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FROM RASCALS TO KNIGHTS: Verner Louhivuori's Scout Ideology and the Birth of the Finnish Scout Movement, 1910-1924*

"Life is a serious task". (Louhivuori, 1919)

INTRODUCTION

In the cover of the subscription advertisement of *Nuori Voima*, paper dedicated to youth education, there was in 1918 a photo of a painting by an unknown artist depicting a father and a boy. The father is sitting in the background, in the shade behind a table and the boy is standing at the front in light girding up a scout belt. The editors have added a text: "I wish I were a boy...", a sigh from the father's mouth. His posture is somewhat flopped, his newspaper was fallen on the carpet as has boy's school-book. Book-knowledge has been put aside for more important tasks are waiting. The father's expression is resigned; he looks at the boy feeling his own powerlessness. Boy's dynamic figure instead is self-confident and outwardly, orientated towards scouting. His character-building is in progress.

In Finland the history of scout movement and especially of scout ideology has been left in the shadow of the history of expressly political youth movements. The scouts themselves have written short studies and surveys concerning the birth, the division (1919) of the movement into the so called 'free' and the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking lines and later forms of organization but historical, overall contextual analysis has not

*Riivöistä ritareiksi - Verner Louhivuori, suomalaisen partioaatteen synty ja

nuorkirkollinen luonteenmuokkausideologia, 1910-1924'. *Historiallinen Arkisto*, 109. SHS,

Tampere 1997, pp. 7-59

yet been tried. Notwithstanding Paavilainen and Relander's surveys¹, the studies of Finnish scouts tell more of the imperialist scout ideology of the British founder of the movement, R.S.S. Baden-Powell (1857-1941) than of the ideas his Finnish colleague, Verner Louhivuori (1886-1980). As the dismantling of the 'BP'-myth is going on in England and the USA, it is high time to analyse the conceptual formation and stabilisation of the scout ideology also in Finland in the writings of Louhivuori who was the recognized "Finnish BP" and the "spearhead figure" of the Finnish scouts.² He was the only scout leader in Finland whose ideas could in principle form an ideologically coherent whole, however "theoretically over-idealistic"³ they were.

Louhivuori made mainly respectful remarks about Baden-Powell and his ideas, and it cannot be shown that he had been a significant master to Louhivuori, rather Baden-Powell gave him an important example to launch organized scout activity in Finland. This can be seen also from the fact that although the first Finnish scout law was an adaptation of the British one, Louhivuori's scout ideals were Christian and Finnish nationalist. For these reasons Baden-Powell's works and their translations into Finnish do not feature significantly here and comparisons between Baden-Powell's and Louhivuori's policies are not carried far. Dialogue is pursued with Louhivuori's own texts which were mostly published since the legalisation of the scouts until the years of consolidation of the scout ideology and differentiation of scout organization (1917—1924). For the sake of coherence, there is in the end of this study a short analysis of the status of scout ideology in Finland in the end of the 1920s.

¹ See Marko Paavilainen, 'Partioaate ristiriitojen Helsingissä'. *Pojat partiossa*. Ed. Heikki Hakala. Pieksämäki 1994; Jukka Relander, 'Äidinkullat partiossa'. *Miestä rakennetaan, maskuliinisuuksia puretaan*. Eds. Jorma Sipilä & Arto Tiihonen. Tampere 1994. For the scout movement as a part of youth work, see Juha Nieminen, *Nuorisossa tulevaisuus. Suomalaisen nuorisotyön historia*. Jyväskylä 1995, 117-126. Of the 'histories' of scout movement the following deserve notice: Osmo Vesikansa (Ed.), *Suomen partioliike 1910-1960*. Porvoo 1960; Veikko Tolin, *80 vuotta partiointia*. Jyväskylä 1987 and Hannele Tierala, *Kansallisuus ja kansainvälisyys Suomen partioliikkeen ideologiassa ennen talvisotaa*. Partiomuseon julk. A/7. Turku 1984 in which there are numerous references to 'BP' but Louhivuori is mentioned only occasionally.

² Veikko Tolin, 'Suuret miehet - yksi tie'. *HNMKY:n kuukausilehti* 3 (1990), 3; Paavilainen, 'Partioaate ristiriitojen Helsingissä', 97.

