

By building the Cathedral or the Great Wall of China the individual and his will can become a part of the universal entity. In our quest we have then reached the whole - the entity: »den slutna cirkelnas vila« (the repose of the closed circle). The opposing powers have reached a synthesis: »Allt var kretsgång, var en skimrande, pulserande enhet. Allt var ett nu,« (Everything was revolving, a glimmering pulsating unity. Everything was within the moment, ÖN, p. 160). Observe the words »revolving« and »closed circle« (kretsgång, sluten cirkel) here. They are part of the key to Tigerstedt's
concept of nature. Tigerstedt takes refuge from his despair of his own time in his poetry where images of cycles and revolving are frequent.

Let us now make a juxtaposition with Tigerstedt's search for an entity and form that could stop »that bald sexton, Time«:

Må vi i detta sammanhang tänka på kolosserna vid Abu Simbel i Egypten. Orörliga och eviga betrakta deras granitbågen Nilen som i tusende år flutit förbi vid deras fotter. Frågorna ha tystnat, oron lagt sig. Nilen för nya öden och nya människor förbi dem. Men deras stenansikten förändras icke mera. Detta är kanske kulturprincipens yttersta mål och mening, en slutgiltig form, en punkt där tiden och förändringen upphör och födelse och död flyter samman i en enhet. (»Frihet och lydnad«)

(We may in this context think of the colossi at Abu Simbel in Egypt. Their granite eyes motionlessly and eternally behold the Nile which has flown by their feet for thousands of years. The questions have been silenced, the apprehension has calmed down. The Nile brings new destinies and new men passing by. But their stone faces change no more. This is perhaps the ultimate goal of the principle of culture - a final form, a point where time and alteration stop and birth and death flow together in a unity.)

The earlier observations about time concerned the tragic time of the present - what Tigerstedt called »the struggle against reality« (UÖ, p. 68). This is quantitative time, clock time. I choose to call it natural time in the subsequent discussion. He regarded this time as a row of pearls on a thread. A general view of this phenomenon simply was not possible since there was no beginning or ending. These beads were all isolated, disjointed and fragmented. In other words without meaning. Here the longing for a lost unity begins - the longing for the moment of consummation. This is why Tigerstedt along with Wyndham Lewis rejected la durée réelle - the Bergsonian personal temporality. They regarded this conception as a sign of modern man's rootless introspection and psychological agony. Stability and form did not go together with Bergson's eternal flux which is fundamentally, like Einstein's contemporary theories of a expanding universe, based on progression. Tigerstedt generally connected decadent modern art with the new scientific relativism, which in his eyes demolished the ideal static values of the old vision du monde.

Despite the similarities between Lewis and Tigerstedt, which have already been implied, there were also great differences. To start with Lewis's massive misogyny is less pronounced in the Finland-Swedish poet. Moreover Tigerstedt's great perspective and somewhat unclear and blurred vision of a higher unity would probably not have been in line with Lewis's outlook. They would presumably have appeared un-classical, just as Tigerstedt's cult of Spengler would to Lewis. Furthermore, Lewis attacked Spengler and the Spenglerian vision of time in Time and Western Man. Instead the Englishman placed Spengler together with Bergson and Joyce. To Lewis they were all manifestations of the decadent »time-cult«. Spengler's world-as-history was part of man's loss of individuality, the political democratization and the decadent emphasizing of the unconscious in man.12
There was, however, another reality - the other dimension - the one of harmony and rest to Tigerstedt. In this dimension the past, the present and the future met. Within this entity the whole was eternally permanent and identical. Abide, moment, but if you cannot abide, at least return eternally! This was Mohler's interpretation of what Nietzsche really meant by Wiederkehr des Gleichen or eternal recurrence. Mohler thought that »revolution« should be interpreted as »revolve, a return back to a previous condition« and that this concept in fact was the counterpoint to progressive evolution. Based on this concept, which he saw as fundamental for the German extreme right-wing he used the expression: Die konservative Revolution - an expression probably coined by Hugo von Hofmannsthal.13

Let us return then to Tigerstedt. As we shall see later, he became a follower of Spengler's cyclical view of history. Spengler recognized the circle of then-now-tomorrow of Egyptian culture. However he maintained that: »Alles Geschehen ist einmalig und nie sich wiederholend. Es trägt das Merkmal der Richtung (der »Zeit«) der Nichtumkehrbarkeit.«14 Tigerstedt's concept of »eternal recurrence« should not be understood as a belief in the repetition of isolated individual events, although the cyclical traits of world history repeat themselves in a Spenglerian fashion. It is rather a holistic conception of a longing and returning to an entity in a world marked by growing fragmentation and atomization. Because of its connection with the past, the future and the cycle I choose the term ahistorical time. We thus find a frequent cyclical conception of time related to peace, rest and harmony in Tigerstedt's poetry. In fact words such as »frid«, »vila« »lögna«, »harmoni« (peace, rest, tranquility and harmony) etc. are generally associated with cyclical visions:

Hur vackert villar icke vårlden!
Vart ting fullbordar
i tidens mantel slutten
i cyklisk rytm sitt vårens harmoni.
(»Ettervind«, Block och öde)15

(How delightful the world rests!/Every object completes/The cyclical rhythm of the harmony of its soul/Locked in the cloak of time.)

This is very much related to the view of the individual. He is only a link in the long chain of generations. The individual is in touch with his own enduring identity through the memory and reminiscence of the past thoughts and achievements of his ancestors. A moving and melancholy example of this image can be found in the poem »Levande och döda« (»The Living and the Dead«):

De äro våra dessa levande och döda
och vid vårt bröst närdes deras korta saga.
Huru talade vi icke till dem
då de som barn lekte i vår närhet.
Tyst földe dem vår kärlek,
då de som man glömde sin ungdoms förtrolighet,
och varligt slöto vi dem i våra armar
då de bleknade och stumma återvände i vårt sköte.

Ack, de äro våra dessa levande och döda.
Vår längtan rinner i deras ådor,
vår kärlek svälkar deras pannor,
och över deras korta vandring
vila våra tysta böners välsignelse. (*De heliga vätarna*)

(They belong to us these living and dead./And from our bosom their brief saga was fed./ Oh, the way we spoke to them./ When they played as children close to us./ Quietly our love followed them./ When they in their manhood had lost the intimacy of their youth,/ And gently we took them into our arms./ When they returned pale and numb to our womb/ Alas, they belong to us these living and dead./ Our longing runs in their veins./ Our love is cooling their brow,/ And over their short pilgrimage/ The blessing of our quiet prayers abides.)

They are in us and we are in them. We exist in the present and in the past, they live in the past and in the present. The blood of kin and family is inherited and carried on by the individual. But not only this: the individual also carries the whole sum of his ancestors - their very flesh, blood and body:

_Vad äro väl vi, indivíd för indivíd, annat än länkar i en lång kedja, tillfälliga bärare och förvaltare av det ansvarsfulla arv, som är så mycket mera långlivat än vi och så mycket viktigare än vårt eget lilla jag. [...] [ ... ] det inte är vi, som äga vårt land. [...] utan det är vårt land, som äger oss, [...] ("Vår nordiska störmakt").16

(We are but links, individual by individual, in a long chain, temporary carriers and trustees of the accountable inheritance, which will last so much longer and is so much more important than our own tiny egos. [...] [...] it is not we, who own our country [...] but our country, which owns us [...])

We are descendants of the soil and our forefathers who share the same blood, the same yearning and the very same flesh. The circle is thereby closed, we are now in the past and in the future simultaneously (»Levande och döda«). History is abolished, and we stand near the concept of eternal recurrence. This would also point toward a holistic concept - the entity of the individual united with the whole. Back to the center - *Die Mitte ist überall!* This is another trait which Mohler found characteristic of the »Conservative Revolution« according to his interpretation of Nietzsche's *Bleibt der Erde treu!*.17

In this context it must be emphasized that Tigerstedt did not affirm the parallel between the development of kin and the individual. There is thus no connection here to ontogenetics in Haeckel's sense or any analogy to Spengler's organic phases of history. Instead, a classical parallel can be drawn to Virgili's hero Aeneas and his journey into the Underworld. A pageant of descendants and successors of Aeneas cements the moment with the past and the future. Aeneas is thus nothing more than a link in a chain.

We have seen earlier that the same concept had been advocated in writings by Barrés and Maurras in France, von Heidenstam and Fredrik Böök in Sweden and by Grotenfelt and Gripenberg in Finland. In Weimar Germany Gottfried Benn also claimed that »Der einzelne hat in sich die ganze Entwick-
lung seines Geschlechts». Every man had in himself the predestined development of his ancestors.18

These were some of the foundation stones of Blut und Boden but, and this was of substance, the fully-developed biological aspect - the race feature - was not very pronounced in some of these authors. This was, as we shall see later, the case with Tigerstedt.19 Yet, blood and kin play an important role in the works of our protagonist. Phrases like »listen to the voice of your blood«, »your blood is speaking« can often be found.

The Tigerstedtian concept of time is essentially a non-modernistic and anti-positivistic facet in his world view. It could be described as a literary endeavor to re-establish the link to the world of Antiquity and the celebrated medieval society. Time as well as ideas become unchanging - ahistorical. The temporal dimension in human life gives way to a sense of universal duration. It is the literary tradition of Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Timeless stories reflect the unchanging moral values. Time is often personified to give the supremely timeless fact of death - it becomes the devourer, that bald septon or that old common arbitrator we find in the works of William Shakespeare. In Tigerstedt's works we come across frequent cases of the same theme - often symbolized by the clock: »The hour strides quietly, the second flies fast« (SISTE, p. 33), »I heard the footsteps, the dragging, shuffling steps,/ time passed silently through the room« (SISTE, p. 39), »fugit irreparabile tempus« (FV, p. 21).

When describing the rise of the modern novel Ian Watt underlines the break with an earlier literary tradition in the conception of time. The temporal flux is highlighted in minute time schemes, details of everyday life are closely examined - the individual exists in a historical and particular locus in time and space.20 Perhaps the ultimate possibilities of the time process were discovered by Eduard Dujardin and exploited by modern writers such as Proust and Joyce in the stream-of-consciousness technique. The use of time and the time sequence in a historical sense become a theme of pre-eminent importance in many modern 20th century novels and short stories. Returning to Tigerstedt, his short stories and his only novel - Katedralen, we discover not surprisingly that the temporal dimension is vague and often unparticularized. In his two collections of short stories from the 20s, Noveller and Exercitia, nearly all the stories take place in a dimension of timelessness often found in legends and fairy-tales. The setting is exotic, oriental or mediterranean and reminds the readers of The Thousand and One Nights.

The book Ön i havet (1955) showed that this vision of a moment when the dimension of past-now-future was dissolved was still very much alive to the author:

There was not a past. Nor was there an insurgent future to pursue. Everything was included in the present, a large and resting present. [...] Once more I perceived the presence of the great circle. This beautiful garden lay in its center. And everything was stillness and a timeless now, [...] (pp. 148, 154. My underlining)
In these passages we encounter cases of the other dimension - the ahistorical time - the return to the entity - the form of eternal recurrence, in the sense of a returning to a whole that we find in the works of Tigerstedt. Thus the everlasting search of the human spirit for «the greatest triumph of the Empire» - the death of motion - the condition of ultimate form is finally achieved.

The Great Interregnum: Historical Conception and Contemporary Society

I pace upon the battlements and stare
On the foundations of a house, or where
Tree, like a sooty finger, starts from the earth;
And send imagination forth
Under the day's declining beam, and call
Images and memories
From ruin or from ancient trees,
For I would ask a question of them all.

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

- You know, I've been wanting to go to Western Europe and that's where I'll go from here. Oh I know that going there is like going to a graveyard, but it's a glorious graveyard, I tell you! The dead who lie under the stones there are dear to me, and every gravestone speaks of their ardent lives, of human achievements, of their passionate faith in the purpose of life, the truth they believed in, the learning they defended - and I know in advance that I'll prostrate myself and kiss those stones and shed tears on them, although the whole time I'll be fully aware that it's only a graveyard and nothing more.
(Ivan Karamazov to brother Alyosha)

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY

(Dann) kam die Auflösung aller alten Bindungen, die Zerstörung der Substanz, die Nivellierung aller Werte,

GOTTFRIED BENN

The Organic Cycle of Cultures

»Like tidal waves the epochs of history sweep through the centuries, born of disasters and remains, expanding and growing, sucking everything to their bosoms, splendidly towering in their maximum potency, bursting and disintegrating in foam when their inner tension no longer can keep the balance« (SKOTTÖ, p. 132). Some pages later in the same book Tigerstedt
uses the metaphor of the game of chess. The question is: how does a new culture start again? The checkerboard is the same, the symbols of the chessmen are the same. Only a game is over and the chessmen are regrouped. A new game can start, with new openings, new possibilities. If we by chance are playing (living) in a »similar situation«, as men have before (and we always do!), then the chances are good that we now can understand the generation which after the decline of the Renaissance searched for Luther, Calvin and Ignatius Loyola.

Here, quite obviously, we find the circle again - eternal recurrence - earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust. It is the organic cycle of nature turned into history. The development within each era or culture follows certain phases just like the life of a flower. This of course also makes it possible to predetermine the future, that is, at least to a certain extent.

These are, as we already know, in substance the theses put forward by Oswald Spengler. However, there is an interesting catch here. The general view of Spengler’s theses at the time was that they were an innovation and a novelty in the discipline of history. This was not so. They had in fact their roots in Romanticism and were essentially based on the biological philosophy of history of the 18th century. This was pointed out by John Landquist, who saw Johann Gottfried von Herder as one of its originators. What makes this especially interesting to us is the strong 18th century tradition in the aristocratic circles of the Swedish-speaking minority, to which reference has already been made. Yet it is most likely that Örnulf Tigerstedt here was primarily influenced by Oswald Spengler, whom he read at an early age, presumably around 1919. However, the soil into which these seeds were sown was most likely well prepared to receive them and let them germinate. If we study Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt’s scientific works on geology we find, not surprisingly, a strong inclination to transfer the morphological and typological view on fossils to the history of mankind.

The Concept of Anti-Progression

Spengler and Tigerstedt as his disciple, denied both causality in history and progression or evolution. Mechanical causality did nevertheless exist in nature and there was progression in a culture between the predetermined stages of organic and morphological development. But the theory offered no interpretation of the origin of cultures - the sudden rise of a new culture was a cosmic mystery. The only mainspring of history was »life« - something essentially irrational and instinctive. By this Spengler and Tigerstedt meant our eternal drive for power or Wille zur Macht. This endeavor of ours is guided by the metaphysical entity Schicksal - destiny.

And yet, what Spengler presented was a complete explanation of the modern world, industrialism, and the very metamorphosis in society. The German also advanced the doctrine of cultural isolation. Each culture lives a life of its own. He stated that we cannot understand cultures other than our
own, and yet his comparative morphology is based on a correct personal grasp of the cultures he compared! This is perhaps the most contradictory thing about Spengler's achievement.

There are certainly some serious contradictions here. If we, for instance, consider Tigerstedt's idea that «we live in our forefathers and they live in us», which was discussed earlier, it can, no doubt, be objected that this chain must be broken in the event of a new culture, since different cultures are isolated. However, as we shall see from the following example, this is not the only inconsistency in this connection.

Tigerstedt sometimes admitted a certain progression, but only with a great deal of reservation, and when he did recognize it, it was clearly linked to the world of matter and not to spiritual or artistic achievements.

A passage in Vi resa söderut illustrating this view of anti-progression and his belief in cultural isolation. The author ponders the lost beauty of the medieval town of Bruges. The town was forever Bruges la morte and its culture and life were gone for ever. It was dead, although the population figures were increasing again: «for there are no longer any inhabitants who are thinking and living in this town. Its saga is gone, its mission is finished, its destiny is fulfilled» (VIRS, p. 108). He makes the same reflection when standing in front of Hans Memling's painting «Madonna and Child» in the same town: the spiritual state of mind that had made it possible mirrored an entity and a world that we could not even imagine or grasp, let alone understand. There was not one single soul rich, humble, and believing enough in our decadent civilization of the 1930s to be capable of creating such a masterpiece. Yet perhaps the main emphasis in this rejection of progress lies in its fundamental opposition to form and tradition. It must also be emphasized that much of Tigerstedt's pessimism about automatic progress was by no means unique but rather a sign of the times in the aftermath of the Great War.

»Zivilisation« and the Great Interregnum

The poet also wholeheartedly accepted Spengler's conception of the existence of a last decaying stage of a culture - »Zivilisation«. In this phase the intellect gains control over profound spirituality. It is a time void of true soul and characterized by sheer materialism. It is the reign of »hollow men and straw men« guided by money and imperialism. A picture of how well this concept suited the basic foundation of Örnulf Tigerstedt's vision du monde described earlier can be gained from Norbert Elias's definition:

»Zivilisation« bezeichnet einen Prozeß oder mindestens das Resultat eines Prozesses. Es bezieht sich auf etwas, das ständig in Bewegung ist, das ständig »vorwärts« geht. Der deutsche Begriff »Kultur«, wie er gegenwärtig gebraucht wird, hat eine andere Bewegungsrichtung; er bezieht sich auf Produkte des Menschen, die da sind, wie »Blüten auf den Feldern«, auf Kunstwerke, Bücher, religiöse oder philosophische Systeme, in denen die Eigenart eines Volkes zum Ausdruck kommt.
We can observe and recognize the connection with motion here, which Tigerstedt profoundly experienced as a menace to form. Culture is peace and tranquility, something basically Aristotelian, statuesque and stoic.

The United States, France and particularly England became the ultimate example of the superficial Zivilisation to Spengler. Therefore we should not be surprised at Tigerstedt's counterpoint technique in the above excerpts from Vi resa söderut. The profound culture of Bruges and Memling's masterpiece were contrasted with an English family visiting the town at the same time as he did. These English tourists became the incarnation of Zivilisation - modern, shallow, parvenu, businessminded, materialistic and utterly ignorant (VIRS, pp. 101ff.).

According to Tigerstedt this decline and deterioration started with the advent of the French Revolution. The Enlightenment and in particular Rousseau, and his Contrat social, proclaimed a belief in natural goodness, humanism, optimism, progress and the value of internal authority, and the challenge of external authority.

This led to a deeper belief in progress, a scientific dissection of reality and the dissolution of all values. Particularization and materialism followed in its footsteps. The entity was lost in Western civilization. This was the »Liberal Era« and Liberalism to him was the mother and feeder of parliamentary procedure and democracy. Furthermore, she more than willingly, gave the breast to her other bastard sons, Jacobinism, Socialism, Bolshevism and Marxism:

The year 1789 is the year of the birth of Liberalism. The year 1914 marks its death and no power in this world is capable of giving it new life, and no amount of patching and bandaging will revive a body already overtaken by rigor mortis. The undeserved and responsible honor of taking part in the creation and birth of a new historical era has been allotted to us. (Skott i överkant, p. 18)

What then followed was the period of the Great Interregnum: »A ghostly struggle of ideas is the result, a gruesome interregnum« (»Till nationalismens kreditkonto«, p. 121).

This reasoning went back, most probably, even further than Spengler. In 1915 Rudolf Kjellén had publicized an influential series of articles in the Swedish newspaper Nya Dagligt Allehanda. They were entitled »1914 års idéer« - (The Ideas of 1914). Although partly based on German influences the thinking in the articles were developed by Kjellén. The ideas of 1789, allegedly had ruled the Western world ever since, were regarded as »liberalism«. Liberty, equality and fraternity had led to the bankruptcy of ideas and to sheer individualism and intellectualism. 1914 saw the advent of »the German thought in the world«, represented by the keyword Order. Using dialectics Kjellén maintained that obedience, duty, and sacrifice would now prevail and create a new »positive idea«, a synthesis in which the elements of 1789 would be of minor importance. Tigerstedt embraced these thoughts and the main content of his book Skott i överkant (1934)
reflects Kjellén's series of articles, although in a radicalized form. Tigerstedt's choice of terms: the apology for myths (which like Kjellén he referred to as prejudices »fördomar«), the broad definition of liberalism, the rejection of freedom, the concept of an overall change in Weltanschauung and so on can be found in Kjellén's writings. Strangely enough, however, the critics never linked Tigerstedt to either Kjellén or Norström.

Tigerstedt's book could be characterized as a devastating attack on what the author regarded as the liberal mentality or the »myth of the 19th century«, the related illusions of progression and development. »Liberalism« was based on a false belief in the goodness of man, the dangerous and preposterous idea of individual freedom and fraternity, coupled with the mistaken view that all men were equal. Tigerstedt turned this concept upside down. Since »liberalism« was based on a myth - the goodness of man - it became in fact also a metaphysical ideology or system! (pp. 20-21, 37). Democracy, then, was viewed as the ultimate metastasis in society's already doomed and decaying body. It had proved fatal to all tradition and to the values passed on from generation to generation. Democracy had also proved especially menacing to the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, since it had entirely altered the privileged position of their upper class through the reform of 1906.

Suddenly the masses had gained influence and control of the state. The despotism of the masses had come. Traditions and values cherished by generations were swept away with a single stroke of the pen. The masses stood for immaturity, chaos and a materialistic way of thinking. The first result of this development in Finland had been the traumatic experiences of 1918 for a young man belonging to a privileged élite. Furthermore, the masses' sudden majority meant the supremacy of another language, and in the fierce language struggle of the mid-30s the annihilation of the Swedish language in Finland seemed to be on their agenda. Thus the very concept of democracy could be used as a weapon against minorities, civilization and individuality.31

The logical result was to view democracy itself, in fact, as the mother of reaction, the mother of caesarism.32 The decomposition of the carcass which was Western civilization had reached the point when reaction became inevitable.

My use of metaphors of decay here, in trying to understand the poet's reasoning, is by no means accidental. Tigerstedt used the carcass as a metaphor for decadent contemporary society in Skott i överkant: »Moreover we must see clearly that the sects which worship primitivism and the like thrive, just like fungus, in organisms in a state of decomposition« (p. 138-139).33 Such images and metaphors were very common in Nazi propaganda as well as the overall conception of cultural decay and the anticipation of a coming Götterdämmerung. They could be yoked to an old conservative biological view of people and society forming a separate organism.34
Modern Science - Father of Putrefaction

A once fundamentally uncomplicated world based on authority, faith, tradition and loyalism had been demolished in the course of less than 150 years. This development had started with the French Revolution and during the 19th century natural science had accelerated this process. The Entfremdung der Welt proceeded with liberalism and its firm belief in rationalism, causality, liberty and progress. Everything was questioned, everything could be logically and »rationally explained« and everything was finally cut to pieces. It was the vulgar force of particularization, specialization and atomization that had been unleashed:

I hundra år sprungvo vi andfädda
i en riktning som vi trodde vara framåt.
Vi vägde, vi mätte, viadderade.
Vi förbättrade våra linser med ethundra gånger
och mångdubblade våra vågars skärpa.

Från nebulosan till elektronen
uppritade vi världens karta,
[- -]
Vi sprängde helheten och summerade delarna.
Vi uppställde den heliga läran om utvecklingen
och den ännu heligare läran om framåtskridandet,
och medan vi spanade efter felande länkar,
uppstående vi fromma böner till alla gåtors ursprung,
år stamfar, det heliga urslemmet.
(»Bladet vändes», »The Tide is Turning», De heliga vägarna.)

(For a hundred years we ran out of breath/In a direction we believed pointed forward./ We weighed, we measured, we added numbers./ We improved our lenses a hundred times./ And improved the accuracy of our scales./ From the nebula to the electrode/ We outlined the map of the world./ / We blew up the whole and summed up the parts./ We created the holy doctrine of evolution,/ And the even more holy doctrine of progress/And while we scouted for missing links,/ We offered up pious prayers to the origin of all enigmas./ Our progenitor, the hallowed proto-slime.)

This is the new intellectualization of the world. We think that we are able to rationalize everything and attain mastery of the external world and all its forces. This has produced a civilization divided within itself and the source of this division is the very spirit of modern science. The new and inorganic world of physical science with its specialized terminologies and methods has atomized our existence. But the truth is we cannot exorcise ourselves from the enigmatic elixir of life. We cannot demonstrate the secret soul or the essence of something alive, let alone grade it according to the Fahrenheit or Centigrade system. It is an illusion that we can even attempt to liberate ourselves from the metaphysical aspects of being.

In short, the mere word »science« (»vetenskap«) had a negative connotation for Tigerstedt. H. G. Wells's vision of a future »scientific society« was a nightmare feared by the poet. Natural science and its rationalism and rules of reason were a myth and because of that he often
compared it to religion and dogma. There was nothing wrong with myths and visions as long as they were not bad. This one, though, was definitely harmful to society in Tigerstedt’s opinion. In connection with this, Tigerstedt, as we will explore later, advocated the myth of the divine State. Along with this he stressed the metaphysical elements of life which were present in his concept of destiny.

**Attack on the Decadent Metropolis and Materialistic Nihilism.**

The fortress of plebeian democracy is the city - the Great Metropolis where crass materialism dwells. This is where the working people are bewitched by the Myth of Holy Progress. This is where degeneration, resemmment and chaos lurks in the shape of jazz, »sexual culture«, depraved art and above all a rootless being. It is the place where the proletariat is fed and entertained - *panem et circenses* - in order to conserve the myth: »Vi är revolutionen,« [- - -] Vi är trusornas trust, idéernas spark i rumpan, den stora slavspyan - / Hö- 》(»Röda dagen«, HELV).35 (We are the revolution, 】- - - We are the trust of trusts, The kick of ideas in the tail, the great slave vomit - / Ha.)

The Metropolis is the dunghill where ideals and truths are antiquated. Total relativism prevails. Its soul is the soul of modern urban materialistic nihilism. The rootless human existence leads to such signs of decadence as psychoanalysis and »deviant and primitive« activities of a perverted nature like jazz and step-dancing:

Se på flabben och jazzgossen, han med den släntrande gången, vetebullshänderna i byxflickorna och den sista filmidiotin på läpparna. Se på jazzflickan, herrejessvadjaknarrflickan, hon med kappsäcksgammorren, läppstift och film-stjärnkortena, hon som finns på Allt för Allas omslag och ler ett så världsskeptiskt leende att man nästan tror att hon verkligen är själfull. (»Skandinaviska skolungdomsmötet«, **HBL** 22 May 1934).36

(look at the dimwit jazz freak, with his sauntering gait, his hands like buns in his pockets and the last stupid movie on his mind. Look at the jazz girl, the »my-God-how-tired-I-am-girl«, with her portable gramophone, lipstick and filmstar portraits. She who appears on the cover of Allt för Alla (»Everything for Everybody«) and smiles such a skeptical smile that you really might believe she is soulful.)

These city types represent a step backward - back to nature, animalism and the ideas of Rousseau. To be »natural« is to forget man’s mission - to achieve form. Man’s innate disposition is instead to strive for a structure. This is his destiny. Consequently, Tigerstedt puts forward an apology for the »unnatural« or artificial. (SKOTTÖ, p. 73ff) According to this an art period like the Rococo, for instance, can be said to have been quite as »natural« as the naturalness we admire today.

As suggested by Spengler, our age became culturally analogous to the period between the decline of the classical world and the birth of Christian culture, a period of great cities, great commercial development, bizarre and frequently vulgar forms of art and literature, in short, a new materialistic outlook.
The view of the decadent Metropolis was, as we already know, very common in contemporary literature. Yet unlike many authors with primitivist desires, such as D. H. Lawrence and the Swedes Harry Martinson and Artur Lundkvist, Tigerstedt's criticism certainly did not lead to a yearning for animistic or African encounters. Such a return to the "cult of the noble savage" would certainly have collided with his concept of civilization. However, there is an evident conflict here linked to the author's terrified fascination with the mysterious and chaotic forces he simultaneously wishes to control. A certain mythopoetic Romanticism based on a metaphysical concept is evident in Tigerstedt. In addition, exotic place-names and environments, often with a historical setting, abound in his short stories and inter-war poetry. Apart from this, the neoclassical attitude prevailed, the search for form and known and accepted rules in art as well as in politics.

The aristocratic fear of the leveling forces and of the masses was unmistakable in Spengler's view of the "Untermenschen der Großstädt«. The same is true of Stoddard's vulgar belief in the threat of "the Under-Man" and "the war" against "the racially inferior classes". The aristocratic Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset presented in his El Tema de nuestro Tiempo a historical conception close to Spengler's. The "slave-mentality" of the masses and their "affected rebellion" constituted a menace to society. To a certain extent this fear could even mirror an upper class fear of becoming socially degraded and being swallowed up by the formless masses.37

Spengler's influence was also stylistically manifest in Tigerstedt's works. Phrases like "livet och verkligheten fäller utslaget", "den härda nödvändigheten", "verklighetens tvingande nödvändighet", "den levande helheten", "blodfull verklighet" (life and reality are what counts, harsh necessity, the compelling necessity of reality, the living whole, full-blooded reality) are unmistakable Spenglerian echoes.38

Tigerstedt's rejection of the Metropolis did not, in fact, have a compensative antithesis. Comparing with Hamsun once again we find that nature serves basically as a counterbalancing element to the decadent city. This was of course impossible in Tigerstedt's world of form. The closest antithesis we can find is the herrgård functioning as the epitome of culture. The patriarchal manor culture thus contained the profound essence of true culture and was consequently romanticized by the author.

**The Repudiation of Emancipated Sexuality**

Tigerstedt often returns to the growing new sexual freedom in the modern Metropolis - "the universal and organized glandular and umbilical civilization". Lust and physical pleasure are more than once contrasted with duty and obligation. Sexual emancipation thus represents nature, the animal in man and chaos. Magda's love affair in Katedralen ends in tragedy. The message is there: female emancipation is dangerous. In the essay on
bull fighting, earlier mentioned, the author is captivated by the scene in the pit of the arena: »An orgiastic dance is being performed there, a mysterious pagan ritual glorifying dark primordial powers. A profound, dominant male sexuality surrounds the last act of the drama,« (VIRS, p. 165). A few pages later when he discusses the »Apollinian classical and reservedly dispassionate style« of a matador and the ultimate sacrifice the Spaniard made, the author's thoughts go to the prostitutes of Spain. What strikes him is the way in which they give themselves to men, with such a strange mild submission - a penance and »ritual in front of a human, all too human, deity.« There are other examples of an authoritative and dominating masculine conception and image of sexuality in Tigerstedt's *œuvre*. The key to the understanding of this is lodged in the archetypal pattern masculine - feminine, form - chaos and in his emotionally and sexual inhibition, to which allusion has been made earlier. Nature and the female principle of chaotic freedom had to be overcome and sexual emancipation as well. We have already drawn attention to Tigerstedt's studies of Le Bon, who in his extreme misogyny attributed »impulsiveness, irritability, excessive emotions, lack of judgment« to »creatures of a lower order, women, savages and children!« The crowds and the masses are close to nature and feminine by temperament according to Le Bon. A similar wincing and fear of freedom can be detected in Vitalis Norström.

In *Manligt och kvinnligt* (Of Masculine and Feminine), Asta Ekenwall has shown that such a relationship between the sexes has been common ever since the ancient cultures. A hierarchical model where the male principle is the creative and the female the receptive one is thus widespread. The female is connected with nature, earth, death and chaos. Man forms and shapes the cosmos from chaos with his sperm. What is striking, though, is how radically developed and fundamental this is in Tigerstedt's thought. The relationship to Le Bon's ideas is manifest, although we must acknowledge that Tigerstedt never went that far.

The new progressive and liberated woman, using contraceptives, earning her own living and raising her voice politically for the first time, was to become a symbol of degeneracy and modern asphalt civilization to conservatives the world over. This motif was also a standard theme in Nazi propaganda. We can compare this with what has earlier been said about the Danish author Harald Raage, although Tigerstedt fortunately never approaches Raage's vulgarity. (See chapter II:5) The emancipated woman became the representative of a new materialistic and pleasure-seeking consumerism. Tigerstedt implies that this was what unchecked liberty would ultimately result in. Magda's friend, Gunilla, in *Katedralen* represents this emancipated sexuality. Free of any engagements and duties she acts like the undermining powers of chaos - like the lecherous serpent of paradise (*KAT*, pp. 141ff).
Moreover, Tigerstedt’s world is totally dominated by men. The few women we find are either unimportant, motherly or submissive. The author’s view of the inequality in the relationships between sexes corresponds to his view of eternal social differences in society. However, homoerotic tendencies or undercurrents of attraction between men are not found in his world of male monopoly. This feature of fascist literature has been underlined by Russel A. Berman, who in this connection mentions Kate Millet’s work on D. H. Lawrence.44

The submissive and accommodating woman, living for her husband and raising children was of course characteristic of contemporary bourgeois society and contrasted with the male dominance in the fields of professional careers and business.45 However, Tigerstedt takes great pains to describe female obedience. When Magda comes crawling back to her deceived husband she emphasizes his superiority by curtsying and kissing his hand! (KAT, p. 189) Of his few character portraits of women several are of servants like the imbecile Maria in Vi resa söderut: »Her world was the world of flowers« (VIRS, p. 74) or the obedient and mysterious Tua of Ön i havet. Tua is femininity to Tigerstedt - something enigmatic and related to uncontrolled nature - her movements are catlike and her alien temperament makes him think of the swamp (ÖN, pp. 118-119).46 This tendency is underlined by the rendering of the relation between Magda and her daughter, which in its shallowness and implausibility discloses the author’s lack of insight in female psychology. An Austrian, Barbara Keim, has called attention to the junction between the cult of masculinity, nationalism, racism and fear of women or misogyny in the German and Austrian antidemocratic novels of the 20s. The concept of die neue Frau is paired with the corruption of morals, Sittenverfall, and Keim claims that there is another connection between fear of social degradation and a frustrated feeling of both elitism and vulnerability in fascist ideology.47

Another important provider of impulses to Örnulf Tigerstedt was Egon Friedell and his extensive work Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit. In this book we find the holistic concept of the lost organic entity and emphasis on the importance of myths. Friedell admired Carlyle and Spengler and in his book we find anti-intellectualism, hero-worship (»Ein Zeitalter, das nicht seinen Helden findet, ist patologisch«, Friedell I, p. 28), aesthetic adoration for the beauty of violence, ruthlessness and even murder (Ibid. pp. 202ff), praise of duty and discipline, and anti-Semitism, but above all scathing contempt for his own time and its materialistic culture of the great cities. His attack on psychoanalysis and liberated sexual libido is worth quoting:

[...] Ihr Ziel ist ganz unverhüllt die Verhisslichung und Entgötterung der Welt. 'Mit den Juden', sagt Nietzsche, 'beginnt der Sklavenaufstand in der Moral'. Mit der Psychoanalyse beginnt der Sklavenaufstand der Amoral. [...] Kurz: es ist, abermals mit Nietzsche zu reden, 'ein Parasitenattentat, ein Vampyrismus bleicher unterirdischer Blutsauger'; es handelt sich um einen grossartigen Infektionsversuch, einen schleichenden Racheakt der Schlechtweg-gekommenen: die ganze Welt soll
The Influence of Carlyle and Hero-Worship

Carlyle's aristocratic stand of strong dislike for the leveling forces of modern society may be compared with Spengler's views but also with Carlyle's disdain for «soft Liberalism». The tradition from Antiquity was strong in Tigerstedt's childhood environment and the reading of classical history was a compulsory part of the humanist curriculum in the Finland of those days. We know from letters that not only Marcus Aurelius had an influence on the young man, but that the Greek historian Thucydides was also often mentioned by Tigerstedt. A closer look at Thucydides's conception of history in his book on the Peloponnesian Wars displays similarities with Tigerstedt's.

Thucydides generally viewed history's eternal flux as modified by destiny (Tyche) and regulated by personal interference in the course of events. His fascination with the great personalities of history is evident. This is neither remarkable nor unique if we take the general classical view of history into account. Thucydides was, however, unique in calling attention to the disintegrating powers of the Athenian democracy, and the revolutionary force of the uncontrolled masses.

Tigerstedt's heroes «made history, not just lived through it». As we have already seen the poet basically shared the Nietzschean concept of Wille zur Macht as the mainspring of history, which Spengler referred to as Leben. For a man holding this view it was natural to admire genius. Consequently, he was committed to the «Great Man Theory of History». Since Tigerstedt conceded man a certain measure of free will, this did not fully collide with the concept of destiny.

The towering figure of the genius represented something colorful and exciting to the author; he had an aristocratic touch. To use Carlylean language, it was the Hero as King - the sum of all the various figures of
Heroism - that attracted Tigerstedt in the first place. This probably had to do with his preference for action and vitality, which was linked to his position as a Romantic and aesthetic beholder, a taste perhaps partly acquired in his childhood from Romantic novelists like Sir Walter Scott. The small men were void of color, beauty and profound intellect. It is instead the men of brilliance and greatness we have reason to remember: »It is not given to all men to become a Napoleon or a Wellington, nor even a Sandels or a von Döbeln. In order to become such a man the fire of genius is needed, which is given only to the chosen ones by the gods« (»Duncker«, in Nyland, 7 July 1934). The author's form of élitism was based not only on the recognition that some men had the capacity for heroic virtues, but that some men indeed had a clearer perception of ethical questions of right and wrong. This also entitled them to a larger measure of freedom than others.

