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Creating Finland by the Lutheran Clergy

Identities and Constitution under the Kingdom of Sweden and the Russian Empire

Hana Takeuchi

1. Introduction

“Swedes we are no longer, Russians we cannot become; we must be Finns.”⁽¹⁾ These words are said to have been uttered by Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806-1881), a Finnish intellectual and the founder of Finnish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century.⁽²⁾ Finland was a territory located between and occasionally under the rule of two powerful neighbours, the Kingdom of Sweden and the Russian Empire, gaining its independence for the first time in 1917. However, under the Russian Empire’s rule in the mid-nineteenth century, Snellman’s call to search for “who we are” was led by Finnish intellectuals. In this context, the movement to assert the uniqueness of the Finnish language and culture led to the compilation of the *Kalevala*, a national work of epic poetry.⁽³⁾ Snellman was one of the Fennomans in this Finnish nationalist movement.⁽⁴⁾ The upsurge of cultural nationalism that characterized the “modern” era has been studied as a central issue in Finnish history.⁽⁵⁾

However, a question arises here. Before language and ethnic culture became the focus of attention in the mid-nineteenth century, was there a distinct Finnish regional identity within the Kingdom of Sweden or the Russian Empire?

Several studies have shown that civic elites were aware of a Finnish constitution and regional identity even in the early modern era. Petri Karonen points out that Finland was established as an administrative district in the diet of the Kingdom of Sweden (*Riksdag*) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a clear distinction in the *Riksdag* and administrative documents between the “Kingdom” (*Rike*), which meant Sweden as a whole, and the “Grand Duchy”

(1) Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen, *A History of Finland*, Espoo, Weilin+Göös, 1984, p. 181.

(2) Some say it was written by Adolf Ivar Arwidsson (1791-1858).

(3) The *Kalevala* is a work of epic poetry compiled as a story by Elias Lönnrot in 1835 from an oral tradition passed down in Karelia. The epic recognized Karelia as the birthplace of Finnish national culture and birthed the idea of a “Greater Finland” (an irredentist ideology intended to expand Finnish territory to include Russia, Karelia, and Estonia) in the early twentieth century.

(4) A movement among largely Swedish-speaking Finns who aimed to promote the Finnish language and Finnish culture through the use of the Finnish language in order to enhance national consciousness.

(5) Recent overviews of Finnish history have summarised the rise of cultural nationalism since the mid-nineteenth century. Henrik Meinander, *A History of Finland*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 87-92; David Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 91-102.

(*Storfurstendömet*), which referred to the Finnish region within the Kingdom.⁽⁶⁾ Moreover, Finnish citizens actively distinguished between “Finland” and “Sweden” when presenting their petitions in the Riksdag. On the other hand, Jouko Nurmiainen emphasizes that in the Riksdag, Finnish elites asserted their privilege by using the terms of the common good of the realm, rather than “Finland” or “Finns”.⁽⁷⁾ These studies show that while civic elites were aware of the region of Finland within the realm, in so far as they identified as Finns, their identification was part of a multi-layered identity, and not as clearly delineated as in the context of later Finnish nationalism.

Yet while previous studies have focused on the civic elite, in early modern Finland, as much or more than civic elites, it was the clergy who led Finland politically and culturally as intellectuals. The Finnish clergyman Jakob Tengström (1755-1832), who was active from the period of Swedish rule into the early period of rule by the Russian empire, delivered the following speech on behalf of Finland when King Gustav IV Adolf of Sweden visited Åbo in October 1796.

Oh, noble king! Father of lands! The people of Finland kiss and praise your scepter, then see and celebrate the day when you will fulfil their hopes of happiness!⁽⁸⁾

In March 1817, during the Russian occupation, Tengström sent the following circular letter of praise to the Russian Emperor.

Our most all-merciful Lord and Emperor oversees, ...what is truly best for his Finnish subjects...⁽⁹⁾

Tengström sent these political messages on behalf of Finland, which would have created a close relationship between Finland and the King of Sweden and the Tsar of Russia. The Lutheran clergy also preached in the community, thereby contributing to the religious disciplining of their congregations and the development of a sense of national belonging.

As Pasi Ihalainen indicates, the Lutheran clergy played an important role in Scandinavian political culture, so much so that it has been carried over to the present day.⁽¹⁰⁾ It has been generally

(6) Petri Karonen, ‘Finland in the Swedish Realm during the 17th and 18th Centuries’, in A. Bárány and S. Matikainen (eds.), *Small Nations on the Borderlines of Great Powers*, Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2013, pp. 81-94.

(7) Jouko Nurmiainen, ‘Particular Interests and the Common Good in Swedish Mid-18th-Century Diet Politics: the “Finnish” Perspective’, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 32 (4), 2007, pp. 388-404.

(8) Gustav Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström: Universitetsman, kyrkoledare och nationsbyggare*, Helsinki, Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2012, p. 90.

(9) Markku Heikkilä and Simo Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2016, p. 114.

(10) Pasi Ihalainen, ‘Towards a Religion of Popular Sovereignty, Democracy and Equality: The Lutheran Sermon as a Nexus of Traditional and Modern Discourses on Political Values and a Collective Identity’, in K. Sinnemäki,

believed that religion was relegated to the margins of social life during the Enlightenment, on the assumption that modernization and secularization would proceed simultaneously. In recent years, however, there the discursive analysis of eighteenth-century sermons has led to a reinterpretation of the Scandinavian Lutheran clergy as an institution that combined traditional religion and Enlightenment. It is also becoming clear that the Lutheran clergy, as an intellectual elite, influenced people's sense of political and religious belonging through their sermons.⁽¹¹⁾ Anthony Smith explains the formation of national identity in terms of religion. In early modern times, religion and ethnic sentiment were combined to create communities, and modern nationalism is based on this tradition. Religion was the basis of modern nationalism and an important element linking national thought in the early modern and modern.⁽¹²⁾ The close relationship between state and religion in the early modern period can be seen in terms of Confessionalization.⁽¹³⁾ On the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, each confession of faith established its own doctrine, and the state and the church controlled the beliefs of the people. This situation contributed to the establishment of confessional unity within the territory of the ruler and the expansion of state power. In this sense, the words and actions of these clergymen nurtured an early modern political culture in which we can see the constitution and identity of Finland in its infancy.