³ Vesikansa, 'Esipuhe'. *Suomen partioliike 1910-1960*, 2; Aija Holopainen, 'Suomalaisen partioliikkeen järjestäytyminen'. A pro gradu-thesis at the University of Joensuu, Dept of History, 1982, 22. For 'BP'-studies, see Allen Warren, 'Citizens of the Empire. Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-1940'. In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Ed. John M. Mackenzie. Manchester 1986; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origin of the Boy Scout Movement*. New York 1986; Tim Jeal, *The Boy-Man. The Life of Lord Baden-Powell*. New York 1990.

THE BEGINNING

The assistant vicar, Verner Louhivuori⁴, was called from his post in Paltamo (in Kainuu) in May 1910 to work as an assistant secretary responsible for boys' education in the YMCA of Helsinki (est. in 1889). There he in the autumn of the same year initiated scout activities in order to put some pep into languishing boys' education started by J.H. Tunkelo in 1897 and continued by I. Kuusi, K. Harteva and S. Karpio, the YMCA pioneers. The new form of activity stabilised already during the next year. In this way, in Finland, as it had happened in England, the scout work was ignited in the circles of the Young Church movement, although there were born other, independent scout groups in provincial centres and towns in Finland, for instance, in Maarianhamina, Turku, Vaasa, Loviisa, Hanko, Viipuri and Jyväskylä.⁵ In the years 1910—1911 the scout movement was made known in Finland also by numerous pamphlets and other writings from different angles and even the academics began to discuss of its value as a method of education. On the bourgeois side of the political map, its reception varied from social-Darwinist enthusiasm to more moderate acceptance.⁶

Scout movement was accepted in Finland among the progressives as well as conservatives on similar grounds as in England: it promised to rescue boys born in urban settings from the demoralizing and degrading influences of the streets and lanes. The reason of the educated classes

⁴ Louhivuori was born in Kuopio (the rural commune), 31st of May in 1886 as a son to a saw-mill director Mikael Lohtander and his wife Anna (Savolainen). He went to school in Mikkeli, and joined the YMCA during his studies at the University. After his ordination he was sent to Sortavala in Karelia in 1908 and from there to Valtimo in 1909. Having served for four years as an assistant secretary, he was elected the chief secretary in 1914 at the YMCA in Helsinki. He worked there until 1924 when he moved to Velkua to become a vicar. He also worked as an editing secretary for the Christian newspaper, *Kotimaa*, from 1922 to 1943. He was the President of the Finnish Scout Federation in 1917—1919, the Chief in 1920-1957 (for the united scouts in 1941-1957). During his retirement he acted as the President for the St George's Guild for the scout veterans. He was the seaman's pastor in 1911 in Liverpool and on a study tour in the USA in 1913.

⁵ Verner Louhivuori, 'Pappistyon alkuaajat' (a copy of a memoir). Collections of the Dept. of Church History, University of Helsinki, p. 11; *Neljännesvuosisata nuorisotyötä. NMKY-liikkeen vaiheet Suomessa 1889-1914*. Helsinki 1915, 119-121; HNMKY:n *kuukausilehti* 7-8 (1977); Erkki Kuujo, *90 vuotta NMKY-työtä*. Saarijärvi 1979, 27-29, 46-47. Cf. Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth*. Oxford 1990, 158.

⁶ The anglophile Rudolf Holsti wrote that the scouts "guaranteed that the Finnish people would survive in the great struggle for existence between nations". See his 'Boy-Scouts'. *Pyrkijä* (1911), 123-124. Cf. Alexander Boldt, *Muutamia mielenkiintoa herättäviä kehityspyrintöjä ulkomailta ja Toimen Poikain Hike* Suomessa. Helsinki 1910; Paavo Virkkunen, 'Boy-Scout-liike'. *Aika* (1911); [Lauri Pihkala], 'Sissipojat'. *Suomen Urheilulehti* (1910); *Kasvatusopillisen Yhdistyksen Aikakauskirja* (1909).

and the conscience of progressive clergymen spotted the urgent need of the young of the lower classes to action who seemed, if uncontrolled, to orientate towards 'wrong', disreputable goals. The foundations of education and socialization' towards citizenship appeared to be under threat as the modern, industrial and urban culture shook the basis of Christian society, the family, leaving the children and young adrift. For the young of the working classes who had just finished school or were loitering were out of the reach of the authorities' protection, there was not available any other work than selling newspapers, polishing shoes, running errands or other such odd jobs. Many of them were on the verge of becoming street-boys and members of gangs. Louhivuori had noticed that for many a boy also from a bourgeois family home was just a night shelter and place to eat. And as the school resembled more a factory than an educational institution, "real life" could not be learned anywhere. The parents who dedicated their time to work, civil associations and entertainment, Louhivuori regarded as incapable of preventing their children from drifting to vices, indecency and juvenile crime.⁸