The Machiavellian doctrine of an absolute ruler invested with ultimate power paired with an anti-intellectual Carlylean hero-worship are to be found elsewhere somewhat earlier in Swedish literature. The cult of action, youth and aristocratic individualism is very explicit in the early works of K. G. Ossiannilsson. His was the stand of aesthetic Caesarism and it ultimately led to Mussolini in the 20s. Prior to that Ossiannilsson's vitalism and fervent anti-materialism had resulted in a brief flirt with the socialists. Tigerstedt's obsession with martial regalia, heroic warriors and war itself in the mid 30s also had its Swedish forerunner in Ossiannilsson, and Carlyle was read and cherished by both these authors.

In Carlyle we find a critique of the ideas of the Enlightenment, attacks on an increasingly mechanical age and growing materialism and perhaps above all the theory of the hero. Carlyle also romanticized hierarchical society, the relationship between lord and vassal, noble and ignoble. It was not based on materialism and money, it was instead a moral association based on a mutual oath of allegiance. Loyal obedience man to man was the ideal and there was a difference between men and men. To him Puritanism, for example, was belief in a cause and in work for order against chaos.

The favorite term used by Tigerstedt when pleading for a »new spirit« was not surprisingly »neo-puritanism«. True history to Tigerstedt was the biography of great men. In particular, Tigerstedt was drawn to the figure of the autocrat and tyrant, men who through »the inner dictatorship« suppressed all pity, men who turned their hearts into stone and did their sacred duty. In an article written in 1923 he described the inhumanity of Genghis Khan and at the same time used the epithet: »the history of this wonderful man«. Thus, Tigerstedt's production from the 20s manifested an early undertone of aesthetic admiration for cruelty and violence. We also note reverence and esteem for the loyal nobleman paying allegiance to his despot. The author thus seemed to be truly captivated by the magnificence of brutality. It was yet another manifestation of his view of the aesthete - the Romantic divorced from reality: »Its solid, bony face brings out a refined
brutality, an Alexander the Great, a Louis XIV, a ruthlessness of supreme power» (»Amenhotep», 1925, p. 151). Another example of aesthetic fascination with violence and brutality, this time with sexual undertones is provided by »Sangre y arena» (VIRS, 1930). These sentiments are however not completely unreserved here (»packinstinkter och orent spel»/ pack instincts and foul play, p. 163). The author is nevertheless finally completely swept along by his artistic fascination with the beauty inherent in the violent act of bull-fighting, indeed to such an extent that he nearly becomes a co-actor.

This is, however, typical of the young Tigerstedt. When reality caught up with him in the 30s and 40s this kind of idolizing of brute power became more and more rare and when it later occasionally surfaced it was often mingled with undercurrents of growing anxiety. His vision of the hero matures into something more down-to-earth and human. A series of poems in Sista etappen (»Vid vägens slut», »Giacomo Machiavelli», »Il Principe», 1940) are probably on one level inspired by Finland’s heroic but vain struggle in the Winter War and disappointment over the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. They all have the Italian Renaissance prince in focus. On another level they describe the emptiness and hollowness of the hero-tyrant: »You King of the utmost room» (du det yttersta rummets konung), again, the symbol of the empty room - the meaningless dimension of existence - which became more and more frequent in the poet’s after-war poetry.

I have so far made an attempt to describe Tigerstedt’s holistic conception of history and contemporary society. His view of an unbridgeable gulf between one culture and another leads to a profound skepticism regarding the possibility of really understanding past cultures. His view of history could be labeled radically historicistic. His panorama comprised the organic independent »cultures» and their rise, maturing, and decline, the conception of our time as a Civilisation or an Interregnum, a period void of form and left to the powers of chaos. We must now turn back to the metaphysical entity under whose spell culture and mankind must exist: Destiny.

Notes

3. Some other example of this view of man: NOV, pp. 80, 73: "Världen är ett omtägligt slagfält, och på detta slagfält utkämpas den våldigaste av drabningar." (The world is an immense battlefield and on this battlefield the mightiest of battles is being fought), EXC; p. 10, VIRS; pp. 43, 63, 119, 146, "Frihet och Lydnad", 1931: "For the normal (condition) is by no means culture and order but disorder and barbarity") UÖ, pp. 37-38, 41, 47, 63, 65 et passim, ÖN, p. 86, HACKMI, p. 195, KAT, p. 112. Cf. Spengler, Jahre.., p. 9: "die Menschenverachtung aller grossen Tatmenschen gehört..", cf. also p. 75 with VIRS, p. 95.
4. Cf., e.g., VIRS, pp 70, 57ff.
5. Löwenthal, Literature & the Image of Man, p. 199.
7. See, e.g., the article "Gränsens kolonisationsproblem", in Svensk Botten 10 Dec. 1937, where pioneers are turned into dwarfed pinetrees.
17. Mohler, pp. 100-108, 122-123: Be true to the earth - that is, the world is one and it is everywhere - "Die Mitte ist überall". Concerning Mohler's cyclical concept compare also W. Lewis, Time and Western Man, pp. 51ff., and cf. Kaiser who found a similar conception in Gottfried Benn's and Ernst Jünger's works, p. 81. He also pointed out that they viewed life as a "Geschichtsprinzip". To Ernst Jünger "Gestalt" meant life-destiny - a metaphysical principle turned into a dogma of form - an entity - related to Tigerstedt's conception of form, Kaiser, pp. 112-120, Schwarz, p. 82. This view is also to a high degree Spenglerian. Cf. here also Gripenberg who Hyvämäki called "veren ja maan lauluj" (Poet of blood and earth), Hyvämäki, p. 21. Cf. Spengler, Der Untergang. I, pp. 15-16: "Die ägyptische Seele" was based on a cyclical being and a cyclical world view where the borders between past-present-future are removed.
19. Even if Blood on the whole is not frequent in ÖT's oeuvre a sign of this "Blut und Boden" concept can be detected in the actual frequency of the word "blod" (blood) in his three major works of prose in the 30s (VIRS, SKOTTÖ, UÖ) the result is: VIRS: pp. 15, 17-18, 151, 159, 163, 164, 164, 165, 166, 166, 167, 170, 170. UÖ: pp. 32, 54, 91, 103, 164 SKOTTÖ: 17, 30, 57, 94, 146, 147, 177, 178, 179, 195. The concentration in VIRS above is found in "Sangre y arena" - a chapter characterized by blood mysticism.
21. Landquist, 1931, p. 73.
27. Cf. also Tigerstedt's poem "Old England", in Vägen Framtid 11/1936: the Faustian drive of England is gone and the debris of what once was now dwells in her Metropolis of decadence.
29. Kjellén had taken over the main concept from Rohrbach and the German Johann Plenge whose book Die Ideen von 1914 also provided the title. This book appeared the same year and most probably it was known to Spengler.
31. This national and linguistic approach to democracy is very evident in several articles by Tigerstedt. A good example is provided by the article "Framtidens krav" (6 July, 1933) Cf. also the Speech in Kymmenep, printed in Hangöbladet, 20 Nov. 1934 and "Betraktelser angående demokratin I-III", Wilborgs Nyheter Jan. 1933.
33. Cf. SKOTTÖ, pp. 73, 133, 135, 138, 139, 141, 149.
34. Putrefaction, contagion and parasitic plants and animals are keywords in Hitler's Mein Kampf. Cf. Hitler, e.g., pp. 88, 242, 246, See also Waltå, 1992, pp. 34ff.
38. The quotes are from SKOTTÖ, p. 31, "Amenhotep", p. 168, "Konstoposition", Tallet till våren", Speech at Runeberg's Day 1942. These combinations are truly Spenglerian. The words "Notwendigkeit", "lebende", "Wirklichkeit" are along with "Form", "organische", "Kultur", "Ordnung", "Prinzip", "Formlos", "Masse" are all very closely related in German and Swedish and key words to both authors.
41. Cf., e.g., Norström, 1910, p. 3-4: "<...>af frukten och ångest for naturens skräckinjagande företeelser och de hemlighetsfulla väsen, som gömma sig i dessa<...>"(<...>from fear and anguish of nature's terrifying phenomena and secretive entities, which hide in these<...>)
42. Ekenvall, pp. 32, 172-173, 192ff.
43. Bridenthal et al., pp. 11-13.
46. Cf. Ekenvall, p. 119! Cf. also the description of Maria, the French maid; (VIRS pp. 74-75) 'she only thought the thoughts of a canary, as stupid as they, as simple as they and as charming as they'.
47. Keim, pp. 189-90, 200-209. See also Klem, p. 135, concerning D'Annunzio's image of women.
Bolschevismus"), cf. SKOTTÖ: "Utkast angående släktsskapförhållandet mellan bolsjeviker och direktörer", Der Sklavenaufstand der Amoral", etc.
Amor fati: Tragic Heroism

So musst du sein, dir kannst du nicht entfliehen.
So sagten schon Sibyllen, so Propheten;
Und keine Zeit und keine Macht zerstückelt
Geprägte Form, die lebend sich entwickelt.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Offer thyself whole-heartedly to Clotho, letting her spin thy thread to serve what purpose soever she will.

Efface imagination. Restrain impulse. Quench desire. Keep the ruling Reason in thine own power.

Marcus Aurelius

Todo destino es dramático y trágico en su profunda dimensión. Quien no haya sentido en la mano palpitar el peligro del tiempo, no ha llegado a la entraña del destino, no ha hecho más que acariciar su morbida mejilla.

José Ortega y Gasset

The Idea of Destiny

Groups of individuals sharing a common conception of the world in which they live and its space constitute a culture. These cultures, for instance our own »Faustian culture« or the »Apollinian culture« from the Homeric period, (Tigerstedt seldom uses these terms from Spengler but shares the general view of their limitations in time and space) grow aimlessly like a flower in a field passing through organic stages. When a culture has passed through these phases it is irrevocably dead (cf. Bruges la morte). This antievolutionary conception of Tigerstedt interprets all historical change as largely predictable and governed by a metaphysical entity - öde - destiny. The analogy between the same stages of development unfolds the term Destiny. By trying to understand our own time and link it to the past we can arrive at an intuitive conception of the future. The enigma is encased in history. To Tigerstedt the signs are clear: it is the vision of a new tragedy he perceives in the early thirties and, as he sees it, it is his duty to help his country to be prepared to carry the heavy burden of its manifest destiny:

Se, havande är detta rike
och allvarstunga bida dess mörka furo.
Orlog är dess vila
och järtecken och under uppfylla dess drömmar.

Du härskarornas Gud,
utbred din mantel över detta land
och vidrörr dess anlete.
Slut det i din stränga kärlek
och giv det de hårdas ödenas välsignelse.
Du svärdbärande Gud,
inbås din ande i dessa bröd [- - -]
(«Heliga vägar», Holy Roads, De heliga vägarna)

(Behold, this realm is pregnant/ And her dark pines hide heavy with gravity/
Uneasily resting/ While foreboding and wonders fill her dreams.// You Lord of
hosts,/ Spread thy mantle over this land/ And touch her visage./ Embrace her with
your stern love/ And give her the blessing of harsh destinies./ You sword bearing
Lord./ Breathe thy breath into her bread)

The people of a nation are forever united in their common destiny. This is
according to the logic of destiny which is embodied in a shared history.
There is no escape for the individual in this belief of a fated causality which
necessarily binds all things. The situation is unconditional and the only
solution is to surrender to this destiny: Amor Fati - love your destiny.

The reader who encounters these thoughts in Tigerstedt's work probably
imagines that this must lead to pessimistic resignation or complete fatalism.
Nothing could be more wrong. And this is already hinted at in the poem
above: something will be born as a result of the invocation to «harsh des-

tinies».

This was recognized by the Finland-Swedish philosopher G. H. von
Wright, who analyzed the Spenglerian concept of destiny thus: »The
question of predestination in history is not a matter of expectations about the
future, but a way of regarding the past» (Von Wright, p. 184).

There is a paradox here. Despite the poet's constant efforts to demonstrate
the irrevocability of the concept of destiny, several passages display an
initially unexpected turn. Returning to the game of chess, there is still a
move left for us to make. The situation is determined by past generations
but we do have an option. However, we cannot change the final outcome
(SKOTTO, p. 78). In Utan örnar he concludes: the outcome of our destiny - a
comedy or a profound drama - is up to us: »We have a measure of free will.
But this measure of free will compared to the destined element within us is
like a pygmy beside a pyramid» (UÖ,p. 49).

So, contrary to what might be expected from such an essentially
deterministic view of cyclic cultures, of returning to certain phases, this
concept of destiny can lead to a cult of action and activity. The reason for
this lies in the image of man himself and in his response to this situation.
Another parallel can be drawn here to The Aeneid. Virgil's Aeneas is guided
by a divine idea which towers above his own personal fate. He has a
historical mission to fulfill and must therefore subordinate himself to his
destiny. The plan here is built on stoic principles and here lies the key to
Tigerstedt's preoccupation with Marcus Aurelius »who in many ways
resembles Aeneas and seems to embody the ideal Roman in his historical
self«. The Stoics preached loyalty to a predestined order or destiny. Virtue
to them consists in acceptance of the doctrine of submission to destiny. As
has been previously pointed out, the image of the hero as a link in a chain of
generations is also present in Aeneas' chthonic voyage. It may be noted in 
this context that T. S. Eliot in his admiration for The Aeneid claimed that 
such a masterpiece could only be created in a society marked by discipline, 
order and harmony.\(^5\)

What urged man forward was his thirst for life or will to power. This, of 
course, meant the recognition of a primitive instinct or base impulse in man. 
Man is a beast of prey. To Spengler this is man's mark of nobility and to the 
Finland-Swedish poet a naked disagreeable fact that must be accepted. This 
view led, as we shall see later, to a pragmatical view of power, which 
ocasionally displayed a startlingly amoral interpretation of history.

As we have seen, Tigerstedt's and Spengler's metaphysical pessimism did 
not result in total resignation. Instead it culminated in a heroic apologia 
for action, which basically was a belief in primeval and primitive powers. 
This was yet another inconsistency in Tigerstedt. The emotional passion that 
he was fighting against was at the same time the mainspring of existence. 
The metaphysical destiny was primordial life!

However, intermingled with this idea of destiny we also find a 
metaphysical power of a more traditional type in the works of Tigerstedt. 
Juxtaposed with the prevailing deterministic concept of destiny referred to 
earlier, an irrational power of a non-deterministic kind can be observed. 
This destiny is personal by nature, in obvious contrast with Spenglerian 
destiny. It could, however, be collective and resembles providence or fate. 
This fate is totally irrational and non-deterministic, since no understanding 
of cause and effect can be attained. It intervenes suddenly in the life of men 
and their activities:

Här hade man suttit med alla trumfkont på hand och en fin pott inom räckhåll. Och 
så kommer ödet i form av en högst oväntad fred och kastar helt det lovande spelet 
över ånda.(Here you sat holding all the trumps and with winnings within your 
reach. And then fate comes along in the shape of a highly unexpected peace and 
throws the whole promising game away. Huset Hackman I, p. 97)

Men liksom år 1790 så ingrep det oberäkneliga ödet även i detta så väl upplagda 
spel. (But, as in 1790, unpredictable fate also intervened in this well-planned game, 
Ibid., p. 119)

En dyster berättelse om systerord och oundyktligt öde var knuten till dessa rösen. 
Det var egentligen ingenting annat än människornas medömkan med de av ödet 
slagen, [...] (A dismal tale about sororicide and inescapable fate was connected with 
these calves. It was really nothing else than the pity of men for those stricken by fate, 
[...], Ön i havet, p. 103, my underlinings)

Man is forever the same: a reed trembling in the furious winds of 
unfathomable forces. What we find here is a metaphysical nonmaterial 
principle reminding us of the Roman fatum or the stoic perception of a 
necessary entity. The step to the other image of destiny is not so long. The 
Roman saw different »fati« - principles which guided individuals as well as 
races and tribes.\(^6\) It is on this point the two conceptions of öde interlace. In 
the domestic arena we come to the destiny of Finland. The destiny or divine
mission for the Finnish people is to play the role of watchmen of Western civilization, to defend the Swedish - Germanic heritage of form against the powers of chaos. These powers are to be found within the nation in the form of the decadent liberalism embraced by the formless urban masses, but above all they are to be found in the Soviet state. This idea permeates practically everything Tigerstedt wrote in the 30s and 40s. He hardly wrote a single article without using the word öde.

To Runeberg, who was influenced by the concept of fate or destiny handed down by classical Antiquity, destiny was equivalent to a merciful order or authority wherein the individual had to subordinate himself to guidance and refinement. Tigerstedt was undoubtedly influenced by Runeberg's patriotism and stress on cultural heritage. But there were also great differences in conception. To Runeberg, who was a religious believer, authority was merciful. He likewise believed in the progress of mankind and in man's human dignity. His patriarchal patriotism manifested social and liberal tendencies with a strong populist and democratic pathos.

**Tragic Heroism**

The object of glorification in Verner von Heidenstam's *The Charles Men* is not the greatness of King Charles XII and Sweden as a Great Power, but the tragic heroic spirit in which they meet their fate and the grandeur of how it comes about, as the literary historian Staffan Björck has pointed out. To obey one's mission and to be true to destiny constitute greatness, the hallmark of man. Tigerstedt could not agree more. To Tigerstedt, who greatly admired von Heidenstam, this tragic heroism becomes an aesthetic imperative. First there is a tragic dimension in the very situation of the Swedish minority. The metaphor of the melting iceberg was already in use in Tigerstedt's day. To some, like Tigerstedt, it represented a culture and a way of life slowly or rapidly dying or being assimilated through marriage, emigration and urbanization. The contemporary Swedish author Olof Lagercrantz recognized the aesthetic dimension and tragic heroism in the situation of the Finland-Swedes. In the poem »Till svenskarna i Finland» and in articles in *Aftonbladet* he focused the attention on the language controversy in Finland. Secondly, knowing that Western civilization was doomed Tigerstedt still chose to continue the gigantic struggle against nature - for it was a struggle against nature and the nature of man - and against chaos. In this he was obeying the Faustian ambition of his own culture.

Convinced that there is no life hereafter, he still takes the heroic stand of beholding »the secret of the empty room«. The author is one of the chosen, he knows that everything, even the struggle for form is all in vain, and that nature finally will reclaim all - *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*:

> My thoughts followed the endless row of pharaohs, my eyes rested on the pyramid, the reliefs and the immovable stone colossi. Man strides from cradle to grave and
his life is but the foundation for the next block of stone. New reliefs, new pharaohs, new colossi who, with immovable features, and becalmed, plowing, sowing, look out over the Nile, as it flows by today, tomorrow and a thousand of years hence. Those men in the land of Egypt who knew the secret of the empty room and still stood there upright, counting, administrating and constructing - did they not possess a moral stature which not only commands admiration but also an awestruck silence? (Vi resa söderut, p. 95, my underlining)

This gives the conception of destiny a tragic dimension. Man must perpetually form, shape and create because otherwise he is simply not man. And this is our tragic mission. The death of culture and man is inevitable. But we must accomplish our task, we must complete this destiny of ours. The highest and most profound undertaking in life is therefore love of this destiny - amor fati. Death itself is the consummation, the very fulfillment of the masterpiece: »While regarding this we must erect our Gothic dome. Embrace life, create and die. To love this destiny in its proud, laconic and grand elevation« (UÖ, p. 9).

This becomes Tigerstedt's personal aesthetic imperative and when fulfilling it in theory he simultaneously attains his own second time dimension »ahistorical time«. Great art can only be accomplished with this knowledge of, submission to and love of destiny. Strangely enough, this heroic realism then amounts to a perception of freedom. He who comes to terms with his destiny can sincerely understand real freedom. Thus true freedom means acting under the charm of destiny. We find here yet another reason why this should result in a cult of action instead of resignation. However, there does not seem to have been any way for Örnulf Tigerstedt to bridge the gap between the two dimensions of reality. The only way of attaining the whole, the entirety, appears to exist in the very creation of true form. By doing this, extinction can be tricked and the chain of creation can be broken, although this cannot be attained by the individual, only by his masterpiece.

A desperate attempt by the individual to achieve this for the sake of his own ego would result in the Buddhist example: the man who was turned into stone like Niobe. To be sure we find a far-reaching Schopenhauerian pessimism in Tigerstedt's work. We perceive a strained and ardent passion reminiscent of Maurice Barrès. The knowledge of the true content of the empty chamber is brutal and only a few men are able to muster the courage and willpower to carry such a burden. Nonetheless, this is perhaps what being is about. So learn to love your destiny, in Nietzsche's words: »man soll es nicht nur tragen, man soll es lieben... Amor fati«.

The Internal Dictatorship
We can detect an »Übermensch« conviction, or an excelsior idea, in this supreme knowledge, this tragic knowledge, which only a few men can bear with their backs still erect: »Endast ett mindretal kan nalkas det och endast några få kunna tjäna det och utan att förgås bära det brinnande inom sig.
Men på dessa fördömadas skuldror vilar hela människoriket.» (only a few can approach it and only a few can serve it without perishing and bear it burning in themselves. But on the shoulders of these condemned few the kingdom of man rests., UÖ, p. 37) This is the titled patrician's vision of the élite. The hero of heroes to Tigerstedt in this respect is the Roman Caesar Marcus Aurelius. Nearly every passage in Aurelius' meditations breathes the tragic knowledge of mankind's futile struggle. However, Aurelius is also filled with true humane compassion for all men. But this is not what primarily appeals to Tigerstedt. He instead admires Aurelius' tragic heroism and his stoic imperative to shut tight one's heart. This theme often returns in the writings of Tigerstedt. In the short stories published in the 20s, Noveller and Exercitia, we find Spengler's Hegelian concept of man and state. Only through subordination, and by maintaining a hard-as-steel discipline under an authoritarian state and leader can we accomplish anything of lasting value.

In the last of the short stories in Exercitia the writer tells the tale of a monk who like a Buddhist desperately tries to rid himself of desire and craving for earthly life, that longlasting suffering. Instead of saving himself with the beauty of art or humane actions like Schopenhauer, Tigerstedt's protagonist »puts down his heart«, gives up his freedom, castigates himself constantly, subordinates his body to his own iron will and thus, making the ultimate sacrifice, literally turns into stone! The monks stare at their petrified colleague: »Då kastade sig asketerna till marken. Framsätande den heliga stavelsen, försjönko de i bön och tillslöto sina ögon.« (At that moment the ascetics threw themselves to the ground. Articulating the holy syllable they lost themselves in prayers and closed their eyes., EXC, p. 76).

In his œuvre we find several characters like the inquisitor and the monk of Exercitia (pp. 47, 48, 52, 61, 67, 73) who showed the ardent zeal of Loyola. Some 20 years later the protagonist of Katedralen, Örjan Sten, follows the same example. Örjan Sten's process of hardening himself to fulfill his mission is described this way:

His angular face with its high cheekbones hardened more and more. The jaws clenched into one another. There was something obedient but still doggedly patient in his eyes. (p. 60)

He was like the soldier in a decisive show-down who repressed all other thoughts and sentiments. (p. 117)

It was as if an evil spell had come over him, as if he had been turned into a personification of the stone creation he was about to complete. (p. 152)

At the same time as he drew nearer to the top, he perceived a growing icy cold within himself. [---] Motion would be numbed in the fixity of the consummated and in the immobility of form. (p. 160)

We return here to the aesthetic principle. Great art is the result of the strictest discipline under a restrained will and a humble submission to
destiny. Sentimentality and strong emotional feelings and affections must constantly be suppressed when the internal dictatorship rules:

I was suspicious of feelings. [...] Therefore I met them with terror, [...] Therefore I arrested every word that tasted of apathy or lack of willpower. I persecuted and mocked every idea that might smack of indolence or relativism. I posted a Chekist at every nerve fibre, [...] (Utan òrnar, pp. 16-17).¹³

In Tigerstedt's case this dictatorship is a result of a provisional dominance of intellect over feelings. The revolt of the feelings has been subdued, but it has not entirely disappeared! The author's emphasis on destiny in both forms, his basically pessimistic view of man and existence and his tragic stand of heroic élitism indicate a decidedly stoic element in his vision du monde.

Tigerstedt's blue-blooded attitude had much in common with those of Gripenberg and Yeats. They were heroic noblemen and horsemen in a world where the materialism of the masses constantly advanced. It was the stand of tragic heroism; they had to bear the naked knowledge of the empty chamber and endlessly try for what was man's true distinguishing mark. We let Yeats conclude this chapter with some lines which reflect the very core of this attitude:

By the road an ancient cross.
No marble, no conventional phrase;
On limestone quarried near the spot
By his command these words are cut:
Cast a cold eye
On life, on death.
Horseman, pass by!¹⁴

The Aestete as Skeptic: The Author and Religion

Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert ist das inhumane Jahrhundert par excellence; der »Siegeslauf der Technik« hat uns völlig mechanisiert, also verdumpt; durch die Anbetung des Geldes ist die Menschheit ausnahmslos und rettungslos verarmt; und eine Welt ohne Gott ist nicht nur die unsichtbarste, sondern auch die unkomfortabelste, die sich ersinnen lässt.

EGON FRIEDELL

Toutes nos idées favorites, ordre, tradition, discipline, hiérarchie, autorité, continuité, unité, travail, famille, corporation, décentralisation, autonomie, organisation ouvrière, ont été conservées et perfectionnées par le catholicisme.

CHARLES MAURRAS

The Church and the Author

The Established Church was a symbol of history, traditions and authority to Tigerstedt. It was the social institution which provided the ideas which
guided his forefathers in the performing of their duties. It was the backbone of Western civilization. Our culture was based on Judaeo-Christian ideas and the acceptance of a metaphysical entity. The Church had always been the essence of our Western civilization. It had always striven toward form and structure. The Church expressed our true heritage. As the twentieth century dawned, the infant natural science came of age and the era of mechanization and particularization followed. We have witnessed how the medieval Church represented a holistic idea - a Gothic dome - under which a community is gathered in worship. This idea of the Great Cathedral is then transferred, disguised and robed in profane clothes in Tigerstedt's interpretation of the state beyond good or evil.

The Church itself had, moreover, always been organized according to a hierarchical system which guaranteed form. However, during the 19th century the Protestant Church could not withstand the attacks on it and a "liberal theology" developed along with the concept of a "natural religion" (VIRS, p. 142). Then came the Great War and everything the Europeans had believed in came tumbling down like a house of cards. Europe was no longer the world and the world was no longer Europe:

After the days of the general degeneration of ideals the Catholic Church was the only universal institution sanctified by tradition and age which still stood erect and unharmed. [...] [...] its consequent conduct during the World War won it respect and esteem, in many circles, [...] [...] the inner renewal of the Catholic Church, its extremely refined intellectualism and distinctly motivated anti-Modernist cultural platform also managed to attract the educated. (Vi resa söderut, p. 149)

Tigerstedt was thus attracted by the authoritiveness, the anti-Modernism and the traditionalism of the Catholic Church. He viewed it as a potential ally. Several of his close friends and political fellow supporters in the AS, like Jarl Gallén and Göran Stenius, were Roman Catholic converts.

Despite this, in Tigerstedt's eyes Roman Catholicism was at heart alien to a Nordic mind. Dogma and papal infallibility appeared foreign and unacceptable to the free spirit of the northerner. Fascinated though he was by the religious processions in Lourdes the author simultaneously heard a voice calling: "Nothing is. If that were the case, knowledge of it could not be obtained. But even if there were existence and knowledge of it could be obtained, this knowledge could still not be communicated" (VIRS, p. 155). Most likely Tigerstedt's Protestant heritage of order, obedience, duty and restraint must have reinforced his concept of form. The vilification of man along with the manifest abomination of man's physical features and vices also suggest a Protestant tradition where the concept of original sin is present. This is supported by the overall picture of the strong religiousness of his mother Mary and the diary which she kept between 1881 and 1901. Thomas Carlyle had been a favorite author at Mustila. His puritan view of man was similar to Tigerstedt's. And so was his Calvinist emphasis on duty and allegiance. The ties of kinship were vital to the Scotsman and his way of
deeply experiencing the past. Mystical Romantic thoughts of past generations of their families seem to have frequently occupied the two men. There seems to be a certain affinity, based on a related Protestant heritage, between Carlyle's strange mixture of Puritanism and Romanticism and Tigerstedt's combination of rationalism and irrationalism.

**The Skeptic and Aestheticism**

The difference between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism was in reality of less importance to the author since he lacked true faith. His position is that of the doubter, the pessimist. This also enables us to understand his almost desperate need of form and principle. This is the stand of the atheist or the agnostic. Form turns into an explanation and motive for existence. The acknowledgement of a metaphysical power of the universe points to a skeptic conception.

This skepticism is very profound as we have seen in his perception of tragic heroism. We can draw a parallel here with Gustave Flaubert. According to Mereshkovsky the skeptic, »who throughout his life has denied, and doubted God, religion, progress, science and humanity«, becomes humble and believing when it comes to art. To Flaubert the true poet distinguished himself first and foremost by his worship of the idea - la contemplation de l'immeuble - the contemplation of the unchangeable, the immutable.15

Such an aesthetic view of reality makes beauty and the study of beauty a concrete principle and its bearings on Tigerstedt's outlook seem manifest from our material discussed earlier. Tigerstedt's standpoint is that of the spectator. Everyday life and routine are dull as well as everyday people. Art is an aristocratic plant and only excitement, action and conflicts make life colorful. In consequence, the eager quest for vitalism and potency even leads to glorification of the artifacts of the mechanical age. Steel bridges are more artistic than most works of art because they embody man's everlasting struggle for life and will to power and this must be expressed in true art. We have earlier met Tigerstedt's *ars militans* and the Romantic idea that art should express the soul of our time (in chapter II:2). He accordingly finds a deep beauty even in the brutal and cruel manifestations of reality. And not only this: power itself is turned into a work of art. Tigerstedt's cosmic perspective is, besides, the posture of the aesthete and the same could be said of his hero-worship. This is an escape away from the world of human beings into the phantom world of the bystander. Beauty and the beholding of beauty becomes the skeptic's religion for lack of true faith. We arrive at the conclusion that the author is a representative of the same aestheticism he reacted against! Only his aestheticism is pointed toward masculine attributes, heroic deeds, power and force.

Örnulf Tigerstedt's dilemma was that he wanted to believe. He regarded the Church and its institutions with reverence. He felt the power and its
authority and yet... The following passage in *Katedralen* is very illustrative of his own predicament:

Least of all was it natural for them to scorn the Christian faith. They were restrained by the perfect form of the great cathedral. With tentative hands they groped, as if reaching out into the twilight, expecting something living and soothing, elusive to reason to be hidden there. But they did not venture to call themselves faithful Christians. [- - -] True, they felt the power radiating from Monarchia Dei. But trapped in the 20th century way of thinking they seemed to lack the possibility of sanctifying the work of devotion with the crown of faith. (*KAT*, p. 130)

Tigerstedt was a victim of the same curse as his characters in *Katedralen*: a child of his own time, he was himself trapped in the 20th century processes of decay and disenchantment. As we have seen, to Tigerstedt existence was a vale of tears and void of all true meaning and form. In the cosmic perspective man and his world had no significance or lasting value. Our struggle against chaos and nature is all in vain. We and this planet will disappear - »Natt var i begynnelsen, natt är slutet« (Night was in the beginning, night is the end).16

In retrospect, we may assume that Mary Tigerstedt's strong faith was of a very personal nature. We find no signs of religious doctrine, ritual, frequent churchgoing or association with the Established Church in the Mustila of his childhood days, although the Church was viewed as an important maintainer of tradition. This is not surprising since we find strong currents of skepticism and anti-clericalism in the cosmopolitan environment of the Swedish-speaking upper class generation which preceded his own generation. We find it in Bertel Grippenberg and in the so called »Euterpe Era«, partly as a reaction against the old conservativism and Fennomanism of the Finnish clergy. In Grippenberg's case this led to an almost pagan worship of individualism around the turn of the century.17 This type of Nietzschean rejection of the Christian faith cannot be found in Tigerstedt. However, the Church of his childhood had already lost much of its authority and infallibility. Much in Tigerstedt's world view had its roots in ancient Protestant soil. In time however, with the deterioration in the climate of the early 1900s, the organic matter of this soil had become increasingly sterile.

Any vigorous Lutheran orthodox heritage that Tigerstedt did possess was not of the kind that inspired the Lapua Movement and the Fennoman new-romantic nationalism - a protestant legacy which lived in his Finnish-speaking colleagues Uuno Kailas and Mailla Talvio.18 But there was still, to a certain degree, some affinity as we will see.

E. N. Tigerstedt, who dwelled a great deal on Örnulf Tigerstedt in his thesis on the religious motive in Finland-Swedish literature, pointed out the religious key-signatures of the Caesar symbol in the latter's poetry and short stories and came quite accurately to the conclusion that »the worship of saints does not presuppose faith« in the Christian sense.19 The same can be observed in Örnulf Tigerstedt's later works, in his Faustian belief in
redemption, in his admiration of the monk and the inquisitor (especially Ignatius Loyola), who exercised the hardest self-discipline and self-denial, guided as they were by the strength of their faith. We find it in Örjan Sten's humility and devotion to the cause, even though these qualities proved insufficient. In spite of his devotion Örjan Sten could not entirely give up his own self - sacro egoismo - a hubris which inevitably led to his fall.

The New Puritanism

At least for a while Tigerstedt was a great name among patriotic conservative Christians in Sweden. In early 1934 he delivered his speech »The New Puritan« before 1,200 Christian students in the Concert Hall in Stockholm. The speech was frequently quoted in Christian papers. The memoirs of influential scholars like Erik Hjalmar Linder and Karl Vennberg give testimony of the magnetism and fascination which his rhetoric inspired. In fact, Tigerstedt's concept of »neo-puritanism« became a slogan for a movement of conservative young Swedish Christians. The call of the Finnish poet for authority, obligation and morality in a time of »cultural decay« greatly appealed to some Christian circles. Prominent members of the Established Church, such as Bishop Manfred Björkquist, Bishop E. Billing and the Rev. P. Nilsson, made statements in support of Tigerstedt. In Gymnasisten, the voice of a Christian movement among senior high school students (Sveriges kristna gymnasieströrelse), the influential secretary, Bo Giertz, greeted Tigerstedt as an eagerly awaited Spartan beacon.

With the rise of new, freer social patterns, the cult of individualism and the human body, the cinema, jazz, psychoanalysis and the explicit description of sexual activities in literature the Christian foundation seemed severely shaken. In particular, the appearance of emancipated women was regarded as the ultimate threat to the nation, the sacred nuclear family and the Church. As we have witnessed, these modern phenomena were all fiercely attacked by Tigerstedt. His vigorous broadsides against the naturalism and primitivism of contemporary literature were especially applauded. One of the manifestations of the defenders of morality was a declaration against »dirty literature« (»smuts litteraturen«) which attracted some 126,000 signatures.

In this climate of approaching cultural doom Tigerstedt, and even the Swedish Nazis, were regarded as allies when appealing to the youth. In 1933, in an article entitled »The Christian in front of the Swastika«, Bo Giertz claimed that behind the development in Germany lay to a large extent »a sound moral reaction and previously smothered idealism«. Giertz concluded that a Christian could also »safely be a National-Socialist«. Even if Giertz was hardly an anti-Semite and later modified his statements there is no doubt that he for a while balanced on a razor-edge. In fact, the debate in Gymnasisten in 1933-1934 shows that quite a number of readers
found it appropriate to combine Christianity with National-Socialism at this time. Some even declared a clear-cut anti-Semitism.26

A fellow countryman of Örnulf Tigerstedt's who obviously combined Christian faith with Nazism was Eric von Born. Although he moved to Sweden in 1929 he wrote in För Frihet och Rätt. Von Born's later product Judefrågan och dess lösning (The Jewish Problem and its Solution) dealt with »Jewish Marxism« in a language greatly inspired by Hitler and Rosenberg from a Christian standpoint27.