In this study, based on this existing literature, first, I examine the political and cultural role of the clergy in Finnish society under Swedish rule in terms of their sermons. Next, I explore the political and cultural identity of the Lutheran clergy by examining their role in the Swedish constitution and their political, social, and cultural context in Finland. Then, I expand the scope of my research into the Russian imperial period to show how the Finnish clergy created the Finnish constitution through the reorganisation of the church while building a new relationship with the Russian Empire.⁽¹⁴⁾ Tengström acted strategically according to the situation

A. Portman, J. Tilli, and R. H. Nelson (eds.), *On the Legacy of Lutheranism in Finland: Societal Perspectives*, Helsinki, Finnish Literature Society, 2019, pp. 292-308.

- (11) Pasi Ihalainen, 'The Enlightenment Sermon: Towards Practical Religion and a Sacred National Community', in Joris van Eijnatten (eds.), *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, pp. 219-260; Id., 'The Enlightenment and the Redefinition of Political Loyalties', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 32 (4), 2007, pp. 346-357.
- (12) Smith holds that a sense of moral community consisting of common origin beliefs, unified worship, and equality constitutes the essence of political religion (nationalism), and that only a sacred religious sense can explain the persistence of national identity. Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 21-46; Ihalainen, 'Towards a Religion', p. 295.
- (13) Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'The Concept of "Confessionalization": A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute', *Memoria y Civilización. Anuario De Historia*, 4, 2001, pp. 95-100.
- (14) The sermons and discourses of the clergy examined in this paper are limited to the period of Swedish rule. Regarding sermons under the Russian Empire, Ihalainen mentions a political sermon by Gustaf Gadolin (1769-1843) at the closing of the diet in 1809, but as far as I know there are no studies of sermons delivered to the wider public. Ihalainen, 'Towards a Religion', p. 299; Michael Bregnsbo and Pasi Ihalainen, 'Gradual Reconsiderations of Lutheran Conceptions of Politics', in M. Bregnsbo, P. Winton, and P. Ihalainen (eds.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution: Nordic Political Cultures, 1740-1820*, Farnham, Routledge, 2011, pp. 116-117.

from time to time as a political and religious leader for Finland to survive between the Swedish and Russian powers. I would like to see how Finland in its formative years was represented in the words and deeds of such a clergyman.

2. Clergy and local community under Swedish rule

The following is an excerpt from a sermon preached by Karl Fredrik Bergh in 1813 at Suonenjoki in eastern Finland.

...thanking God for still giving us to live in peace and rest and enjoy the blessings of the land, for giving us the bread to eat, for blessing the works of our hands, for giving us health and clothes, for giving us a good harvest.⁽¹⁵⁾

The audience in the chapel of this parish were all peasants. I would like to mention another sermon that was given in another parish.

...the collective fear of God is like a flood which gives bliss and wealth for the land by the help of livelihood and trading business, as well as many other earthly blessings from God.⁽¹⁶⁾

This sermon was preached by Lars Mathesius at Jakobstad in Österbotten, a port on the west coast of Finland that was home to many merchants, with a thriving trade in tar and other products.

2.1. Finnish society from the parish perspective

The economic and cultural aspects of Finland differ between the coastal areas and the inland areas. The coastal area was the centre of politics and commerce, its scattered cities were inhabited by the upper classes, including the officials who administered the kingdom, the bourgeoisie who made their living from commerce, and the nobility.⁽¹⁷⁾ Like the parish of Jakobstad mentioned above, Österbotten and other coastal areas were areas where trade in butter, firewood,

(15) Joonas Tammela, 'Swedish Local Sermons and the Societal Order: Continuities and Changes in the Political Cultures of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century'. An article manuscript, cited with a permission from the author. To be published in anthology: Erik Sidenvall and Johannes Ljungberg (eds.), *Reason and Orthodoxy: Religious Enlightenment in the Nordic Countries, c. 1720–1820*, Lund, Lund University Press, forthcoming.

(16) Ibid..

(17) According to a survey in 1760, 14.5% were civil servants, 4% were the urban bourgeoisie, and 3.5% were the upper class, including the nobility and clergy. Meinander, *A History of Finland*, p. 63.

fish, leather, and other woodworking specialties flourished.⁽¹⁸⁾

Many people from Sweden settled in this coastal area, leading to the establishment of a Swedish-speaking society. In the Finnish part of the realm, the number of Swedish speakers in 1750 was only 16% out of 540,000 people,⁽¹⁹⁾ but the Swedish language was used in politics and education, especially in the coastal areas. Swedish-speaking Finns, as a class of intellectuals that included members from the nobility, clergy, and academia, exerted a great influence on political culture.⁽²⁰⁾ Even though they spoke Swedish, as citizens of the Finnish region they would later come to play an important role in elevating the Finnish identity.

On the other hand, the interior was covered with vast forests and lakes, and agriculture was the centre of economic life. According to a survey conducted in 1760, peasants – most Finnish-speaking – were the majority in Finland, accounting for about 80% of the population.⁽²¹⁾ As mentioned above, in Suonenjoki, audiences for sermons were almost exclusively peasants, and Bergh likely preached in Finnish.

Despite the respective difference in the proportion of Swedish and Finnish speakers in each region of Finland, their inhabitants did not always live separately, but often mixed even within the same parish. In those parishes with a significant degree of mixed living, services were held in both Swedish and Finnish. Daniel Juslenius (1676-1752), who later became bishop of Borgå, wrote of the situation: “In the cathedral the services are conducted alternately in Finnish and Swedish: on Sundays in both languages, on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Finnish, and Wednesdays and Fridays in Swedish.”⁽²²⁾ Swedish and Finnish speakers in the parish were likely aware of the importance of receiving pastoral care in their own languages.⁽²³⁾

As of 1782, there were 201 parishes where services were held in Finnish, 46 in Swedish, and 43 where both languages were used.⁽²⁴⁾ Clergy would change the language of the sermon depending on the language situation in each area, so Swedish-speaking clergy would sometimes preach to the Finns. This gave the clergy in Finland a distinctiveness that set them apart from the clergy in Sweden.

2.2. The formation of community identity through preaching

In Finnish society, the clergy played various roles. They were deeply involved in local politics and

(18) Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland*, p. 53.

(19) Max Engman and David Kirby, *Finland: People, Nation, State*, London, Hurst, 1989, p. 31.

(20) Meinander, *A History of Finland*, p. 88.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

(22) Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 71.