Louhivuori' s steered the Helsinki YMCA, the programme of which was infused by the principles of the leader of the Alliance Christianity in the USA, John R. Mott⁹, to assuming the responsibility to educate the children of the capital who had remained 'spiritually deficient'. The conservative clergy at first opposed the linking of the scouts to normal parish activities for they thought that it was enough that young people heard the word of God in hours of devotion common for all but Louhivuori did not give up because he was convinced that the young yearned for entirely their "own life".¹⁰ Popularity of scouting at the YMCA proves that there was a demand for companionship and scout adventures among young from different social backgrounds, so much so

7 Cf. Pierre Bourdieu & Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Trans. by R. Nice. London 1977, vi, 1946-47.

8 [Verner Louhivuori], the annual report of the YMCA in Helsinki, 1915. The Archives of the Helsinki YMCA (henceforth AHYMCA), Helsinki.

9 Mott visited Finland in 1899 and 1909 and his texts (e.g. *Jeesus Kristus todellisuus*, 1918) were distributed by the Christian Society of the University Students to Helsinki YMCA but his direct impact on Finnish scouting cannot be ascertained. Cf. Aila Lauha, *Suomen kirkon ulkomaansuhteet ja ekumeeninen osallistuminen*. SKHS:n toimituksia 150. Helsinki 1990,39,60,63,65,106,143-144, 355-356.

10 Louhivuori's speech in Turku (s.a.). Partiolikkeen historiaa, file no. I, Louhivuori s archives in the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki (henceforth LA); the annual report of YMCA in Helsinki, 1915; Louhivuori's memoirs in the veterans' guild, 16th of January, 1978. Casette XIII—XIV b-side. The Archives of the Scout Federation (henceforth ASM), Oulunkylä. Cf. Heikki Waris, 'Katajaisten kotiseutu'. *Tartu poikaan ja tee hänestä mies*. Forssa 1967,4.

that the leaders of the workers worried about the attraction of doctrines of "self-preservation" of bourgeois society among its youth.¹¹ Their alternative was to establish competing 'Red-Scouts' within the socialist Associations of Ideal and Comradship.

Louhivuori's diary from the beginning of the 1910s tells that he was most concerned about the work among the boys, an independent part of which he wanted the scout group in the Helsinki YMCA to become. While working as a clergyman he had many times experienced inability to heal the souls of the adults and felt happier with the boys. In the very beginning it was "all blocked" (*yhti umpea*) with them, too, and enmeshed in serious private moral problems, he could not be as efficient and practical leader of the boys as he had wanted to be. Often he had to seek help in Christ Christ, "a friend", who helped all humanity and lonely individuals in their exertions, temptations and renunciation. In moments of depression, Louhivuori gave himself to a yet greater master, the God, who would "take him severely by the ears" and lead forward.¹² Louhivuori surely longed for more inspiring and joyful way of action than ordinary parish work.

In the summer of 1910 Louhivuori stumbled upon Ebbe Lieberath's translation of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908) into Swedish with the title *Var redo!* (1910). Baden-Powell's book on character-building had become a best-seller all over the world, and Louhivuori found it to be just the one which would "attract boys" (*poikiinmenevää*). Practical as it was, it suited the work with boys well containing advice in camping, rambling and scouting complemented with lessons in physical and mental purity as well as patriotic education. Its programme appeared to solve Louhivuori's problem what kind of outdoor activity and mental and spiritual hobbies were to be invented for the "brutalised urban natures" of boys." In autumn 1910 there had gathered a group often to fifteen boys who formed the nucleus of the YMCA scouts, the climax of whose activities of the year was to camp in the surroundings of a villa (*Suoja*) in Kauniainen, near Helsinki for two weeks. There took place also the first Finnish scouts' summer camp albeit in conditions resembling a colony. Boys were organized into troops, and when Louhivuori in February 1911 drafted the first scout rules on the basis of Baden-Powell's scout laws, there were altogether thirty names on the YMCA's list of boy-scouts.¹⁴

11 'L-roos', 'Työväestö ja partioliike. *Työmies*, 4th of May 5, 1911.