Another example of the fact that Tigerstedt was still regarded as a devoted Christian in many circles, especially in Sweden, in the mid-30s is provided by the reception of his book Skott i överkant. The heading of Erik Hjalmar Linder's review in Söenska Morgonbladet was: »Belligerent Christianity« (Krigisk kristendom). By now Linder, however, had begun to develop serious reservations about Tigerstedt's cult of action and his deification of the state.28

The poet's internal dictatorship and constant obsession with suffering have already been mentioned. In this context another parallel cannot be overlooked. Although there are no signs of Tigerstedt ever having avidly read Finnish-speaking poetry, an affinity in spirit can be detected. The scholar Kai Laitinen has called attention to the strong religious element in Finnish poetry that still dominated the Inter-War Era. Poets like Juhani Siljo and later Uuno Kailas were wedded to a Protestant tradition based on rural virtues. Qualities like willpower, strength, masculinity, harshness and purity were stressed in what he called the style of »eettinen rigorismi« - ethical rigor. This amounted to an air of heroism and Christian pathos which also remained in focus among the secularized first generation of urban authors.29

Often in clear opposition to the new liberated urban life these Finnish poets struggled with the problems of flesh versus spirit. Their denial of flesh and life expressed a vision related to Tigerstedt's view of man, his imposed control and his vigilance toward »Mr. Hyde«.

Overall, the Finnish poetry of the 20s and 30s was thus confined in outlook by a restrained and often laconic attitude which could be traced to a rural and Protestant setting. Whether we can speak of a source of inspiration or not or simply call attention to Tigerstedt's predominately rural background remains an open question.

In more than one respect Tigerstedt's writings are thus closer to the general atmosphere and spirit of Finnish-speaking poetry than to the more liberated spirit of the avant-garde Torch Bearers (Tulenkantajat) or the contemporary Finland-Swedish Modernism. This fact, which also partly divorces the poet from Modernism, was overlooked by E. N. Tigerstedt in his study of »The Religious Problem in Modern Finland-Swedish Literature«.30
Summing up, much of Tigerstedt's basic outlook on man and nature was of Christian origin, for example the projection of man's liberation from nature, and the struggle to be its master. There was a constant interplay in his thinking between this heritage and his amoral ethic of man and state. Thus he often used a Christian image pattern in order to express secular myths. This was quite consistent in view of his respectful attitude toward Christian authority and his appreciation of its mythical dimension: a basically unchristian religiosity manifested in his belief in the divine secular Cathedral of the State. The basis of this view was the recognition of a metaphysical will, a destiny, a longing for an authority which freed man from individual responsibility.

Other traits in Tigerstedt's skeptical aestheticism pointed toward a basically non-Christian perception of reality. Tigerstedt's cyclical conception of a recurring circle and view of »historical time«, in which the past, the present and the future met was one of them. The Christian outlook was a linear perspective with a starting-point in the crucifixion and the last judgment as the final point. Furthermore, in Tigerstedt's holistic conception the individual became a part of an entity and lost his personal values. This was, according to Mohler, in direct opposition to the prevailing Christian view of the eternal value of the human soul.

On a profound personal level Tigerstedt's tragical skepticism led to his acceptance of the proverb Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas. For a man with such a pessimistic image of the world faith itself became important. Man had to believe in something. It was a quest for a holy principle - a relentless pursuit of a form, reminiscent of the characters in a play by Pirandello who desperately hang on to a reason or meaning for living (cf. the lunatic and the stone in UÒ, pp. 139ff). In view of Pirandello's links with Italian Fascism this connection is interesting. Pirandello's conception of reality, man, form and flux had many similarities with that of Tigerstedt, which makes the Italian's political stand worth noticing. Tigerstedt's own principles, »form«, »culture« and »destiny«, all bore one name - the State. However, he felt that we also needed a myth in order to achieve the divine secular state. This myth to Tigerstedt could very well be the Christian myth. What mattered was whether it worked.

Tigerstedt's stoic skepticism became in the course of time less stoic. The search for God intensified when the hollowness of his own carefully drawn myths became inescapable. His last works echoed this search for a faith, for a pantheism in arbitrary nature. This was probably enhanced by the author's renewed active association with the freemasonry in later years. The recurrent theme of a quest for sacred knowledge - a cista mystica - is pronounced in his last works. This gnostic theme was related to Tigerstedt's basic belief in the presence of another dimension - of eternal recurrence.

His strong belief in man's weakness and stupidity made him often express his pessimism in contempt and misanthropy. Life in Tigerstedt's world is
hardly ever rich, beautiful or dignified. Rather, it is constantly debased by
the pitiful creature, man. His characters are never elevated or humanized in
the best sense of the word. Ultimately, in his constant denunciation of a
disintegrated civilization, the only hope lies in desperately clinging to
principles - to form and tradition - and never to a better way of life or the
sheer happiness of living.

Caesar and the State – The Supreme Autocrat
and the Divine Cathedral

My inmost yearning, my purest, though most secret flame, my deepest faith and my
highest hope - they are still the same as ever, and they all bear one name: the State.
One day to build the state like a temple, rising up pure and strong, resting on its
own weight, severe and sublime, but also serene like the gods and with bright halls
glistening in the dancing brilliance of the sun - this, at bottom, is the end and goal of
my aspirations.

OTTO BRAUN, volunteer in the First World War

Statens lifsförm är trädets, som står och faller på sin plats. [...] Om staten är ett med
sitt folk, så är det icke med de individer blott, som i ett gifvet ögonblick fylla dess
rum och verka dess verk. Dess bärande grund af människostoff glider ständigt
undan. Staten är ett med alla generationer, den levande såväl som de ofödda och
de döda, liksom trädet med sina blad i alla årgångar.
(The life-form of the state is like a tree, which stands and falls in its designated
place. [...] If the state is one with its nation, then this is valid not only for those
individuals who at a given moment serve it. Its foundation of human material is
continuously drifting apart. The state is one with all its generations, with the living
as well as the unborn and the dead, like the tree with its leaves in all its years.)

RUDOLF KJELLÉN

Caesar and the Dream of a Strong Man
Since culture was a collective and disciplined manifestation, accomplished
under an authority, it followed that a mentor or leader was needed. From
the concept of an authoritarian mentality, the sluggish party politics and the
Spenglerian view of the phases of history the vision of a strong man
emerged.

The vision of the coming of a Caesar, the carrier of unity, permeated the
poems in De heliga vägarna. In these poems we meet the image of a Messiah,
a healer and subjugator, towering in the background of a manifest destiny.
However, Tigerstedt's use of the Caesar metaphor should not automatically
be interpreted as a personal wish for a dictator in Finland, even though this
seems natural judging from the poet's manifest authoritarian inclinations
and hero-worship. As we shall see later, this metaphor was more closely
linked to the destiny of Europe and the overall struggle against
Communism. For it was not a dictator, supported by a party that Tigerstedt
primarily dreamed of, it was the absolute monarch in the form of a
president with immense power. The ideal leader to Tigerstedt was the
autocrat, the monarch. A monarchy based on the principle of a hereditary
kingdom was the epitome of leadership. However, it was not the beacon of
the Nordic right-wing extremists - Charles XII - who was the author's ideal.
And this is important. In line with his cultural ambitions it was King
Gustav III. He represented the enlightened absolute sovereign, the man
who combined wit, firmness and tradition with aesthetic appreciation, the
ruler who, like Marcus Aurelius, did his duty in battle although the war act
in the play did not furnish him with the proper scenery for his ideal
performance. He dreamed of a »revolution from above«, an aristocratic
renewal: the renaissance of the autocrat. This was the fantasy of Gustav III's
»mild revolution« of 1772:

We do not want dictatorship, but the punishment for sin, the scourge of party
tyranny, and an unhealthy democracy has always been and will always be
dictatorship if the powers of reform are not allowed to act in time. If Gustav III had
not intervened in 1772 the French revolution would have prevailed in Sweden in the
same way that it prevailed in France. If a change for the better does not take place in
time in Finland, the flood will be here sooner or later and no one can foresee its
consequences. [...] The winds of the »Third Gustav« (den tredje Gustav) are now
blowing over the country. [...] («Framtidens krav»)

Since the political situation and the time was hardly ripe for the
restoration of the monarchy, after the failure of 1919, the strong man had to
be found elsewhere. The authoritarian government of the Austrian Dollfuss,
labeled »clerical-fascist« by its critics, attracted Tigerstedt in Skott i överkant.
A provisional dictator could temporarily rule the diet and solve the crisis of
democracy. For a while the author even seems to have thought he had
found him in the powerful populist figure of President Pehr Eyvind
Svinhufvud. This was extraordinary, though. Tigerstedt's ideal leader was
not meant to carry any sort of democratic legitimation, unlike the plebeian
fascist leaders. In this respect he differed from both Kjellén and Spengler.
The search for a strong man went on. In any case, a monarch or Caesar
would automatically be a guarantee of tradition, stability, hierarchy and
form. There are thus signs of a »leadership principle«, requiring unfailing
obedience to one's superior in a hierarchical chain of command emanating
from a Caesar figure, in Tigerstedt's thinking. Consistent with this, we find
traces of the principle of Gleichschaltung or compulsory conformism. These
are, however, not so pronounced as they were in Nazi ideology. The
connection with Spengler is more relevant here. The autocrat-Caesar is
primarily viewed as the one who unites, the defender and upholder of a
civilization and tradition in danger, the ultimate safeguard of form against
chaos. This is linked to the problem of European decline, division and
nationalism, which we will deal with later.
The State - a Wonderful Work of Art

The state and the native country are the foundations to build upon. They rest upon the traditional forms and norms which serve as a continuing point of departure for cultural and political activity. »In the new image of the world, on the contrary, the State occupies the position of a key experience. The State is not a dead letter (sic!), not an unimaginative civil service department, not a lifeless machine which mechanically is intended to pour out »happiness« the way the spinning mills belch forth cloth and the paper mills paper«. As earlier implied, there was a strong tradition in Finland ever since Snellman of viewing the state as something divine - beyond good and evil. However, Tigerstedt goes further in his worship of the State with a capital S. In the Uppsalian High Romantic tradition, with German roots in von Schelling and Novalis's der poetische Staat, Tigerstedt gives the state a highly aesthetic dimension. This concept, often in connection with an organic view in the conservative tradition, can also be found in the German Romantic school. In Sweden it had been expressed early by the Romantic Atterbom in his programmatic review of lduna (1814-15): »Av konsten, tänkt i detta sitt allfamnande omfång, skulle omsider det fullständigt organisera samhället, den fulländade staten, bliva det skönaste, det härligaste konstverket:[...]." (Through art, seen in its most all-embracing dimension, the totally organized society, the perfectly accomplished State, would become the most wonderful work of art:[...].) Compared with Atterbom's notion of a metaphysical entity and his high strung idealism Tigerstedt's appeal for »the cathedral« echoes hollow and laden with synthetic rhetoric.

In this context the influence of Runeberg must not be overlooked. However, for Runeberg it is not the state but the Fatherland and above all the nation which constitutes a deity. To the national bard the people and the country assume aesthetic dimensions. Tigerstedt, with his aristocratic antidemocracy, is far from this populism, although the belief in a stern authority and a merciful order in which the individual has to subordinate himself to guidance and refinement borders on Runeberg's outlook.

To Örnulf Tigerstedt it is the state which is the work of art, an organic entity of irrational substance towering in eternity over an existence marked by an essentially profane and transitory being. The state is like a temple, rising up pure and powerful, resting on its own weight, severe and sublime (cf. UÖ, pp. 66, 83, »Amenhotep«, p. 152, EXC, p. 42.).

In short, this is once again the view of the aesthete. It could be described as a journey away from the world of man, away from the humane in the direction of a cosmic vision - to a vista point for ideas. It is once again a variation on Spengler and his doctrine regarding the solidarity among individuals toward the state and the subordination to a hierarchically planned social organization. This was true »socialism« to both Spengler and his predecessor Kjellén. It was, at least in Spengler’s and Tigerstedt’s case, a
longing for a reactionary constitution in which an upper class rules the masses. We must, in this connection with Kjellén, bear in mind Kjellén's explicit claim in his »The Ideas of 1914« to a concept which represents a new world-view.

The State - a Living Organism

The State is thus the cathedral where men are united in their belief in a manifest destiny. In the broad view, the individual is of little importance, but it is vital that he accepts tradition, his role in the chain of generations and the manifest destiny of the nation. When men are united in such a spirit of community (Sw. »gemenskap« - cf. German »Gemeinschaft«) classes can be abolished and replaced by corporative institutions which put the public good before the individual.40 The »national idea« will thereby meet »the social idea« and a synthesis will emerge: what Tigerstedt calls the »New Puritanism«. This can, however, only be accomplished if a higher metaphysical value can be established - the State.41 Of all earthly values the State is supreme. The State is a super-individual organism and not only the sum of the individuals residing within its borders (»Sillä maallisista arvoista valtakunta on korkein ja ylin [...] Sillä valtakunta ei ole vain sen rajojen sisäpuolella asuvien yksilöiden summa, [...]«, Radio Speech, 1938).42 The state assumes a pronounced metaphysical value in Tigerstedt’s thinking:

Firmly anchored to the irrational the State is more of the visual form, in which our experience of community under a supra-individual destiny finds its most sacrosanct expression. [...] State is the sanctuary wherein we as individuals and as a nation present our offerings; it is the work of art, the cathedral we are all erecting. (Skott i överkant, p. 147)

Despite the general impression we get here of a strongly Nazi German influenced conception, the origin of this reasoning was probably not German. We have earlier, with the support of Matti Klings, pointed to the influence exercised by the Swede Rudolf Kjellén on Finnish extreme right-wing circles. The idea of an organic state - a living organism, the existence of irrational historical laws and the perfection of the individual under the State were put forward by Rudolf Kjellén prior to and during the first years of World War I. The state was the sum of the past, the present and the future and Kjellén’s perception of the nation heralded Spengler’s views. On top of that Kjellén had urged the unification of the social and national dimension in national socialism.43

As previously mentioned, Tigerstedt’s thoughts on society had in truth little bearing on reality. He was almost completely uninterested in social aspects relating to the masses, living as he did in a secluded élite sphere of society. Accordingly, the crises and unemployment of the 30s have left little mark on his writings. However he did realize, unlike Gripenberg it seems,
that the fifth estate - the working class - had to be pacified through the establishment of better living conditions.

Tigerstedt thus views the state as a living organism or a physical individual. The realm constitutes the physical body and its people or subjects are not just the present generation. Like the individual citizen the state simultaneously embraces the present, the coming generations and the dead. It is not just the sum of the people, a higher spiritual value or destiny has been formed. The people who constitute this organism are united under this manifest destiny and historical community and not by race. Our metaphysical destiny, which for a nation was shared or reciprocal, was determined by inherent conditions (and not by our blood as in Nazi ideology) and it was in its turn tied to the only true source, the blood and the soil. The nation or nationalism as such represent pure nature as seen in the amoral instincts of the masses. But through the marriage between reason (the state) and nature (the nation) base nature is checked and this holy matrimony creates the Fatherland. This view which Tigerstedt most probably borrowed from Kjellén bore the features of Norström's basic philosophy translated to the political content. The logical result of such a biological theory of the state viewed as an organism (which was rejected by modern conservatism) was of course still a relapse back to the naturalism Tigerstedt so desperately feared. This was yet another example of the somewhat awkward rendez-vous between irrationalism and rationalism in Tigerstedt's thought.

It is on the whole astonishing how close Tigerstedt's views conform to those displayed by Rudolf Kjellén in the latter's work *Staten som livsform* (The State as a Life-Form, 1916). There were two major differences, though. First, Kjellén rejected the racial principle in a biological sense when defining the people, although he did display a vague anti-Semitism in his books. Second, Kjellén did not hold Tigerstedt's outdated aristocratic views on society and his elitist concept of man, as was the case with Vitalis Norström.

Myth and Moral Relativism: Myth and Prejudice

L'avenir est à ceux qui ne sont pas désabusés.

GEORGES SOREL

Es handelt sich in der Geschichte um das Leben und immer nur um das Leben, die Rasse, den Triumph des Willens zur Macht, und nicht um den Sieg von Wahrheiten, Erfindungen oder Geld. *Die Weltgeschichte* ist das Weltgericht: Sie hat immer dem stärkeren, volleren, seiner selbst gewisseren Leben Recht gegeben, Recht nämlich auf das Dasein, gleichviel ob es vor dem Wachsein recht war, und sie hat immer die Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit der Macht, der Rasse geopfert und die Menschen und
Völker zum Tode verurteilt, denen die Wahrheit wichtiger war als Taten, und Gerechtigkeit wesentlicher als Macht.

OSWALD SPENGLER

Ni har kommit hit för att söka vetande. Sök den sanning, som förändrar världen, ty den behövs; bliv verktys för förnyelsen, ty förstörelsen är över oss.

(You have come here to seek knowledge. Seek the truth which will change the world, because we need it, become tools of regeneration, for destruction has descended upon us.)

FREDRIK BÖÖK

Myth and Prejudice
Let us start by considering the following passage from Skott i överkant: »For in the beginning was the spirit and thereafter the kingdom. The myth comes first and after that what we call reality.» (p. 130)

Tigerstedt often returned to this idea - the idea that the myth or illusion was more real than what we perceive as reality.47 He had an early inclination to create a poetical world of his own: a visionary world instead of the biographical one. Many of his letters from around 1919 were thus filled with romantic visions of past historical epochs. They revealed a longing for a black-and-white world of heroes, crusades, enthusiasm and alluring fata morgana.48 These were early examples of a young aesthete's escape from reality and yearning for another golden world. They were the reveries that constituted the mirror world of a young man trapped in a world of fantasy. This is part of the key to understanding Örnulf Tigerstedt. He belonged in a sense to another world. Therefore, many of his friends regarded him as a »Renaissance man«. In spite of his political commitment his conception of reality was, in fact, very superficial. It was like peering into the looking-glass and beholding another image. He created a poetical world by disciplining and reducing the existing social world around him. A striking example of this can be seen in the metaphoric language in his poems. As previously mentioned, the war insignias and artifacts did not refer to modern life, let alone modern war.

The world is an illusion and the only true reality is the inner subjective perception of reality. Hence reality is often described as a world of dreams - »the jesting ghost sonata of alteration« (UÖ, p. 80) - where men circle around aimlessly like shadow characters.49 However »we are the stuff that dreams are made of« and therefore reality can be created through writing. This is probably one of the reasons why the myth and the belief in myths became so vital to the author.

The modern world has become disenchanted: all natural and social forces, magical, metaphysical and supernatural are susceptible to explanation,
analysis and calculation. The incalculable forces are no longer unfathomable and existence is demythologized. However, this is at the same time the great illusion. Myth is needed in order to really understand and experience our own existence, the location where it takes place and our past. Ergo, myths are true. This apology for the irrational displays an absolute pragmatism. Whatever is fruitful is also right. Mankind should transform myth into reality.

Tigerstedt seldom used the word »myth« (Sw. »myt«). He generally preferred »illusion« (»illusionen«) or »prejudice« (»fördomen«), that is, a judgement that is passed before all the elements that determine a condition have been finally examined:

The strange banner of »prejudices« gives man the power to make great sacrifices, to live honorably, act boldly and die courageously. »The freedom of prejudice« with its agreeable social talents, forgiving skepticism and »extenuating circumstances« has always shown a greater inclination to reasoning than making decisions. (Skott i överkant, p. 43)

This means a preconceived notion beyond good and evil and affirms that the only sensible answer to Pontius Pilate’s question is: »I am the truth and the life«:

Fördomen kan sällan inte definieras som tro på något osant annat än i det fall att man med samma menar »förnuftets« samning och dessutom definierar förnuftet och den av detta förnuft uppmätta samningen på ett aldeles speciellt och för diskussion ingalunda frettet sätt. (Skott i överkant, p. 40)

(Thus prejudice cannot be defined as a belief in something untrue, unless by truth you mean the truth of »reason« and moreover define reason, and the truth derived from this reason, in a very special way that obscures the debate.)

Such revolutionary pragmatism paired with the cult of action constitutes a dangerous appeal to man’s instincts and can lead to irrational disregard of the consequences of the means employed. The roots of this philosophy can be found in Hegel, Nietzsche, Bergson, Sorel and even in Goethe: »was fruchtbar ist, allein ist Wahr«.50 Tigerstedt’s use of the term prejudice as a neutral or even positive word is linked to his high regard for national myths (Runeberg in particular) and not to the way Hans-Georg Gadamer later used the term »Vorurteil« - »prejudice« or »for-meaning« (cf. SKOTTÖ, pp. 20ff, Gadamer, pp. 238ff). Kjellén had used the word in his »The Ideas of 1914«,51 but Tigerstedt now expands and develops the concept. In the writings of Vitalis Norström the antagonism between knowledge and life had resulted in strong anti-intellectual currents and an apology for vitalism and intuition - a pragmatical philosophy stressing the importance of volition. Tigerstedt now went a step further in his gospel of compelling myths and irrationalism. However, he did not pass the border into the land of primitivism to advocate intoxication and total enthusiasm like Grotenfelt, Benn or Jünger.
Among others, the case of Pirandello shows that this mistrust of reason was rather a trend in the spiritual life of the epoch than an exception. Since there is nothing rational in our existence and the only true and evident dimension of reality is death we have to shape reality. This is the view of the irrational man. The myth then turns into a form where past and present can meet. The myth the author envisions in *Skott i överkant* is the myth of the new puritan spirit - which meant that real freedom is to be found in serving and discipline - under the divine state.

Here the poet had an important mission to fulfill: by exposing and revealing the myth to us and looking into the future he becomes a spiritual leader. Eschewing the primitivist yearning for Naturalism, which was centered on irrational life itself, Tigerstedt becomes intoxicated with the act of completing a work of art. Tigerstedt's irrationalism is thus based on the irrevocable and fixed form, that is, doom and death. This accounts for his cult of Spengler's apocalyptic philosophy, where the development of each culture is guided by immutable laws and eternal forms.

*Moral Relativism: Was fruchtbär ist, allein ist Wahr*

In 1925 Örnulf Tigerstedt had published a very provocative essay in *Finsk Tidskrift* about the fascinating and enigmatic Pharaoh Akhenaton. Although attracted by the enchanting character of the Pharaoh Tigerstedt had rebuked the God-King for not fulfilling his imperial duty. Akhenaton had turned to aestheticism and meditation. His great mistake was that he «put truth before duty and sincerity before tradition» (p. 157).

Our characterization of the myth and the author seems to be reaffirmed here: Tigerstedt's relative view in questions of ethical importance. We have already met this aspect of the author in connection with the abortive coup d'état at Mäntsälä (cf. chapter II:3 of this work). Tigerstedt's position where the matters of right or wrong, good or bad were concerned was probably dependent of his relationship with reality, which has been described earlier. The myth had been true as long as it was fruitful; the same was valid of entire ideologies and of reality itself.

This relativism could also, like much else in Tigerstedt's outlook, be viewed as a product of the age of decline, of what was lost in the Great War. It was therefore symptomatic of his inconsistency that he often seemed to attack the same relativism he himself often displayed! (See, e.g., *SISTE*, p. 101, *VIRS*, p. 101). However, this would partly be a misinterpretation. What he attacked was not true ethical relativism, it was rationalism, i.e., reason. «The age of liberalism» had torn down man's faith, man's belief in myths and exposed everything to dissection. Nothing was sacred any more. This was plain from «The Spring Speech»: «Where the idea is dead and only utilitarianism lives, no other justice dwells than the justice of the strongest.»

In April 1932 Tigerstedt read a script called «Mongolernas saga» (The Saga of Mongols) on the Finnish radio. It contained echoes of Carlylean hero-
worship. What Tigerstedt in the first place admired was the martial organization and discipline of the Mongols. He furthermore displayed, to say the least, a radically pragmatic view of warfare:

Massmordena på hela folk äro därför mera att betrakta som en praktisk förnuftsåtgärd. Mångolerna (sic!) voro fà, deras fiender många, döda göra inga uppror, man tog vad man behövde, resten slog man sönder. Tvång skapar martyrer och föder reaktion heter det nuförtiden i det välprässade och söndagsgåbor-kostymshumana Vesteuropa. [- - -] Avhuggna huvuden opponera sig inte. Ryssland lydde länge och vill under mongolperioden. Så det är inte alls besynnerligt att de nuvarande gubbarna i Kreml lärt sig en hel del av gamle Djingis Khans enkla och praktiska metoder. Och det rådde verkligen disciplin och ordning i hela det öfentliga mongolriket.32

(The murder of whole nations is therefore to be regarded as a practical and rational measure. The Mongolians were few, their enemies numerous: dead men cannot revolt, so they took what they wanted, they smashed what was left. They say today that coercion creates martyrs and breeds reaction in the well-groomed »Sunday-suit-humanitarian« Western Europe. [- - -] Decapitated heads will not protest. For a long time Russia was subdued under the Mongolian whip. Therefore it is not at all astonishing that the men in the Kremlin today have learned a great deal from the simple and practical measures of old Genghis Khan. And order and discipline indeed prevailed throughout the vast Mongolian empire.)

One of the principles Tigerstedt strove for was worship of the will to power and the struggle for existence. The outcome of this was a Machiavellian philosophy - the raison d'être of authority:

Där fördel är, är rätt.
Där makt är, är sanning.
Böjda nackar hälsa segrarens fanor,
och i segrarens tält har historiens gudinna sin brudsgång. (»Il Principe, Sista etappen«)

(Where advantage is, right is./ Where power is, truth is./ Bowed necks salute the flags of the victor,/ And in the winner's tent the goddess of history makes her bridal bed.)

The author's relativism was evident in his concept of the state. The state was divine upon earth and its actions could not be judged by any recognised standard of morality. We encounter here an echo of Hegel's national totalitarian metaphysics.53

We have thus discovered irrational currents of great importance in Tigerstedt's world view. We have witnessed a strong hero worship and pragmatism and an aesthetic admiration for brute power. This aestheticism could take Machiavellian forms, as was the case in his essay on the Mongolians, where genocide was described as a »practical measure«. The author undoubtedly belonged to the intellectuals referred to as la trahison des clercs by Julien Benda. Nevertheless, strange as it may sound, his conception of culture was predominately still Christian at the core and far from the Nazi saying originating from Hanns Johst's play: »Whenever I hear the word 'culture'... I release the safety-catch on my pistols.«54 In the face of contemporary politics and the actual social situation his radicalism was usually played down, but quite often his aesthetic viewpoint and blindness
to reality seriously cramped his vision. This happened, for instance, in the German election campaign of 1932. It is, however, doubtful whether he would have agreed with the almost biological primitive view displayed by Drieu la Rochelle: in a time of exaggerated refinement, intellectualism and decadence political success belonged to the movement which recognized and exercised sheer barbarity.\textsuperscript{55} There were several signs of the hollowness of the imposed internal dictatorship and the callous martial mask. There was a great difference between the spectator's distant viewpoint and a close perspective - the difference between the speculation of the detached \textit{scriptor classicus} and practical policy.

When faced with reality and not historical theorizing, Tigerstedt usually reacted as one would expect of a person who said he was fighting for culture. We have earlier described his reaction to the treatment of Josephine Baker and in 1935 he reacted negatively to the Italian attack on Abyssinia. »First of all »Musse« (Mussolini) has turned so vile that he attacks people on the open road and then he claims he does it out of progressive thinking«.\textsuperscript{56} Likewise, his enthusiasm was far from blind and was mingled with doubts and hesitation about the future when the Soviet Union appeared to face imminent defeat in 1941-1942.

Another striking example is provided by the fact that Tigerstedt did not write heroic poems or idealize the War poetically once it had started, although the demand for this type of poetry was obviously strong judging from contemporary media. In 1940, consequently, the author made no contribution to the anthology \textit{Dikterna om Finlands kamp}.

\section*{The Gospel of Action: Caesar Myth and Anti-Intellectualism}

\begin{quote}
Der Wille zur Macht in jeder Kraftkombination, sich wehrend gegen das Stärkere, losstürzend auf das Schwächere, ist richtiger.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE
\end{quote}

Gäringen, bragden och offret: de ha inte fullbordats, de kunna icke förenas med andan i det land de skapat, det förmöter och förtar sig självt. Vardag och verksamhet, det är i grunden blott surrogat; man kommer inte ifrån impulsen att man måste göra något, att man inte overksam kan låta sig företrädas av andra. Ty ett land som är skapat genom handling kan aldrig helt slå sig till ro i representationspolitikens passivitet.

(The deed, the heroic achievement and the sacrifice; these are not completed, nor can they be reconciled with the spirit of the country they created, which decays and withers away by itself. Everyday life and enterprise; we cannot escape the impulse that we must \textit{do something}, we cannot passively let others represent us. For a country once created through action can never feel at ease with the idleness of parliamentarism and its mandatory politics.)

E. R. GUMMERUS
Attack on Intellectualism

It is now time to discuss features of Tigerstedt's anti-intellectualism. These were quite obviously linked to the overall disillusionment with the credo of progress and development and the image of a threatened Western civilization. They were, however, also connected with his view of the moral anxieties of the humanists and liberals in dealing with politics. At the national level in Finland this was manifested in the disappointment over the lost enthusiasm of 1918, the Peace of Dorpat (Tartu) and what the author regarded as the small-minded party struggles of the Parliament. From this outlook the vision of a strong man emerged.

There runs a stream of anti-intellectualism through Tigerstedt's writings. He had repeatedly attacked the intellectual crème de la crème for Epicurean aestheticism and a »decorative and anemic humanism». »It is the blood that counts, the heart, the pulse, the brain - the roots« (»Det är blodet det gäller, hjärtat, pulsen, hjärnan - rötterna«). For a while he even championed the same causes as Hagar Olsson and Elmer Diktonius. Steel, concrete and skyscrapers were the manifestations of our time - these innovations breathed youth, force, energy and optimism. The slumbering intellectuals in their secluded spiritual world of museums must wake up before it was too late. Sitting in their armchairs, absorbed in dusty folios, they had totally forgotten that art should express the spirit of our time.

In spite of his own evident intellectualism and sometimes pronounced rationalism Tigerstedt despised certain aspects of the academic world. This was in line with his strong binary irrationalism. The impotent and all too balanced lecturer in the colorless classroom was a metaphor he frequently used. In »Ropet från Savolax«, (SKOTTÖ), the intellectual Åbo Academy was contrasted with the military academy at Haapaniemi:

Imagine how contemptuously the trooper from Savolax must have listened to the orations, disputations and quarrels flavored with peripeteia which gave the days meaning at Åbo Academy. [- - -] [...] these juridical and philological subtleties over which pale and overstudious students of Latin wrangled before morose and conceited professors. [- - -] In Haapaniemi, life was straight as a Carolinian sword. (pp. 187-188, 193)\textsuperscript{57}

The world of the scholar is colorless, cold and dull: »like a professor, void of temperament, in his whitewashed lecture-room, where the flies mating on the window-glass are the only creatures which give this miserable place life« (SKOTTÖ, p. 37). The lack of action, joy and vitality in the academic world is often contrasted with military virtues.\textsuperscript{58} Not surprisingly, Tigerstedt's own academic experience had been short and in the scholastic environment he probably experienced a lack of activity which in his view contrasted with the potent, turbulent and vigorous reality of 1918.

Another anti-intellectual element that can be detected is a certain populism. This belief in the creativity and superiority of the uneducated and unintellectual does not, for instance, take the form of Hamsun's
populism in Markens Grøde (Growth of the Soil), but traces can be found, for example, in the description of the peasants around the town of Perigueux (VIRS, pp. 36ff) and the native people of the Pechenga area («Petsamos skolter», 1935). We also find it in «Vådan av en alltför fri konst» (SKOTTÖ, p. 87): «The sound instinct of the countryside only knows success or failure». However, the populism displayed here is not pronounced, apart from this isolated example, in the author’s works. Generally speaking he seems to have lacked any insight into the gray everyday toil of the people. When occasionally portrayed, characters from the lower layers of society are stereotype. (Cf. the old soldiers in Majoren på Björnby and first mate Lundberg and Petter Hongisto in Vi resa söderut). This may be compared with Harrison's conclusions about Yeats. These traces of populism do not reflect Tigerstedt's sociological belief, they are rather presumably the result of a Romantic-bohemian literary influence. To cite an instance, the Major of Björnby is outspoken, artless and patriarchal in a way that is reminiscent of the old major - «dans les déserts de Savolacs» - in Topelius’s Kungens handske (The King's Gauntlet) or Carl Snoilsky's Slottsferren (The lord of the Castle). However, Tigerstedt never echoes Topelius’s rural populism or displays any of Snoilsky’s pathos for the suffering and starving people. Therefore, Tigerstedt’s occasional populism feels artificial and does not really collide with his elitist temperament.59

The author's anti-intellectualism is well in keeping with traditional conservatism, which was for ever questioning the ability of human reason to find cut-and-dried solutions to the problems of society.60

**Attack on the Materialism of the Middle Class**

Another attack was aimed at the complacent middle-class, among whom parasites, like mongers and hucksters, with small «mercerary souls» lived on man’s miseries. These materialistic men were also contrasted with the idealism, activism and military virtues of his heroes (Roman legionaries, Jesuits, etc.).61 The attack on capitalism was continued in Skott i överkant. The materialism of the capitalist and the Bolshevik had been compared and found to correspond in all essentials.

They spoke the same language according to Tigerstedt, which was a result of their common belief in man’s progress and rationality and their rejection of irrationality and faith. Tigerstedt, however, never actually questioned or for that matter attacked the economic system of capitalism.

Returning, then, to the bourgeoisie, it was the complacency, predictability and cowardice of middle class life for which Tigerstedt felt contempt. He despised its conventionality, absence of force and lack of interest in novelties. These features did not attract his artistic temperament and aesthetic admiration for the extreme. However, in a world where tradition and form were the backbone, the middle class became a potential ally. His research on the Hackman company and its history also clearly showed that
Tigerstedt accepted the capitalist system. Capitalists of the third generation were no longer parvenus and could blend with the existing élite.62

Indeed, his attack on the bourgeoisie was not very violent or far-reaching. The reason for this was probably that he himself deep down inside was too much of a bourgeois. This also became more evident to him in the latter part of his life in Sweden. The middle class was the only preserver of the old ways that carried any weight in society.

**War is the Normal Condition of History**

Life means a condition of eternal struggle. The world is nature, which means constant change and decomposition and man has to mold continuously if he wants to survive. These chaotic surroundings constitute a battlefield where the survival of the fittest is the law of existence. What drives man forward is his eternal lust for life and power.

For a man with this outlook war itself becomes the normal condition and peace the abnormal situation:

> When order has been restored after periods of revolutions, wars, revolts, depressions and such, we say that normal conditions have returned. This is only a relative truth. For the normal condition is by no means culture and order but disorder and barbarity. Culture and stable conditions constitute something extremely rare in history, odd parentheses in a normally chaotic course of events. («Frihet och lydnad», 1931)

Tigerstedt’s all-embracing view of man, life and war could be traced back to Social Darwinism and conformed, although radicalized and extreme, to an old conservative conception of society.63

If we turn to Finland, this »permanent condition of war» is even more obvious to Tigerstedt in the young country’s foreign political and military strategic position: »We stand face to face with Russia in this country of ours. We do not stand in a well-protected center, but in a fateful periphery, in the front line where a permanent condition of war is the natural and evident situation.»64 In a world where violence, conspiracy and hypocrisy were the natural order of things, a new tragedy must come. The expectation of a new disaster in the form of a new world war was manifest in Tigerstedt’s view of man as early as 1925 in the series of travel articles he wrote for *Allas Krönika*: »[...], and when I listened to the showers of hail beating on the roof of the winter garden close to the hall, it dawned on me that the rising storm heralded the »Götterdämmerung» and the very severe Nordic winter (Fimbulvinter) which soon would gird the whole world» (»Lunkentus’ irrfärder», p. 883).

Pacifism was often repudiated in Tigerstedt’s writings and several times he referred to it as »soft humanism».65 Liberalism and Bolshevism were both labeled »pacifist» ideologies (SKOTTÖ, p. 28), despite the fact that he viewed any sign of Marxism as very aggressive and a step back to nature. Beyond doubt the policy of the USSR was aimed at an attack on Finland,
according to the author. Obviously, then Tigerstedt’s interpretation of pacifism differed from the usual one. In 1938 he claimed that it was the “liberal pacifists” of the Popular Front who wanted war because of the Czechoslovakian issue and not Germany.66

As a result of his own image of man, he never recognized pacifism as anything more than a pragmatic stand, as a way of denying one’s duty to destiny. Since the men of this world were still evil in their souls, pacifism would only make it easy for the conquerors. For a man who was certain that war would come, disarmament was the supreme folly.