(23) Nils Erik Villstrand, *Riksdelen: stormakt och riksprängning 1560-1812 (Finlands svenska historia, 2)*, Stockholm, Atlantis, 2009, p. 222.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

administration. The Lutheran clergy presided over parish meetings where local social issues were discussed, and these meetings served as an important forum for local government in the eighteenth century.⁽²⁵⁾ The clergy also played a central role in education. According to a church law of 1686, vicars were supposed to teach children to read and write.⁽²⁶⁾ In fact, primary education was provided by parochial schools in rural areas at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as in the bishopric of Åbo in 1763 and the bishopric of Borgå in 1774.⁽²⁷⁾ As the only class with access to books on a wide range of subjects, including theology and philosophy, the clergy played the most important role in shaping the Finnish public sphere.⁽²⁸⁾

While preaching Lutheran doctrine to people through their sermons, the clergy simultaneously gave instruction on how to live in society. Based on Joonas Tammela's analysis of sermons in the Kingdom of Sweden, I would like to explore the social identity the clergy were trying to form among the people through their preaching.

A sermon by Mathesius of the parish of Jakobstad addresses what he saw as an ethical code to be practiced by each person as a member of society, based on the Lutheran household codes (*Hustavla*).

people should obey God's orders in general matters of the Christian life, but also in private matters which are intended for different Estates in the worldly society.⁽²⁹⁾

Hence,

the king and the subject, the clergyman and his listener, the parent and child, the master and servant, they all find the Word of God the special instructions by which they must live.⁽³⁰⁾

Mathesius' sermon is rooted in the doctrinal view of society expressed in the Lutheran household codes.⁽³¹⁾ The household codes, which set forth the ethical code required for maintaining family and house discipline, emphasized how individuals should situate themselves within the three systems of household, church, and state:⁽³²⁾ "The king, for example, is the seat of authority in politics, but in the church he is the audience, and in the home he is the master

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(26) Knut Helle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia: Volume 2, 1520–1870*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 564.

(27) Villstrand, *Riksdelen*, p. 218.

(28) Minna Ahokas, 'Bringing Light to Finland: The Clerical Estate and Enlightenment Literature in Eighteenth-Century Finland', *Library History*, 24 (4), 2008, pp. 273-283.

(29) Tammela, 'Swedish Local Sermons and the Societal Order'.

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) Kirsten Hastrup, *Den nordiske verden*, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1992, p. 178.

of the house and the father of the family. The pastor is a teacher and a master of the house, but a mere subject, and the peasant is a subject and an audience, but a master of the house and a father.”⁽³³⁾ Mathesius taught people of different statuses not only to obey God’s orders, but also to take their proper place in the systems of household, church, and state based on the household codes.

The clergy also taught that people should work diligently for the common good. Anders Hasselgren (1772-1832), an adjunct pastor of the parish of Offerdal in northern Sweden, told his audience that “one should not only wish well-being for the society but also to act for the common good with his deeds.”⁽³⁴⁾ He explained that good subjects can benefit from the common good, but that if the common good were lacking, the security of the fatherland would suffer. If people took care of the public good and act accordingly, God, the good patriarch, would give them happiness. He explained that “the grace of God, the favour among the people and the good conscience”⁽³⁵⁾ were of ample benefit to Christians in their secular lives. These sermons by the clergy would have fostered an awareness among people living in estate-based society of their common good as a whole society, one that transcended households and hierarchies.

This sense of the common good leads moreover to a sense of belonging as subjects of the Kingdom of Sweden. This was likewise true in the Finnish region, where, while raising awareness of the common good, the sermons of Finnish clergy likewise encouraged a sense of unity with the Kingdom of Sweden. In a New Year’s sermon in 1792, Mathesius preached that no one should oppress others or succeed at the expense of others, urging his audience to focus on their neighbours and the common good rather than personal good, and explaining how they should live in society as “member[s] of the happy and lucky realm.”⁽³⁶⁾

Bergh preached the following in Suonenjoki.

God bless both the Authorities and the subjects, clergymen and listeners, men and women, parents and children, older and younger people, God bless the every subject in this parish as well as in whole Sweden and Finland.⁽³⁷⁾

Bergh also mentions their respective positions in the state, church, and household. Like Mathesius, his sermons also encourage his audiences’ identification as subjects of the Kingdom of Sweden. On the other hand, it should be noted that in addition to this sense of membership within the Kingdom of Sweden, Bergh also had an awareness of “Finland” as a region, based on

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 178.

(34) Tammela, ‘Swedish Local Sermons and the Societal Order’.

(35) *Ibid.*.

(36) *Ibid.*.

(37) *Ibid.*.

the fact that he explicitly mentions the framework of Finland as well as the whole of Sweden.

What was the cultural and ideological background of each clergy who preached such sermons? Tammela reveals that local clergy adapted their teachings to the unique circumstances of the regions where they preached. If so, then even within the context of the Kingdom of Sweden, an environment may have existed that gave rise to clergy unique to the Finnish region. Next, let's take a closer look at the clergy who preached loyalty to the King of Sweden, but worked within the framework of the Finnish region.

3. The state and the church under Swedish rule

3.1. State and church

The clergy, who had close relations with the community and the people, also had important relations with the state. By the sixteenth century, the connection between church and state in the Kingdom of Sweden, including Finland, was already clear. The Uppsala Synod (*Uppsala möte*) held in 1593 was attended by more than 300 of the kingdom's higher clergy, including the bishop of Åbo and 12 other clergymen from the Finnish region. At this synod, it was decided that the church would accept the monarchy's authority as well as Lutheran doctrine.⁽³⁸⁾ In 1686, Karl XI enacted the Church Act,⁽³⁹⁾ which required all subjects of the realm to adhere to the Lutheran faith.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The deep connection between the state and the church in Sweden can be seen in the fact that the Lutheran church was an integral part of the state apparatus. The ecclesiastical administration of the kingdom was overseen by organisations established under the auspices of the King of Sweden, namely the ecclesiastical commission (*ecclesiastikberedning*) from 1786 to 1789 and the ecclesiastical office (*ecclesiastikexpedition*) until 1793.⁽⁴¹⁾ The king also influenced the appointment of the clergy, whose salaries were paid out of state funds.⁽⁴²⁾

The King of Sweden issued a Prayer Day Declaration⁽⁴³⁾ four times a year. This was a sermon delivered by the king as a religious patron to his subjects, demonstrating the monarchs' authority

(38) Villstrand, *Riksdelen*, p. 209.