12 Louhivuori's diary 11 th of January, 14th of August and 1st of October in 1911. LA.

13 Verner Louhivuori, *Poikien parissa*. Helsinki 1916, 5-6; 'Pappistyöni alkuajat', 11; Louhivuori's interview 4th of February, 1976. ASM.

14 Louhivuori's notes, 20th of February, 1911. File: Louhivuori 1910-1920.AHYMCA.

To the Finnish educators of the young the rise of scout movement in Finland seemed to be a blessing but seen from the point of view of Russian government it was a dangerous symptom of separatism. Consequently, General Governor Seyn abolished it on the 22nd of September, 1911. Its activities had undeniably included such practises that could be interpreted as preparation for military service; the scouts learned first aid, dressing of wounds, cooking outdoors, setting of fire, making knots and using the compass. Afterwards scout activities were camouflaged among other boys' activities and the scout ceremonies were kept in secret. In spite of the surveillance by the Russian gendarmes the scouts ventured out for a long camping tour around the lake Päijänne in 1916. The number of the scouts did not decrease, quite the contrary. Until the year 1913 the number of boys in the Helsinki YMCA had arisen to c. 300, one third of them boy-scouts.¹⁵ Activities developed so promisingly that Louhivuori would have liked to leave his post as the Chief Secretary of the YMCA and lead the boy-scouts.¹⁶ Scouting appealed to instincts of boys as it emphasized adventure-like outdoor tasks, innovation that was not always to the liking of conservative members of the YMCA.

When the scout movement was again legalized after the March Revolution in Russia, boys were called together by newspaper announcements. In order to disperse any suspicions of the parents, it was underlined that it was different from British type of scouting. Instead of pompous parading and competing over the badges of rank, the YMCA scouts practised mostly building of character and learned good manners as well as hygiene of body and mind.¹⁷ Louhivuori became the first President of the Finnish Scout Federation (*SPL*) founded on the 27th of May, 1917. The *SPL* was based on linguistic equality and it crowned its return by holding the first Scout Days in the summer of the same year. The troop of the Helsinki YMCA organized anew, now by the name *Helsingin Siniset* (The Blue of Helsinki). So many boys, c. 700, turned up

15 [Vernereri Louhivuori], the annual reports of the Helsinki YMCA, 1912-1915. The numbers concerning the scouts in Finland are fragmentary; in 1911 c. 6,000, 1917 8,000-10,000, in 1918 6,465, in 1920 7471, in 1925 5,800 and in 1931 14,400. In England there were in 1910 over 100,000 of them. In 1997 the scouts were the biggest youth organization in Finland with c. 80,000 members. In 1917 scouts' day enticed some 18,000 participants. See, Vesikansa, *Suomen partioliike 1910-1960*, 1-2; Tierala, *Kansallisuus ja kansainvälisyys Suomen partioliikkeen ideologiassaennen talvisotaa*, 14. Cf. J.O. Springhall, 'The Boy-Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements', *International Review of Social History* 16 (1971), 136.

16 Louhivuori's diary 12th of December, 1915. LA.

17 Vernereri Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 26 (1917); *Uusi Suometar* 29th of March, 1917.

that there were not enough elders to lead them. Even the Finnish Civil War of the year 1918 did not mean a break in the scout activities of the YMCA in Helsinki although its ranks thinned so badly that there were only 143 members in the year of 1919. Then a remarkable economic boost was given to scouting when the Senator August Hjelt donated 50,000 Fmks to boys' education.¹⁸ Scouting activities were kept alive over the critical times and given sufficient preconditions to develop to a vehicle of national integration in the 1920s.

In the chaotic situation following the Civil War scouting became a permanent and peculiar form of activity in the Helsinki YMCA. The struggle over the souls of the young and especially of the "degenerated"¹⁹ Red children was exacerbated and attaching loose boy-gangs to proper hobbies and tasks was considered paramount in view of the future of White Finland. Louhivuori himself stressed that it was better for the boys to have some occupation in stead of loitering on the streets and sitting in prisons as juvenile offenders. The results of "work among the masses" (i.e. bolshevism) had been disastrous for Finland and in the aftermath of the Civil War the country needed strong, manly characters.²⁰ Until the beginning of the 1920s Louhivuori steered the YMCA scouting to become a line of Christian education of its own with its own programme, although the unity of all Christian boys was cherished in weekly common gatherings in the festival hall of the Helsinki YMCA. In this manner Louhivuori took care that Christian education and scouting interlinked.