Nevertheless, he generally regarded the First World War as a great disaster. The graveyards and mausoleums of France »speak, however, for themselves - a plain and frightening language« (VIRS, p. 118). Despite this, there is at the same time a tendency to elevate war into something virtuous or noble. Erich Maria Remarque had made what was terrible into something even more terrible, according to Tigerstedt. Remarque had used his licentia poetica and sacrificed a part of the truth, while Runeberg with his homage to martial virtues on the other hand »corrected the mistake of reality« and created a new truer reality (SKOTTÖ p.153ff). From this follows that the myth is truer since it makes new sacrifices possible. There are other signs of a conscious blurring of the reality of war. This is done in the same way as Thomas Mann and Artur Eklund had done earlier. Even if war is a curse, it is also a liberation since it »silences the talking and reveals the phony kings« (VIRS, p. 119). As regards the war in Finland in 1918 this becomes even more explicit:

[…] no matter how they depict the horrors of war to us today, we still learned in those days that there is a difference between war and war and that our campaign, at least, despite all the terror, possessed a grandeur and an ethical beauty which the advocates of anaemia will never realize.67

Tigerstedt’s high regard for war as a device of development used by history echoes Treitschke and Rudolf Kjellén. We have noted the author’s definition of the war of 1918: »when a greater and more primary idea prevailed«. It is the view of the spectator again, the aesthete who is attracted by the ethical simplicity. There is really no option, the choice is already made for you. Human accountability does not exist. »Everything was so simple then« as Bertel Gripenberg had remarked.

And yet, and this must be recognized, we also find traces of true pacifism in Tigerstedt’s works. We have mentioned earlier the poems »Huset som skall bombas« and »Ultimatum« in Sista Etappen. It might, however, be objected that these pacifist sentiments probably were triggered by the apparent threat against Finland in the fall of 1939. Another contributing circumstance may be the fact that by this time the author had to face the responsibilities of fatherhood and family (the image of his daughter’s innocent games was evoked in the poem). He was forced out of his poetical world and the signs of a future war filled him with foreboding.
There were nevertheless traces of pacifism in his early view of a united Europe (VIRS, pp. 115ff). This could only be achieved by the rise of a new Philip of Macedonia. The ultimate worship of war, where war itself becomes the highest expression of humanity and which we find among core fascists, is still absent in Tigerstedt. Thus, in his essay on Robert E. Lee he stresses the fact that the Dixie general and Marcus Aurelius were both peace-loving men. None of them «worshipped war itself». Their greatness lay in the fact that they violated their own nature when they had to for the sake of duty.68

The Call for Action

In strong contrast with the «soft world view of the pacifist or the modern democrat» Tigerstedt depicted his view of history as follows:

If, instead, you admire the excitement of the game, the danger, the boldness and the power; if you love characters, figures of vigor and blood, race and willpower, if you look for action, striking power, pugnacity, then you want to study, using a single word, Life [...] (p. 913)

This short passage from «Lunkentus' irrfärder» 1925) contains much of Tigerstedt's world view. We can notice the word «spelet» (the game) which creates remoteness - we are spectators watching a game. Hero-worship is also evident, along with the suggested conception of life as a struggle, and so is the search for excitement. However, the main theme is the author's explicit call for action. This is often repeated, and another striking example can be found in «The Spring Speech». After an attack on the futility of our life of everyday gray rational debating and the passive reading of books he continues:

But then a sign is gleaming, and an appeal comes forth, which we know is the right one. We concentrate, we come to attention, we let ourselves go, and what has been anticipated for a long time finds expression in action.

Action, not words in committees and parliaments, is the point of history's rapier. With action, and not with reasoning for and against, the right of nations to plow the fields of their native soil and breathe their native air is proven before gods, devils and men. Thus we should value our deeds against indifference, treason and envy, («Talet till våren», p. 140)

Apart from the cult of action we also find a pronounced pragmatical outlook Beyond Good or Evil here. This view was deeply rooted in Finnish nationalism. The most impressive instances are to be found in the writings of J. W. Snellman and Kaarlo Kramsu. Tigerstedt's call for action could be found in various forms, characters and situations. We encounter it in the depiction of the emperor Chin, who built the Great Wall of China:

[...] since he had found deceitfulness in all promises, he clutched the iron, whose cold hardness convinces the most indifferent.69

People were tired of endless discussions and like General Ney at Grenoble they:
changed sides at the decisive moment and paid tribute to the Sword from Gordium and the creed of returning «prejudice» which called: »Follow me! I am the truth and the life!«70

This ethos of action is evident in his personal version of some frequently quoted lines in von Heidenstam’s famous poem »Invocation and Promise«: 
»Hellre ett öppet fält och en beslutsam skara än ett liv förslösat på överklokhetens beräkningar, rädsla för turnering och slapp väntan på det gynnsamma ögonblick som måste skapas.« (Better with an open field and a determined troop, than wasting one's life on sophistic calculations, fear of tournaments and idle waiting for auspicious moments which (anyway) have to be created.)71

When we told them that their belief in the holy myths of progress and development was false they demanded proof and we wasted our days in libraries. When we presented proof they would not listen:

Därför komma vi i dag
med fanor och kastbomber,
med svarta skjortor
och skillsmamma myter.

Därför höja vi oförnuftets banér
och predika rusets vanvettiga evangelium.
(»Bevis, Proof, De heliga vägarna)"

(Therefore we come today / With flags and hand-grenades, / With black shirts / And strange myths. / Therefore we raise the banner of unreason / And preach the insane gospel of intoxication.)

Thus Tigerstedt seemed to rage against reason and rationality and preach unreason and irrationality. He advocated the senseless intoxication. However, this would be to deprive him of poetical license, as Stolpe and Paavolainen did. Should the »we« in the poem then be interpreted as a subject including the author? In the first place, intoxication was something completely alien to the poet. He was a man of form and action, true, but certainly not a man of uncontrolled and unmediated action. Instead of a ideological manifesto the poem should be understood as his way of understanding the reaction of the young men with black shirts. Equally notable are the central lines of the second stanza which are exceptional in Tigerstedt's previous poetry. He had constantly opposed excessive lack of reason and intoxication. The subjective »we« does not necessarily include the poet, it was more a question of empathy.

True enough, he himself had raged against reason and rationality and longed for the metaphysical dimension of life which he saw in destiny and myths. Still, Tigerstedt was far from actually praising, let alone admiring, something as uncontrolled, chaotic or primitive as »insane intoxication«. This would have been like violating his own temperament.

We have witnessed how his image of man permeated his view of the world and, combined with his prevailing aesthetic conception of reality,
made him susceptible to pragmatism and the cult of action. The poet's romanticization of power and action also functioned as a way of escaping social reality and responsibility. Perhaps this was what made his outlook so frightening. To him, part of the beauty lay in the simplicity of standing outside good or evil and being part of an irrational entity, which meant freedom from ethical obligations. He thus cultivated a superior appreciation of the beauty he saw in action and heroism. This would ultimately lead to a dangerous romanticization and aesthetic appreciation of war itself. However, though Tigerstedt longed for beauty, excitement, and action, he did not really wish for war, but since he regarded it as inevitable, he favored Vegetius's motto: *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. Real and long-lasting peace such as the *Pax Romana*, history told him, had only been accomplished in history as a gift from a conqueror to his slaves. This was all hollow theory and consequently, when war really came, it did not stir in him much admiration for the new Caesars.

**Noter**

1. Cf. earlier quoted poem by Verner von Heldenstam in Ch. II:1.
2. Cf. the following passages: UÖ, p. 92, VIRS, pp. 94ff.
4. Ibid., p. 67.
11. Mohler found something similar in Ernst Jünger (Mohler pp. 125ff.).
16. BÖDE, "Pendeln", see also VIDG, "Columbus", "Museet".
30. Cf. the discussion in chapter II:13 of this work about ÖT and Modernism.
32. Mohler, p. 120. The above reasoning is based on Armin Mohler pp. 81-89, 118-121. Cf. Löwith, p. 227.
33. Tigerstedt mentions Pirandello several times in his works (See., e.g., UÖ, p. 12) in a way that makes it clear that he had read or seen his plays. Cf. Klem about Pirandello: "His image of human existence is absolutely negative" (p. 151).
34. There are many places in Tigerstedt's writings where King Gustav III stands out as the paragon of ruler. A good example is provided by the article "Framtidens krav" in Nyland 6 July 1933.
35. Cf. SKOTTÖ, p. 117: "Denna Auktoritas är kronan...", see also SKOTTÖ, p. 118, 'krona' (crown) here means the state.
36. SKOTTÖ, pp. 119-120. Tigerstedt's attraction is a sign of his, by this time (1934), more critical attitude toward Nazism. Concerning Svinhuvud, see "President Svinhuvud of Finland", The American-Scandinavian Review, 1936.
38. SKOTTÖ, p. 147.
40. SKOTTÖ, pp. 144-146. Here Tigerstedt was probably influenced by the favorite Nazi proverb "Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz", which he had used in the articles from the German elections of 1932.
41. SKOTTÖ, pp. 146-147, "Till nationalismens kreditkonto" in Nya Argus 9/1936.
42. An interesting parallel to this could be found in Paul Ernst, who outlined the Nazi concept of "Das Volk" this way: <...>, so ist auch das Volk etwas anderes als eine solche Summe oder Anzahl. Es ist eine eigene, bestimmt zu umschreibende Persönlichkeit mit eigenem und einzigartigem Charakter und ebensolchem Schicksal, das bestimmte, nur Gott bekannte Aufgaben in der grossen Menschenwelt zu erfüllen hat", Paul Ernst, Das deutsche Volk und der Dichter von heute, 1933 quoted from Geissler, p. 38. A similar view is evident also in Kjellén's writings. Tigerstedt's way of expressing this sum of the individuals can also be found earlier in "The Spring Speech" of 1933, p. 132. He used the term "Fosterlandet" (the Fatherland) here instead of his usual "Staten" (the State).
43. Rudolf Kjellén, Politiska essayer I; pp. 3-11, II; p. 22: <...>-tänk en nationalsocialism istället för klass socialism - och det samhällsväldiga blir en hylig samhällsstyrka." (Imagine a "national-socialism" instead of class socialism and what is dangerous to society instead becomes a wonderful public strength), Staten som lifsförm, pp. 62ff. Tigerstedt does not mention Kjellén. However, Normén who stood close to ÖT, had been influenced by Swedish activists like Adrian Molin and Rudolf Kjellén during his stay in Sweden. Cf. Laxén, pp. 14ff. Kjellén was also well represented in the library left after Axel Fredrik and Carl Gustaf Tigerstedt at Mustila.
44. Cf. Elvander, pp. 266ff. (about Kjellén) and Saxlund, pp. 5, 24.
48. See, e.g., letters to Torger Enckell March 1919, to Axel and Mary Tigerstedt 15 Nov. 1919, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL and a letter (lacking addressee 27 Dec. 1921) in Christina Hackman's poss.
51. Kjellén, NDA, 2 May 1915.
52. "Mongolernas saga", broadcast by "Finlands rundradio", 5 April 1932, manuscript in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
54. Hanns Johst, Schlager (It). Often attributed to Goering or Goebbels.
55. Pfeil, p. 176. Cf. also H. Ruin, 1934, concerning an article by Drieu la Rochelle in Les Nouvelles Littéraires 1934, in which the author worships the "war instinct" - something as fruitful as the sexual instinct. This primitivism would most probably have been too primeval and uncivilized to agree with Tigerstedt's view.
57. Cf. Frans G. Bengtsson, "Kung Karls värja", Tärningskast: Din samtid levde kroldigt och på tvären/ bland snusförmuft om kabinettsbesvären/ spinettklink, gräl och amoros rosenband.// Hos dig var altting rakt: din tro, ditt land, ditt kungarod, de skyldrande gevären, och krigets konst och klingan i din hand. (Your contemporaries lived a curved and crooked life/ Using commonplaces about the cabinet inconveniences/ Spinet tinkling, arguments and Cupid's rose ribbons.// With you everything was straight: your belief, your country, Your royal word, The presented arms, The art of war and blade in your hand.)
58. Cf. "Björneborgska sjukan" and "Ropet från Savolax" in SKOTTÖ. The academic town of Åbo was contrasted with Savolax. Cf. the character Henricus Spång in Katedralen - "a man who loved Einstein's theory of relativism". He is the disguised and ignorant elementary school teacher, the poisonous snake of "liberalism" - the type Tigerstedt had raged against in his early letters. Another character, in the same book, Finn Demacq stands for the academic science-formulas, particularization, systems and dogmatism. Cf. e.g., pp. 65, 68 in KAT, see also VIRS, pp. 24, 33, 36, 53. EXC, pp. 13-14, SKOTTÖ, pp. 36, 187-188, "En strykares kärleksförklaring", 1932, "Till nationalismens kreditkonto", "General Lee", 1939.
59. Cf. Harrison, p. 60,
61. See, e.g., the poem "Korsfarare" in HVÄG, pp. 12ff.
62. Cf. E.R. Gummerus, Faraol Arkadien, p. 81, Andreas Borneman had learned that: "you were not gentilefolk if your father stood behind the counter and made a fortune as a result of it, but if your grandfather did - you were,<>". Gummerus narrated this with irony. Cf. VIRS, p. 127 concerning the nouveau riche in Rome, SKOTTÖ, p. 38. Cf. Spengler, Jahre..., pp. 65-66.
67. Speech in Lovisa, 29 Dec. 1934, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
69. Exercitata, p. 30. The parallel to Bertel Gripenberg seem obvious, in particular to his extreme apology for the cold, hard iron in "Järnets lov" (In Praise of Iron) which appeared a year prior to this in Under Fanan.
70. SKOTTÖ, p. 41.
71. UÖ, p. 25, cf. von Heldenstam: "It is finer to hear the bow-string snap/ Than never the bow to have bended", (transl. Wharton).

72. Originally "Qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum." If you wish for peace, then prepare for war. Concerning the statement see, e.g., VIRS, p. 719, "Inför den stora slagskuggan", 1936.
The Spirit of the Varangian: The Myth of the Outpost and Nationalism

Blodet förpliktar.
Tyngre för dig än för andra
vägarna bli att vandra.
Skarpere riktar
världen på dig sin blick.
Frid finns för andra,
men ej för dig,
strida du skall i fred och krig,
bördan för andra bära,
strida för tung och nedärvd ära,
egen ära och andras väl.
Blodet förpliktar,
artvet förpliktar,
halvsvanka hjältekrömmar du diktar.
Give dig fäderna en kraft att en dag
modigt som de bära ödets slag!

(Blood obliges/ The roads will be harder to wander/ For you than for others/ The world will/ Survey you more closely./ Serenity is for others,/ But not for you,/ You must fight in peace and war,/ Carry the burden for others,/ Fight for honor, inherited and burdensome,/ Your own honor and the welfare of others./ Blood obliges,/ Heritage obliges,/ Half awake you fabricate dreams. / May your fathers lend you the power one day / To bear destiny’s blow as bravely as they.)

BERTEL GRIPENBERG
(»En fursteson»/ The Son of a Prince)

Perhaps that is what is called patriotism, love of home and country. But, Melanie, it goes deeper than that. For, Melanie, these things I have named are but the symbols of the thing for which I risk my life, symbols of the kind of life I love. For I am fighting for the old days, the old ways I love so much which, I fear, are now gone forever, no matter how the die may fall. For, win or lose we lose just the same.

MARGARET MITCHELL (Gone With the Wind)

The Élitist Concept and the Swedish Heritage
I have already put forward the theory that Tigerstedt's antagonistic basic concept of form versus nature was, to a large extent, a legacy of his ethnic and social background. This is an important link in the general horizon or sense of the whole which it has been my task to acquire, in a hermeneutical endeavor to reach a historical understanding. It is part of the established context. In order to reach a deeper understanding of this theory, which is vital to such an attempt to interpret Örnulf Tigerstedt's vision du monde, we must now explore the background more thoroughly.

When looking upon the young Finnish nation our author recognized not two, but three major population groups: the Finnish-speaking majority, the Swedish-speaking minority and the élite, which was the Swedish-speaking
remainder of the estate-owning gentry in the country. The last group was by no means pure in ethnic terms. It was cosmopolitan in terms of blood. In the first place it was Swedish in origin, but over the years much Finnish blood had been mixed in. To this had been added German, Baltic, Russian, English, Scottish, Polish and French stock.

Even if not rich by European standards, this group had developed an advanced culture with high standards of private education. Their possession of and taste in French 18th century literature was a striking example of this. Their tradition of military and civil service was of long standing. The position in society of this group was very strong. Risto Alapuro has described this:

The gentry revolved around the civil service, which had an internal hierarchy and an official system of ranks. Ultimately the concept came to refer to a social identity recognized more by custom than by law. The gentry pattern included exposure to higher education, employment in the higher levels of administration, personal association with other members of the gentry, an appropriate standard of living, and use of the Swedish language, which dominated all public services, higher education, and public life. In other words, the gentry was a status group in the Weberian sense.

As mentioned earlier, the prevailing spirit in this group was of Gustavian origin. It could be described as a high-spirited rococo draped in home-spun rustic cloth, aestheticism and cosmopolitanism. A strange mixture of rationalism, exotic inclinations and tradition. It was firmly based on monarchism, loyalty and duty. The traditional military background, which was cultivated and preserved at the Haapaniemi military academy after 1780, permeated their spirit and way of thinking. They were the outpost of Western civilization in a remote borderland, the guarantee for culture and development. Their historical mission was the fulfilling of their duty as the northernmost guardian of Western civilization. They saw themselves as herrskap - gentlefolks - an upper class in spirit and refined culture. Their views had an imperial background where everything was possible and limitless. Their culture expressed a Faustian urge to reach out and fill the boundless extent of living with activity. Their base was the old tradition and form of centuries and the possibilities offered within the Russian Empire, and their position in the Russian bureaucracy probably made most of them even more conservative and hostile to representative reforms and the new concepts of egalitarian democracy. The concept of Empire was central to them and few of them were Finnish nationalists in the sense of Leo Mechelin or Konni Zilliacus.

The picture of Finland as an outpost has been traced back to the late 16th century by K. Tarkiainen, but it originated from the time of the Swedish Crusades when Roman Catholicism and taxation were imposed upon Finland. In the province of Karelia Swedish jurisdiction met Novgorodian Orthodox rule and this clash of cultures can still be seen in the coat of arms of the province.
Ben Hellman claims in an essay that this “myth of the outpost” did not penetrate Finland-Swedish literature to the same extent as Finnish-speaking literature. He insists that this myth was in disrepute in Finland-Swedish circles after the events of 1918 and especially since the AKS and later the IKL had adopted it. Hellman finds the theme in Gripenberg and Zilliacus in the 30s, though.7

In my opinion, it must be stressed that this theme originated and formed a vital part of Finland-Swedish culture from the beginning. It runs through as an unbroken chain of tradition in the Finland-Swedish literature. And we must bear in mind that extreme right-wing writers, who are forgotten today, played an important part in the cultural life of Finland in the years between the First and the Second World War.

In most circles, as acknowledged by Salminen,8 it developed into a Janus-faced myth: Western culture against Russian barbarianism and Swedish culture (later Finland-Swedish) against the alleged political and cultural immaturity of the Finns. Not surprisingly, we find at least the first part of this living tradition in Topelius’s patriotic poem “Våra julidagar” from 1840. And Topelius, regardless of his complicated position in the national issue, saw the Swedish cultural heritage in Finland as fundamental.9 In the literary tradition we meet the myth among authors like Ahrenberg. How deep-rooted this concept was is clear when even the young radical Arvid Mörne paints the picture of the Western outpost.10

In Några ord om det svenska partiet i Finland (1894), by E. H. Estlander, culture, mission, cultivation, destiny and duty are key words. The same key words were echoed by Tigerstedt some fifty years later! “All nations have by providence been given a certain mission in world history” and the mission for the Swedes in Finland was cultivation, E. H. Estlander claimed. The Finnish language was not yet ready to shoulder the burden of culture, but both language groups were united in a common destiny.11 His relative, the influential critic C. G. Estlander, was of the same mind in several articles in Finsk Tidsskrift.12 In his work on White war propaganda Turo Manninen concludes: “Among the Swedish-speaking Finns the view predominated that the Swedish Finns were part of a joint European front in a northerly outpost of Western civilization against the barbarous East.”13

Let us consider yet another case. The hero Hjalmar (otherwise critical of the advent of a new aggressive Swedishness) in Henning Söderhjelm’s novel Gränsmarksluft (1914) nevertheless states: “Swedish culture will never die in this country - at any rate this country cannot possess any other culture. Either barbarity or Swedish refinement.”14

After the turn of the century Russian oppression and the new Finnish-speaking hegemony had revived the myth. Bertel Gripenberg’s »Föristerna» is dated 1912 and the theme recurs in Aftnar i Tavastland (Evenings in Tavastland) and Spillror (Remnants).15 Gripenberg, Tigerstedt and others gave the myth an elitist interpretation. True heroism was tragic
and this gave a minority perpetually drained of blood and still manning the walls of a castle named culture a heroic legitimacy. It was in a true sense the aristocratic spirit of Heidenstam's last fighting Carolinians. The image of a stubborn and poverty-stricken gentry is conveyed to us in Gripenberg's »De sista« (The Last Men) and Tigerstedt's »Ett herrgårdsminne« (The Memory of a Manorial Estate):

Bleka ljus i vinterland.
Snart slocknar den sista lågan.
Snart skall svångande pendel stå still,
tömmas den sista salen. (Sista etappen)

(Pale lights in wintery land/ Soon the last flare dies out./ Soon the swinging pendulum will come to a halt,/ The last hall will empty.)

The Finnish Civil War further underlined the concept and Bolshevisim was regarded as an expression of Asian barbarity. This gave rise to new mythological implications. To some extent, as was implied earlier (see chapter II:1), the Red rising was also seen as a new confirmation of the allegedly undeveloped Finnish nation. Predictably, Erik Grotenfelt wrote in 1919: »The mission of the Swedes in Finland has been that of the cultural intermediary, that of the Western outpost toward the East. And clearer than ever, the decision of February 11th shows that the Swedish cultural achievement among the Finns is not completed yet.« (Dagens Press, 2 Feb, 1919.) The theme of the outpost formed a mighty undercurrent in Jarl Hemmer's Ett land i kamp and it permeated, among others, the thought of Artur Eklund, Hugo J. Ekholm and Ture Janson in the early Twenties.

The first sign of a reference to the myth of the outpost appears in Tigerstedt's »Öknens ande« (The Spirit of the Desert) from 1916 and later in his articles in the mid-20s (Europe - Asia). From now on it is the defence of this alleged cultural and ideological border which guides Tigerstedt's political thinking. A symbolic version carrying the very name »Förfoten« (The Outpost) is to be found in Noveller. This central theme of the borderland fortress is subsequently an almost permanent theme in his writings. His most pregnant expression of this idea came during the Second World War in his German essays »Über Finnland« and »Finnland der Vorposten«, and here Swedish and Western culture is linked to Germanic civilization. The AS based its political program on the first part of the myth and members such as Torsten Aminoff, Herman Guummerus and Jarl Gallén gave it a key role in their theoretical thinking.

The mythological background of this theme is thus manifest among conservative Swedish-speakers and especially in the group we will refer to as the Varangians. But even liberals like Tigerstedt's relative, the economist Hugo E. Pipping, nursed similar sentiments. In a letter to a friend he exclaimed: »O tempora, o mores! Are we not right too, we handful of Swedes who believe we have a mission: to civilize this barbarous society [...]«.
Our protagonist's identification with the Varangian group was
unconditional. His own family tree bore strong witness to his military
background. His uncle, Arne von Schoultz, once expressed the family story:
»Generation after generation they have been military men: sailors and
soldiers, warriors with turbulent blood running in their veins and love of
adventure in their minds«.\textsuperscript{19} We find the same fundamental antithesis in
Tigerstedt that Erik Ekelund found in Ahrenberg: the conservative man's
love of the Fatherland and the soil of the ancestors paired with the longing
for the exotic and wonderful world of the Romantic individualist.

\textit{The Varangians and the Constitutionalists}

This »clan of the 250 families« had a great influence in Finland and Russia
between 1809 and 1917, even though Örnulf Tigerstedt probably
exaggerated its importance. Jac. Ahrenberg coined the epithet \textit{Vår landsman}
(Our Fellow-Countryman) in Finnish literature in the novel of the same
name. His protagonist Karl Alexander Segerberg, of old fighting stock and
born in a typical \textit{herrgård}, makes a career in the Czar’s empire. In several of
his works Ahrenberg referred to the Swedes in Finland and especially the
landowning gentry as »varjäger« (or »varajäger«, »väringar«) after a Slavic
word for Vikings; the English form is »Varangians«. Tigerstedt approved of
this term and adopted it. He also gave it a more narrow definition. The clan
of the 250 families and their closest associates of Finland-Swedish stock
were the new Varangians. Tigerstedt referred to the other part of the
Finland-Swedish upper class, with stronger connections with the towns in
southern Finland and their Swedish-speaking bourgeoisie, as
»Constitutionalists« (»konstitutionella«). This group, which was very liberal
and greatly influenced by Scandinavia and England, later formed the vast
majority together with the lower Finland-Swedish social strata, that is, the
overwhelming majority of the Finland-Swedes, in the Swedish People's
Party. During the days of the Lapua Movement scholars such as Hugo E.
Pipping, Ragnar Furuholmen, Gunnar Castrén and Yrjö Hirm represented a
fighting humanism on the democratic barricades.

The poet's father, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt, might be regarded as a
personification of the spirit of the first group, the Varangians: a spirit whose
essence has been beautifully conveyed to us in Bertel Gripenberg's poem
»Invokation«:

\begin{quote}
Fäder i tallösa leder, I, stolta, skythoga stammar,
[...]

ten, jag är dock av er, fastän snart jag själv skall försvinna,
låten för er ock min snartbrunna gnista förbrinna!
Stolthet och lycka det är att vara av ädel stam,
härligt att driva som skum på de egna vågornas kam.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Er är min wilja och varje min tanke föddes i eder
långt före mig i förgätta och hänsvunna tider och leder,
\end{quote}
er är den makt som mig styr över skummande, skymmande hav,
er är den mannsagigning som ödet i livet mig gav.

(Porefathers in numberless files, Ye, proud, paramount stock, [...]Behold, I am of
you, although I myself will soon disappear, / Let my swiftly consumed flame burn
for you! / To be of noble stock means pride and happiness, / It is grand to drift as
foam on the crest of my own waves. / Yours is my will and in you all my single
thoughts were born / Long before me in forgotten, passed times and files, / Yours is
the power which guides me over foaming twilight sea, / Yours is the manly deed
destiny bestowed on me in life.)

Conservative to the bone, it was their aim to maintain tradition, work
hard, respect order and pay reverence to their glorious martial past. Some
still held government posts, but they always returned to the fields and
forests and the moderate country houses they loved.

In a letter to John Landquist Örnulf Tigerstedt summarized the struggle of
the Varangians on four principal fronts around 1900:

1) against the Pan-Slavists since they, besides their aggressive policy of
Russification, threatened to bring about the fall of the empire with their disastrous
and martial adventures in great scope; 2) against the Fennomen since they attacked
everything attached to gentefolk and tradition and moreover gave the Russians the
opportunity to act according to the motto »divide et impera«; 3) against the
Svecomen (the Swedish-minded) since they, in their blind liberalism, paved the way
for the victory of the multitude and thereby dug the grave not only of authority but
of Swedishness; 4) against the revolution since its victory would mean the end of
everything there is.20

In essence, then, it was all there in his background. His conception of the
sublime and tragic was altogether aristocratic, and so was his view of
Caesar and the empire - Pax Romana, the military instinct with its belief in
fortresses and form, love for authority and discipline, hatred for the masses
and the related fear of liberty, social transition and emancipation.
Tigerstedt's strong belief in this heritage was further deepened by
Spengler's exclusive view of a strong, hierarchical leadership basing its
power on a small enlightened minority. Only such a belligerent minority,
prepared for hardships and sacrifices, could finally save the White Western
culture from the coming attacks from barbarians.

Bertel Gripenberg, Herman Guummerus, E. R. Guummerus, Erik Grotenfelt,
Torsten G. Aminoff, G. A. Donner, Johan Christian Fabritius, Tito
Colliander, Göran Stenius and Jarl Gallén were other representatives with
roots in or partly in the Varangian group. They had all been members of the
AS (except for Grotenfelt) and we have shown earlier that Tigerstedt's basic
ideology was shared, among others, by E. R. Guummerus and Bertel Gripen-
berg and we know that all the men in the above mentioned group belonged
to the extreme right-wing. »Edi« Guummerus also recognized this in his
previously quoted statement concerning Tigerstedt's ideology: »If anyone
ever was close to formulating an ideology for the Finland-Swedish upper
class, it was Örnulf Tigerstedt."
The Social Caste and Language as the Ultimate Bulwark of Culture

We have observed that the myth of the outpost was twofold. These intermediaries of culture on their estates represented the outpost of Western civilization in Finland. Before 1809 the Varangians had formed the wing in the military outpost of Sweden against Russia. A long martial tradition had aimed at the defence of the eastern border and the King's liege men resided in small country houses, løjtnantsgårdfar (lieutenant houses). The military tenure establishment under the Swedish rule had been maintained and the old spirit had been kept alive at institutions such as the military academy at Haapaniemi. During the period of Russification at the end of the 19th century and later after the independence in 1917 undercurrents of an ethnical opposition between superior Germanic and inferior Slavic culture were unquenched in these circles. Even earlier, under the influence of Snellman's attempt to make the Finnish nation uniform in terms of language, some Swedes had began to nurse the originally Romantic idea of their Germanic racial background. Culture in Finland and the Swedish language - both radically insecure - would perish without them.21 (Cf. Gripenberg's «Germaniskt blod» in chapter II:1).

Due to the growing industrialization and urbanization the old Swedish-speaking islands in the heart of Finland, representing the manorial culture, were gradually dissolved. The old estates were often divided into smaller lots and the new owners represented the Finnish-speaking majority of the people. Form and tradition became even more vital than before in this period of social transition, lost positions, industrialization and the creation of new social classes. We find this in Tigerstedt's nearly desperate clinging to man-made artifacts. It is also evident that one of the most important fortresses for this group was its communicative base, that is, their language, their Swedish mother tongue.

In this context the theses of Johan Vilhelm Snellman cannot have passed unnoticed. In his rousing writings promoting the Finnish language he viewed the language as the base of man's sentiments and his whole rational being.

It was not only the fear of an endangered Swedish identity but also the fear of becoming a part of the people or even part of the very masses. Tigerstedt thus once complained about Diktonius's language: «It's astonishing how his language smacks of Finnish. No, our language is our armor! If we let go, we'll roll downward into vulgar forms of Swedish and then into total decay.»22 Tigerstedt, offended by the masses, turned to the solace offered by the élitism and aristocracy of culture.

Bertel Gripenberg's development and views, prior to 1918, concerning the Finnish speaking environment as described by Lauri Hyvämäki in Sinistä ja mustaa (Of Blue and Black) were probably by no means eccentric among the landowning gentry. They lived in what they regarded as a remote and perhaps even alien environment of Finnish-speaking peasants, crofters and
farm-hands. The feeling of alienation and isolation then increased during the years of democratization and language struggle.

There are many examples in Tigerstedt's correspondence of a superior view toward the Finnish majority. Privately the young Finnish nation was generally looked upon with the condescending scorn of the superior. It was considered semi-cultural and vulgar. Part of this was of course due to the national cult of violence in White Finland and the self-righteousness and stubbornness displayed by militant anti-Swedish groups like the AKS and later the IKL. However, on the whole Tigerstedt was not an ardent champion of the Swedish minority. His contempt for the parvenu and the masses in what he once labeled in a strange untranslatable mixture of Finnish and Swedish; »detta osuuskulttuuri- och kansakoulunopettajalandet«,23 was directed at both language groups.

In his writings we find few negative phrases or words directed at the Finnish majority as such. The Fennoman struggle for the Finnish language was described with sympathy in Huset Hackman II and in Vi resa söderut. Hence in Skott i överkant he quoted Carl Henrik Klick, calling, not without affection, Finnish »vårt eget språk« (our own language).24 His was the stance of his proud ancestors - »Tigerstedt, den finske gossen« (Tigerstedt, the Finnish fellow) - of the Tales of Ensign Stål when viewing the question of nationality. Tigerstedt was even attacked by Jarl Hemmer for his failure to defend Finland-Swedish interests.25

This had to do with the new political situation, after what Tigerstedt regarded as »the last glorious achievements of the Second Varangians« - the Jäger Movement and the creation of the Finnish state. In the 1920s, the Swedish-speaking upper class was still a very influential group in society. Tigerstedt expressed his predicament in a letter to the Swedish right-wing extremist Adrian Molin:

To belong to a small nation is not very encouraging as such. To belong to a minority in a small nation is less encouraging still. To be an activist in a minority in a small nation is even worse. To be a critical and decent activist in a minority in a small nation is the worst and on top of that the damnedest of things.26

The Lapua Movement, with its official doctrine of a bilingual Finland, had been warmly welcomed by the Swedish-speaking neo-activists. Bertel Grippenberg felt the spirit of 1918 again and for the younger Tigerstedt 1930 became what 1918 had been to his older colleague. Then followed the abortive attempt to seize power at Mäntsälä and the new language policy when the Lapua Movement was reorganized into the IKL. The Finland-Swedish neo-activists suddenly found themselves isolated, fiercely attacked by the »Constitutionalist« Finland-Swedish majority and now also from both the Left and the Right of the Finnish-speaking majority. Tigerstedt was paralyzed with shock at first, even though he had had doubts earlier about the sincerity of the language stand of the Lapua Movement. He later referred to it as my »Varangian failure« »varjäger-debacle«.27
The author continued to work in the spirit of the original Lapua movement. To him both language groups were forever united under the concept of a metaphysical and manifest destiny. If the majority did not realize this soon then it would all be too late, since the war would surely come. To Örnulf Tigerstedt there was no conflict between patriotism and »Swedish-mindedness«. The two concepts were united in the same destiny. In this connection we must regard his conception of the new democratic political system as a threat against minority groups as very important to extreme right-wing Swedish-speakers. This was an important factor when men with the same social and economic background as Örnulf Tigerstedt formed their outlook on the world. To some of them »democracy« was a form of dictatorship exercised by the immature and vulgar common people.

As far as the question of language was concerned, Tigerstedt refrained from counter-attacking groups like the AKS and the IKL and worked for reconciliation between the two language groups. He was nevertheless firm in his stand for the right to use his Swedish language. Only by demanding their rights could the Swedes fulfill the destiny of the nation. The foothold of the Swedish-speakers was their language, and this was their ultimate cultural bulwark there could be no compromising on this point. Here obviously phrased with Snellman’s slogan in mind: »Rikssvenskar äro vi inte, förrädare mot vår själ kunna vi aldrig bliva. Så låtom oss då som frimodige män älska vår blåvita duk på svenska«. (We are not Swedes from Sweden, traitors to our soul we can never become. So, let us then as outspoken men love our blue-white flag in Swedish.). However, »When all is said and done, we are Finns, just as much as anybody else in this country and it would be very strange if we could not be just that in the only way possible without a deep contradiction, that is, in Swedish!».  

_Ubi patria ibi bene_

Tigerstedt’s nationalism is tied to the soil and the motherland where the generations are links in a chain. The individual is a simultaneous manifestation of the past, the present and the future. The state is organic and a cathedral where men are united in their belief in manifest destiny. It was the connection with the earth that united the nation, the earth of generations - the motherland - the place where it was good to be - _ubi patria ibi bene_. The opposite, _ubi bene, ibi patria_, was the ultimate result of rootless materialism - the very core of liberalism.

Regardless of Tigerstedt’s strong nationalism the author was simultaneously a European. To him the World War had been a civil war, a war of brother against brother. The Great Europe and its culture lay devastated and the division had been increased through the growing number of new small states. The only hope for lasting peace in this labyrinth of small nations and ardent nationalism was the advent of a new
Rome, a supranational unity. »But where? Where is it to be found? We ask in vain,« he wrote in 1925.33

He viewed nationalism with both positive and negative sentiments. Extreme nationalism and jingoism were criticized by the author at a rather early stage of the Inter-War Era: »[...] Bolshevism is cosmopolitan, nationalism is local and becomes stronger the more aggressive it appears outward. Plans of conquest, expansion, imperialism seem indissolubly tied to its banners. And then the division is there and the angel of mercy can suddenly turn into an destroying angel.« (Lunkentus’ irrfärder., p. 1053).

This passage provides us with a good example of Tigerstedt’s, from time to time, surprisingly unbiased and dialectic approach. The roots of this basically international outlook (I do not use the word cosmopolitan here since it had a negative connotation of ubi bene ibi patria to Tigerstedt) were also to be found in the manorial culture from which the Varangian spirit had sprung.

Finland’s position as a very small neighbor to a world power with a fundamentally different political and economical system made the need for allies in the long run apparent to Tigerstedt. The extreme right-wingers' campaign for a strong authoritarian regime in the form of a monarchy had proved abortive and with it the outcome of the war and the hope of Germany as a potential ally. The growing domestic language feud in the last years of the 20s did not make the prospects any brighter. This feud had been temporarily stopped by the advent of the Lapua Movement. Then came Mäntsälä, and what Finland-Swedish neo-activists like Tigerstedt saw as the nightmarsh policy of the IKL.