(39) Jyrki Knuutila, 'Lutheran Culture as an Ideological Revolution in Finland from the 16th Century up to the Beginning of the 21st Century: A Perspective from Ecclesiastical Legislation', *On the Legacy of Lutheranism in Finland*, pp. 175-192, in particular p. 184.

(40) Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 67; Meinander, *A History of Finland*, p. 108.

(41) Harry Lenhammar, *Individualismens och upplysningens tid (Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 5)*, Stockholm, Verbum, 2000, pp. 165-167; Tapani Vuorela, *Keisarillisen Suomen senaatin kirkkopoliittikka 1809-1824*, Helsinki, Opetusministeriö, 1976, pp. 17-22.

(42) *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

(43) Prayer Day (*Böndag*) is special day of prayer, penance, fasting, and thanksgiving to God that takes place four times a year.

both religiously and politically. After the Reformation, this tradition became associated with political power in Sweden, where it was observed regularly by order of Gustav Vasa from 1544, with the king beginning to offer the prayer himself from the 1620s.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The king's words were spread by the clergy to various parishes.

Within this close relationship between church and state, the clergy pledged allegiance to the King of Sweden. This was also the case in Finland under Swedish rule. Let us take the example of Jakob Tengström, a clergyman who was active in the Finnish church and the Royal Academy of Åbo.

At a synod (*Sammankomst*) on 24 January 1791, Tengström delivered the following address on the anniversary of Gustav III.

It is always a most happy anniversary. It is always a most happy occasion, for it is the day of his birth, amidst the glory of mankind, the admiration of the Nationerna, the hope of Sweden and the happiness of its citizens. ...His genius and his heart have given to all men, of all ages, the unalienable right of immortality.⁽⁴⁵⁾

When Gustav IV Adolf visited Åbo in October 1796, Tengström also delivered the following speech at the academy.

Oh, noble king! Father of nations! The people of Finland will kiss and praise your scepter, and they will see and celebrate the day when you will fulfill their hope of happiness!⁽⁴⁶⁾

Tengström stayed in Stockholm for about two years from 1779 and had personal contacts with Swedish politicians and the King of Sweden,⁽⁴⁷⁾ establishing himself as a leading figure in the Finnish clergy. After his ordination in 1784, he began his ministry in a parish in the bishopric of Åbo.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In 1800, he represented the Finnish clergy in the Riksdag, and in 1803 became the bishop of Åbo and led the organisation of a synod.

In the aforementioned speech, Tengström pledged his allegiance to the King of Sweden. On the other hand, even as a subject of the Kingdom of Sweden, he assumed the “Finnish people” as a cohesive group of whom he was a representative. So, what kind of identity did the Finnish clergy have and how was this developed under Swedish rule?

(44) Anneli Portman, ‘“A Good Finn is a Good Lutheran”. The Czars’ Prayer Day Declarations 1809-1917 as Shapers of National Identity in Finland’, *Efter Reformationen / Beyond the Reformation: Proceedings of the 29th Congress of Nordic Historians: Aalborg, 15-18 August 2017: Volume 3*, Aalborg, Aalborg University, 2017, p. 162.

(45) Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, pp. 86-88.

(46) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 98.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

3.2. The clergy in Finland

Åbo, where Tengström was based, was the site of a Royal Academy.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This academy, of which he was later to become vice-president, nurtured Finnish clergy who were distinct from their Swedish brethren.

The Royal Academy of Åbo was founded by the Swedish government in 1640 in Åbo, south-west Finland, to train clergy and officials for the Finnish region. While most professors were sent from Uppsala in Sweden, two-thirds of the students came from various parts of Finland.⁽⁵⁰⁾ They worked hard to acquire the knowledge and skills to carry out pastoral work amongst the mixed Swedish-Finnish populace. The Academy provided a practical education in homiletics, with an emphasis on having clergy prepare their own sermons in the light of their knowledge of their parishes and the lives of the people.⁽⁵¹⁾

Since the sixteenth century, Finland had consisted of two bishoprics, one in the west and one in the east.⁽⁵²⁾ In the west, there were about 270 parishes under the bishopric of Åbo, and in the east, the bishopric of Viborg⁽⁵³⁾ consisted of about 130 parishes.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In order to gain a stable position, many clergymen hoped that their sons would succeed them. In western Finland and Österbotten, the same families often dominated these clerical positions for several generations. In eastern Finland, the clergy were mainly recruited from the clergy of Viborg.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Between 1640 and 1808, the Royal Academy of Åbo enrolled an average of 180 to 200 students each year, the majority of whom came from clerical families.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Jakob Gadolin (1719-1802), who had become famous for his work in the natural sciences, and Juslenius, the author of *Aboa Vetus et Nova*, served as bishops in their later years.

Along with the local political activities mentioned in Section 2 above, these Finnish clergymen were also involved in the politics of the Finnish region.

(49) On the Royal Academy of Åbo and Tengström, see Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, pp. 52-139.

(50) Meinander, *A History of Finland*, p. 49.

(51) Niklas Antonsson and Joonas Tammela, 'Postillorna och predikanten: En undersökning av Erik Levans (1746–1837) användning av predikolitteratur', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 106 (2), 2021, pp. 215-248.

(52) From 1362, there were seven bishoprics in the Kingdom of Sweden. The six bishoprics of Uppsala, Strängnäs, Västerås, Skara, Linköping, and Växjö, where the archbishopric was located, were in Sweden itself, while the bishopric of Åbo was in Finland. After the mid-sixteenth century, a second bishopric for Finland was established in Viborg.

(53) Viborg was ceded to Russia in 1721, whereupon the parish was removed to Borgå.

(54) Meinander, *A History of Finland*, pp. 66-67.

(55) Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland*, pp. 39-40.

(56) *Ibid.*, p. 59; Villstrand, *Riksdelen*, p. 80.



Map: Created by the author.