The scouting in the Helsinki YMCA developed into a more spiritual and religious direction than its Baden-Powellian model which preserved its imperialist spirit of paramilitary public schools. The usual programme was complemented with morning and evening prayers and lectures on mental hygiene given by the students of theology. On Tuesdays the curriculum contained Bible lessons when the lives of its "heroes" like Christ, David and St Paul were narrated. The YMCA scouts were called to acquaint themselves with the spiritual message of the New Testament systematically. For instance, the first class badge requirements of the year 1920 were almost entirely exercises in piety and reading of the Bible. Sunday school-like programme was, however, eased by play so that everybody could tell "we had fun with the God" (...*hauskaa*

18 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Luonnetta rakentamassa*. Hämeenlinna 1919, 16.

19 A.V. Laitakari, 'Lasten ja nuorten kasvatus- ja opetuskyky meillä nykyhetken kokemuksen valossa'. *Kansakoulun lehti* (1918), 162.

20 Louhivuori, *Luonnetta rakentamassa*, 3,6.

Jumalan kanssa).²¹ Louhivuori had written in his regulations that boys should not be strictly disciplined and made sit "with hands clasped", rather they had to be accustomed to "a parliamentary, voluntary" order in gatherings. Cheerful songs and hurrah!-shouts in between more serious programme were meant to support the awakening of the boys to personal understanding of Christ's message of mercy but the lessons should not have been allowed to lapse into mere play.²² The highlights in strengthening of the spiritual and national feeling among the boys were the weekly divine services, on St George's day in particular, when the scouts' oath was taken and scout flags were hoisted - a highly-pitched patriotic enthusiasm prevailed.

From the Helsinki YMCA the catering of spiritual nutrition was introduced by Louhivuori to the national gatherings of the scouts. During the Scout Days in Savonlinna in 1921 the festival programme contained daily prayers, a festive divine service and visit to the bishop. About the same time the courses to scout-masters were begun during which skills in club work, camp organization, protection of children, studies in local history, cartography, library keeping and natural science were being taught. Religion and fatherland remained central and home and family were sidetracked since young boys were torn from their orbit more regularly and also in weekends to scouting fields and camps of "forest guerrillas" (*metsäsissi*).²³

The Helsinki YMCA Blues became the model group for Finnish scouts until the beginning of the 1920s. However, its further practical development was left in hands of Ukko Kivistö after Louhivuori left the YMCA in 1921. He took the more conspicuous role of being the spiritual and ideological leader of all Finnish-speaking scouts. The hegemony of the Louhivuori's Christian line had already since the beginning caused conflicts within the scout movement which was supposed to remain an apolitical but nationally unifying factor in Finland. The gravest crisis broke out in 1919 when the *SPL* split into two for the Swedish-speakers could not accept the tenth paragraph of the scout law which forbade the use of alcohol and tobacco. To open the deadlock Louhivuori, who himself was a teetotaler, hurried to resign but was called back in 1921. The Swedish-speakers, however, did not want to return under the common flag and the *SPL* remained purely a Finnish federation

21 Kosti Palander to Louhivuori on the 29th of April, 1917. Louhivuori's Correspondence. LA.

22 Vernerilouhivuori, 'Työ kaupungeissa'. *Kristillinen nuorisotyö*. Porvoo 1920, 119, 125.

23 NMKY:n partiopoikien päiväkäsky no. 3 (23rd of Jan., 1920). Louhivuori's file 1910-1920. AHYMCA; Suomen partiopoikien keskusvaliokunnan ptk. File: KVH 7.ASM.

for scouts. In the early 1920s it commenced to establish relations with the London headquarters of the international scout movement but met with difficulties since the Swedish-speakers had already registered themselves as the representatives of the entire Finnish scout movement. With flexibility and conciliation Louhivuori was before long able to have also the *SPL* internationally recognized.²⁴ It may be concluded that the spirit of the Finnish scouts in the early years of the 1920s, enlivened also by making contacts with the other Finno-Ugric nations (Estonia, Hungary), was to a great extent of Louhivuori's making. For his work as a founder of the Finnish scout movement he was later duly recognized and highly respected. It was partly due to his long-drawn-out efforts that the quarrelsome Swedish- and Finnish-speaking scout organizations of Finland were reunited in 1972.