Nor were the signals from the predominantly liberal and Social Democratic Sweden auspicious. This led to strong criticism of Sweden’s official policy among some men in this group, e.g., Bertel Gripenberg, Jarl Gallén and Per Norrmén. Extreme right-wing Swedish politicians and authors such as Verner von Heidenstam, Sven Hedin, Fredrik Böök, Rudolf Kjellén and Elmo Lindholm were, however, popular.

Örnulf Tigerstedt, established early contacts with Swedish fascist and semi-fascist groups in the early 30s. These contacts probably strengthened his belief in the extreme Swedish right-wing as well as his link to his own Swedish heritage. Prior to 1933 we find very few examples of concern for and interest in Sweden in Tigerstedt’s writings. A very illustrative example of Tigerstedt’s view of Sweden before 1933 is to be found in a letter to Bertel Gripenberg: »Swedes and we - there is no possibility that we are the same people. Not even Heidenstam.« (30 Sept. 1931, BG’s Coll., ÅAL). In all likelihood, it was the isolation of the Finland-Swedish extreme right-wing, the attacks on the Swedish language and the growing international tension, combined with a new belief in the Swedish extreme right-wing, which triggered off this new approach. Despite a profound admiration for the New Germany, Tigerstedt’s fundamental hopes were tied to Sweden.
Nevertheless, in his opinion a future united Sweden-Finland would have to rely on German support.

Later, living in Stockholm and witnessing at first hand the massive Swedish support and sympathy during the Winter War (which included all parties except the Communists) he was probably further strengthened in his new dream, the solution he had began to envision in the mid 30s, the Dream of the Old Realm.

**Traces of Racism**

Patriotism and Swedishness were consequently the same thing to the author:

No! An active, patriotic Finland-Swedish nationalism comprises the cornerstone which will not crumble. Parties vanish and laws change. But a deep feeling of identity with one's nation and its past will last through the ages and is prepared for the sacrifice which yet soon must come.\(^{34}\)

We have witnessed how the legacy is based on the soil and on the chain of generations where the individual was a single link. The state is the ultimate manifestation of the whole person, a terrestrial divinity. The nation, or the people, are embraced and limited by their manifest destiny. The mysterious term »race« is on the whole irrelevant, since the author seems very much aware of the fact that pure races do not exist in the first place (SKOTTÖ, pp. 107-108). Instead, language and cultural traditions make up the common bonds of a nation's unity. This view is close to Mussolini's concept where the people is not defined as a race but an entity historically preserving itself. They are a multitude united by a great idea or a destiny which it is their duty to fulfill. This was also explicit in Spengler, who still used the word race. Race, though, to Spengler was a product of tradition and environment and not biology - a Lebenssymbol. Race is defiance, audacity and Faustian outward expansion. There does not seem to be much doubt that Spengler had found this in the Germanic peoples. However, »Germanic« to Spengler meant that an individual was an integrated part of a culture and nation. Whether he was of Jewish or Saxon descent did not matter.\(^{35}\) It may be claimed that Tigerstedt shared this concept. Indeed when Spengler and Tigerstedt attribute positive virtues to Germanic peoples, this is not a prejudice based on blood or pure biology.

In 1925 Tigerstedt published »Resebrev« (Travel Letters) in the magazine *Allas Krönika*. The trip went through the new East European states which had emerged from the wreckage of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. To Tigerstedt the new and aggressive local nationalism was a source of constant unrest.\(^{36}\) Civilization or culture is evident in the parts influenced by Germanic peoples like Germans or Swedes, while the Slavic traits stand for nature-chaos: »Mina tankar gingo till Memel-området. Förfall, förumpning, asiatisering!« (My thoughts went to the area of Memel. Decay, stagnation, «asianization»)\(^{37}\). The view presented here by the
author may at first glance appear to be related to a biological racialism. However, the image of a nation, here and elsewhere in Tigerstedt's writings, was based on a certain cultural environment. We have witnessed earlier how Tigerstedt paid his tribute to Marcus Aurelius and approved of his warfare against the Marcomanni, a Germanic tribe (see chapter II:3). Such a viewpoint would be impossible in thought based on the belief in a Germanic racial superiority.

In racist ideology, a race is defined socially, but on the basis of innate and immutable physical characteristics. In ethnocentrism the negative traits of the outgroup are thought to be determined in terms of sharing a common language, a common set of religious beliefs, or a mutual culture. Tigerstedt's views could thus be described as ethnocentric, since they were based on cultural distinctions.

Consequently Tigerstedt, along with Spengler, declined the kind of biological racism which was a central feature of National-Socialism. His view of the State was also in clear opposition to the Nazi view of the State, which was instrumental. To National-Socialists the State was primarily a means of maintaining and promoting political power and the sacred racial nation. To them the term Volk meant a racial unity, not only a shared history, destiny and consciousness. The superior race and the chosen people were the Aryans and they alone formed the racial community of Das Reich. Tigerstedt seldom brought up the question of race, since it was not important to him. The word »race« is hard to find in his texts. It is also noticeable that when we find traces of racism, for instance, in the pronounced opposition between Slavic and Germanic in »Lunkentus' irrfärder« (The Roving Expeditions of Lunkentus), he used a language influenced by Spengler (»germanska frihetsbegäret«, »om det som är verkligt« »försumpning«, »germansk kraft«).

However, when at the individual level there is another pattern. Being a member of an élite, both as a nobleman and as a leading representative of the contemporary culture, his views on the importance of biological inheritance was evident. His pride over his birth was unmistakable and in an article in Nya Argus in 1932 he wrote: »[...] »the freedom of prejudice« has clung to the anemic concept of nobility by spirit and has always instinctively feared the significant reality behind the term nobility by blood.« This aristocratic belief in the existence of an élite by blood also led to his defence and romanticization of the slavery in America's Southern States. In an article on Robert E. Lee in 1939 he considered the buying and selling of slaves a rudimentary right, »a natural thing«. He also saw parallels between the gentry of the antebellum South and his own manorial culture. Another example of his outlook as regards common people and nobility, which we today no doubt would label a racist attitude, can be seen in Huset Hackman I. Here he questioned the independence of Latin America
in words colored by the common imperialistic assumption of colored men being inferior to white:

And who can finally say what humanity really gained from the fact that more than half a continent got into the hands of a mixed company of mulattoes, half-breed Indians and other riffraff, instead of being justly disciplined in good order by an admittedly heavy-handed Castilian upper class proud of its birth. (Huset Hackman I, p. 345)

What mattered here to Tigerstedt was not really whether people were colored or not (this is clear from the example of Josephine Baker and his surprisingly open-minded opinion of Moroccans, VIRS, pp. 199ff.), but whether they belonged to the cultured and refined classes or not. This view was based on his assumption that the aristocracy embodied a higher humanity and tradition - a superior human quality, a personal legitimacy corresponding to the dream of a hierarchical society which he had in common with Spengler. Blood was obviously of importance to Tigerstedt, but he rejected blood as constitutive to a nation's unity, and saw the élite as formed by tradition and environment. E. R. Gummerus, who explicitly shared Tigerstedt basic concept of form characterized this belief in the Superman when he described his protagonist, Boris, a descendant of the Varangians:

[...] Boris var övertygad om att det romantiska, behovet att nå bortom det vanliga i tanke, känsla och liv, var en instinkt hos några få utvalda och allt mera sällsynta människor.41

(Boris was convinced that the romantic disposition, the need to reach beyond the ordinary in thought, emotions and life constituted a faculty of a few chosen and increasingly rare human beings.)

As we have seen, Tigerstedt's far-reaching disgust for the masses sprang from the belief that culture was radically insecure and that a constant effort of molding and conservation was required to prevent it from lapsing into barbarism and inertia. This view was probably enhanced by the traumatic experience of 1918 and, as we have seen, from his readings of Le Bon and Stoddard. This was essentially a feudal stance, as well as his emphasis on honor and posthumous reputation. A similar concept may also be found in philosophers like Nietzsche and Ortega y Gasset. Nietzsche's ideas, although subject to any number of interpretations, proved useful to right-wing extremists. Nietzsche had adopted a Pan-European vision of escape from the dreaded apocalypse of culture. The manifestations of the populace in a political democracy meant the tyranny of the masses. Ortega y Gasset's La rebelión de las masas had been translated into Swedish in 1934.42 The Spaniard's imperative view of man's mission, culture's radical insecurity, belief in leadership of aristocracy, view of the masses and passion for supranational notions of European unity apply with particular force to Tigerstedt. However, Ortega y Gasset's strong belief in a liberal foundation to his ethics and metaphysics collides with Tigerstedt's beliefs. Still, it is
highly plausible that Ortega y Gasset's writings confirmed the Finland-Swedish poet's political outlook in the mid-30s. But Tigerstedt's exclusive ideas and anthropology were fully developed by that time, owing more to thinkers such as Spengler, Norström, Kjellén, Carlyle, Le Bon and Stoddard.

Returning, then, to the traces of manifest racism, Tigerstedt's belief in the hereditary principle could manifest itself in the use of terms like »Under-Man« (most probably derived from Stoddard) and later the German »Untermensch«. However, these terms referred, when used, to single individuals and not races.

Some passages from the last years of the War displayed a view of the enemy - the Russians or the Slavs - which appears to differ from the earlier pattern. Could the example below then be considered as proof of a radicalization of the author's concept of races?

[...] den langen Kampf der einzelnen finnischen Individuen gegen slawisches Kollektivdenken und slawische Kollektivlösungen entstanden sein kann. Der Russe (auf finnisch Ryssä) hat für den Finn immer, und besonders während der Bolschewistenzeit, die graue, sich heranwälzende gestaltlose Masse, das Verderbende und Verheerende vorgestellt. (»Über Finnland«, in EL, 6/1942)43

Here, and in the examples in the footnote, certain traits such as collectivist thinking and submissiveness are attributed to the Slavic peoples. However, the examples are to be found in propaganda material and I have found no example of this in his last Finnish wartime book - Hemliga stämpplingar. The question of race still seemed irrelevant to Tigerstedt.

Admittedly, he officially criticized anti-Semitism and reacted against the Nazi attack on the Church at an early stage. (Nya Argus 11/1936). However, this repudiation was not absolutely convincing: »Jag tror att rasprincipen såsom den genomföres i Tyskland med arierparagrafer etc. inte är en lycklig ingrediens.« (I believe that the racial principle, as it is implemented in Germany, with Aryan articles etc. is not a fortunate formula.)

As we can see from my underlining, this statement did not exclude the possibility of implementing the principle as such. This calls for some extra attention to this problem. So let us not leave it at that. First, let us rephrase the problem and ask the question: do we find incontestable evidence of anti-Semitism in Tigerstedt's works?

Since Tigerstedt seldom used the word Jew or Semite, let us examine all the manifestations we find more closely. It might prove fruitful to apply a hermeneutics of suspicion in the spirit of Paul Ricoeur here, with the purpose of recovering a hidden inner meaning in this context.

In »Lunkentus' irrfärder« (1925) we find the following lines:

- Jag erinrade mig staden Kovno, litauernas morska huvudstad. Träkkårarnas mångfald, smuts, judar, spårvagnar dragna av utmärglade hästkrakar, [...] (p. 993)
- Det är kanske icke det »verkliga« Polen. [...] Det är icke de undgörande madonornas, de stolta panernas, de pittoreska kräkvinlarnas, den eviga smutsens, de köpslående judarnas, Kosiuskos och Poniatovskis Polen, [...] (p. 1052)
The word Jew is here in both cases part of an enumeration of predominately negative elements. Moreover the word »smuts« (dirt) is in both texts alarmingly close to our key-word and a suspicion of a metaphorical inner connection arises. On the other hand, a Jewish cemetery in Prague (p. 1150) is sympathetically described as »filled with poetry and strange Romanticism« in the same text. Can we find any more traces of the alarming connection suggested above in the texts? There is, in fact, only one example of the word »Jew« in Tigerstedt’s poetry. We find it in the poem »Korsfarare« (Crusaders):

Till judar förgantade jag mitt gods,
till ockrares försäde jag mitt fädereserv.
(To Jews my property was pawned/ To usurers my patrimony was disposed of. De heliga vägarna)

The parallelism, the synonimical and anaphorical structure of this poem and the choice of words clearly suggest a negative connotation. Jews are here linked to money, interest and crass materialism and this is later compared with knighthood and idealism in the poem. The same view can be found in some cases in his private correspondence.44

In the author's wartime books Stattpolisen slår till and Huset Hackman I some of the negatively depicted characters are Jews and the author obviously saw it appropriate to tell us so. On three occasions out of nine, negative adjectives were attached to the word Jew: »den listige juden« (HACKMI, p. 217), »den misstänkte juden« (ibid., p. 217) and »mystiska judar« (STAPO, p. 233), (the smart Jew, the suspected Jew, mysterious Jews). Nevertheless, one of the Jewish characters, Salomon in Huset Hackman I, was portrayed not altogether without sympathy.45

An anti-Semitic attitude or prejudice can thus sometimes be detected. Jews are then linked to materialism, a rootless existence and cosmopolitanism, but never defined by their descent. We must also in this context take into consideration the contemporary historical horizon. An attitude which we today regard as racist or anti-Semitic was not always considered so prior to the Second World War.

Can we then find other, and possibly more distinct, rejections of anti-Semitism than that in the article in Nya Argus? The answer is no, so let us finally take another look at his literary remains.

In the memo to the Interrogation Record he stated, on the subject of National-Socialism:

In this connection I want to state that I have never embraced its radical racial theories, nor, either in word or in deed, supported the Nazi persecution of Jews, Poles etc. [...] [...] their talk of »Herrenvolk« and their way of acting in occupied
countries have always aroused not only feelings of discomfort but also premonition
and deep anxiety for the future development of this war, which Finland and
Germany fought hand in hand. All true friends of Germany in Finland felt the same.

There are in fact a number of letters showing Tigerstedt's negative
reaction toward anti-Semitism as an ingredient of Nazism, which he
regarded with disdain along with the general »Plebeian or Jacobinical«
character of Nazism. The author had also joined the masonic fraternity in
1931, although he must have known the Nazi view of freemasons because of
his early interest in authoritarian movements. On the whole, there is no
discrepancy between the private texts and the public ones as far as racial
issues are concerned. We cannot claim that his texts serve an anti-Semitic
purpose. In function the propaganda articles in German from the
Continuation War differ from the author's private outlook with their
pronounced ethnocentric message.

There are thus no unequivocal traces of anti-Semitism in Örnulf Tiger-
stedt's works. There are no clear signs of a biologically grounded view. (Cf.
Waltari's use of the word »judefsionomi« [Jewish physiognomy] or
Lindquist and Gadolin in chapter II:3). Nor did Tigerstedt share the idea of
»alien Jewish elements« undermining the political stability of a country, a
view which can be found in Swedish writers like Fredrik Böök, Sven Hedin
and Verner von Heidenstam, who otherwise cannot be described as
convinced anti-Semites.

We might even consider this absence of a profound anti-Semitism as
surprising in view of the author's preference for writers such as Stoddard
and Friedell. This is also striking in view of his many German ties.
Tigerstedt very rarely uses the word »Jew« and when he does so not
necessarily in a pejorative sense. None of his propaganda articles (of which
some were published only in Germany) contain the word »Jew«. Nor can the
word »Aryan« be found in his writings (cf. also the earlier discussion of
Katyn). Nor can I detect any change over the years in this respect. Perhaps
the negative allusions from 1925 could be interpreted in the light of the
author's readings of Lothrop Stoddard at that time.

One key to understand the author's surprisingly unbiased view of the
Jewish issue, taking his readings into consideration, is the heritage from his
mother Mary. Her open-minded family background, the family tradition,
supported by the entries in her English diary, give us a picture of a very
humanitarian Christian.

Moreover, Tigerstedt's royal favorite Gustav III allowed Jewish
immigration into Sweden and the Swedish author who perhaps most
ardently shared Tigerstedt's admiration of the Gustavian era - Oscar
Levertin - was Jewish. We have earlier touched upon the somewhat kindred
spirit of the two writers. Some of Tigerstedt's essays also show that he had
most likely been influenced by Oscar Levertin.
In this chapter I have used considerable space to examine the traces of racism in Tigerstedt's writings. We have so far found a manifest elitist view of aristocracy, both in terms of blood and an intellectual cultural élite on the one hand and the masses on the other. This could, by comparison with some other cultures, be described as a racist attitude. However, a more proper term would be an ethno-centric attitude.49

By now, another question may be anticipated. Tigerstedt did imply that certain peoples had certain virtues and vices. This must be considered a form of prejudice. Ergo, is not this whole formulation of the problem unfruitful and irrelevant?

In the first place, it is important in my hermeneutic quest to place Tigerstedt, the meaning of his texts and their values, in a historical horizon, both in the individual sense and in the over-individual context which Dilthey and later Gadamer outlined. I believe that such a context, which transcends the individual message has been found in the Varangian theory. There are thus no signs that a decisive anti-Semitism and racism flourished in this secluded social environment. On the contrary, the atmosphere seems to have been very cosmopolitan with undercurrents of a strong urge of expansion. Tigerstedt's absence of any real anti-Semitism and his disinterested attitude to races thus make sense and fits into the established pattern.

Secondly, there is a clear distinction between Tigerstedt's view of the nation, races and blood and one of the basic ideas of National-Socialism, both as regards the view of the people and of the state. This is very important, not in the sense of an acquittal of a fascist attitude - racism was not an original ingredient of Italian fascism anyhow - but in what it suggests. The poet's rejection of primitivism, a secularist irrational existence, his dream of reorganized monarchy, his disapproval of mass party organizations, his affirmation of the existing social hierarchy, his unwillingness to advocate an aggressive form of military expansion, and his support of the traditional élite and conservative continuity all concur, with Payne's definition of Right authoritarianism, in particular the radical Right.50

The German Concept of «Neueuropa»

The idea of a White International as a counterpart of the Red International had been strongly advocated by Brassilach in the late 30s. The controversial French writer envisioned homo fascista - the New Fascist Man - renouncing the contemporary world and its purely materialistic life. After the occupation French collaborators were extolling Nietzsche as an apostle of European unification. Nietzsche had adopted a Pan-European vision of escape from the death of an endangered European culture and the French fascists hoped that Europe would be organized under joint Franco-German patronage.51 But Hitler understood the New Order in a slightly different way, as a National-Socialist Europe and not a fascist Europe.
Tigerstedt probably encountered the German propaganda concept of »Neuordnung« on his visit to Belgium and the English Channel region in the summer of 1940. The Axis’s swift conquests had made Germany the leading power on the European continent.

However, as we have seen earlier, Tigerstedt had conjured up an image of a united Europe after the First World War. The new political signs from Nazi Germany in the summer of 1940 were aimed at supporting and preparing for the coming thrust eastward. Germany's interest in Finland and Sweden grew while the military command prepared for Operation Barbarossa. As a result of Tigerstedt's trip to Germany and German-occupied territory, several articles were published. In one of these articles in *Helsingin Sanomat* Tigerstedt rejected in principle the idea of small neutral states. They would have to choose sides in this great tug of war. The German occupation of Belgium was accepted and he even claimed that many Belgians wanted even more German meddling in their domestic affairs! In the second article Tigerstedt drew up the outline of a new Europe - a Germanic Empire - whose central feature was an economically based united Pan-Europe (»Taloudellinen Pan-Eurooppa«). The new era would mean the elimination of customs tariffs. It would rescue European culture and the peoples of Europe. Solidarity was the key word of the new era, while the old »liberal period« had been a period of individual anarchy. The status quo had been overthrown and 1940 would probably be a decisive year in world history.

In the following years, and particularly after the outbreak of the Continuation War, where Finland and Germany once more became brothers-in-arms, the author published a number of articles in the Finnish, German and Swedish press. This was part of his military assignment at the press center of the State Department, which also led to the two books on Soviet espionage, *Statpolisen slår till* and *Hemliga stämplningar*. These articles were propaganda pieces written for the purpose of smearing the enemy and influencing domestic and foreign opinion. The War was viewed as an all-European stand for culture against the powers of destruction and chaos in »Bolshevik Russia«. Finland’s war was thus part of a united European effort: »On June 22nd 1941 Europe departed. The march eastward started« (STAPO, p. 329), »the Continent’s war of liberation against the dissolving and annihilating powers within and outside [...]« (»Europa-över nationerna«, in *Signal* 3/1943). It was also a desperate war since: »eine deutsche Niederlage mit ihren Folgen, nämlich einem zentraleuropäischen Vakuum, mit Sicherheit zu einem ewigen Untergang meiner Nation führen würde« (»Nationalstaat und Reichsgedanke«, in *Das Reich*, 46/1942)

Tigerstedt also stressed the fact that Finland’s cooperation with Germany did not mean that the »Nordic Cause« was dead (»Finnland der Vorposten«, in *Deutsche Arbeit*, Feb. 1944). The only way Europe and its culture could survive in the future against »the Bolshevik attacks« was through the
foundation of a United States of Europe. The signal came from \textit{Grossdeutschland}, and just as Prussia had united Germany, so Germany would now unite Europe. The idea that would finally unite Europe was anti-Communism. History had shown that the dream of a united Europe had always been there. Fierce nationalism had led to a process of war, anarchy and particularization. The synthesis between nationalism and the thought of a superior state would be a united Europe.

Here, we may surmise, his all-embracing vision du monde permeates his view of Europe and is applied to the political situation. We find the holistic search for an entity or a supreme idea as well as the old antagonistic cornerstones in the heart of this reasoning:

\begin{align*}
\text{FORM (Germany-Europe)} & \quad \text{VOID OF FORM (Soviet-Asia)} \\
\text{CULTURE (Profoundness)} & \quad \text{NATURE (Intellectualism)} \\
\text{AUTHORITY (Obedience-the State)} & \quad \text{FREEDOM (Anarchy, Democracy)} \\
\text{SOLIDARITY (Corporatism)} & \quad \text{SELF-INTEREST (Unchecked Individualism)} \\
\text{DESTINY (Historical Awareness)} & \quad \text{ROOTLESS MATERIALISM (No Historical Awareness)}
\end{align*}

The aim of the articles was evidently to create propaganda. This is clear if we compare those published in Germany with those which appeared in Sweden. In the German articles the word »Germanic« was a key word and the New Europe the author imagined was based on »grossegermanische Solidarität«. The word »Germanic« was lacking in the articles published in Sweden, as well as the praise for Adolf Hitler that was to be found in his columns printed in Germany.\footnote{54}

A study of the German propaganda periodicals published in Sweden between 1941 to 1945 demonstrates the indoctrination used to depict the Second World War as a struggle between two fundamental ideologies. Apart from Örnulf Tigerstedt's basic outlook, his close German contacts and journeys during the War made him very susceptible to this propaganda. This German influence can be seen in the use of more German terms and expressions in his wartime production. In the growing bitterness of the War and the growing anti-German stand among intellectuals in Sweden the destinies of Finland and Germany appeared eternally interlocked to the author, which probably led to an increasingly uncritical attitude to Germany:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
(European restitution, European unity and solidarity are not, as many believe, a product of propaganda or a fraud of today. Things go deeper than that. They constitute a decisive, overall basic sentiment in German thinking today.)

It is important to note, however, that Tigerstedt still tried to maintain an independent and Nordic view vis-à-vis Germany. This is recognized by the modern German historian H. W. Neulen who, in his book Europa und das 3. Reich (1987), deals with the concept of NeuEuropa. Neulen interprets Tigerstedt's article »Nationalstaat und Europagedanke« (which appeared in Das Reich and Junges Europa in 1943) as »Einer der letzten finnischen Versuche, die Nationalsozialisten von einem vernünftigen Europakonzept zu überzeugen«.55

Perhaps the acceptance of a united Europe under German hegemony was easier for a man with Tigerstedt's background. His Varangian spirit, handed down from father to son for centuries, had contained an international quality and the language struggles of the 30s seemed to threaten the position of the Swedish-speakers. The New Germany was thus mistaken for the defender of culture, and the mirage he glimpsed was a future Pan-Europe built on Gothic ideals where materialism had been replaced by idealism, a divine state with a »convergence puissante de toutes les passions, de toutes les idées dans tous les plans dans une même direction« as Drieu la Rochelle had expressed his similar stand.56

The Fascist Paradigm: Italy, Spain, Germany and Sweden

Now if you know anything whatsoever of modern Europe and Asia, you know that HITLER stands for putting men over machines. If you don't know that, you know NOTHING. And beyond that you either know or do not know that Stalin's regime considers humanity as NOTHING save raw material. Deliver so many carloads of human MATERIAL at the consumption point. That is the logical result of materialism. If you assert that men are dirt, that humanity is merely material, that is where you come out. And the old Georgian train robber is perfectly logical. If all things are merely MATERIAL, man is material, and the system of ANTI-man treats man as matter.

EZRA POUND, 1942

Vi ha väl också våra femtekolonnare, vänner till England och Sovjet, men alla de hederliga elementen i landet äro varma vänner till vår tappra bundsförrant i kampen mot den största fara som någonsin hotat vårt land och vårt folk. Slå min vän och du slår mig! Varje smådelse mot Tyskland är en örfil åt Finland. [- - - ] Det blinda hatet mot dem, som rädda Europa från bolsjevismen, synes oss vara ett förråderi mot Europa.
(We also have our fifth columnists, friends of England and the USSR, but all the honest elements in our country are warm friends of our brave ally in the struggle against the greatest danger that has ever threatened our land and our people. Strike my friend and you strike me! Every libel against Germany is a cuff dealt out to Finland. [- - - ] The blind hate against those who are saving Europe from Bolshevism is in our view a treason against Europe.)

BERTEL GRIPENBERG, 1942.
Italy and Mussolini

As I have already suggested, Tigerstedt's early interest in Antiquity was very much centered on the world of the Romans. Here he found the form and authority which he had searched for in the letters of his adolescence. The Romans had created their empire by force and power, but also given the world a long period of peace and stability - *pax romana*. The claim to this inheritance was one of the features of Italian fascism, as was the worship of Machiavelli. Brute power had held an early charm over Tigerstedt, as we can see from the characters of his early collections of short stories, criticism and essays. The author's interest in Italian *Quattrocento* and the world of the Romans can be seen from the mere setting in his first short stories.

In 1924 he had hailed »the cold, vigorous and masculine style of steel – the only expression of the mighty and thoroughgoing movements of our time«\(^{57}\) in words that bring futurists like Gabriele d'Annunzio to mind. Several books on Italian fascism carrying Tigerstedt's signature and containing frequent underlining are to be found in his library and indicate the focus of his interest and studies around this time.\(^{58}\)

The poet's first close encounter with Italy and Italian fascism came in 1925 when he reached Rome on his trip through eastern Europe. In the articles mentioned earlier there was a dual conception of nationalism, and the author asked in vain for a leading uniting power – a new Rome. Tigerstedt viewed the young nationalism from an imperial and patronizing perspective. It was a brilliant weapon against the disintegrating powers of Bolshevism and yet it was a product of the middle class both in a spiritual and material sense. This new movement was in heart and soul dwarfish. Mussolini was regarded as a »superior soul« but stood as such very isolated in his movement.\(^{59}\) Three years later in connection with the publication of *Vid gränsen*, he claimed in the preface that »Caesar«, his *deus ex machina*, had certain traits in common with Mussolini, among others. In his enthusiastic articles from the German elections in 1932 he stated that Hitler »in no way could be compared with Mussolini as regards monumental posture and imposing authority«. To a man with such a romantic disposition as Tigerstedt the March on Rome, the charismatic figure of Mussolini and the advent of Italian fascism were magnetic. Örnulf was »fired with enthusiasm« for the movement in the mid-20s according to Rolf Palmén.\(^{60}\) Still, on the whole Tigerstedt's references to Italy and Mussolini were very few, although much of his basic outlook as early as 1925 had much in common with Italian fascism. In an article in 1933, entitled »Framtidens krav« (The Demands of the Future) the corporative system based on private enterprise in Italy was praised. This analysis is, however, shallow and never occurs again in Tigerstedt's writings.

As we have seen, Tigerstedt later often visualized a corporate organic society coordinated by a superior and authoritarian total state under one
leader. His deification of a totalitarian state (and not a nation) essentially agreed with Mussolini's ideas, and if we put forward the fascist slogan «Credere, obbedire, combattere» (To believe, to obey, to fight) it conforms very well with the author's creed. The predilection for hierarchy, corporativism, Catholicism and the holistic outlook of the AS were also associated with Italian fascism.

According to fascism, the true nature of the state demands discipline and sacrifice. There are no human rights, only obligations are recognized. The average individual is too weak and uncertain to make decisions. A ruling élite, based on a hierarchical organisation of society, carries the «true good» of the people and preserves the historical tradition. The only revolutionary trait is methodological. Violence is thus used for the benefit of the state. In Skott i øverkant Italian fascism and German Nazism were generally looked upon as the only vigorous opponents to liberalism, parliamentary principles and democracy. However, there was no tendency to critically compare these movements in any way. The Abyssinian War made Tigerstedt react negatively at a private level. The letter to Jarl Hemmer, quoted previously, continued:

No matter how you approach the problem, it all adds up to a disgusting circle of hypocrisy, Great Power envy, party politics and lies. And the Ethiopian King («Negus») is the sacrificial lamb in the game of the mighty. Annita, being a tender woman, is supporting Abyssinia and the Negus. She is doing the right thing, and I believe I would have cared less for her if she had rooted for my friend Mussolini («Muss»). I, poor thing, root for the Italians. Not because I like their ways, but because they are White and their fascism padlocks the Red devilishness (15 Oct. 1935, In Jarl Hemmer's Coll., ÅAL).

His public attitude was slightly different when Hans Ruin attacked modern nationalism and the Italian atrocities in Abyssinia in April 1936 in Nya Argus. Tigerstedt recognized that the Italians had used gas in Africa and did not defend this type of warfare, but on the other hand, he argued that war was not a game. He partly agreed with Ruin as regards Italy and the tendency to create new borders and generate foreign conflicts which Ruin found connected with its ardent nationalism. On the other hand, Tigerstedt maintained that modern nationalism united the «social and national principle» in harmony. In Italy this had led to the destruction of the boundaries between the provinces, the centrifugal forces had been neutralized, the classes had been united, the low spirit of Caporetto had been eliminated and the Italians had become «an indivisible and organically forged people». This was more important than anything else to the author.

Still, there were, all in all, surprisingly few direct references to Italy and Italian fascism in Tigerstedt's works and private correspondence. The reason for this may simply have to do with his view of the Catholic Church. South Europeans were still basically alien to him in tradition, way of thinking and acting. His own disposition was Nordic and this was
something he found important. The Germans, on the other hand, were instead closely related in tradition, language, history and way of life to the Nordic peoples. The strong emphasis on culture in Tigerstedt’s thinking had few parallels in Il Duce’s pragmatic outlook on intellectuals and cultural institutions.

Spain, Primorriverismo, the Falange and Franco

After Italy a nationalist dictatorship was established in Spain with the rise of General Primo de Rivera in 1923. Although a strong admirer of the Mussolini regime, the Spanish general represented the old order. His politics was based on patriotism. Parliamentarism, democracy and politicians were regarded with disdain, while authoritarian control, the Catholic Church and national unity were the guiding stars. The black regime lasted from 1923 to 1930.62 »Primorriverismo» meant a provincial conservative authoritarianism - an expression of simplicity and old-fashioned hierarchy - which, except for the religious overtones, was especially well in keeping with Bertel Gripenberg’s attitude and disposition. The sleeping Hidalgo in his poem from 1904 had awakened and in 1928 Gripenberg paid tribute to the revived Spanish aristocracy in »Don Juan Ponce de Leon» (Efter striden) and in »Don Quixote» (Den stora tiden). The later tragic Spanish Civil War was viewed as a historic analogy to the Finnish events of 1918 by the ageing poet. His contemporary articles and correspondence were proof of his ardent commitment to the Falangist cause. »The old man on the Hill» (»Den gamle på Åsen»), as he often called himself, followed the Spanish conflict closely on the radio from his home on the Hill (Harju) and often commented on the foreign broadcasts in his letters to Örnulf Tigerstedt.

In 1933 José Antonio, the son of the former Spanish dictator, proclaimed his doctrine. His Falange Española and later Franco’s conservative military dictatorship greatly appealed to the AS circle, as has previously been noted. Its strong religious background did not constitute a problem, since the appeal of Catholicism was strong among the adherents of the Black Guard.

There is no doubt that Tigerstedt nursed a similar fascination (Palmén) and yet, although much in Tigerstedt’s private correspondence and other private sources bears witness to Tigerstedt’s interest and support for the Nationalist cause in Spain. The Spanish motif is almost lacking in his literary production. It seems that his greatest expectations and interest were attached to the older Primo de Rivera and his authoritarian rule in the 20s.63 A passage in Vi resa söderut (1930) shows that Tigerstedt clearly understood the social turbulence of Spanish society and what it would lead to:

Men om, såsom många vänta sig, den oerhördna skillnaden mellan rik och fattig en dag i Spanien skall framföda det socia kriget, då kommer detta krig icke att i grumbel förbjudas av de årorika traditionerna från Albas och Torquemadas dagar. Främlingen som färjas per landstväg har, trots allt, en nära nog fysisk förnimmelse
av att revolutionens damoklessvård oavbrutet hänger över den spanska nationens huvud. (Vi resa söderut, pp. 179–180)

(But if, as expected by a lot of people, the enormous difference between rich and poor in Spain one day gives birth to the social war, then this war will not, in cruelty, be overshadowed by the glorious traditions from Alba’s and Torquemada’s days. A stranger travelling the highways has, in spite of everything, an almost physical sensation of the revolutionary Sword of Damocles continuously hanging over the head of the Spanish nation.)

The focus on an ordained national mission, the hierarchical cultural values, the ardent anti-Communism and anti-liberalism of what has been called »a clerical-military half-fascism« or a conservative military dictatorship and the formation of an authoritarian and strongly centralized Spanish state was a guiding star to the authoritarian Finland-Swedish circle. On the other hand, the traditional anti-Semitism in Spain did not appeal to most in this political coterie. To Tigerstedt the Italian and Spanish models were examples of an overall European change of systems. But for him with his Nordic temperament and strong belief in the Blut und Boden of his own Varangian tradition, Spain retreated in the far distance. There were other political beacons to be followed in his own Nordic environment.

**Germany and Hitler**

To be sure, Germany's role in the events of 1918 in Finland and the Peace Treaty of Versailles made a great impact on the young Finnish nobleman. Nothing points to a strong German influence during his adolescence years at Mustila. On the contrary, both his father and mother had lived in England for periods and his father's loyalty to the Russian Czars appears to have been strong. The traumatic abortive revolution in Finland, the Bolshevik takeover in Russia and the defeat of Germany altered the situation completely. It appears as if the fascists of Italy and the Free Corps and extreme right-wingers in Germany, whom Örnulf Tigerstedt most probably came in contact with during his stay at Lichtersfelde in the early Twenties, were viewed by his father, Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt, as the future safeguard against Communism. Studies of Oswald Spengler and Egon Friedell contributed to the author's adoption of the German definition of culture as Kultur opposed to the shallow, materialistic and intellectual Zivilization.

The divisive tendencies of the fervent new nationalism in Europe collided, however, with Örnulf Tigerstedt’s early hope of a new Empire which would curb Communism and unite Europe. For a period during and after the German elections of 1932 the author was fascinated by and supported National-Socialism. Hitler then appeared to be a presumptive Caesar pretender. His articles in Hufousatsbladet, with their aesthetic appreciation of Nazi potency, demonstrate this beyond all doubt. However, this soon gave way to a more critical attitude under the influence of reports about the
actual situation in Germany. By late 1933 Tigerstedt was developing serious reservations. The Nazis' policy toward the Church, their primitivism and their anti-Semitism were rejected by the poet. Kalsta, Mussolini and Hitler, but especially the latter, were referred to in letters as «plebeian» and «uncomplicated souls from the working class». They represented the masses and would ultimately bring: «a democratic anti-democracy, a dictatorship of the plebiscite, where the Jacobins in the form of Robespierre and Danton and Marat lurk and await their chance.» Under the influence of the growing tension in Europe, between Finland and the USSR and in the domestic language conflict, Tigerstedt arrived at the concept of a union between Sweden and Finland. This idea was probably further developed by his contacts with extreme Rightist circles in Sweden. Reasoning purely pragmatically he came to the conclusion that this could only be achieved with the support of a Great Power. And the only possible ally was Germany. From an ideological point of view too this strategy was not hard to maintain, since his overall outlook of radical right-wing authoritarianism was very close to fascism.

In public the author tried to refrain from criticizing National-Socialism and Germany. In April, 1936, Hans Ruin had attacked modern nationalism and the aggression policy of Italy. In the article «Till nationalismens kreditkonto» (In Defence of Nationalism) that appeared in Nya Argus in 1936, and in the debate that followed, Örnluf Tigerstedt rejected the anti-clericalism and anti-Semitism of the Nazi movement. However, he simultaneously claimed that fascism and Nazism had created a synthesis of inner social unity and given rise to «a new principle of legitimacy, a new leadership and élite». Freedom, he reasoned, was only of value to the flower of the nation – to the «Führertiere» and not to the «Herdenmenschen» of democracy. He admitted that freedom of speech had been reduced in Germany, but once the revolution had outgrown its infancy the «Jacobinism» of the system would be eased.