The estates were convened as local councils in both Sweden and Finland. The clergy also represented Finland in the Riksdag (the Swedish diet), together with the nobility. As the most learned, the clergy enjoyed considerable influence.⁽⁵⁷⁾ According to Tapani Vuorela, the king was so aware of the influence of the clergy on the people that he wanted to have the clergy on his side.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Finnish delegates, including the clergy, enjoyed the same rights and duties as Swedish delegates, taking part in the Riksdag and expressing their opinions, especially in matters concerning the Finnish region.⁽⁵⁹⁾ They took a high degree of interest in Swedish politics, to the extent that they even demanded a separate Finnish parliament.⁽⁶⁰⁾

According to Nurmiainen, although civic elites from Finland who participated in the Riksdag often defended specific interests pertaining to themselves, their social groups, and their communities, they also cited the common good of the realm when discussing and implementing these policies.⁽⁶¹⁾ However, based on the existence of the Finnish regional estates and the activities of the Finnish delegates to the Riksdag, it can be assumed that the Finnish elite, including the

(57) Under the King of Sweden, a Council of the Realm, consisting of nobles and clergy, was established, and the King could only rule with the consent and recommendation of the Council of the Realm. In addition to the Council of the Realm, there was the Riksdag of the Estates, in which the Nobility, Clergy, Burghers, and Farmers participated, and which had the right to legislate, raise taxes, and recommend members for the Council of the Realm. In the Kingdom of Sweden, the diet referred to the Riksdag in Sweden, which also decided matters concerning the Finnish region.

(58) Vuorela, *Keisarillisen Suomen senaatin kirkkopoliittikka*, p. 13.

(59) Karonen, 'Finland in the Swedish Realm', pp. 87-92.

(60) Such a proposal was made for the Riksdag of 1726-1727, as the distance from the Swedish capital and the cost of staying there were a great burden for the Finnish delegates participating in the Riksdag. Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland*, pp. 45-46.

(61) Nurmiainen, 'Particular Interests and the Common Good', pp. 388-404.

clergy, shared an image of “Finland” as an autonomous community with mutual interests.

3.3. Intellectual activities at the Royal Academy of Åbo

The clergy in the Finnish area carried out their political, ecclesiastical, and pastoral activities on a regional basis. Notably, they differed from the clergy in Sweden in that they had to preach to Finnish speakers. The Royal Academy of Åbo, mentioned earlier as the institution where clergy trained in Finland, was also a site where an awareness of Finland as a region was fostered. During the period of Swedish rule, Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804), a humanities scholar later described as the “father of Finnish history,” composed *De Poesi Fennica* (1766-1778), which is now regarded as a pioneering study of Finnish folk poetry.⁽⁶²⁾ Daniel Juslenius, a teacher of theology, Hebrew, and Greek at the Academy and later the bishop of Borgå, wrote in *Aboa Vetus et Nova* (1700) that the people of the Finnish region differed from the Swedes in several ways:

The Finns are calm and of mild disposition; they are a gentler people than all the other inhabitants of the Nordic countries. They are friendly and well-mannered, industrious, diligent and not afraid of hard work. They are suitable for any profession, not just for mechanical tasks and manual work, but also for intellectual work. They have an aptitude for languages, and the liberal and other arts, and they are of very sharp intelligence.⁽⁶³⁾

Juslenius stated that his purpose in writing this work was “to make known certain matters regarding our wonderful fatherland and preserve their memory from being obliterated, and to protect it from the contempt of our enemies.”⁽⁶⁴⁾ Further, he claimed that the Finns traced their roots to a people led to Finland by Magog, the son of Japheth in the Old Testament, that Finnish was one of the languages created out of the confusion at the Tower of Babel, and that it was moreover a cognate language of Hebrew and Greek.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The Royal Academy of Åbo produced many intellectuals as a centre of intellectual activity that spurred the creation of new identities such as local patriotism (regionalism). This local patriotism fostered a recognition and affection for the region in which they lived and worked that did not necessarily conflict with the pursuit of the well-being of the Kingdom of Sweden as a whole. Therefore, the idea of Finland cultivated among the clergy trained at the Academy, whose task it was to preach to the Finns, was part and parcel with the local patriotism of the Academy intellectuals that would later prove to be the origin of ethnic nationalism. This regional consciousness among the Finnish clergy would be carried over and embodied in the

(62) Meinander, *A History of Finland*, pp. 64-65.

(63) Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 71.

(64) *Ibid.*, p. 70.

(65) *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

years that followed, when Finland came under the sway of the Russian Empire.

4. The construction of Finland by the clergy in the early Russian Empire

4.1. New circumstances and Lutheranism

The Finnish War, which began in 1808 between the Kingdom of Sweden and the Russian Empire, ended with a peace treaty on 17 September 1809. As a result, Finland was officially ceded from Sweden to Russia. Meanwhile, almost six months before the peace treaty, the Grand Duchy of Finland had been proclaimed on 29 March 1809, with the Tsar of Russia as Grand Duke.

In the Grand Duchy, although the prerogative for military and diplomatic decisions lay with the Tsar, the Governor-General of Finland was in charge of actual administration. The Secretary of State for Finland in St. Petersburg, which was close to the imperial court and the central government, had direct access to the Tsar.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Imperial Senate of Finland,⁽⁶⁷⁾ which was presided over by the Governor-General, was established separately from the estates that had been in place since the period of Swedish rule. The senate, which consisted of fourteen Finns, was responsible for the practical administration and justice of the Finnish region. The Ecclesiastical Department (*Kirkollistoimituskunta*), which will be mentioned later, was an advisory institution for religious matters under the Imperial Senate.⁽⁶⁸⁾

After the establishment of the Grand Duchy, the Swedish system of justice and education was maintained in Finland. Religion, on the other hand, was another matter. Whereas the population of the Grand Duchy of Finland was primarily Lutheran, the Russian Empire was largely Russian Orthodox. In this context, it is easy to suppose that the primary concern of the Finnish clergy was to maintain the pre-existing religious framework. Indeed, Tengström and the other clergy applied themselves to maintaining the Lutheran faith.

Initially, many Finnish clergymen and intellectuals remained loyal to Sweden. Mathias Calonius (1738-1817), a jurist and President of the Royal Academy of Åbo, felt that even if the incorporation into the Russian Empire were to be largely confirmed, his firm trust and steadfast obedience to the King of Sweden would remain unchanged. Any decline in loyalty to the king, he felt, was tantamount to treason.⁽⁶⁹⁾ However, when the inferiority of the Swedish army became evident and it became clear that there was little hope for military assistance, the need for ties with Sweden weakened, with the result that many, including Calonius, changed their positions.⁽⁷⁰⁾

(66) Anneli Portman, *From Might to Mandate: Values in Rulers, Public Speeches in Finland 1809-2000*, Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2014, p. 40; Jutikkala and Pirinen, *A History of Finland*, p. 170.

(67) The governing council was in charge of the administration of the Grand Duchy of Finland, but important decisions had to be approved by the Tsar.