LOUHIVUORI AND THE YOUNG CHURCH

In order to understand Louhivuori's scout ideology, one must at first give an account of the status of the Lutheran clergy in Finnish political and intellectual life as well as of its role as a group of public moralists, 'the healers of the nation's soul'. The clergy belonged to a Finnish, local elite in the period of autonomy, separate from the Russian power centre. It was strengthening its grip on the nascent Finnish state by legitimating its work within popular revivalist movements it led and controlled. In the cultural atmosphere of the 'suppression' - tighter integration of Grand Duchy of Finland to the Russian Empire - the clergymen sided with the layman intellectuals to implant in the minds of the people the image of national regeneration. The conservative nationalism of the church aimed at organic and spiritual unification of the nation on the basis of Finnish language and agrarian-Christian values.²⁵ Finnish language, Lutheran religion and pursuit of Fennomania made up its three pillars.

24 SPL:n vuosikertomus vuodelta 1921-1922; SPL:n vuosikokousten ptk:t 26.6.1920, 2.7. 1921. SLD 304-91, 9/II/V. File I. The Archives of the Finnish Scouts (henceforth AFS); Portio 2 (1922), 25-26; Tolin, *80 vuotta partiointia*, 137.

25 Risto Alapuro, *State and Revolution in Finland*. Berkeley 1988, 198-200; Risto Alapuro & Henrik Stenius, 'Kansanliikkeet loivat kansakunnan'. *Kansakunta liikkeessä*. Eds. Risto Alapuro, I. Liikanen, K. Smeds & H. Stenius. Vaasa 1989, 15-17. Louhivuori himself took part in 1904 in a petition of Finnish students forwarded to the Rector of the University of Helsinki in which the students demanded Finnish language teaching at the University. Heikki Louhivuori's interview on the 10th of March, 1992.

The 'reactionary' outlook of the church had begun to estrange the younger Finnish and especially Swedish-speaking intelligentsia since the 1880s. The theory of evolution, evolutionary conception of culture and positivist critique of the Bible threatened the Christian world-view. The crumbling of the unified Lutheran culture was accelerated by Socialism which surpassed Liberalism; it was an ideology that jettisoned Christianity as 'ideological dust-throwing' and as legitimatization of the exploitation of the working classes. After the Great Strike of 1905 both the bourgeois and socialist demands of emancipation swiftly politicized. For instance, it was claimed that teaching of religion at schools was redundant and to be abolished. The church that had so far been in a very firm position was now forced to defend itself

The church gained significant help from the Saturday Association of Theologians (f. in 1896) which had started publishing in apologetics. Its junior members who had become 'fennomanicized' approached the common people by making the message of Bible more popular. Louhivuori joined the association in 1912 since also he opposed such dogmatic view which regarded the text of Bible as literally true. For him the history of creation was not "geology" but "poetry of a seer".²⁶ When analysing the scout ideals of Louhivuori we may realize that the main purport of the Bible for him was the ideal of life presented by Jesus Christ. In that context, it seemed entirely secondary to Louhivuori to argue about the historical and text-critical questions of the Bible.

The march of Socialism on the level of state, the expansion of atheism, free morality, the theories of evolution and pantheism all motivated the junior clergymen to plan 'counter-revivalism'. These so called Young Churchmen (*nuorkirkolliset*) were dissatisfied with the prevailing, Beckian theological dogmatism which rejected new philosophies of life, and with the reactionary way the church reacted to modern social problems. When the authorities of the Old Church, the pietist archbishop G. Johansson and the editor of the Old Church organ, *Herättäjä*, K. R. Kares took a resolutely negative stance towards freedom of religion, ecumenicalism and the reform waves shaking clerical privileges, the Young Church

²⁶ Luohivuori's memoirs recorded in a meeting of the veteran guild, 14th of November, 1977. Casette XIII-XIV. ASM. Cf. Juhani Veikkola, *Teologinen lauantaiseura kirkon puolustajana suurakon jälkeisenä aikana 1905-1914*. SKHS:n toimituksia 79. Helsinki 1969, 183-187; Markku Heikkilä, 'Suomalaisesta kansallisuususkonnosta kansalaisuskontoon'. *Kirkko ja politiikka*. Toim. Hannu Mustakallio. SKHS:n toimituksia 153. Helsinki 1990, 500-509; Eino Murtorinne, 'Kirkko ja suomalaiskansallinen ideologia'. *Aate ja yhteiskunta*. Toim. Markku Heikkilä. Keuruu 1978, 270-275.