E. R. Gummerus once expressed this: «Nazism is nothing more than a distortion of the strong powers which will create the real Third Reich – Hitler being nothing more than a profiteer on the unconscious will of the people». Tigerstedt agreed partly with Ruin concerning the dangerous chauvinism of Mussolini’s Italy but stated on the subject of Germany:

> And the Germany of National-Socialism! Has anybody other than Hitler preached European solidarity and respect for classes and nations? There is no mistaking the sincerity in his voice. [- - -] In particular, in the National-Socialist way of thinking there is also a moderating tendency against possible instincts of conquest.
> (Nya Argus 1936/9)

In truth, this appears to be an incredible view, but with hindsight so does Chamberlain’s belief in Hitler’s words prior to 1939. We must remember that Hufvundstadssbladet, which at this time had one of the largest circulation figures in Finland, prior to this had generally been favorably inclined to
Hitler and Nazism or had often seen mitigating circumstances when the
violence of its followers were debated. The editorial on April 4th, 1933, for
instance, spoke of Hitler's moderation and political prudence. On the other
hand, we must ask here if the content of Mein Kampf was totally unknown to
the writer. This could hardly have been the case and four years earlier the
author had declared that Nazism »is martial and eager to gain proselytes»
(HBL, 30 July 1932).

In the years to come, Tigerstedt usually refrained from commenting on
German and Italian domestic politics and used his endeavours to try to
influence opinion in Finland and Sweden in favor of closer relations
between the two states and rearmament. In the second place he tried to
bring them closer to Germany.

On the eve of the Second World War Tigerstedt wrote two articles for
Svensk Botten after a short trip to Germany (his first trip to Germany since
1932). Both articles were very pro-German. Unashamedly impressed, the
poet described Nazi Germany as a modern Sparta, united through collective
sacrifices. Furthermore, the old aristocracy had reassumed their duty in
society and Germany was no longer governed only by »lower non-
commissioned officers from the World War«. In the first article (16 June,
1939) he claimed that something would happen in September and that
Germany in his opinion could never be too strong if Finland were left at the
mercy of the USSR. In the second article (22 Sept, 1939) Hitler was
compared with Napoleon, both exemplifying a »splendid synthesis between
the dividing elements in the life of nations«. England was blamed for the
outbreak of the new war and the non-aggression pact between Germany
and the USSR was called a »moderate Tilsit« which Hitler was forced to
accept for the time being. Örnulf Tigerstedt would soon be fully aware how
correct his parallel was.

Was Hitler then the political deus ex machina the author had dreamed of
and been waiting for since the Twenties? Some nine months later when
Adolf Hitler had picked up Caesar's mantle in a serious attempt to gain
control over Europe and France had fallen the poet saw the image of a new
empire. A pax europaea and a new Rome lay there shimmering like a mirage
in the distant desert sand of the future:

[...] Anita, you know what I dream of the future, you know what sort of man my
great coming hero is. I don't know what his name will be. But he will accomplish
what once was accomplished by Alexander the Great. This man could never be born
in England or France. He will be German, or at least be one of the men of the new
empire.68

Hitler could thus never be the new Caesar Tigerstedt had dreamed of. In
Tigerstedt's eyes the German dictator was far too common, coarse, and
vulgar to step into shoes designed for an aristocrat. The earlier comparison
between Napoleon and Hitler made by Tigerstedt was also symptomatic of
his view and not altogether a benevolent one. Napoleon - a product of the
French Revolution with a simple and common background – was not one of Tigerstedt's true historical heroes.

A year later Finland and Germany's destinies had, in Tigerstedt's opinion, been united by the new brotherhood in arms. The Continuation War was regarded by him as an integrated part of an all-European crusade against the powers of materialism, the avatar of evil – Communist Russia.

Tigerstedt's clinging to the tragic principle of the destiny of the Finnish people appears to have hardened during the last years of war and Finland's growing isolation. His view of the enemy became even more radical and his belief in Germany as the only preserver of Western civilization was strengthened. To him the most perfect embodiment of this civilization was to be found in Germanic culture. In Italy the American poet Ezra Pound assessed the situation in a similar way. Both these two intellectuals thus mistook Adolf Hitler and Germany for the defender of European civilization. They failed to see the discrepancy between National-Socialism and the German legacy. Tragically misled, they both believed Hitler stood for idealism and humanity. In a black and white world Hitler became the antithesis of materialism. The same disastrous mistake was shared by many other Finnish intellectuals, such as Koskenniemi and Maila Talvio. However, Pound, unlike the Finns, embraced Nazism's anti-Semitic core and directly linked »the Bolshevist anti-morale« to the writings of the Jewish Talmud.

The reason for Tigerstedt's rejection of anti-Semitism is probably to be found in his cosmopolitan, open-minded and relatively unprejudiced background – what I have called the Varangian spirit. At heart he despised a movement which reeked of vulgarity and this prevented him from ever becoming an authentic National-Socialist. He could never reconcile himself with the movement's biological primitivism, racial principle and paganism.

Indeed, he was for aesthetic reasons strongly attracted to the Nazi spectacle and its ecstatic mood. He had a strong historical and emotional affinity with Germany and German culture, which prompted him frequently to display sympathy for Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, he could not become a true Nazi and his stand was based on the belief that he could use National-Socialism for his own purposes. However, here as elsewhere, we must make a distinction between different texts. We must therefore consider the difference between the true intentions of his writings and their actual function, or rather, the purpose they served. It is thus clear from the private material that he entertained strong reservations against Nazism. But in public he often upbraided the liberals for their animus against the fascist leaders and his criticism of Germany was too indulgent. His intellectual position conferred a phony intellectual respectability on National-Socialism. Therefore it can be claimed that he became a tool for Nazi propaganda in Scandinavia.
His overall tendency to see things from a universal holistic perspective led the author to simplifications and rationalizations of reality that often ignored ethical responsibility. His aesthetic inclination toward romanticization must be added to this. All these elements also made him indulgent toward Nazism. On top of this, Tigerstedt regarded Germany pragmatically as a provisional ally, in fact the only ally which could help Finland and check what he almost traumatically experienced as a lethal threat to the country and all tradition - the Soviet state.

Undoubtedly, his general views on culture, the Divine State, the people, the corporate organization of society, tradition and authority brought him ideologically closer to Italian fascism than German National-Socialism, but geographical and historical conditions made this relationship less intense and useful to a Swede in Finland with an aristocratic disposition.

The Nordic Connection – Per Engdahl

We have previously touched upon Tigerstedt's contacts with the Finnish Kalsta organization which were of short duration. This is supported by the fact that no written contributions by Tigerstedt have been found in Finnish fascist periodicals. Nor could the IKL be of much interest to him because of the language issue. Instead, Tigerstedt concentrated on fascist contacts in Sweden. The poet's growing Nordic inclinations and his attacks on democracy and liberalism made him a popular person in fascist circles in the neighboring country. One Swedish fascist organization in particular, exercised a great influence on him – the »Nysvenska rörelsen« (the Neo-Swedish Movement) and its focal point, Per Engdahl. Tigerstedt made several statements in favor of this movement over a long period of time. In early 1934, Tigerstedt made his speech »The New Puritan« to an auditorium of Swedish students at the Stockholm Concert Hall. Stimulated by the response and the rise of Swedish nationalism, Tigerstedt reported to the Finnish press:

There are Furugård-Nazis, Lindholm-Nazis and Ekström-Nazis. They all, more or less, plagiarize Hitler's teachings and slogans and the drum-roll is their way of getting attention. Compared to this, the Per Engdahl movement and the Patriotic Youth League (SNU), based on Swedish ground, with their Swedish roots, represent more honest and serious patriotic movements. (Åbo Underrättelser, 7 March 1934).

Six years later, in May 1940, Tigerstedt claimed that he and Per Engdahl politically »was closer than ever«. For this reason we must dwell for a while on this subject and look closer at the »Nysvenska rörelsen« and Per Engdahl.

The Riksförbundet Nya Sverige tried to bridge the gap between »the social« and »the national« aspects of society. Parliamentarism should be replaced by a communal corporative system. Engdahl, furthermore, had a philosophical basis whose cornerstones were a Tigerstedtian concept of culture and destiny. In fact, looking back today, Engdahl himself makes the
following distinction: »The myth of the fascists was the state, the Nazi myth was race and ours was the myth of culture».  

The anti-Communism of this fringe movement was also pronounced. No doubt, most of the movement's ideas had been imported from the Continent and especially from Italian fascism. The emphasis lay, however, on Nysvenskhet (»New Swedishness«) – an attempt to revive the spirit of the old Swedish Great Power. Their national hero was King Charles XII and their philosophy was one of stoic heroism. (See Engdahl’s book: Sveriges ödesväg – genom seklerna mot framtiden). Engdahl’s »New Swedishness« appeared to put the emphasis on a genuine Swedish nationalism and fascism. The movement also made several attempts to unify fascist as well as non-fascist anti-democratic groupings in Sweden. Tigerstedt had poems and articles published in Engdahl’s mouthpiece, Vägen Framåt, and his deification of the state and belief in the historical importance of a common destiny was shared by Engdahl. So far the ideological pattern fitted well into Tigerstedt’s political outlook. However, major differences existed. In Engdahl’s apology for Italian fascism in his book Mussolini we find the following passage:


(Fascism is the first conscious expression of the new age. The March on Rome was the first gale warning, the first outpost skirmish in the mighty trial of strength between European revolution and European reaction.)

The accentuation above, and in other places in Engdahl’s works, on revolution and social reforms was alien to Tigerstedt and the circle around the AS. To them, »reactionary« was a word with positive connotations.

Tigerstedt more than once proudly described himself and his Finland-Swedish sympathizers as »black reactionaries« (cf. the Black Guard!). Thus, Engdahl was not reactionary in the same sense as Tigerstedt. While Tigerstedt and his fellow AS-members wanted to restore the existing social hierarchy, Engdahl put more emphasis on the social conditions in society and worked for changes in the social stratum. This is also one of the main differences between an extreme right-wing ideology, with roots in the old élites, and a fascist ideology with a lower middle class background, according to Payne (1980a, pp. 22ff).

It is clear from Engdahl’s memoirs that he came in contact at an early stage with lower social strata. His own social background could be described as upper middle class. Moreover, the racial aspect was also important in Engdahl’s works; anti-Semitism was decidedly there and pronounced (although frequently denied in his memoirs). However, the movement’s racialism was not of the most aggressive kind. Using Seymour Lipset’s terms, Engdahl’s early lower middle class contacts (Engdahl, 1979, pp. 26ff)
connected him closer to populist extremism, and thereby gravitated toward Nazism.

However, Vägen Framåt tried to be independent and was by no means uncritical of the New Germany. In a letter to Örnulf he stated:

> We are striving for true socialism – not the hateful teachings of class struggle in Marxism, nor the misty sorcery of Nazidom, but the new socialism in all its sober lucidity, worthy of a Nordic race struggling for its existence. (8 Aug. 1935, In Christina Hackman's possession)

Engdahl's use of the words «socialism» and «Nordic race» in this passage, and what they suggest, is another thing that distinguished him from Tigerstedt. It is interesting to point out in this connection that Engdahl's memoirs were filled with a pronounced admiration for the Swedish Social Democrats, whom he saw as an ideologically related group. This opinion, not surprisingly, was not shared by the Social Democrats and Engdahl's attempt to establish contacts with them after the war failed.

The Swedish fascist also urged Tigerstedt and the AS to agitate among the Finnish working class. This must have appeared bewildering to the AS circle. This suggests that Engdahl was closer to the ordinary people.  

No doubt this was indeed the case. What he admired most, as far as Hitler and Germany were concerned, was the «social reforms» and the relief work during the 1930s.

The German attack on the USSR was conceived as the ultimate struggle between Western civilization and Eastern barbarianism. This in turn led to a monstrous, albeit pragmatic view of Nazism. The memorial words about Adolf Hitler, in Vägen Framåt, are appalling in their total ignorance of the atrocities committed in his name:

> His life was combat and hazard and struggle for a sacred idea. As a result, he had a burning faith and an extraordinary spirit of self-sacrifice. The great nationalist is dead, but the fire he lit in the hearts of brave men and women no human power can extinguish.

From a literary point view one of Engdahl's main motifs was the myth of the pagan Nordic Viking society, often referred to as a paragon of virtue by both German and Nordic Nazis. There is an almost total absence of Northern pagan motifs in Tigerstedt's writings, which is consistent with his lack of interest in racial issues.

**Elmo Lindholm, Adrian Molin and the SNF**

The development of the Swedish Conservative Party has been studied by Rolf Torstendahl. His study is based on clear distinctions between fascism and the ideas of the radical right-wing. Torstendahl and Payne are in this sense related.

The ideological heritage of Vitalis Norström and Rudolf Kjellén in Sweden was carried on by the SNF – the Sveriges Nationella Ungdomsförbund (The National Youth League of Sweden) and Adrian Molin's periodical *Det Nya*
Sverige (The New Sweden). This grouping within the Conservative Party based its politics on the concept of authority rather than nationalism. The question of nation and race was therefore of secondary importance. Although close to the same current of ideas as Nazidom, which Adrian Molin willingly admitted, this led to an extreme conservatism based on reactionary values, which contained seeds of socialist thinking, such as the advocacy of a planned economy. The final break with the traditional Swedish Right, which rejected totalitarian tendencies, came in 1934. Thereafter the SNF held two mandates in the Swedish Riksdag until 1936. The organization has been defined by Heléne Lööw as an extreme right-wing party. During the War the pro-German newspaper Dagsposten was the mouthpiece of this party. It was supported by German subsidies and the foreign editor, Rutger Essén, was (as the only Swede) granted a visa to German-occupied countries. Among the Finnish contributors were Örnulf Tigerstedt, Bertel Gripenberg and Tito Colliander. What is more, the SNF was regarded as a brother party by the AS and Svensk Bottens. The party's most influential representatives in the 30s and 40s were Elmo Lindholm, Adrian Molin and Rutger Essén.

There was a far-reaching agreement between this Swedish party and the Tigerstedtian ideology. This was because nearly everything in the party's ideology could be traced back to Rudolf Kjellén. Elmo Lindholm (not to be confused with the Swedish Nazi Sven Olof Lindholm!), its perhaps foremost theoretician, based his theories on authoritarianism. The «myth of culture» in Tigerstedt's sense and his aristocratic values was its cornerstone, society was an organism, the people was represented the dead, the living, and the generations to come and were bound to the earth in Barrés's and Kjellén's terms and an atomistic and plebeian democracy oppressed the majority. There was a pronounced, royalist tendency, race was irrelevant, economic liberalism was accepted. Only those who obey could experience true freedom (die Freiheit im Gehorsam), and a corporative class society was the ideal. Such differences as there were with Tigerstedt's views were few, not very fundamental and could also be found in Kjellén: greater social concern and a belief in «real democracy», a more pronounced anticapitalism (directed against banks and multi-national enterprises), belief in a planned economy and a less outspoken Caesarism. We must moreover, in this context, bear in mind the fact that Tigerstedt was not a politician.

No doubt a great deal of Tigerstedt's thinking inclined toward fascism, and some of the principal theoretical germs of fascism were part of his general outlook. This was especially valid if we consider Italian fascism and the Engdahl movement. However, we must also recognize that some of the most characteristic features of fascism were missing from his thought. In his elitist reactionary plea for a traditional hierarchical society monarchy was the ideal. The mobilizing of mass movements, parties and para-military organizations were regarded as plebeian by Tigerstedt. One of the three
fascist negations, anti-conservatism, was of little importance to him; in fact he accepted the economic system and worked to manipulate the existing system and maintain the existing social hierarchy. His ideas of a corporative society were influenced by the Catholic Church. His corporativism and his traditional view on culture and religion, were based on a reactionary conception. Primitivism was rejected together with racism in the traditional sense, and therefore anti-Semitism had no meaning to him. All these components, taken together with his social background, agree very well with Payne's synthesized presentation of radical Right authoritarianism. Tigerstedt and his reactionary authoritarian friends in the AS joined forces with fascism in an attempt to turn the clock back and, perhaps above all, in order to check Communism.

The political pattern of circumstantial alliances between fascists and right-wing authoritarians took place in a number of countries in Europe during the 1930s. Apart from this, as Karl Popper has pointed out, it is indisputable that the thinking of many members of the cultural and intellectual elite of Europe paved the way for the holocaust to come.

Speaking in terms of foreign influences and paradigms in Tigerstedt's case, his radical Right authoritarianism was strongly influenced by fascism, but lacked the true radicalism of the core fascist. Politically speaking, Örnulf Tigerstedt shared numerous points in common with the ideas found in the Swedish paradigm of the SNF with roots going back to Kjellén and Norström.
The Author and Communism

What we have found is that Bolshevism, instead of being very new, is very old, that it is the last of a long series of revolts by the unadaptable, inferior, and degenerate element against civilization which have irked them and which they have therefore wished to destroy [...] entrenched behind ancient errors like environmentalism and »natural equality», favored by the unrest of transition times, and reinforced by ever multiplying swarms of degenerates and inferiors.

LOTHROP STODDARD

Oh, East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet

RUDYARD KIPLING

Där sitter en spindel – Leningrad och Petersburg man den kallar,
där ligger en stor och stinkande stad där Neva mot havet svallar –
där sitter en spindel på sumpig mark och suger gift ur dess botten,
den har vuxit stinn och stor och stark långt över de vanliga måtten.

Den spinne sitt nät med fördärv och död över vilda länder och trakter –
den staden betyder hot och nöd,
ar en högborg för onda makter.
Den har girigt sugit Finlands blod,
den har länge dess gränser hotat,
den har länge prövat vårt talamod med sitt välde på orätt rotat.

(There is a lurking spider – Leningrad/ Petersburg we call it/ There is a large and stinking city/ Where the Neva swells against the sea –/ There lurks a spider on swampy ground/ And sucks the poison from its deep,/ It has grown fat and big and strong/ Beyond all measure./ It spins its web with ruin and death/ Wide over land and sea –/ This city spells menace and distress,/ A stronghold for evil powers./ Greedily it sucked the blood of Finland,/ Long our borders have been threatened/ Long our patience has been tried/ By its power based on injustice.)

BERTEL GRIPENBERG (25 Aug, 1941)

The USSR

As previously indicated, Örnulf Tigerstedt grew up in an environment where Russia and the Russian Czars were regarded with mixed feelings. The Russian Grand Duchy of Finland had been the window facing the West in the vast empire for the last 100 years. It had been a period of peace and growing prosperity for the upper classes of society, especially for the Swedish-speaking gentry. Parallel with this, urbanization, industrialization and Finnish nationalism had developed during the last decade. The
Romantic works of Johan Ludvig Runeberg, in particular the Tales of Ensign Stal, had awakened the nation and created a national consciousness. The policy of Russification, the growing Slav nationalism around the turn of the century and the instability displayed in the crisis of 1905 were equally important. We know that Ornulf Tigerstedt's brother, Olof, was an officer in the Russian army and fell on the Austrian front in 1914 and that Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt had attended Bobrikov's funeral.

The head of the family seems to have been an obedient and loyal representative of the gentry, though, according to his poetic son, very Swedish-minded. Therefore there is no reason to believe that strong anti-Russian sentiments were in evidence at Mustila prior to 1917. What we might expect, however, would be traces of an attitude of superiority toward Slavs because of the enormous social success often obtained by the Swedes, Balts and Germans within the Russian Empire. Although this attitude cannot be corroborated it may be regarded as very plausible. The later acceptance of the Myth of the Outpost also implies an early view of a Slavic nation which had been civilized from the West by Swedes, Finland-Swedes, Germans and people from the Baltic region.

The rapid development at the end of 1917, the October Revolution and the Finnish trauma of 1918 made a lasting impression and left a life-determining mark on the young man. From this time on the future poet came to regard every European war or crisis as a civil war tending to benefit the growing power of Bolshevism and thereby eroding established tradition. Accordingly, the existence of Marxism and the author's view of Communism could be said to determine and strengthen his vision du monde at a very early and decisive age.

His idea of Communism thus fitted into his dual outlook on Culture, Form – Nature, Chaos – which of course, by no means, was a complicated synthesis, influenced as he was by the literary tradition of Carlyle and his own historical horizon. I have tried earlier in this work to show how this image became more radical and extreme during the Continuation War and finally embodied not only an ideology but the very geography of the USSR and resulted in an ultimate metaphorical prejudice. However, the events of 1918, the enthusiasm for and aesthetic appreciation of the war itself, the cult of action and heroism, and a pragmatic view of power also made the author reluctantly appreciate certain aspects of the Communist state. The internal order, discipline and sheer power of the USSR thus attracted Tigerstedt at an early stage in the Twenties and the early Thirties. Moreover, the Bolsheviks fully understood the power of Sorelian myths and their charismatic leadership appealed to him. In fact, traces of this outlook could be detected even in Hemliga Stämplingar (1944), where Tigerstedt was reluctantly attracted by the ruthlessness and Machiavellian posture of the Finnish Marxist Thure Lehén (HES, p. 20). Another example is the picture of the overall potency and vitality of the young Communists, contrasted with
the impotence of the humanists and Social Democrats in the reports from the German election (Cf. SKOTTÖ, p. 23). The poet’s aesthetic stance of a spectator beyond good and evil was also displayed in a letter to Bertel Gripenberg. Tigerstedt wrote about the USSR:

What is happening in Russia is of course barbarous, the greatest crime in history, abominable, disgusting? [- - -] A crime? But it can not be denied that the spectacle is grandiose and not at all a watered-down and hysterical chatterbox revolt like the revolution in Germany in the year 18.82

This, however, did not modify Tigerstedt’s basic view of the USSR as the avatar of evil – Caliban in the shape of a state. He firmly concluded unequivocally that Europe and culture ended in Finland and Poland (In HBL, 10 Feb. 1925). In the East reigned »tyranny, filth, and Asian cruelty. There is ruthless exploitation, Russian neglect and Bolshevik arbitrariness.»83 Communism remained the main enemy of tradition in all its forms.

The Domestic Scene: The Manichaean Pattern

Tigerstedt’s view of the Finnish Communists was broadly similar. His poem »Röda dagen« (HELV, pp. 75ff) was rightly labeled »the most furious protest against democratic, international and Marxist ideals in the history of Swedish literature» (Stolpe, 1935, p. 203): »Vi är den kommande,/ den evigt kommande,/ väldiga gratisbiografen,/ den stora världslimpan.» (We are the coming,/ The eternally coming,/ The mighty free movie theater,/ The great world loaf.).

The poem ends with »the Freudian dream» of a Red partisan with a »miserable loudspeaker heart» raping a »true countess».

Toward the end of the 30s Tigerstedt was occupied with his book on the Hackman company. As previously stated, this period in his life had led to a search for what he finally came to regard as »the true mother country«: Sweden. It was obvious from the book that his view of Communism had now led him to reappraise the history of Finland. His view of Marxism had been transferred to the Russian nation. Even the prosperous Russian era between 1809 and 1899 was now described as a »parenthesis«. Culture was generally regarded as a Finland-Swedish, Swedish and German attribute. This permeates the whole work, even in details like the contrast mentioned earlier between the refined Gustavian furniture and the vulgar Russian furniture of the era. He also placed the Hackman family, although not of noble descent, in his own herrgårdskultur (HACKMI, pp. 464–465).

Under the influence of war his ardent anti-Communism and anti-Soviet sentiments were, if possible, deepened. The characterization and depiction of the secret Communist agents in Statspolisen slår till and Hemliga stumplingar, in particular, provide a good stylistic example of this development. The metaphoric language used was what one might expect of an old-fashioned criminologist studying something basically unsound and
defective. He stressed their pathological features and callousness of these Russian spies. Female Bolsheviks were portrayed as masculine or void of feminine sexuality:

She was a bony and lanky type with piercing joyless eyes. Her voice was high-pitched, her whole being as rawboned as her body was skinny and her face angular. *(Statspolisen slår till*, p. 111)*

From the big angular face a coarse rough-hewn nose protruded over a wide mouth with thin bloodless lips. The vigorous masculine chin and the callous lusterless eyes deprived the observer of any illusion of having a member of the fair sex in front of him. *(Hemliga stämplingar*, p. 241)

We may observe the connection between physical features and ideology in these descriptions, a form of personified negativity:

The army organizer Vilho Honkanen was a short, stocky man with a disproportionately big head. He was only five feet four. He had glossy raven-black hair and bushy, curved eyebrows. Under the high forehead two lively dark-brown eyes peeped out. His thin, tightly compressed lips indicated resolution and energy. His ashen-grey skin and his low, almost inaudible voice belonged to the ruthless fanatic. *(Statspolisen slår till*, p. 131)

Hakkarainen was short of stature and frail, a small man with a sickly hue, watery grey-blue eyes and thin, light hair. He was ugly and possessed a face whose different parts did not seem to belong together. The eyes were askew and deep, irregular creases furrowed his brow. *(Hemliga stämplingar*, p. 135)

[...] but he was unusually short of stature, hardly 4 feet 10. He stooped and had a sunken chest. His large burning eyes, his thin hair, his permanently moist hands, and his sallow, unhealthy skin [...] *(Hemliga stämplingar*, p. 126)

The obvious lack of balance in these lines illustrates Tigerstedt's assumption of the innate pathology of Marxism.

When studying Ian Fleming's narrative technique, Umberto Eco managed to uncover a characteristic code. Fleming's narrative code was based on a crude binary opposition. This was charged with values derived from an elementary primitive ideology which Eco referred to as »Manichaean«. Binary archetypal elements such as »Bond vs. the Evil One«, »the Free World vs. the USSR« or »Perversion vs. Purity« were contrasted over and over again in Fleming's books.

Eco compared Fleming's plot to a game of chess. In Fleming's »game« we find, among other antagonistic features, »the racist need to demonstrate the superiority of Anglo-Saxon man«.

Something close to this basically primitive elementary code could be found in Tigerstedt's two books on Soviet espionage. We have noted Tigerstedt's description of the enemy as the incarnation of evil. This contrasts with the Finnish hero – the incarnation of good. This is perhaps most obvious in the depiction of the patriots, Colonel Wolter Asplund *(STAPO, pp. 246ff)* and the double agent Risto Winnink *(HES, pp. 204–254)*.
Tigerstedt's dichotomy of *form* - *chaos* and *culture* - *nature* has already been discussed. Hence, the mixture of ideology and mode of expression is interwoven into a whole in Tigerstedt's writings.

It must be noted in this context that Tigerstedt's earlier view of a creative paradox - *coincidentia oppositorum* - seems to give way to a cruder, more primitive Manichaeism around 1943. The basic dichotomy, which was already the foundation of his world view, now deepened. This process was probably emotionally triggered by his wartime experiences. Above all, what Tigerstedt encountered at Katyn made a deep impression on his sensitive nature.

Beyond doubt, Örnulf Tigerstedt's perception of Communism was very negative. This is evident both on a conscious and, judging by the images above, perhaps on a subconscious level. The trauma of 1918 had left an indelible mark on the author and after his experience of calculated genocide at Katyn assumed near neurotic proportions. This makes his escape to Sweden and the fear of being shot in the neck more understandable.

In the circumstances, Tigerstedt's later statement about the »hypocrisy at Nuremberg« need not necessarily be regarded as proof of a decisive pro-Nazi attitude. In his eyes, after having seen the mass graves at Katyn and believing in the German version (which today we know was true), the Allied prosecutors in Nuremberg also included war criminals. On the other hand, there is no substantial evidence to indicate that he ever fully understood the extent of the German crimes against humanity. His aesthetic view of the great cosmic perspective lead to simplifications and horribly misleading excuses.

Tigerstedt's vehement anti-Communism, combined with this aesthetic alienation from reality, were probably among the most important factors which brought him into the borderland of fascism. This deep-rooted anti-Communism made the author assume a more pragmatic outlook and, during the Cold War of the 50s, side with the earlier so despicable and materialistic U.S.A.

**Notes**

2. In 1890 the nobility in Finland counted around 2,380 persons. Alapuro, 1988, p. 38.
9. "-Jag såg ett hårdad folk/ med rastlöse flit i långa seklers lopp/ sin näring suga från naturens bröst/ helt nära där det upphör sjämt att klappa/ och, utaf ödet ställdt på gränsen, bygga/ kulturens bålverk emot nordens is,/ och östanat för bildningen en brygga../ Där kommailda skaror.Svärd dras ut,/-I saw a hardy people/ Restlessly tolling through the centuries/ Nature's breast providing livelihood/ Close to where the beating ends/ And by destiny left on the border/ Building Culture's bulwark against the Nordic ice,/ And eastward a bridge for refinement./ I see wild bands approach/ Swords are being drawn) Quoted from Björck, 1946, p. 109.See also Topelius's poem "Originala skuldsedeln" (The Original Promissory Note).


12. See C.G. Estlander, "Fennomanska studier" (1882), "Min ställning i språkförhållanden" (1887), "På Korsholms vallar" (1894), and "Svenskheten och det svenska partiet" (1906). All in Skrifter I-III.


14. Grönmarkshut, p. 49: "like an outpost for Western civilization here at the utmost, obscure border of Europe."


16. "Öknens ande" in Kamraten, 2/1916, see also "De färgades rasernas uppmarsch" and "Lunktentus" irrfärder", both 1925.


21. Kemiläinen, p. 221

22. Letter from ÖT to John Landquist 5 Jan 1936, the Royal Library, Stockholm, L 33:1 - the J. Landquist Coll. Concerning the "Varangians" cf. also letters from ÖT to B. Gripenberg, 15 Sept. 1937, 2 May 1941, BG's Coll., ÅAL, letter from ÖT to Adrian Molin, 28 Nov. 1934, Adrian Molin's Coll., (L 46), the Royal Library, Stockholm. Other example of Tigerstedt's vigilance, concerning the Swedish language, could be found in SKOTTÖ, p. 39 and in the essay in the same book "Betraktelse angående 'gångse språkråk'." They attack the "liberal terminology", which according to the author infiltrated and ruined our vernacular and thereby made us think in "liberal" terms.

23. Letter to Annita T. 2 June 1937, Cf. ibid., 9 April 1935 "..hela vår fördömda folkskollärarcivilisation." (This whole damned 'elementary-school teachers' civilization of ours) both in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. The poem "Gårdarna" in HVÄG may be of interest in this context. The 3rd stanza reads: "Vem går i våra förfalna parker?/ visa de levande../ Vem djärves störa friden/ i våra igenvuxna bersåer?/ En objuden främling står i vår förstuga/ och på ett främmande språk/ frammanar han vånnaderna i våra salar." (Who wanders in our dilapidated parks?/ Whisper the living./ Who ventures to disturb the peace?/ In our overgrown arbors?/ An uninvited stranger is standing in our hall/ And in an foreign language/ He calls forth the phantoms in our halls.) This passage would certainly provoke if the stranger here is interpreted as a Finnish-speaking Finn and the location is Savo (Savolax), however this would be to read the poem verbatim. It remains unclear what Tigerstedt meant here. "A foreign language" may just allude to being alien to the subjective "we".


25. See, e.g., letter from Jarl Hemmer to ÖT, 24 April 1934, in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL, criticizing ÖT's overall reluctance to really realize this threat: "Over here we Swedes are about to be deprived of our civic rights <...>". See also letters to the editors of Borgåbladet, 3 March 1934: "Örnulf Tigerstedt talar dumheter" and Kotka Nyheter, 10 March 1932: "Den
svenska jorden och skaldens dumma tal". The background to this was a statement made by Tigerstedt in Stockholm. The poet had declared that he was not worried about the purchase of land by Finnish-speaking Finns in old Swedish-speaking areas.

26. Letter from ÖT to Adrian Molin, 28 Nov. 1934, see above.

27. See, e.g., Letter to Landquist 5 Jan. 1936, Landquist’s Coll., The Royal Library, Stockholm. Cf. E.R. Gummerus, Fästningen, p. 71, "the ranks are becoming thinner and thinner, soon he will be the last of his cadre, the last of the Varangians." (General Salander in "Sönerna" who is a true representative of those Varangians).

28. "Svenskar kunnar vi icke vara, ryssar vilja vi icke bliiva, låtom oss vara finnar" (We cannot be Swedes, We do not want to be Russians, let us be Finns), Jutikkala and Pirinen, p. 122.

29. "The Spring Speech", 1933, p. 140. Tigerstedt had been attacked several times by the Finland-Swedish Left for paying no attention to the language question and flirting with the IKL, see, e.g., P.O. Barck in Nya Argus 16/1934. The document in Auswärtiges Amt, concerning Tigerstedt, reveals that the signals the German intelligence had received from Finnish-speaking contacts were as follows: "Innenpolitisch gilt Tigerstedt als ein bewusster Vorkämpfer für die Verfassungsmässigkeit garantierten Rechte der schwedischsprachigen Volkstümer. Extrem fennomannische Kreise, die die Alleinherrschaft im lande erstreben, sind allerdings der Ansicht, dass Tigerstedt in diesem Kampfe manchmal zu weit geht. Das Eintreten für die schwedische Sprache hindert Tigerstedt aber nicht, gute freundschäftliche Beziehungen zu finnischen Dichtern zu unterhalten." (Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Potsdam, 30 Nov. 1942). Letters to the author's German publishing firm, show that Tigerstedt threatened to withdraw his books if the Finnish place-names in the translation would not be rendered in the Swedish original, letter to Miss Westphal, 12 Aug. 1943, in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


31. See chapter II:3 of this work.


34. ÖT in Nya Argus 1936/11.

35. Spengler, Jahre., pp. 41-42, 46-47. The Japanese Samurai, was, e.g., considered "zum besten gehört, was die ganze Welt an "Rasse" besitzt." (p. 47) Also Der Unterg., II.: pp. 140-141, 154-155, 154: "ein Gewächs der Landschaft und nicht eine Funktion des Blutes".

36. Allas Krónika, 1925, pp. 1053, 1151.

37. Ibid., p. 993.

38. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 27, 1990, p. 336ff. Cf., Adorno et al, pp. 147, cf. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 9, 1990, "Racism": "the theory or idea that there is a causal link between inherited physical traits and certain traits of personality, intellect, or culture and, combined with it, the notion that some races are inherently superior to others.", Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Vol. 21, "Racism": "<...> the totality of anti-scientific conceptions based on propositions concerning the physical and mental inequality of the races of man and the decisive influence of racial differences on the history and culture of human society".

39. Nya Argus, 16/1932. He also defended this in the following debate in Granskaren in December 1932. Cf. also SKOTTÖ, pp. 38, 43.


42. Massornas uppok, Stockholm, 1934.


both in letters to A. H-G, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. This would however not automatically signal a well-considered anti-Semitism, since such dichés were common in large groups at that time. Cf. Ture Norman, pp. 119-120.


46. Letters to Adrian Molin, 28 Nov. 1934; "And still it must be the reason and the intellectual clarity and the sobriety which must assume the lead, otherwise we will only have Furugård, Wiklund, Aryan articles and the like", to Anmita T., 11 Dec. 1933: "And consider now this absurdity of hissing at Josephine Baker and the beastliness of attacking Kalle Ekman because his mother happened to be Jewish. Apart from that I've been reading Volkischer Beobachter these days. You know, I do agree with Hitler's reforms and I am on the whole a friend of the Nazis ("Nasser" - a pejorative word) and fascists and also realize this is necessary in a time of crises and a state of war. (sic!) But God almighty, what a narrow-minded atmosphere this paper radiates. He however claimed himself that he "was not a friend of Jews" in this letter but continued: And take this stupidity with those "Christian Germans" who want to expel all Jews and non-Aryans from the congregations. This is in truth contrary to the basic principles of Christianity. No, Nazidom ("nasser" - pejorative) is one thing and Christianity another.→ And on top of that this foolish raging against Spengler. No Sir, I can't agree with that", cf. letter from 25 April 1935 to Anmita T., both in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL. Cf. also letters to Bertel Gripenberg, 24 Dec. 1936, 15 Sept. 1937, BG's Coll., ÅAL, letter to Jarl Hemmer, 15 Oct. 1935, J. Hemmer's Coll., ÅAL.

47. Stenkivist, pp. 186-189.

48. ÖT's account of the Jewish cemetery in Prague ("Lunkentus' irrfårders") carries some of the sentiments of Levertin's poem. The essay about Bruges la Morte (VIRS) indicates that he was familiar with Levertin's essay on the same topic.