(68) Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, p. 239, p.287.

(69) Toivo Harjunpää, 'Jacob Tengström, First Archbishop of Finland', *Church History*, 44 (3), 1975, p. 337.

(70) *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Tengström, who had once paid tribute to the King of Sweden, was one of the first to accept the rule of the Russian Empire. He had expressed a favourable attitude toward the Russian empire, pledging his allegiance to the Tsar in May 1808 along with the members of the Åbo bishopric and the Academy.⁽⁷¹⁾ Other clergy were expected to adopt a similar attitude towards the Tsar, for whom Tengström's loyalty and admiration are evident in his circular of March 1817.

Our most all-merciful Lord and Emperor oversees, with touching and indefatigable care, what is truly best for his Finnish subjects, and above all the nurturing of good habits, chastity and God-fearing ways in our growing nation, as the only sure guarantee of the peace and stability of society. ⁽⁷²⁾

Tengström cultivated a very close relationship with the Tsar and became deeply involved in the state-building project to establish the Grand Duchy of Finland. In January, two months before the Grand Duchy's proclamation, he met directly with the Tsar to arrange for the first independent Finnish parliament to be held in Borgå (Porvoo). He was also appointed by the Tsar to head the committee to form the autonomous government of the Grand Duchy.⁽⁷³⁾

In the midst of Tengström's political and strategic manoeuvrings, a new position took shape in the Church of Finland under the Russian Empire that can be seen in the evolution of the Prayer Day Declarations. As noted earlier, when Finland had been a realm of the Kingdom of Sweden, the Prayer Day Declarations had been delivered by the King of Sweden as a religious patron. The Declarations did not take place under the Russian Empire between 1809 and 1811. In 1812, however, Tsar Alexander I granted the request of the Finnish people that they be reinstated as part of their religious observance,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the Tsar's sermon was transmitted to the people through the clergy.

The Tsar began his Prayer Day address to the Finnish people with the formula: "Our Beloved, faithful Subjects of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Grand Duchy of Finland."⁽⁷⁵⁾ In 1812, they began as follows:

We Alexander I, by God's grace emperor and sovereign over all Russia as well as Grand Duke of Finland etc. offer you, OUR beloved, OUR faithful subjects of Lutheran congregation in the Grand Duchy of Finland, our earnest favour, gracious benevolence and kingly goodwill, with God Almighty. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

(71) Ibid., p. 338.

(72) Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 114.

(73) Harjunpää, 'Jacob Tengström', pp. 337-338.

(74) Portman, '“A Good Finn is a Good Lutheran”', p. 162.

(75) Ibid., p. 170.

(76) Ibid., pp. 169-170.

This Declaration shows that the Finnish people were identified as Lutherans, and thus that the Lutheran Finns were regarded as separate from the other subjects of the Russian Empire, who were predominantly Orthodox. The Tsar's special acknowledgement of the maintenance of Lutheranism in Finland positioned him as its religious patron, thereby tying Finnish identity to Lutheranism.

The Tsar's tolerance of the Lutherans stemmed partly from his concern that Finnish people might want to re-join the Kingdom of Sweden, but it must also have been due to the influence of Finnish clergy like Tengström, who were loyal to the Tsar on behalf of Finnish people and involved in the creation of the state, while always keeping an eye on the political situation.

4.2. Border demarcation and the scope of Finnish Lutheranism

During the Russian period, unlike under Swedish rule, the Lutheran clergy were heavily involved in the creation of the new Finnish state as a Grand Duchy. This is also in part evident in the demarcation of Finland's geographical boundaries. While the political border was formally determined, because the Finnish framework was identified with the territory inhabited by the Lutheran population, the determination of the boundaries depended substantially on the religious orientation of the region's inhabitants.

Under the terms of the Peace of Fredrikshamn (Hamina) between Sweden and Russia in September 1809, the western boundary with the Kingdom of Sweden was officially defined as the Torne River and Muonio River.⁽⁷⁷⁾ As a result, the eastern part of Västerbotten, which had previously belonged to the Swedish parish of Härnösand, became part of Finland. However, this demarcation posed a problem in that some residents now situated on the Finnish side of the border would have to cross over to the Swedish side to attend their churches. This was also the case for the clergy, some of whom carried out their work in both nations.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Border-crossing by inhabitants and duties on the part of the clergy that had to be discharged in both countries were initially overlooked, so that, depending on where they were situated, churches attended by Finns would have the declarations of the Russian Empire or of the Kingdom of Sweden read from the pulpits. On the belief that it would be confusing for the residents of Finland to hear official statements from the pulpit for two different nations, the Ecclesiastical Department requested that the congregations living on the Swedish and Finnish sides attend services in their respective parishes, based on the boundaries established in the Peace of Fredrikshamn. This made it clear that the congregations living in the Finnish region belonged to the Finnish Lutheran Church.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The senate accepted the Ecclesiastical Department's request

(77) Villstrand, *Riksdelen*, pp. 297-298.

(78) Vuorela, *Keisarillisen Suomen senaatin kirkkopoliitikka*, pp. 53-54.

(79) *Ibid.*, p. 55.

after deliberating over its religious and political merits.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The contours of Finland's western boundary were thus stripped of ambiguity by a theory based on the practice of religious life, and clarified in tandem with the presence of Finnish Lutheran congregations.

Next, let us turn to look at Finland's eastern boundary with the Russian Empire. Vyborg (Viipuri), Fredrikshamn and other areas had been ceded to Russia from Sweden by the Treaty of Nystad of 1721 and the Treaty of Åbo of 1743.⁽⁸¹⁾ When Finland was incorporated into the Russian Empire with the establishment of the Grand Duchy, it was unclear whether or not these areas, known as Old Finland, should also now belong to the Grand Duchy. This was in part due to the fact that Lutherans and Orthodox had mixed in the area since it had been ceded to Russia. For his part, Tengström considered Old Finland to be part of Finland and had the idea of reinstating its parishes and their clergy within the Finnish Church. Together with Robert Reh binder, the Secretary of State for Finland, in the summer of 1809 he proposed the creation of a new Vyborg diocese that would incorporate these parishes.⁽⁸²⁾ Although the establishment of the Vyborg diocese never actually took place, the Tsar issued a unification proclamation on 23 December 1811 that incorporated the former Finnish territories into Finland.⁽⁸³⁾