people founded a new and party-politically independent paper, *Kotimaa*, in 1905 as their own debate forum. About 1911 their programme had consolidated and they demanded an internal reform of the church, labelled as the fortress of reaction by the progressive bourgeoisie. The initiators of the reform in *Kotimaa*, Sigfrid Sirenus, A. Hjelt, Jaakko Gummerus, J.H.Tunkelo and Paavo Virkkunen called the church to join reform movement so that it would not lose its touch with the people. They delineated the idea of a church of the nation (*kansankirkko*) which they conceived as superior to the state and to the political parties, a power that could unite all sects and the fragmented spiritual life of the people. *Kotimaa* did not only set itself to awakening the individual but to revealing social grievances, and it supported the reforms and measures which aimed at their alleviation if they were not in contradiction with the basic teachings of Christianity. In the internal reform of the church the editors of the *Kotimaa* wanted to stimulate foreign missions, missions in Finnish industrial districts, activities of Sunday schools, social work of the church (*diakoniatyö*) and the work of YMCA in parishes. They also supported Christian workers' associations. In the volubly enthusiastic publications of the Young Church movement one can read deep concern of the breaking of the connection between the church and the young and as well as fear of the young people's drifting towards moral ruin in giving up religion altogether. The writers warned of individualism and hedonism of the times as "selfish pleasure-seeking" and rejected all heretics, domestic and imported. The radical aestheticism and sexual morality of free love promoted by the Prometheus Society and the periodical *Euterpe*, the programme of Socialism to disconnect church from the state, Nietzschean philosophy of re-evaluation of all values as well as Bergsonian vitalism all were scolded by the Young Church men.²⁷ Louhivuori became a permanent contributor to *Kotimaa* in 1913 but he had already in 1911 taken part in the topical moral and cultural debate by writing an article on Finnish "revivalism" in the times of "moral decay" for it. He had gained encouraging information from abroad of mass revivalist movements but because there was no such an awakening foreseeable in Finland he relied on the "silent revival" of the slumbering nation. In his work at the YMCA he had noticed how the workers who resented Socialism were already "seeking Christ". This had to be supported by the clergy especially among the working-class youth. Here

²⁷ Juhani Veikkola, *Nuorkirkollisen suuntauksen muotoutuminen Suomen kirkossa suurlakosta 1905 ensimmäisiin kirkkopäiviin 1918*. SKHS:n toimituksia 118 Helsinki 1980,134-135;Eino Murtorinne & Markku Heikkilä, *Kotimaa 1905-1980*. Jyväskylä 1980, 18-20.

lay the opportunity for the church to lead the "resigned" back to its communion. As a person who had given encouragement, Louhivuori mentioned the Norwegian preacher, Albert Lunde, who visited Finland at the time.²⁸ As a literary critic Louhivuori defended the idea of internal purity' propagated by the Young Church to the youth. He castigated, for instance, the writer Arvid Järnefelt as an "anarchist of the Tolstoy type".²⁹ Louhivuori agreed also with the ideas the Young Church men, according to which the church had to become more democratic and earn the trust of the people but in conflicts with the Old Church men he preferred reconciliation.³⁰ For him the purpose of *Kotimaa* was to prevent the expansion of general opposition to religion by propagating 'living Christianity' and appeasing internal quarrels within the church.

Revivalist work as a Young Church journalist became Louhivuori's main occupation, the leadership of the scouts' movement was his popular image. In 1912 he took the pseudonym 'Seppä' and in 1922 he became the editing secretary of *Kotimaa*, the post he held until 1943. He worked for the paper on the condition that he should resign from the leadership of the Helsinki YMCA troop but he was allowed to continue in the federal council of the *SPL* and to take part in editing the scout papers.³¹ Their chief editor, V. Hämeen-Anttila, continuously asked Louhivuori to write "spiritual and spirited" editorials.³² It was in this particular way that Louhivuori disseminated the Young Church message of progressive' Christianity among the scouts - Christianity tailored to their taste.

In spring 1917 when the *SPL* was re-established, Louhivuori worked actively as a secretary for the council of popular education of the church and organized newspaper campaign to combat Socialism and Communism in Finland in the oncoming elections. People were to be rallied behind the right-wing parties so that they would have a say in legislation concerning their basic values and social morality as well as in

28 [Verner Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 82 (1911).