49. Support for this view may be found in E.N. Tigerstedt whose research concerning Örulf Tigerstedt covered the time prior to 1935: "The tribe, the community of blood does not matter to Tigerstedt; apparently to him it belongs to nature - a nature man must abandon for culture" (p. 563). This was however a slight simplification as we have seen. E.N. Tigerstedt's description of the importance of tribe, kin and blood to Bertel Gripenberg was more accurately captured. What is equally interesting in this context was that, judging from the correspondence between Tigerstedt and Gripenberg, the latter also found it easier to accept the radicalism of the German National-Socialists. Cf., e.g., letters from BG to ÖT, 28 Dec. 1936, 23 March 1938, ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.


51. Tucker, p. 120.

52. "Belgian murhenäytelmä", in Helsingin Sanomat, 1 Aug 1940.

53. "Keskustelua Euroopan uudestijärjestyystä", in Helsingin Sanomat, 27 July 1940.

54. Cf. "Die europäische Aufgabe aller Germanen" (1941), "Nationalstaat und Reichsgedanke"(1942), "Über Finnland" (1942) and "Finnland der Vorposten" (1944) with "Finlands grundupplevelse" (1943) "Dödsskogen vid Kotyn"(1943), "Förposten Finland" (1944)"Inför Europas Magna Charta"(1944), and "En man har fallit" (1944).


56. Drieu la Rochelle, Notes pour comprendre le siècle, p. 170, quoted from Alfred Pfeil p. 171. Cf. also ibid., p. 8. Drieu la Rochelle also took part in the "Europäischer Schriftstellerkongresse" in Weimar, See also ibid., pp. 45-47 concerning similarities in Drieu la Rochelle's and ÖT's conception of Europe.

57. ÖT, "Konstoppposition", 1924, p. 265.


60. Palmén, pp. 17-18.

61. For references to Italy see SKOTTÖ, pp. 28, 138, 147: "We dream about "il Duce", about "der Führer", about the man who will do it.→ This is nothing else but our longing
to see the new image of the world alive in front of us; to once see logos take shape in flesh and blood, in the realm of the Emperor <...>”.

65. Letter from ÖT to Bertel Gripenberg, 24 Dec. 1936, BG’s Coll., ÅAL.
66. Letter to Anniita Catani, 11 Dec. 1933, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL. Cf. also earlier mentioned rejections of Nazism in the correspondence.
68. Letter to Anniita T., 19 May 1940, ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL.
69. Per Engdahl to author, 12 Dec. 1991. Engdahl also confirmed Tigerstedt’s lack of interest in social issues. According to Engdahl B.Gripenberg had been a member of his party, ÖT never was.
73. Ibid., p. 149.
74. Ibid., p. 65.
75. Ibid., pp. 11ff., 65.
76. Lööw, pp. 61-62.
77. Ibid., p. 12.
78. Ibid., p. 111.
82. Letter from ÖT to BG, 8 June 1931, BG’s Coll., ÅAL. Cf. “Mongolerna”, p. 8, manuscript in ÖT’s Coll., ÅAL. Cf. also the depiction of T. Lehén in *HES*, pp. 20ff.
84. Bco, pp. 230-268 in Aspelin and Lundberg, *Form och struktur*. When using the term I refer to this extreme dualism and not to the religious or philosophical school as such.
85. Ibid., p. 242.
Like a Pulsation in Obedience Restrained:  
Toward an Authoritarian Aesthetic

And – this is really the point I am making for – that the re-emergence of geometrical art may be the precursor of the re-emergence of the corresponding attitude towards the world, and so, of the break up of the Renaissance humanistic attitude.

T. E. HULME

Once out of nature I shall never take  
My bodily form from any natural thing  
But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make  
Of hammered gold and gold enamelling.

W. B. YEATS


GOTTFRIED BENN

It is time now to return to the connection between the aesthetic content, structure and style on the one hand and the pragmatic or communicative function of literary production on the other.

The Aesthete, Modernism, and Classicism

Our point of departure is Tigerstedt's statement in the preface of 
Vid gränsen about »architectural prose«. Tigerstedt had early, in both his short story collections in the early 20s, tried to convey a Roman spirit both in style, diction and syntax. In England, Wyndham Lewis had also been striving toward something rigorous, hard and cold. To him the classical ideal was a rational approach rather than an emotional one. In 1926, Lewis wrote in The Art of Being Ruled:

»The architectural simplicity! – whether of a platonic idea or a Greek temple – I far prefer to no idea at all or no temple at all. [---] [...] simplicity, conceptual quality, hard exact outline, grand architectural proportion was the greatest art.»¹

Note here the reference to exactness. What Lewis apparently had in common with Tigerstedt was reverence for precision, exactness – in other words what was controlled, dominated by man. This is probably the reason for their common fascination with human artifacts used for calculation or measuring purposes. This aspect of modern mechanization highly appealed
to them, here chaos and nature were under control. When emotions took charge, that resulted in something imprecise, indeterminable, natural, and uncontrolled. There was another interesting link between Wyndham Lewis and Örnulf Tigerstedt. Lewis had a strange *esprit de contradiction*, as Fredric Jameson pointed out in the prologue of his Lewis study, *Fables of Aggression* — *Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist*. The founder of the Vorticist movement was »the exemplary practitioner of one of the most powerful of all modernistic styles and (at the same time) an aggressive ideological critic and adversary of modernism itself in all its forms«.²

We find a similar contradictory conception of modern man, tradition, rigid form and freedom of form in Tigerstedt's *Vid gränsen*. In connection with Edgar Lee Masters attention has also been focused on the fact that Tigerstedt around 1930 used many of the linguistic structures and forms of the renowned Finland-Swedish Modernists. In fact, if we use Kai Laitinen's attempt to define their innovative traits of style in six main points (free rhythm, absence of rhyme, an innovative metaphorical language, a new vocabulary, a new range of motifs, a new structure), we come to the conclusion that his poetry from the 30s actually fits into the Modernist pattern.³

Russel A. Berman has made an attempt to define some of the overall structures in a fascist aesthetics in an essay called »Wurzeln und Ausprägungen faszistischer Literatur«. He emphasizes the fact that fascist literature contains a theme of regeneration. Starting from Nietzsche's attack on Wagner's aesthetics, which Nietzsche scornfully described as »espressivo«,⁴ Berman underlines the importance of the antithetical expression in fascist literature. The connection with early German Expressionism is manifest in Benn's writings and Céline described himself as »the great liberator of style«. Ezra Pound saw the free verse as a vehicle for conveying a natural, emotionally charged expression and thereby a new precise form.⁵ As we have seen, Tigerstedt shared Pound's holistic aspirations and Romantic belief in a »primordial« society based on hierarchic social structures. They both delighted in medievalism. Although Tigerstedt never achieved Pound's strong expressionism and energetic metaphorical language or Benn's and Céline's primitivism, his Modernist features were thus by no means accidental. We will have reason to return to Berman later in this chapter.

On the one hand, the new avant-garde of Finland-Swedish poets did share much of his exclusiveness, pessimism, and contempt for mass society's empty mechanisms and spiritual shallowness. But they totally lacked his authoritarian views. There are certain affinities, however, between Tigerstedt and Hagar Olsson. We have witnessed how the polemical Hagar Olsson had in public declared an alliance with relativism: »For us, nothing absolute exists«, and she triumphantly paid homage to the cult of action. Olsson and Tigerstedt also shared a common dream of a future European
community – a Pan-Europeism – an idea a radical like Diktonius considered petty-bourgeois.  

However, more important to the Modernists was the conviction that opposition, revolt, freedom and spontaneity should constitute modern man's ideals. To them, Tigerstedt's blind submission to authority would ultimately lead to a surrender to brute power. This was a very important element of their general outlook and it could be added to Laitinen's paradigm of their initial position. Another noteworthy discrepancy is Tigerstedt's profoundly non-Modernistic relationship to time.

Therefore, despite the marked similarities in Örnulf Tigerstedt's technique to the one used by the Finland-Swedish Modernists, Tigerstedt's style remained, au fond, essentially non-Modernistic. Symptomatically, his Modernistic features would soon give way to a stronger drive for strict order, an analytical morphology in the spirit of Spengler. He later employed old-fashioned rhymed verse in Den lycklige jokern and his novel and short stories are almost clinically free from Modernistic attributes. The opposition to Diktonius's aesthetics has been mentioned. In fact, it is also tempting to see Tigerstedt's belief in restriction and form – Ethos der Begrenzung – and Gunnar Björling's drive for verbal limitlessness as polar opposites.

Tigerstedt's strange and perhaps illogical mixture of rationalism and Romanticism, love of the native soil and an exotic cosmopolitan love of adventure has been stressed. His pronounced dualism and preference for binary structures is probably the key to his stylistic anachronisms, the puzzling amalgamation of Gustavian Neoclassicism and Modernistic characteristics.

Nevertheless, the influence that Continental and American Modernism exercised on Tigerstedt prior to 1930 must be acknowledged. Marinetti's belief in a mechanistic era, Lewis's rationality, Pound's clear outlines, Benn's and Edgar Lee Master's use of a new poetic vocabulary made a strong impression on the young Tigerstedt.

To Tigerstedt's eclectic eye »the sweeping outlines of the modern automobile«, the slender airplane, mighty concrete walls or the electrified ocean liner represented the great style of a new era. They represented the construction of culture – logos - in man's everlasting struggle against the powers of nature and chaos. They were the human will personified, the child of a decadent and degenerated age hypnotized by lethal speed, motion and change. They were artificial form, fragile and perishable like all the creations of culture. But even so, they represented the action and volition of man, not the living vegetation, the contended intellectual anaemia which he saw in the older generation of literati.

This is, I believe, a second key to the question of Tigerstedt's alleged Modernism. Attacking the prevailing liberalism the author simultaneously becomes a part of the very decadence of modern urban life while admiring
its artifacts. But at heart the author was alien to Modernism. It is significant that perhaps the greatest Modernist of all time, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, represented the very antithesis of everything the Finnish author believed in. Still the Modernists were virile, firmly anchored in the present, rebellious, and paid homage to the cult of action, and for that Tigerstedt admired them. Complacency, inertia and a firm belief in perpetual progression were the worst attitudes in a world he found marked by the advent of cultural doom and in a Finland bordering the aggressive Marxism of a barbarian Soviet state.

Hagar Olsson's pragmatism, vitalism, irrational Spenglerianism, anti-intellectualism, cult of action and rebellious spirit highly appealed to him. In this respect the radical Rightist Tigerstedt and the Leftist Hagar Olsson saw eye to eye.

In Olsson's drama *Det blåa undret* (The Blue Wonder, 1932) the activism in Martin's fascism and Louise's socialism are viewed as related in spirit and contrasted with the old idealism and the older generation's belief in liberal progress. However, when Hagar Olsson matured and arrived at a humanist and pacifist credo it became clear (around 1933) that Tigerstedt and Olsson represented two clearly incompatible views of the world. This can, moreover, be interpreted as another example of the blurred borderline between right- and left-wing extremism in the 20s and early 30s. For some years around 1930, Örnulf Tigerstedt became the practitioner of a Modernistic technique that was not part of the mainstream of Modernism, but that had affinities with Lewis's, Benn's, and Pound's's world view and their aesthetic realizations, a Modernism paradoxically anchored in tradition, Neoclassicism and an idealized past.

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*Toward an Authoritarian Imperative: Features of Style in Tigerstedt's Oeuvre*

The social criticism and aesthetics of T. E. Hulme, who in various degrees influenced Wyndham Lewis, W. B. Yeats, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot are of importance in this connection. A legend in his own lifetime, killed in Flanders in 1917 and with his roots in German philosophy and Carlyle's classicism, Hulme claimed that man, whom he saw as heroically tragic, could accomplish anything by ethical and political discipline. Advocating a "classical style", where permanence was sought in fixity and rigidity, marked by austere, strict forms of expression, he shared much of Tigerstedt's Apollinian concept of Antiquity. Hulme had in his turn been strongly influenced in his classicism by Maurras, Lasserre and the group connected with l'Action Française. In the first chapter of his *Speculations* Hulme made an outline of his aesthetics. There is a strong affinity between Hulme's "geometrical" vision and what Tigerstedt later called the "architectural form":

The divine is not life at its intensest. It contains in a way an almost anti-vital element; quite different of course from the non-vital character of the outside physical region.

Such expression springs not from a delight in life but from a feeling for certain absolute values, which are entirely independent of vital things.

The disgust with the trivial and accidental characteristics of living shapes, the searching after an austerity, a monumental stability and permanence, a perfection and rigidity, which vital things can never have, leads to the use of forms which can almost be called geometrical. (Cf. Byzantine, Egyptian and early Greek art.) If we think of physical science as represented by geometry, then instead of saying that the modern progress away from materialism has been from physics through vitalism to the absolute values of religion, we might say that it is from geometry through life and back to geometry.  

Such a view as Hulme's was authoritarian. It favored classicism, order and austerity in art. We can see the relationship here to Tigerstedt's ideal abstraction of defeated time in Hulme's anti-vital element of stability and permanence. Tigerstedt's own contribution to this regulated, brief and essentially anthropomorphized art conception can be perceived in the following lines:

Mörkt sjunger mitt svärd
för hårda män,
vid nattliga eldar för män i järn.
Kall står himlen,
kall står hela jordens ring
och rov och död förtälja alla stjärnor.

Stig dova sång,
stig som tunga murar,
som mörka skogar stiga
ur vintertynt land.

(»Min ensträngade lyra«, My One-Stringed Lyre, De heliga vägarna)

(My sword is singing somberly/ To harsh men,/ To men clad in iron by nocturnal campfires./ The sky is cold,/ The whole round earth is cold/ All the stars proclaim pillage and death./ / Rise, dull song of mine,/ Rise, like heavy walls,/ Like forests dark do rise/ From land weighed down by winter.)

In his poetry of the 30s there is an obvious search for an authoritative, terse style with muscular rhythms. It is a style in the spirit of Tacitus, stoic, concise in form. In some of the poems written in this style we thus find few syllables and short lines: »Vän och broder!/ Tungt tramp/ och stältärningars rassel/ ljuder i mina öron,/ tigande/ går ödet/ och vaktens steg/ mot nötta plankor.« (»Friend and brother!/ Heavy steps/ And the rattle of steel dice/ Sound in my ears/ Silently/ Destiny and,/ The guard's steps pace/ Against worn planks.», »Döda skepp», »Dead Ships», HVÄG).

Other passages, like the one earlier quoted from Vi resa söderut about Spain, along with the high-strung revelling in dire details in Noveller and Exercitia, give rise to the suspicion that Tigerstedt experienced pathological delight in describing cruelty and violence. The word »cruelty» in the following passage, for example, can only be given a positive connotation: »then this war will not, in cruelty, be overshadowed by the glorious
traditions from Alba’s and Torquemada’s days» (for the whole excerpt see chapter III:11). Bestiality and harshness seem to take on an aesthetic dimension. The question is how much of this was pure pose and mannerism and how much was part of an aesthetic view of reality.

Stylistically, Tigerstedt’s search for form and exclusion of emotive details in the 20s is characterized by the search, discussed above, for a harsh, exact, callous Roman style in the short stories Noveller and Exercitia. Some other passages, this time in prose, provide us with examples of Tigerstedt’s elaborately contrived attempt to dehumanize art by using callous, frigid words connected with rocklike features, the ultimate language of petrification:

[...] detta land där sandstormar rasa, där fältet äro karga och bergen kala och där människorna, vilka hårdets under strider, äro hårdare än de stenar, varmed de uppförda sina murar. (Exercitia, p. 23)

(... this land where the sandstorm rages, where the fields are barren and the mountains are bare and where men, toughened through fighting, are harder than the stones with which they erect their walls.)


(Their mighty bodies gleamed. Their eyes of stone beheld those entering. They took his courage away and spoke about a sternness, which brooked no resistance. [...] and you saw pillars, monoliths, sacred rooms and arches, which were adorned with images and which were supported by mighty bulls of stone. Nothing but stone was to be found in this temple. There were neither fountains nor ponds, trees nor flowers.)

The contrast expressed here by the use of predominantly feminine and humane attributes underlines the austere, masculine character of the first passage. This technique was particularly favored by the Augustan poets and therefore also a classical trait. This is yet another example of how his literary style derives from the same principles as his sociological beliefs. They form a totalitarian whole. This aristocratic and in the case of Hulme and Tigerstedt, hierarchical view of society is unmistakably echoed in what has been called Yeats’s «harsh surgical masculine style»:

Blessed be this place,
More blessed still this tower;
A bloody, arrogant power
Rose out of the race
Uttering, mastering it,
Rose like these walls from these
Storm-beaten cottages –
(W.B. Yeats, »Blood and the Moon»)
The Winding Stair and Other Poems.13
Yeats and Tigerstedt shared an aristocratic outlook on life and professed similar sentiments. Belonging to an older generation Yeats probably saw things slightly differently, but, as we have already seen, Örnulf Tigerstedt felt a strong sympathy and kinship with older generations.

Order, stability and hierarchy were also key-words to Yeats. When the aristocratic families and their strong, stern leaders disappeared, society was doomed. To Yeats only »title and carriage folk« could fully appreciate paintings and art and, regardless of his lack of noble blood, Yeats saw himself as part of the nobility. He also apparently shared Tigerstedt's attitude toward »progress« and the latter's Spenglerian conception of a dying culture – an end of civilization. Europe and Asia were, quite evidently, contrasted in Yeats's »The Statues« – one of his last poems. In spite of a lifelong interest in Asia, Yeats now definitely preferred the »form« of Europe to the »formlessness« or vague mold of Asia and Buddha. Only the Western idols, the marble statues, not the victors at Salamis could beat Nature with their very form and certainty. Once more time is beaten by the cold rock. The poem ends:

We Irish, born into that ancient sect
But thrown upon this filthy modern tide
And by its formless spawning fury wrecked,
Climb to our proper dark, that we may trace
The lineaments of a plummet-measured face.
(»The Statues«, Yeats's Collected Poems)

Nevertheless, Yeats did not, as a rule, hold such an affection for stones and statuary as Tigerstedt did. The Irishman perceived those symbols as essentially hostile things contrasted with the living tissue of experience. On the whole, however, Yeats, Pound, Lewis and Eliot had much in common with Tigerstedt: in their elitist and patrician outlook on life and their rejection of the »filthy modern tide« of democracy.

To Tigerstedt the final artistic achievement was to accomplish den Stora Stilen – the Grand Style, the Great Form. This, the greatest of all achievements, was man's only delivery from annihilation and oblivion.

A return to form and style was one of the reactions to the new currents in art and literature in the 20s. To Stefan George, in Germany, the powers of nature had also to be disciplined and corrected by man. The temple knights were watching over nature in »Die grosse Nährerin in der Templer« (Der Siebente Ring 1907) and in 1933 Gottfried Benn stated:

Form, das ist für weite Kreise Dekadenz, Ermüdung, substantielles Nachlassen, Leerlauf, für George ist es Sieg, Herrschaft, Idealismus, Glaube. Für weite Kreise tritt die Form »hinzu«, ein gehaltvolles Kunstwerk und nun »auch noch eine schöne Form«; für George gilt die Form ist Schöpfung; Prinzip, Voraussetzung, tiefstes Wesen der Schöpfung; Form schafft Schöpfung. Sagen Sie für Form immer Zucht oder Ordnung oder Disziplin oder Norm oder Anordnungsnotwendigkeit, alle diese Worte, die uns so geläufig wurden, weil in ihrem Namen die neue geschichtliche
Still another response to this Neoclassicist Renaissance of form could be found in the Danish art historian Vilhelm Wanscher's influential book *Italien og den store Stil* (Italy and the Grand Style). Published in 1921, it acclaimed the Grand Style of the Romans in literature, architecture and art. In it we find an outlook related to Tigerstedt's concept of the antipodes *form, culture – chaos, nature* and Olof Enckell pointed out a relationship between them in a review of Tigerstedt's *Noveller* in *Hufvudstadsbladet* in 1924. This association is, however, not quite certain, especially since Wanscher's concept of the Grand Style was not, as Enckell seemed to believe, the Dane's innovation.

It must also be mentioned in this context that many of the poet's close friends of the extreme right-wing and later members of the AS took a great interest in Antiquity. Men like Jarl Gallén, Gunnar Mickwitz, G. A. Donner and Herman Gummerus were all scholars in this field.

*The Detached Architectural Style*

Determining our author's aesthetic guidelines calls for a closer look at his texts. Let us start this more detailed survey of Tigerstedt's texts with a closer look at *Noveller* and *Exercitia*.

One stylistic peculiarity of the first book, which strikes the reader at once, is the repetition of appositive attributions or plain appositions after the noun: »Konungen, den väldige, den krossande« (»The king, the mighty one, the crushing one«, *NOV*, p. 25) or »Gud, den allvetande, rannsakaren, den hämmande« (»God, the omniscient one, the examiner, the avenging one«, *NOV*, p. 22). This type of descriptive device can be found in the *Bible* although limited to one attribution: cf., i.e, Psalms 29:3) but Tigerstedt's source, in this respect, is probably the *Koran*. The first Swedish translation appeared in 1917 and parts of it had been published in journals at this time. Here we find these post-modifying devices in every Suhra: »God, the establishing one, the mighty, the absolute ruler, the greatest« (59: 23). And the Levantine coupling does not end here. The oriental setting in several short stories and the choice of words in them, especially some of the adjectives used, are reminiscent of the *Thousand and One Nights*.

However, other features indicating a strong biblical influence are to be found in both *Noveller* and *Exercitia*: an abundance of the present participle, (»Ty förtäljande om muren, flög ryktet bland barbarerna« *EXC*, p. 36) rhetorical repetitions, (*NOV*, p. 16.) adverbial constructions and rhetoric, old-fashioned imperatives (»Given akt, Befliten Eder« *NOV*, p. 27). The many contracted sentences using the present participle, suggest Latin influence, as do the complicated sentences where the author often employs a number of subordinate temporal clauses in front of the verbal clause:
Vid den tid, då allt tycktes nära sin undergång, då Rom ännu var världens härskarinna men även en mötesplats för de avskyvärdeste brott, då religionen var föraktad, då människorna under tygellösa orgier sökte bortglömma sina dagars meningslöshet, då städerna voro större än någonsin, då deras maktbegär och synd förtrampade alla lagar, fannos människor, som förfärdade bortvände sina blickar och begävo sig ut i öknen, för att under försakelser och böner invänta den himmelska vreden. (Noveller, pp. 56–57)

(In those days, when everything seemed close to destruction, when Rome was still the mistress of the world but also the scene of the most abominable crimes, when religion was looked down upon, when people under the spell of unbridled orgies tried to overlook the futility of their days, when the cities were larger than ever, when their lust for power and sin trod the laws underfoot, men existed who, terrified, turned their eyes away and made for the desert, to await the wrath of heaven in privations and prayers.)

This excerpt provides a good example of the poet's quest for an archaic, traditional style characterized by toughly woven syntax. This is matched by the sheer inhumanity of his rhetorical fiction, as displayed in these early short stories. The pronounced parallelism, the anaphora and the asyndeton in the connection of subordinate clauses points to a certain style in Swedish literature, »Gustavian rhetoric«. This style was strongly influenced by French culture but also by Antiquity. The Swedish linguist Gösta Holm has pointed out that »in certain respects the Gustavian eloquence may be said to exceed its French models, inter alia, in architectural grandeur«.22

Other hallmarks of this style, which are abundant in Tigerstedt's texts (not least in Utan örnar and his speeches, in particular the Spring Speech!), are antitheses, exclamations, rhetorical questions, apostrophes and frequent paraphrases. This tendency is, moreover, not limited to his prose. An abundance of Gustavian stylistic features can be found in most of his poetry, although sometimes strangely occurring in an unrhymed environment:

Ej lydnad var din längtan.
Stulen sällhet,
hemlig vällust var ditt vildmarksskri.
Ur mörkröd eld du sjöng.
Av mörkröd låga,
salamanderns lik,
den olycksborna själen levde.

Vem står som domare?
Vem av människa född
kan inför kvalfyld gåta,
inför helvetesörkanens avgrund
höja talan?
Francesca, Paulo!
Ordöst ve mig gripa,
strupen snöres samman,
och bleka lysa lägens tavor.

(»Andra kretsen« (The Second Circle), Sista etappen)
(It was not obedience you longed for,/ But stolen felicity,/ Secret sensuality was your cry in the wilderness,/ From a dark-red fire you sang,/ Of a dark-red flame,/ Like the salamander,/ The unhappy soul lived../// Who is to judge?// Who of mankind born/ Can raise his voice/ Before the agonizing enigma./ Before the abyss of the volcano of hell?// Francesca, Paolo!// Wordless woe seizes me,/ My throat is constricted/ And pale the law on the stone tablets is shining.)

Apart from the accentuated asyndeton, parallelism, the apostrophizing and the rhetorical questions Tigerstedt often starts with the negation »Ej» (Not), an inversion, or the conjunction »Och» (And),\(^{23}\) which all are quite common in Gustavian lyrical poetry.\(^{24}\) These stylistic figures are here counterbalanced by modernistic features such as unrhymed verse and his lapidary efforts to reach simplicity and hard exact outlines.

Other characteristic qualities of the poet suggesting Gustavian influence are his exceedingly high regard for abstract nouns,\(^{25}\) the frequent use of exclamations, and imperatives: »Än sedan! Vår seger ligger i ett annat plan. [---] Men giv akt på din berömde motspelares ansikte! [---] Gör då din attack med élan och full kraft! Sänd var plås i elden, slut grepet hårt! Och sedan – må det gå som det kan». (So what! Our victory is on another level. [---] But take heed of the face of your famous opponent! [---] Then make your attack with élan and full power! Send each man into the fire, tighten the grip! And then – come what may!, \(UÖ\), pp. 86–87).

The Gustavian figures of style, often in the form of pure pastiche, are not surprising in themselves. Such rhetorical figures can be found in most older Swedish literature.\(^{26}\) But their frequency and their consistency in his writings are striking.\(^{27}\) These modes of expression seem, moreover, to overarch Tigerstedt's different genres, although they are most common in the short stories, the poems and in the epistolary \Utan örnar. Form was Tigerstedt's credo in life and the importance of form characterized the French-schooled Classicism of the Gustavian epoch. It is probably no coincidence that form was also the credo of Oscar Levertin – the scholar and poet who spent a large part of his life studying the Gustavian era. As previously indicated, it was an Augustan era in Swedish culture, when the cult of the ruler permeated cultural life. It was in a true sense an authoritarian period, when harmony and unity under a benign autocrat had succeeded an era marked by liberty, early parliamentarism, party feuds, general turmoil and a weak foreign policy. It was an era of form and a strong state was re-established.\(^{28}\) And in this context we once more find Continental parallels to Tigerstedt's idealization of archaic literary forms, this time in France. Brassilach adapted Corneille and Céline and Drieu la Rochelle wrote retrospective stories in a medieval setting.\(^{29}\)

Returning to the long sentence from \textit{Noveller} above, we must now examine Tigerstedt's use of verbs.\(^{30}\) His use of verbs is very characteristic of his style as a whole, but perhaps it is most pronounced here. He uses the verbs as his servants to establish a form and discipline his work into superimposing a
pattern expressing permanence and tranquility. By using compound verbs (the passive and less dynamic form) – bortglömde, bortvände, begävo, invänta – the author achieves a style which is detached, unemotional and above all contains little motion.\textsuperscript{31} The same can be said of the frequent use of the present participle – in contracted sentences »Borrande sina tänder i hans strupe, förkyväde han honom« (EXC, p. 37) or »Tigande en blick seende över vatten« (Porfyr, VIDG).\textsuperscript{32} We may also understand the appositional attributions as a means of creating a majestic dimension. This is what Tigerstedt meant by »Architectural Prose« - a controlled, chiselled and highly restrained stationary style, a style kept under tight rein and constituting an important part of an authoritarian aesthetics.

A similar spirit but more frightening and radical in its connection with contemporary society is found in Grotenfelt’s unemotional abrogation of the humane and in Ernst Jünger’s detached and callous registration of reality in his wartime diary – \textit{In Stahlgewittern: Ein Kriegstagebuch}.

In his study of Esaias Tegnér, the Swedish literary researcher Josua Mjöberg claimed that the aristocratic and rhetorical style of French Classicism was characterized by the use of abstract nouns, personifications and substantivization, a step toward »the artificial and unnatural«. This he found in abundance in Tegnér.\textsuperscript{33} In this context we must bear in mind that »the unnatural« was exactly what Tigerstedt aimed at. His was the cult of unnaturalism.

What Tigerstedt obviously wanted in literature was a tendency toward abstraction, authority and classical form. Gottfried Benn could not have agreed more and Benn’s words in »Dorische Welt« are worth quoting:

\begin{quote}
Die Antike, das ist dann die neue Wendung, der Beginn dieses Prinzips, Gegenbewegung zu werden, »unnatürlich« zu werden, Gegenbewegung gegen reine Geologie und Vegetation, grundsätzlich Still zu werden, Kunst, Kampf, Einarbeitung ideellen Seins in das Material, tiefes Studium und dann Auflösung des Materials, Vereinsamung der Form als Aufstufung und Erhöhung der Erde.\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

As we can see, the relationship with Tigerstedt’s aesthetic approach is striking. Benn’s passage contains many elements of Tigerstedt’s literary imperative.

The method of investigating different parts of speech in texts in order to gather information about matters like the degree of abstraction has rightly been questioned and must therefore be applied with caution.\textsuperscript{35} Nevertheless, Mjöberg’s thesis is of interest as part of an overall tendency in the case of Örnulf Tigerstedt. The unequivocal results in Tigerstedt’s case are in my view worth considering.

Tigerstedt’s conscious authoritarian aesthetics is firmly supported by a linguistic survey of Tigerstedt’s four works of poetry from the period. The average percentage of nouns is 34.5\%, with a top score of 37\% in \textit{Sista etappen}, which most probably is a very high figure.\textsuperscript{36} A study of Tigerstedt’s short stories, novel and prose strengthens the impression of a style
overloaded with nouns. Longer passages with a noun percentage of over 40, sometimes up to 45, can easily be found. This can be compared with Peter Hallberg's claim that 32% in prose extracts from J. P. Jacobsen is a high figure and a good example of a massive substantivizing style. As a contrast, it may be noted that in Hjalmar Söderberg's short stories, Historietter, only 16.06% of the words are nouns.

Tigerstedt often used a consciously archaic mode of expression giving priority to nominal paraphrases. As already indicated, abstract nouns are frequent in his texts, both in prose and poetry. A good example of his paraphrasing style, which hardly needs any comment, is provided by these passages from Exercitii: »Uppfyllande sina munnar med sand, förkvävdes de och dogo«, »kastande sig över en väktare, omslingrade han honom med sina knän« (EXC, pp. 36, 37).

Even taking different genres and styles into consideration (the average in Swedish and Danish literary prose and ordinary prose being around 20-22%), Tigerstedt's use of nouns seems extremely high.

Turning to the verbs in his poetry, they are seldom used in the active, except for the frequent imperatives. The present tense occurs in average in 38%, the past tense in 22% and the infinitive in 17%. Prepositions can be used as particles before the verb and be used in forming compound verbs in German and Swedish. Tigerstedt's number of compound verbs strikes the vigilant reader as very high: 17% in VIDG., 16% in HVÅG., with an average of 10% in his four collections.

This kind of survey is of course of doubtful value, but I believe that it serves a purpose in this context in conjunction with the previous syntactical observations. Comparative material is scarce, but if we count the compound verbs with particles in some contemporary poetic works in Swedish we arrive at the following results. Tigerstedt's two fellow countrymen Diktonius and Gripenberg have an average of compound verbs of 2.07% (Stenkol, Stark men mörk, Jordisk omhet, Varsel and 1.29%, respectively, (Dentora tiden, Vid gränsen, Livets eko, Sista ronden). The figure for Bertil Malmberg is 2.07% (Vinden, Illusionernas träd, Dikter vid gränsen, Sångerna om samvetet och ödet).

Random samples of contemporary collections of poems yield the following results: Harry Martinson's Natur (Nature) and Hjalmar Gullberg's Kärlek i 20:e seklet (Love in the Twentieth Century) both barely reach 3%. Karin Boye's För trädets skull (For the Tree's Sake) has an average of compound verbs with particle of 1.56% and finally a selection of Jarl Hemmer's poetry from the 30s reaches 3%.

As already observed, Tigerstedt used this pregnant stylistic figure to make the text less dynamic and less active. It was a conscious attempt on the part of the author to achieve the classical dimension of regulation, austerity, stability and permanence in art. The relationship here to Hulme's antivitalism is evident. Tigerstedt's ideal abstraction of the defeat of time is to
be found in his »architectural prose« – an attempt to emphasize permanence: »Likt ett träd, vars rot plötsligt avhugges, nedföll han med utbredda armar, och över hans kropp frambrusade det segrande anfallet.«44

If we examine all parts of speech, Tigerstedt’s verbs represent 15%, in the four poetical works, which seems a rather low figure.45 In Tigerstedt’s prose passages containing many nouns the verb percentage is often under 15%.46 Logically, Tigerstedt’s preference for nouns seems to hold back his use of verbs. Hallberg makes the same reflection in connection with Jacobsen.47

The Totalitarian Abrogation of the Self

A prevailing aesthetic current in fascist literature was the emphasis on the emotive expression, an emotional revolt the result of which could be detected in Céline and Benn. Another current advocated a radical and austere formalism and extreme aestheticism. Politics was turned into aestheticism through the combination of formalism and a detached observer’s cold and exacting rendering of reality, as we have seen in Tigerstedt’s short stories. Here tradition was the key word and the strong belief in an innate moral system of values connected to kin and land, and which must be regenerated, gave this stance an idealistic motif. Needless to say, Tigerstedt’s aesthetic outlook largely corresponds to this second group.48

Modern Neoclassicists like Yeats, Pound, Eliot and Lewis called for organization and strictness in literature and this made them demand the same in society.49 Eliot, who had been influenced by Charles Maurras’s formalism, frequently attacked the modern cult of the personality, which he claimed was a heritage of Romanticism.50 To Eliot the absence of a strong tradition was the root of extreme individualism. Tradition and stability became keywords in the apology for the Old South in his Virginia lectures.51

Another feature of Tigerstedt’s style – often programmatically expressed52 – was his early reaction against what he saw as a sign of unfettered individualism, namely something akin to what Keats coined as the »egotistical sublime«, that is, what Tigerstedt viewed as an exalted degree of self-centeredness in contemporary literature. This reaction against penetrating self-analysis and obsession with the self, or what he viewed as solipsism, went hand in hand with his authoritarian programme. The cult of impersonality in art displayed by both T. S. Eliot and Tigerstedt could in essence be interpreted as an effort to escape from personal feelings and emotions.

Örnulf Tigerstedt made ample use of various genres in his life. The bulk of his work is in the lyric genre, but a lot of other genres are also represented. His preference for poetry may raise some interesting implications. In a discussion about genres and authoritarianism in literature Alastair Hamilton makes the following remark:
Poetry has generally been allowed a freedom denied to other forms of art. Not only does poetic license cover syntactical distortions, it also provides a certain moral impunity for an aristocracy of artists striving to create a world which becomes more secluded with the progress of poetic technique. Any image, however brutal, however opposed to humanitarian principles, has been offered up readily to the building of the ladder which leads to the Mallarmean azur.53

Perhaps this applies more to Bertel Gripenberg and the perpetual apology for violence and heroism in his poetry. In poetry, class hatred, elitism and contempt for the masses seem to have been tolerated to a higher degree. This is obvious in the case of Bertel Gripenberg, judging from the overall contemporary view. Tigerstedt was not allowed the same poetic license. The reason for this might be the fact that Gripenberg was already firmly established as a poet before entering the political scene. And a great deal happened politically and socially in society in the twenty years separating their débuts. Apart from this, the above observation on the genre of poetry has motivated the closer study of Tigerstedt's poetry undertaken in this chapter.

Tigerstedt's experiments in two genres were never repeated: the novel (Katedralen) and drama (Majoren på Björnby). And perhaps because of this they prove to be quite revealing as regards Tigerstedt's aesthetics. As indicated earlier, the characters in both the play from 1928 and the novel from 1946 are not rendered with sufficient psychological depth. The protagonists and the other characters are types or molds which the author furnishes with an ideology. They are merely the representatives of an idea. Their mental or emotional life is seldom described in detail and gives no psychological background to their actions. This is even more pronounced if we turn to the antagonists, for example the son Erik in the play and Finn Demacq in the novel. The technique is carried out quite deliberately by the author and exhibits Tigerstedt's reaction against the 20th century obsession with the self, the Freudian exploration of the unconscious and the modern psychological novel. Thus, the idea constituted the main thing for the author. The self must be subordinated to the great idea or the masterpiece of art – an idea earlier perhaps most pregnantly expressed in Swedish by Verner von Heidenstam in his poem »Namnlös och odödlig« (Nameless and Immortal) in Valfart och vandringårs (Pilgrimages and Wanderyears, 1888).