Even so, Lutheran and Orthodox churches continued to coexist in Old Finland. This area was therefore not a part of Finland in the sense of the territory whose outlines were defined by Lutheran congregations. Accordingly, the senate asked the Organising Committee for Vyborg Province to survey the situation of the parishes in this area. The initial intention of the proposal by the Organising Committee on this issue was to improve the status and economic conditions of the Orthodox clergy and to promote ecumenical tolerance, i.e., to acknowledge the denominational diversity of the region. On the other hand, the Cathedral Chapter of Borgå had also proposed to the senate that the Lutheran clergy in the area should be given favourable treatment.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Later, the Organising Committee, realising the difficulties for peaceful coexistence between different denominations, changed its position to one that favoured the Lutheran clergy.⁽⁸⁵⁾ As a result, the senate suspended the payment of salaries to the Orthodox clergy and resolved to favour the Lutheran clergy in the region.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In practice, this resulted in the expansion of Lutheran power in Old Finland and the area's incorporation into Lutheran-dominated Finland.

Although Finland's eastern and western boundaries were nominally determined by the treaties and proclamations of the Tsar, its real boundaries, i.e., its ethnic contours, were defined by the presence of Lutheran congregations. Therefore, the work by the Ecclesiastical Department and the Cathedral Chapter of Borgå to demarcate Finnish Lutheranism from

(80) *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

(81) Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 104.

(82) Vuorela, *Keisarillisen Suomen senaatin kirkkopoliittikka*, pp. 65-66.

(83) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

(84) *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

(85) *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

(86) *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

other denominations in ambiguous areas where Swedish Lutheranism was intermingled with Orthodoxy was an attempt to define the real contours of Finland.

4.3. Reorganisation of the church in Finland: Establishment of the archdiocese

In the above cases, we cannot ignore the fact that administrative actors such as the senate, the Secretary of State for Finland, and the Organising Committee for Vyborg Province were also concerned with the contours of the Grand Duchy of Finland as defined by Lutheranism. Since the identity of the Grand Duchy of Finland under the Russian Empire was identified with Lutheranism, religion had become a significant national matter within the process of building a new Finland. In fact, as noted earlier, the senate had a church office, administered by clergy members, as a consultative body to deliberate over various religious matters. A major matter for the Finnish Church as an integral part of the Finnish state was the establishment of an archdiocese.

To understand the significance of this aim to establish an archdiocese, let us first consider the proclamation issued by Alexander I to mark the establishment of the Archdiocese of Finland on 8 July 1817.

Whereas the Swedish Lutheran Church to which also Finland had belonged in the past, since ancient times has had a common leader whose task was to preside over the Clergy Estate and lead its discussions and activities at the Diet; but since the Finnish clergy has been without such a leader after the country was united with the rest of Our Empire; We, therefore, in Our desire to retain such regulations which according to their age and value have attained the appreciation and the respect of the nation, have on the significant occasion of the Protestant communion which will be commemorated this year with a general jubilee, graciously willed to command and order that the name of the present Diocese of Turku (Åbo) shall henceforth be the Archdiocese of the Grand Duchy of Finland, and thus the Bishop of this Diocese as Archbishop shall be the highest presiding and administrative leader of the Clergy Estate in this Grand Duchy: which command and order the concerned persons must obey.⁽⁸⁷⁾

This declaration shows that the establishment of the archdiocese was important for both political and religious life in Finland. Under Swedish rule, as mentioned above, there had been two archdioceses in Finland, Åbo and Borgå, which were subordinate to the Archdiocese of Uppsala in Sweden. Although clergy assigned to the diocese of Finland had been consecrated in the Archdiocese of Uppsala in Sweden, this was no longer possible after the separation from Sweden.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Another important matter, along with church organisation, was the political role to

(87) Harjunpaa, 'Jacob Tengström', p. 341.

(88) When the post of bishop of Åbo became vacant September 1802, the King of Sweden appointed Tengström to the seat in February of the following year. This was the last instance of a Finnish bishop being consecrated in Sweden.

be played by the archbishop. In the new Finnish parliament, the clergy had great influence, and the archbishop, as someone who united the clergy and represented the interests of the church, was expected to be an important part of the Finnish state apparatus.

The first proposal for the establishment of an archdiocese in Finland was made in early 1808, when it was argued that, in order for Finland to be incorporated as an official province of the Russian Empire, it would be necessary for the Finnish population to remain Lutheran and for the bishop of Åbo to be elevated to an archbishopric.⁽⁸⁹⁾ This proposal was not immediately accepted, however. To improve church life, it was felt to be necessary to focus on the creation of more dioceses.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Yet this expansion did not go easily either. The lack of clear leadership and the relationship between the two bishops, East and West, did not allow smooth decision-making. Here, too, the establishment of an archdiocese to unite the Finnish clergy lay at the root of the problem.

Tengström, a representative of the clergy who enjoyed close relations with the Tsar and leading figures in Finland, was repeatedly invited by the Tsar to elevate Åbo to the status of an archdiocese and thus to make himself archbishop. Tengström was hesitant, fearing criticism of his pro-Russian position and concerned about his relationship with the bishop of Borgå, who stood on equal terms with his fellow bishop in Åbo. Tengström's priority was to maintain the unity of the Church of Finland and to be careful not to cause internal divisions.⁽⁹¹⁾ The establishment of the archdiocese was thus a matter for careful discussion. Finally, in 1817, on the feast of the third centenary of the Reformation, the archdiocese was established and Tengström was appointed its founding archbishop. This was the occasion for the issuance of declaration cited above.

Following his appointment, Tengström proposed extensive church reforms. He secured the Tsar's approval to establish four commissions, which he himself chaired, to oversee the revision of the hymnal, liturgy, catechism, and church law.⁽⁹²⁾ These committees came to play a central role in the reform of the Finnish Church, which was reorganised as a completely independent state church with ecclesiastical authority equivalent to that of the Swedish church, and which became the governing religious authority in Finland. Tengström also contributed to Finland's political development by drafting a new Finnish constitution three times from 1819 with a view

(89) Harjunpaa, 'Jacob Tengström', p. 339.

(90) In the diet of Borgå, a debate took place among the clergy about the expansion of the bishoprics. Tengström, as bishop of Åbo, argued in favour of expansion, noting that Finland, with a population of about 900,000, had only two bishoprics, while Sweden, with a population twice that of Finland, had twelve. However, this plan failed when a new bishop was appointed in Borgå, since Tengström had planned to take advantage of the vacancy to create more bishoprics. The plan was repeatedly abandoned for economic reasons and the division into three bishoprics was postponed until the foundation of the bishopric of Kuopio in 1850. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340; Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, p. 284.