In Majoren på Björnby (1928) the same pattern can be seen. The drama is based on the fundamental opposition between individuality and divine mission. The characters do not come alive. They are types representing ideas. They are half human beings, uncomplicated and lacking in psychology. They express their views and sympathies in an obvious and artless way. The Major is equipped with a decorative Spartan heroism and his dominating shadow towers perpetually over his son Erik. Erik is lured by egotism and modern individualism and his wife Ulla is taken in by the
new emancipated spirits. The Major's daughter, Angelika, is a paragon of virtue and unspoiled goodness.

In the patriarchal world of the major a brotherhood in arms exists. The men are part of a communion of an almost religious magnitude united in their Carolinian collectivism and obedience:

Han var vår kamrat. Han var vår bror. Han var vårt kött. Vårt blod. Han var en av oss. – Och de. De gä bara vidare. Som om ingenting hänt. [...] Men ändå var det väl! Det var väl som gjorde det!

(He was our comrade. He was our brother. He was our flesh. He was our blood. He was one of us. – And they. They just go on. As if nothing had happened. [...] But still it was we! It was we who did it, Majoren på Björnby, p. 37. My underlining)

As we can see, Tigerstedt emphasizes the anti-individualistic features by repeating personal pronouns in this passage. The individual becomes subsumed in the »we«. In Katedralen the metaphor of the cathedral created an entity which united the cultural, aesthetic and political dimension into a metaphysical community. The only acting historical subject in the novel becomes destiny, the superior metaphysical will from which the individual has been left out.

In this context another aesthetic and ideological parallel may be drawn, this time to the Nazi writer Hanns Johst. In his drama Thomas Paine, which appeared a year before Tigerstedt’s, a related aesthetics can be found. We encounter a fundamental opposition - commercial life against community and the sacrifice of individuality in Johst’s drama. According to Uwe K. Ketelsen: »Es geht überhaupt nicht um Personen, die Träger einer Handlung werden könnten; Protagonist des Stücks ist eine Idee, [...]«. The parallel to Tigerstedt is striking. As in Tigerstedt’s play and later novel the characters are types and representatives of ideas. But Johst went even further by forgoing a connected plot. Another interesting difference lay in the fact that whereas Johst sided with the young against the old, Tigerstedt did the opposite. The lack of development in the characters is moreover, significant for both the novel and the play. Tigerstedt’s world is static. The author retains a firm authoritative grip, a strong author’s presence which impairs the normal creative artistic flow. As might be expected, a link between Tigerstedt and a fascist aesthetics has been established - the Auslöschung des Individuums. I will discuss this further shortly.

Reverting then to Tigerstedt’s poetry; can further support be found for this conscious banishment of the individual? The answer here is yes. Once more, a study of Tigerstedt’s four poetical works from the period yields an interesting fact about his use of personal and possessive pronouns. Comparing the use of I (me, my, mine) with You (your, yours) and We (us, ours) we obtain with the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>You</th>
<th>We</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Örnulf Tigerstedt</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jan Thavenius's word index to Hjalmar Gullberg's poetry has been used for the purpose of comparison. Gullberg's first six poetic works range from 1927 to 1937 and thus conveniently correspond in time. Four contemporary collections of poems each by Gripenberg, Diktonius and Malmberg have also been investigated. In addition, some other contemporary works of poetry have been examined. They represent, of course, a much smaller material. However, the results are clear-cut and decisive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>You</th>
<th>We</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hjalmar Gullberg</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertel Gripenberg</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmer Diktonius</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertil Malmberg</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarl Hemmer</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Martinson</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin Boye</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that none of the other authors' use of pronouns coincides with Tigerstedt's. The self-centered «I» is in broad majority with all of them. Of course the use of «You» or «I» is by no means discriminatory; it can give different connotations and varying degrees of intimacy or distance. Other pronouns can also be used to signal remoteness. But an overall feeling of greater remoteness connected with the use of the second person can hardly be dismissed, and the results are on the whole too striking to be coincidental.

Moreover, Tigerstedt often uses the first person singular with historical subjects (e.g., the legionario, the crusader, Ribb-Addi in HVÅG) which makes the results even more remarkable. In contrast, his sparse use of «We» is not really surprising, since collectivism basically was alien to his aristocratic temperament.

Let us finally take a look at Verner von Heidenstam's last work, Nya dikter (New Poems, 1915): I: 42%, you: 40%, we: 18%. This result is especially noteworthy if we consider their related authoritarian views. Heidenstam's use of pronouns comes closest to Tigerstedt's. This is further underlined by the fact that Heidenstam frequently employed historical subjects as his spokesmen in Nya dikter.

The general absence of self-centered currents in Tigerstedt's poetry often places the reader at a distance, which leads to feelings of discord. More than one critic has, probably on account of this, found his poetry too constructed and too artificial. The author's renunciation of «personal» poetry may well be understood from a psychological point of view. It may be that his lack of introspection was due to his lack of emotional security. The author's
constant emphasis on the need for self-control, of restraining and bridling his faculties, points in this direction.

My results here should not be regarded as conclusive in themself, but as evidence of a general tendency in Tigerstedt's oeuvre. Still the method might prove fruitful for further research. With reference to my earlier remarks about Tigerstedt's language, his use of pronouns seems to me to provide additional proof of a conscious authoritarian aesthetics directed at a political integration into a totalitarian society.

In chapter III:12 the claim has been made that Tigerstedt's earlier belief in a creative paradox — coincidentia oppositorum — seems to give way to a cruder, more primitive Manichaeeism around 1943. Examples have been given of how Tigerstedt's prose then loses its precision and much of its aesthetic quality. It becomes mechanical, monotonous and primitive. Ethnocentricity and crude stereotypes cripple his nationalist rhetoric and his depiction of the world appears to be affected by his deepened Manichaeeism. The author is all but swallowed up and overpowered by his fascist self.

After the War the belief in a creative paradox recurred and is even strengthened. By way of comparison with his four poetical works between 1930 and 1940 I have examined his last work of poetry Den blå porten from 1953. The result in terms of speech is very similar to the earlier material, with nouns representing 35% and verbs 17% of all parts of speech. The number of verbs employed with verb particles is lower than before (5%) but the figure is still comparatively high. The unusual use of personal pronouns is even more marked: I: 22%, you: 64% and we: 14%.

There is one major difference, though, and that is that the use of the present tense has increased greatly from the earlier 38% to 72%. One reasonable interpretation might be found in the impact of the Second World War. It brought Tigerstedt closer to the reality he had earlier winced from in his Romantic visions and the increased use of the present tense in Den blå porten might be understood in terms of the aged poet's profound feeling of living here and now. The observations presented above are thus confirmed by a reading of his last work of poetry and do not suggest any change in his world view. When considering Tigerstedt's oeuvre it is easy to see the parallels with Hanns Johst's and Gottfried Benn's fascist aesthetics. We have also seen the link with the Anglo-Saxon Neoclassicists or reactionaries, above all Lewis. It is now time to tackle the final question: is Tigerstedt's poetic rhetoric purely fascist?

An Authoritarian Rhetoric

In studies of the »fascist mentality» much has been written about the language aspect and how a fascist aesthetics remolds and distorts reality, manipulating it and making it an instrument for propaganda. Fascist rhetoric develops a few key concepts for mythical and ethical identifi-

ication.64
If we take a look at Tigerstedt's key words from a quantitative point of view, the most common nouns and adjectives in his poetry during the investigated period are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>värld (world)</td>
<td>stor (large, great)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand (hand)</td>
<td>tung (heavy, hard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natt (night)</td>
<td>hög (high, elevated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jord (soil, earth)</td>
<td>mörk (dark, somber)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tid (time, era)</td>
<td>kall (cold, rigid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gud, gudom (god)</td>
<td>hård (hard, callous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öga (eye)</td>
<td>tyst (silent, quiet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öde (destiny)</td>
<td>helig (holy, sacred)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjärta (heart)</td>
<td>tom (empty, void)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land (country, land)</td>
<td>mjuk (soft, tender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sten (stone)</td>
<td>fjärran (distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vår (spring)</td>
<td>sista (last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skog (forest, wood)</td>
<td>väldig (enormous, mighty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rike (realm, state)</td>
<td>mäktig (mighty, powerful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gräns (border, limit)</td>
<td>sällsam (strange)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fader (father)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent words seem to give a good picture of relevant elements in Tigerstedt's world view. We recognize the irrational currents in words such as night, dark, strange, heart, destiny, god, and the elements of rational construction and control in words such as border, realm, stone and the many adjectives which also serve to enhance the vision of power and immobility. This is related to the striving for magnitude and timelessness, »die monumentale Gestaltung und Ewigkeitszügen« of fascist aesthetics. The origin of this tendency can be traced back to German scholars; from J. J. Winckelmann's theories of »edle Einfalt und stille Grösse« to Oswald Spengler's interpretation of Goethe, Catharsis and the »ethical ideal of classic man«. Spengler greatly admired this Apollinian ideal and related it to Stoicism: »Was das Drama in einer feierlichen Stunde bewirkte, wünschte die Stoa über das ganze Leben zu verbreiten: die statuenhafte Ruhe, das willensfreie Ethos.«66 A view of art, perhaps, ultimately expressed and radicalized in Hitler's architectural plans and idea of art and the party congresses held at Nuremberg.

We can now see the connection with what has previously been indicated: Tigerstedt's obsession with the final and eternal form in the monumental work of art in the spirit of Spengler. Here, all motion is lacking and a religious meaning of disclosing the highest truth is achieved: »Because in the form of the great work of art redemption and peace are fulfilled« (Ty i
det stora konstverkets form är fullbordat – återlösningen och friden UÖ, p. 83). Then and only then can man relax from vigilance. His longings and strivings, which at the same time constitute his curse (cf. Buddhism and Schopenhauer) cease and the devourer Time is stopped.67

This is the »final form», a precise point where time, changeability and the eternal cycle of life cease to exist and where all divisions are resolved. We reach a terminal mold, a point where birth and death flow together.68 The theme of regeneration and the return to a long lost unity reappear and we come close to a view of art which Berman, proceeding from Heidegger's aesthetics, finds typical of a fascist view of art.69 The work of art becomes the temple where a nation can find its own destiny, and art becomes the birthplace of society. The temple reveals our destiny and provides us with the revelation about a superior and sublime truth.

»The society of classical Antiquity rested on the bones of slaves», Gottfried Benn had maintained in »Dorische Welt». Tigerstedt came to the same conclusion. Art needed allegiance, order and discipline, and only by demanding the same in society could culture prosper. The great work of art, the monument or the Cathedral became a beacon which cemented the nation. Art became the mother of society and ultimately the mother of its organisation and government. Art became the beginning, the origin, and the lost unity.

Reverting to the keywords, the connection with blood, kin, soil and patriarchate can be traced in words like soil, father, land, woods, realm and holy. It has been noted before, a fundamental Nazi word like »blood» is altogether lacking in the two first books and not very frequent (4,6) in the last two.70 Grotenfelt's protofascist poetry, where »blood» is a keyword, serves as a contrast. Let us now turn to the qualitative key concepts signalled by keywords charged with mythical value. Here we observe that the concept of »Sendung» or divine mission with a calculated mythological value, which was fundamental to Tigerstedt's philosophy of destiny (»öde»), is richly represented. Another aspect is the fascist view of art, where the poet was seen as an intermediary. Poetry could thus better describe and foretell the future.71 This thought was not alien to Tigerstedt: »The reality of fiction is its own value. At times, its reality is more real than reality itself».72 »The illusion is despite everything more important than reality,[...]» (The Spring Speech). This is tied to Tigerstedt's strong mythological bias. By leaving his ivory tower, ultimately, he enters the political scene. To him, being an artist as well as a social creature meant involvement. To him, the committed writer should dedicate himself to advocating certain beliefs, especially political and ideological ones. Art should express the »spirit of our time». However, the fascist prophet should be a »geistiger Führer» who based his visions on his contacts with the people. This is not the case with Örnulf Tigerstedt, although the leader principle or the Messianic motif is encountered in the frequent use of words
such as god, king, emperor, prince (konung, kung, kejsare, furste), Caesar and other great men of history.

The number of words and metaphors denoting a military or martial activity is astonishing. But, as has been pointed out earlier, they almost never relate to the present. And now we see where Tigerstedt's aesthetics differs from that of fascism. Apart from the above-mentioned differences, one thing seems to be especially striking. Tigerstedt generally lacks what has been called Trunkenheit des Stils – the intoxication of style – which was characteristic of fascism. The fanatical expression of ecstatic feelings in connection with heroic death and occurs rarely in Tigerstedt's writings. Unlike Grotenfelt, who with cult of death and his justification of the ultimate sacrifice made violence into something sublime, Tigerstedt shrinks from the very idea of death. It is true that, in his prose, the word sacrifice (offer) is frequently used but it never directly, at least not in connection with the present, relates to an apology for war or the ultimate sacrifice so crucial to fascism.

Let us return again to genres and subgenres. The weakness, in Berman's otherwise excellent attempt to display immanent structures and themes in a fascist aesthetics, lies in the fact that fascism, Nazism and right-wing extremism are all compounded into »fascism«. Thus anti-Semitism becomes, quite incorrectly, a cornerstone of fascism.

In the case of Örnulf Tigerstedt it can be claimed that the novel Katedralen fits into a literary fascist paradigm. At one level the novel could be described as »an adultery novel« (Ehebruchroman) – an old subgenre which underwent a special development in the 19th century. This genre or kind traditionally described the individual in quest of happiness in a society where this was blocked by social institutions. In the fascist-inspired counterpart, Berman claims, »Biologie ersetzte Psychologie, die Reaktion ersetzte den Liberalismus, und bezeichnenderweise trat der Mann als zentrale Figur an die Stelle der Frau«. Here the novel is no longer a mode of expression for social criticism but becomes a mouthpiece for biological regeneration in a degenerate and sick world. Again, no individual development can be detected. The danger of female emancipation is underlined, the female's natural role being that of mother. Women must submit to male dominance. The parallel with the previous discussion of the view of women in Katedralen is obvious. »Magda«, short for Magdalena – the fallen woman, is a child of her own degenerate age. She has lax morals and demands personal happiness and freedom (p. 116). Örjan, in exaggerated and oversimplified contrast, possesses the masculine virtues of self-discipline and will to submit. The theme of regeneration is also present in the fall of Magda, her purge from sin and final surrender to destiny (pp. 208–211). The same can be said when Örjan falls and is purged of hubris.

The fascist cult of vitality and masculinity which often results in anti-intellectualism and phallic idolatry may also be detected in Tigerstedt's
massive use of symbols of male reproduction: the sword, the tower, the cathedral.

On the other hand, most subgenres and many structural themes which Berman and others find typical in fascist literature, are missing in Tigerstedt's oeuvre. Despite Tigerstedt's experience of war, modern warfare did not appeal as writing material for him. He never wrote a war novel («Kriegsroman»), a common fascist subgenre. Nor is there any »heroisch-völkisch» connection, which Klaus Vondung finds so typical of Nazi literature.75 Katedralen is not a Bildungsroman-Erziehungsroman of fascist type. In fact, hardly anything is said about the protagonist's family background. There is no idealization of rural life and nature, as in Hamsun. The only projection of negative traits on foreign elements which appear in his writings is during 1943–1944 (the Slavs). And not even then is this projection unambiguous. Turning to the poetry we find no »Weihe-dichtung» (»poetry of offering») and no »Kampflyrik» (»fighting poetry»). He was not attracted to the ballad, a popular fascist genre.

To sum up, Örnulf Tigerstedt's authoritarian rhetoric borders on what I have called a fascist aesthetics, but there are important differences. His authoritarian imperative consisted in the creation of an authoritarian style—an »architectural prose», a controlled, precisely chiselled and highly restrained static style as a means to constructing a totalitarian national identity. In the event, his style goes hand in hand with his own deep esprit de contradiction. With his traditional reverence for Gustavian Neoclassicism and impressed by the force and vitalism of a new mechanical age he mixed Modernistic and classical features into a strange hybrid.

This attempt to mold an authoritarian aesthetics is, in Örnulf Tigerstedt's case, borne out by a linguistic study of his texts. Style and tendency in Tigerstedt's writings thus meet and intermingle in a totalitarian whole.

His artistic leanings toward totalitarianism led him to outline an authoritarian rhetoric based on an aristocratic and elitist conception of art. You were born to be an artist, whereas learning and scholarship could be attained through study. To him, art was and always had been an aristocratic or upper class enterprise. His ultimate conclusion, therefore, was that any notion of democracy or equality was fundamentally hostile to all art.

At a personal level Tigerstedt's aesthetic imperative and the rejection of the inner life of the individual and his emotions prevented him from appreciating the innovative currents in 20th century Swedish literature. It made him blind to the quality, the development and the great achievements of his own Swedish-speaking colleagues Elmer Diktonius, Gunnar Björling and Edith Södergran.
IV. Summing up

To sum up, then, Örnulf Tigerstedt was in many ways a true literary representative of the aristocratic «Varangian spirit». The manorial Finland-Swedish culture, which had survived in some inland regions, was his native environment. He grew up and was shaped by the strange, secluded, yet cosmopolitan, milieu of the Finland-Swedish herrgård, an aristocratic atmosphere rooted in a refined civilization, draped in rustic homespun cloth and residing in old wooden manor houses with birch avenues. The Gustavian quintessence with its restraint, refined cultivation, and aestheticism was founded on man's eternal endeavor to create form and culture in chaotic natural surroundings. This general outlook had in this once ruling class of civil servants been mixed with a strong belief in tradition, loyalty and obedience to authority. This refinement and the elitist belief in the superiority of his own social and ethnical group followed Örnulf Tigerstedt throughout his life.

It is symptomatic of his vision du monde that most of his later ideas and principles were already embryonic in his earliest adolescent works and that his world view did not alter much in later life.

The basis of Örnulf Tigerstedt's entire vision du monde was his anthropology. The belief that man was predominantly evil by nature led him to regard the question of man's freedom, accountability and individuality in a particular light. The perception of the finite and imperfect nature of human beings led to acceptance of the fact that they must acknowledge and be guided by values that are external to themselves. To Tigerstedt, an authoritarian organization of society was therefore the only alternative.

This was also the primary link between him and men like Niccolò Machiavelli, Oswald Spengler, Wyndham Lewis and Ernst Jünger. This was, moreover, the platform which united contemporary Finland-Swedish authors of the extreme right-wing in their quest for Right authoritarianism and a society based on traditional hierarchy. Tigerstedt's truly obsolete and unrealistic hierarchical conception of man and life flourished, at the outset, due to his innate lack of sense of reality.

Örnulf Tigerstedt turned fiction and poetry into reality. Instead of trying to interpret and grasp reality the author escaped to »the Great Perspective« — a world of ideas and void of real human beings. It was the triumph of Apollinian restraint and form, a personal, distorted world under an eclipse. The poet's basic attitude became that of a bystander, beholder and aesthete, in an existence which he regarded as futile. For a man with this stance myths became vital. The aesthete in him became enchanted and fascinated by the magnificence of sheer power and brute violence.
If we define naturalism as rationalism, positivism, empiricism, evolutionism, materialism, determinism, and individualism, Örnulf Tigerstedt's formalism could be seen as the ultimate reaction. Based on a domestic, secluded tradition Tigerstedt's world view was strongly influenced by the anti-naturalism of the 1910s.

The attack on and decomposition of the old hierarchical society and its traditions, the rapid change in social patterns and new ideas of man's accountability and untrammeled freedom were experienced as lethal threats to the author and his social class. They clung to tradition, duty and the old relations of domination and subordination, of command and serve.

It was a return to the image of a lost golden era when man knew his place in the world, when authority and control dominated a patriarchal and totalitarian society where the medieval cathedral represented the community's united effort. In this situation, the dream of and search for a deliverer – a Caesar – appear. At one level, this was also the abrogation of individual responsibility, the longing for a world of black and white, a form of nihilism. Tigerstedt's attitude of the pirate, with his flapping Jolly Roger, was thus also a way of pushing aside the ethical dimension of life. Örnulf Tigerstedt, the aesthete and intellectual, was therefore fascinated by the anarchic and rebellious side of fascist movements. Their esprit de contradiction, vitality and youthfulness attracted him. In his case, aestheticism was turned into a raison d'être for politics.

He was impressed by the fascist leaders not only as hero-types, but by the fascist promise to turn aesthetics into politics. They seemed to recognize the superiority of the creative man and the importance of the ruling elite. The social status of authors and artists was to be improved and they would have a more vital and decisive role to play in the future. In this respect, his commitment to the Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung was full of future promise. No doubt, much in his world view was close to the fascist ideal – a pro-fascist attitude he reached by the aristocratic route.

This is, I believe, the key to an understanding of the author. The man of tradition, order and refined civilization was at the same time captivated by vitality and revolutions, especially during the 1920s. He himself was very much a child of his own time. He himself was part of the decadence of the modern urban life he rejected. He was the alienated and rootless modern man who, torn between ideals, reality and fiction chooses extremism. He was tormented by the relativism, skepticism and lack of idealism which he simultaneously so furiously attacked in contemporary society. This also accounts for the author's contradictory amalgamation of rational structures and irrational features, the rationalism of form and culture juxtaposed with the irrational concepts of nation, myth and destiny.

The word amalgamation must be stressed, since his world was the result of eclectic thinking. Thus, although Spengler loomed large in Tigerstedt's
thinking, Carlyle, Norström, Stoddard, Friedell and Kjellén played a significant part.

The drive toward unity and holism was a product of rationalization rather than belief in Tigerstedt's thinking. His did not have a mechanistic, atomistic Darwinian outlook. He maintained that the whole could not be completely «explained» in terms of its parts. Everything living strives toward unity of form and structure. This morphological insight favored a totalitarian or holistic view akin to Spengler's. True enough, Spengler's ideas could be regarded as partly influenced by positivism, but were still basically oriented toward organic and supra-individual causalities and processes. It appears more to be an influence in terms of terminology, for example, the use of typological and morphological models when attempting to understand history. This nomenclature is the result of Tigerstedt's study of Spengler. And as we have observed before, Tigerstedt acknowledged that man has »a measure of free will« within his metaphysical Destiny. His organic view of various cultures remained an anti-evolutionary conception.

The poet did not believe in complete fatalism. His understanding of destiny does not lead to a total acceptance of irrationalism and naturalism. On the contrary, a contradictory rational instinct and emphasis on man's willpower are to be found in his texts. This is the reason why Tigerstedt could not accept Nazidom with its ultimate irrationality and insistence on natural instinct and feeling.

To Tigerstedt, nature was man's eternal enemy, dangerous in its alluring beauty. It had to be fought with formalism. In this respect the poet was a clear-cut rationalist. On the other hand, Örnulf Tigerstedt reacted strongly against natural science and its claim to »explain« everything in rational terms. Throughout his oeuvre one can sense a powerful protest against the positivistic claim that mankind can analyze even the subtleties of nature and the human soul. The strong belief in a mysterious dimension in life and the conviction that man was profoundly irrational points to immaterialism. Tigerstedt's rudimentary anthropology suggests the logic of a mind-body dualism, where the world of flux presented to the senses is sharply contrasted with the world of forms known by the intellect.

Two seemingly contradictory poles were present in his world view: his conservative patriotism and love of the soil and a Romantic disposition inclined toward a cosmopolitan exoticism. The same dualism is to be found in the contradiction between rationalism and irrationalism perpetually present in his work. This is also something that Payne found typical of the authoritarian Right. 26 Tigerstedt's basic and early binary dichotomy Nature-Culture, Chaos-Form was based on the conception of a creative paradox - coincidentia oppositorium. However, this dichotomy gradually grew more intense and manifest both in his style and world view. Around 1943 it resulted in a rudimentary and primitive dualism or, to be more exact, a crude Manichaeism.
It was not a matter of a change of world view, only a radicalization. Moreover, the process was not of a lasting nature. His Swedish period displays a renewed and stronger understanding of creative unity. Since Tigerstedt was attracted to both poles, his world view tended more toward a pluralistic conception, such as Manichaeism, than a Monistic view. Manichaeism is at its core a type of Gnosticism and therefore a view of the world that offers salvation through the attainment of a special mysterious knowledge, something that is consistent with Tigerstedt’s association with freemasonry in later years.

In the case of Örnulf Tigerstedt traditional elements of an aristocratic and reactionary right-wing philosophy were eclectically interwoven with more radical 20th century impulses from Kjellén, Norström and Spengler into an aesthetic and a totalitarian whole. I have attempted to show how the intermingling of ideology and mode of expression were fused into a whole in Tigerstedt’s œuvre - a whole firmly cast in a mold, a vision du monde based on regressive national myths. The basis was a hierarchical and feudal scheme of values such as anti-intellectualism, anti-materialism, tragic heroism and the notion that man is evil by nature. This patriarchal ideology had been nursed and conserved in the secluded Finland-Swedish world of the herrgård, the manorial estate. With its Spartan and Lutheran elements it had deep roots in the expansionist war policy of the former Swedish Great Power.

This world was quickly decomposing by the turn of the century owing to industrialization, urbanization, growing democratization and the newly won supremacy of the Finnish language. At a moment when the hierarchical order of the ruling class had been brought down some of its members, like the young Örnulf Tigerstedt, who could not cope with the new values, buried themselves in an outdated authoritarian tradition, clinging desperately to ultimate formalism.

In fact, Örnulf Tigerstedt was not such an exotic and alien bird as he is usually depicted. His views were shared by other authors with a similar historic and social background. It is true, he went further than most, he often looked for radical solutions and he had a predilection for binary poles. But this dualism was part of his heritage.

At heart he was a romantic whose thinking was based on emotions and tradition. He was deeply aware of this emotional and passionate disposition, but fought it all his life. His constant need of rational constructions and fear of passion and nature cannot be understood otherwise. Tragically, however, he lacked the intellectual power to evaluate modern society from a rational point of view. He became the bearer of an outdated tradition which in his case had hardened into the bedrock of a philosophy incapable of adjusting to the modern world. His world view was essentially an eclectic »continuum« of traditional conservative ideas, but some of these ideas had been charged with new mythological
implications and been placed in a new historical context, under the influence of modernization, fascist ideology, and a strong fear of Bolshevism. This was his dilemma, and he shared it with others of his social background, which lends some credence to E. R. Gummerus's quoted words at the beginning of this study: «If anyone ever was close to formulating an ideology for the Finland-Swedish upper class it was Örnulf Tigerstedt».

Örnulf Tigerstedt was a skeptic who, lacking belief in a quest for truth, chose to behold «la comédie humaine» from a cosmic perspective where life, suffering, love and compassion were indifferent phenomena in a magnificent morphological process of evolution.

However, under the mail and the visor, Tigerstedt was an altogether different man. He was, probably due to a very dominating father, insecure and flinched from reality. He was a romanticist and adventurer constantly in quest of new horizons. He was often undogmatic and surprisingly free from serious prejudice.

A romantic figure, a dreamer and an illusionist, almost a troubadour as portrayed by Francois Villon or Ezra Pound, he found it difficult to distinguish reveries from reality. He was, in many ways, one of the last Gustavians.

And yet we must remember that through his writings and the way they were interpreted he became a tool for fascist propaganda in Scandinavia. Today he seems to be doomed to oblivion, because of his political views. Nevertheless, he was undeniably an excellent stylist and in the 1930s he wrote poetry which is still capable of captivating us in its intensively exacting coldness and strange beauty:

Ett block ville jag vara,  
i porfyr.  
Ett mejslat anlete  
lugnt sceende över floden.  
[---]  
Ett block ville jag vara.  
Svart porfyr varde mitt anlete.  
Ej en rispa,  
ej ett fäste för en sprängande rot.  
Tigande en blick  
seende över vatten.  
[---]

Så vill jag forma min dikt -  
ett block likt,  
en tung vila,  
ett pulsslag  
fjättrat i lydnad.  

---

A Block I wish I were,  
Of porphyry.  
A chiselled face  
Calmly looking over the river.  
[---]  
A Block I wish I were.  
Let black porphyry be my visage.  
Not a scratch,  
Nor a hold for a bursting root.  
Muted a look  
Looking over waters.  
[---]

Thus, I want to form my poem -  
Like a block,  
A heavy rest,  
A pulsation  
In obedience restrained.
Notes

1. Wyndham Lewis, The Art of Being Ruled, p. 391, quoted from Harrison, p. 84.
7. Willner, pp. 5-6, claimed that Hagar Olsson was enthusiastic about all sorts of activism, also fascism until 1933. See also Johannes Salminen, 1984b, pp. 97-98, concerning several articles by Hagar Olsson, from 1918-1919 in which she clearly sided with White Finland. The author of these articles was far from the profound humanist and pacifist presented by H. Svensson (Cf., ch., II:2). About the opposition in Olsson's collectivism and vitalism in Det bada under: See Ekelund, 1956, pp. 168-169.
8. Harrison, pp. 30-33, Cox and Dyson, pp. 116-117, see also Tom Normand, Wyndham Lewis - The Artist. (R. Wellek disagrees with Harrison, Cox and Dyson on this point in A History of Modern Criticism: English Criticism. Vol 5, 1985, pp. 146-152.).
9. Referring to Nietzsche's theory of an Apollonian dimension of control, form and order and a Dionysian dimension of freedom, chaos and ecstasy in Nietzsche's Birth of Tragedy (Geburt der Tragodie, Nietzsche, Werke im drei Bände, pp. 21f).
10. T.E. Hulme, Speculations, pp. 113-115.
11. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
18. Quoted from Franz Schonacher, p. 170.
20. Olof Enckell, "En litterär reaktion", HBL, 10 Jan 1924.
21. Boileau had translated the anonymous classical treatise On the Sublime and Matthew Arnold had used the phrase "Grand Style" in his Oxford lectures "On Translating Homer" in 1861. It is, however, doubtful whether Tigerstedt knew him. As already mentioned, Spengler also touches on the concept of a Grand Style - grossen Stil: Der Unterg., I, pp. 172, 260, 262, 450. Bertel Hintze had used the expressions "Ars Militans", p. 8, "Monumental stil", pp. 44, 47, 72, "Stränga stilen", pp. 54, 45, 94, "enkel storlinjig stil", p. 74 in his Renässansmedaljer. Characteristic of this style is its simple directness and seriousness. Cf. Hintze p. 79 and Wanscher p. 140: "Den store Stil er Alvorener i Kunst, <...><---<---<---<--- den der aabner Øjet for Tingenes Helhed, slutetelig ogsaa for Tingenes Sammenhæng." ("The Grand style is the gravity in art, <---<---<---<--- the one which opens your eye for the whole of matters, finally also for the context of matters."). Cf. also Hans Ruin, Världen i min fickspegel, p. 99.
23. The use of "och" in an initial position is a rhetoric figure which is quite common in the Swedish Bible, see G. Holm, pp. 29ff. Another characteristic feature from the French inspired age which is frequent in Tigerstedt's poem is the putting of the qualifier or attribute in an initial position: "Dvalsmannad röst, hänsövrna släktleds stämm", "och glittrande kring smyckad krans i mussian vattnet faller". Cf. Aftelius, pp. 87-88.
24. This is obvious in the poetry of Kellgren, Leopold and Franzén. The tradition is still manifest in Tegnér.

25. The prose excerpt above (NOV. pp. 55-56) contains 30% nouns, 17.5% adjectives and adverbs, 15% verbs, 8% pronouns. A survey of Tigerstedt’s poetry from the period on trial (VIDG, BÖDE, HVÄG, SISTA) shows that 35% of the used words are nouns (adjectives and adverbs 18%, verbs 15%, pronouns 13%).


29. Kaplan, p. 141.

30. The Swedish language has large possibilities to create compound words. Since this is not the case in English several of the translations used here hardly lives up to the original, i.e., it cannot be done with English compounds in this example.

31. Many verbs in Swedish can be used with a particle before the verb, in the form of a compound, and without with preposition. This creates a difference in meaning, style and vigor.

32. This is common in the Bible and characteristic of Latinized style. In Swedish the present participle is much less frequent compared to English. It is hard to use in a active way in Sw.


36. Mjöberg, pp. 104-105. Hallberg, 1966, p. 17 where 35% (quite accordingly) of nouns in Levertin’s Legender och visor is the highest figure. Cf. Cassirer, 1972, p. 35. This is even more striking since Tigerstedt’s high average is based on the entire text of four works of poetry while Mjöberg’s and Hallberg’s highest figures are found in singular poems!

37. EXC, p. 35; ("Man-bägskyttan"): 44.8 %, NOV, p. 11 (the last paragraph): 41%, UÖ, pp. 164-165 (the last paragraph): 40.1 %, KAT, pp. 17-18 (the first paragraph): 39.7%, Ibid., p. 18, (the second paragraph): 42.7%.


39. Cassirer, p. 35.

40. Hallberg, 1979, p. 130, based on Albeck, p. 18ff., Cassirer, 1972, p. 35. Albeck gives an average of 30% for Danish poetry but her material is lacking in quantity and must therefore be regarded cautiously.

41. Here and in the following only verbs which have an optional use of particle (a compound verb) or not are counted.

42. The Chinese translations in this collection have been omitted.

43. Jarl Hemmer, Skrifter in minnesupplaga, Helsingfors 1945, Helg (1929), Nordan (1936), and Klockan i havet (1939), pp. 203-278.

44. EXC, p. 62. Here this feature is pronounced in the choice of compound verbs with a particle directly tied to the verb in three cases. The separation of verb and particle would give a more common mode of expression here.


46. NOV, p. 73: 11%. EXC, p. 35: 12,2 %, KAT, pp. 17-18: 12,1 %, p. 18: 10,4 %.

47. Hallberg, 1979, p. 130.
49. Harrison, pp. 196ff.
50. Berman, p. 94.
52. See letter 19 Oct. 1919 in copy-book (unknown addressee): "And what about Ragnar Ekelund. What good does it do to bring forward your tattered soul to the public for gracious public inspection and evaluation?" etc. Cf. a letter to Annita in September 1933. Letters to A. H-G. 6 January 1946: "Katedralen is a meditated reaction against 'The literature of analysis'". 11 Dec. 1946: "I'm turning more and more into an opponent of the psychoanalyzing and the over analyzing of the individual in general." All in ÖT's Coll., ÅAL.
55. Ibid., p. 57.
58. Based on Gripenberg's Den stora tiden (1928), Vid gränsen (1930), Livets eko (1932), and Sista ronden (1941).
59. Based on Sstenkol (1927), Stark men mörk (1930), Jordisk ömhet (1938), and Varsel (1942).
60. Vinden (1929), Illusionernas träd (1932), Dikter vid Gränsen (1935), and Sångerna om sannhet och ödet (1936).
61. Based on Jarl Hemmer, Skrifter i minnesupplaga, Helsingfors 1945, Helg (1929), Nordan (1936), and Klockan i havet (1939) pp. 203-278.
62. Based on Natur (1934).
63. Based on Karin Boye's För trädets skull (1935).
65. Here not in a Christian sense. (God = 8)
67. Cf. SISTE, p. 27, UÖ, pp. 78-79 and "Frihet och Lydnad".
68. ÖT, "Frihet och lydnad".
70. The word "blood" can, however, frequently be found in Tigerstedt's prose works especially in expressions which seem influenced by Spengler's language. See chapter Ill.3.
72. SKOTTÖ, p. 155. Cf. ibid., p. 130, UÖ, p. 141.
74. Berman, p. 86.
76. Payne, 1980b, p. 17.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>ÅAL</td>
<td>Åbo Academy Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>AKS</td>
<td>Akateeminen Karjala-seura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Aktiva Studentförbundet</td>
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<tr>
<td>A H-G</td>
<td>Alrik Hummel-Gumaelius</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>Bertel Appelberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Bertel Gripenberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLÅP</td>
<td>Den blå porten</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLM</td>
<td>Bonniers litterära magasin</td>
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<tr>
<td>BÖDE</td>
<td>Block och öde</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEKA</td>
<td>Det ekar under valven</td>
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(p.=poem, rev.= review).

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On February 25th 1934 the Finland-Swedish author, Örnulf Tigerstedt, delivered his speech »The New Puritan» before 1,200 enthusiastic students in the Concert Hall in Stockholm. It was a vehement attack on the social decay he claimed marked his time. The debate that followed and the memoirs of influential scholars bear witness to the magnetism and fascination his rhetoric inspired. A year later the critic Sven Stolpe called him the greatest name in modern Swedish poetry.

In the 30s and 40s Tigerstedt was a leading figure among a group of extreme right-wing authors at Söderström's publishing house. This faction included among others Tito Colliander, Göran Stenius and E.R. Gummerus. They became known as the »Black Guard».

The book presents a carefully argued, nuanced and extensively researched exposition of the group and Örnulf Tigerstedt's world view. Göran O:son Waltå traces the links to Tigerstedt's ethnic and social background and the impact of contemporary Continental and Scandinavian fascism on literature.