(91) Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, pp. 284-285.

(92) Harjunpaa, 'Jacob Tengström', p. 348; Pirjo Markkola, 'Lutheri församlings jubelår 1817', in Nils Erik Villstrand and Petri Karonen, *Öppet fall: Finlands historia som möjligheter och alternativ 1417-2017*, Helsinki, Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2017, pp. 190-191.

to future independence.⁽⁹³⁾

The establishment of the archdiocese and Tengström's political work as archbishop laid the basis for the Grand Duchy of Finland as a constitution. As Gustav Björkstrand points out, Tengström was the "nationsbyggare" of Finland, overseeing the construction of Finland as a political and religious autonomous framework in the form of a Grand Duchy under the Russian Empire.

After Finland's incorporation into the Russian Empire, Lutheranism came to be associated with Finnish identity in the process of exploring and developing the construction of a new constitution. The real boundaries or contours of Finland were defined by the presence of Lutheran congregations. In the border areas, where Swedish Lutherans mixed with Orthodox Christians, the clergy and administrative authorities tried to draw a line with other sects, and so became actively involved in shaping the real contours of Finland. The development of Finnish Lutheranism as the basis of the Finnish state was also promoted by the establishment of the archdiocese. The birth of an archbishop who united all Finnish Lutherans made the church an important part of the new Finnish constitution. Thus, it can be seen that the clergy, including Tengström, were actively involved in the construction of the new constitution and identity of Grand Duchy of Finland during the shift in the basis of political authority from the Kingdom of Sweden to the Russian Empire. The notional "Finland" that had been nurtured in the minds of Finnish clergy from the time of the Kingdom of Sweden thus took on a national form.

5. Conclusion

From the point of view of ethnic nationalism, the mid-nineteenth century has been regarded in Finnish history as an important period of national emergence. The prevailing view was that a sense emerged of being "Finnish" rather than "Swedish" or "Russian," especially among intellectuals who focused on their own language and culture in a climate of ethnic romanticism.

However, even during the earlier period of Swedish rule, "Finland" had been established as an independent community, distinct from Sweden. Given this, how did this identity carry over to the later Grand Duchy of Finland under the Russian Empire? As we have seen, the Lutheran clergy, who were traditionally influential intellectuals in the politics and society of the Finnish region, played a key role in this regard. What was the context in which they developed their sense of "Finland"? And how did it take shape in the Grand Duchy of Finland?

As a realm of the Kingdom of Sweden, Finland had been recognised as distinct from the Swedish mainland, but it had remained an integral part of the kingdom, an affiliation that was reflected in the attitude of the clergy. The clergy used the concept of the "public good"

(93) Björkstrand, *Jacob Tengström*, pp. 372-373, 479.

to encourage people to act as Swedish subjects. In terms of ecclesiastical organisation, Finland existed as part of a bishopric within the Kingdom of Sweden, whose subjects were all Lutheran, whether in Sweden or Finland. In this context, the residents of Finland also had a sense of being subjects of the Kingdom of Sweden, which would seem to have precluded any basis for the formation of an independent political and religious collectivity.

Finnish clergy during the Swedish period, however, obviously had a regional awareness of Finland not possessed by their Swedish colleagues, a sense that was nurtured by their pastoral work with Finnish-speaking people in a multilingual area. It is no coincidence that various intellectuals developed a sense of Finnish patriotism at the Royal Academy of Åbo, which served as a site for the training of such Finnish clergy. This was the cultural climate that produced clergy such as Bergh, who preached God's blessing on the Finnish people in his sermon to the farmers of the parish of Suonenjoki. The Finnish identity cultivated among the clergy in turn penetrated the people through their daily sermons.

After coming under the rule of the Russian Empire, Lutheranism in the predominantly Orthodox Empire gave the Finnish region its own distinctiveness, and being Lutheran became an integral element of the Finnish people's identity. In this context, the Finnish clergy took an active part in the development of the Finnish state. This is exemplified in the formation of the substantive contours of Finland as defined by the presence of Lutherans and the establishment of the archdiocese that led to the foundation of the Finnish Lutheran Church, which is the basis of the Finnish state. In particular, Tengström, with his close relations with the Russian Tsar, played an instrumental role in the incorporation of the Old Finland into the Grand Duchy of Finland and laying the institutional foundations for the Grand Duchy as its first archbishop. The details of Tengström's words and deeds have received less attention than those of the intellectuals who promoted the nationalist movement from the mid-nineteenth century. But it was Finnish clergy like him who kept their country (and their countrymen's sense of themselves as such) alive in the face of great powers to both the east and west, and who created a distinctly Lutheran "Finland."

To summarize, I have examined the early modern Finnish regional identity and the process of its embodiment, focusing on the activities of the Lutheran clergy and their role in society during the period of Swedish rule and the early years of the Russian Empire. The importance of the Lutheran clergy in the region's political culture has been carried over to the present day in Finland and other Nordic countries.

In October 2009, a ceremony was held in Turku (Åbo) to commemorate the separation from Sweden and the bicentennial of the establishment of the Grand Duchy. During the ceremony, Jukka Paarma (1942–), the Lutheran archbishop of Finland, criticized the Prime Minister and other politicians who were at that time in the middle of a political scandal. Archbishop Paarma's political criticism, according to Ihalainen, offered an opportunity for the people to

express their voice against the government.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Today, clergy in Finland bear a responsibility not only for conveying the word of God, but also for conveying the voice of a sovereign people to their political leaders. On the other hand, it is also possible that the clergy's defence of the political majority could exclude the dissident minority. Both of these actions were justified by the traditional social status accorded the Lutheran church and by the "Word of God." The church organisation has become a group that takes the initiative in influencing politics, rather than simply following and spreading the will of the politicians to the people. For the better part of two centuries, the content of political sermons has shifted from preaching political allegiance to authority and the public good to encouraging national sovereignty, democracy, and equality. Thus, from the period covered by this paper, the Lutheran clergy in Finland has mediated between the state and the people, working according to the situation toward the creation of a new political identity. And even after modernization and secularization, the Lutheran clergy has continued to have an importance in Finnish political culture.

(94) Ihalainen, 'Towards a Religion', pp. 292-308.