29 [Verner Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 37 (1917. Cf. Armas Nieminen, *Taistelu sukupuolimoraalista*. Turku 1951, 32-37, Kari Mäkinen, *Unelma jälkikristillisestä kulttuurista ja uskonnosta*. SKHS:n toimituksia 145. Helsinki 1989, 40-41.

30 'Antti Niilo Verner Louhivuori sanomalehtimiehenä'. Jäljennös Suomen sanomalehtihistoriaa varten Turun yliopistolle 30.8. 1979, 6-8; 'Kotimaan joulu' (unpubl. paper). File: Kotimaan toimitussihteerina. LA. See also, Veikkola, *Nuorkirkollisen suuntauksen muotoutuminen Suomen kirkossa suurlakosta 1905 ensimmäisiin kirkkopäiviin 1918*, 134-135, 236-238, 263, 381, 388, 395-396 and Martti Ruutu, *Kirkon elämää Kotimaan kuvastimessa*. Helsinki 1949, 97-100, 109 for Louhivuori's work as the diting secretary for the *Kotimaa*.

31 'Antti Niilo Verner Louhivuori sanomalehtimiehenä', 6-8. LA.

32 Hämeen-Anttila to Louhivuori on the 30th of December, 1917 and the 20th of June, 1918. Louhivuori's Correspondence. LA.

deciding about the future relations of the state and the church. It was not deemed necessary to found a new 'church-party'.³³ Louhivuori fought at least on two fronts; on one hand he tried to foster Christian citizens from the young, on the other hand, he wanted to help to preserve Christian values and norms in a society which had embarked on the road to democratization.

The clergy took part in White (bourgeois) ideological work in the Civil War during which also the first Church Days were arranged in an atmosphere of national disaster. It planned - as the 'worst possible' had already happened — nothing less than the future of the nation. In his speech to his colleagues Louhivuori emphasized the significance of popular, Christian pamphlets and booklets and concurred with the declaration which called the church to heal "the living roots of the fallen nation". The participants feared of losing the youth albeit they believed that the aftermath of the war might provide an opportunity to save the young souls for both the intelligentsia and the mourning commoners seemed to expect that the church would reinstate the 'old, traditional' values with its authority. Central Federation for Parish Work was established as a unifying organ for Young Church activity in parishes and among the young and Louhivuori was elected to its leadership. In 1919 he also took part in the planning of the popular education campaign of the White army but resigned from its service on the 1st of January, 1920, obviously tired of continuous disputes over the content of the curricula.³⁴ He left Helsinki for Velkua, a tiny parish in Turku archipelago, where he started to write his morally educating books and scout guides until he resumed his work as an editorial secretary of the *Kotimaa*.

The second Church Days of 1922 in Viipuri in which Louhivuori also took part, conclusively showed that the church had moved from defence to the camp of the White winners of the Civil War. Its programme was now more uncompromisingly for the restoration of the social status of the church. Yet polishing its prestige did not mean that the church had won a real victory in the struggle over citizens' hearts. Throughout the 1920s the clergy was greatly worried about the secularisation of the

33 Kertomus kirkollisen valistustoimikunnan toiminnasta 9.5.1917 - 15.1.1918. Kirkkopäivät I. Helsinki 1918, 173-176; (Louhivuori Verner), *Kotimaa* 17, 37, 41 and 52 (1917). Cf. Kirsti Kena, *Kirkon aseman ja asenteiden muotoutuminen itsenäistyneessä Suomessa 1918—1920*. SKHS:n toimituksia 110. Helsinki 1979, 36-36.

34 *Kirkkopäivät* I, 2—3, 40—42; Ruutu, *Kirkon elämää Kotimaan kuvastimessa*; Paavo Kortekangas, 'Kirkko'. In: Suomen *kulttuurihistoria III*. Eds. Päiviö Tommila, A. Reitala & Heikki Kallio. Porvoo 1982, 530; Eino Juva, "Armeija ei ole mikään kansanopisto". Sotilaspapiston toimenkuva Suomen sotavoimissa 1918-1928'. In: Mustakallio (Ed.), *Kirkko ja politiikka*, 420-425.

society (the law of freedom of religion and the teaching of religion in schools) and about the "apostasy" (*luopumus*) of the people which was interpreted as a work of internal and external "enemies of the soul". The same factors seemed to explain the increase of juvenile delinquency and immorality in general. In circumstances envisaged like this, Louhivuori concentrated in *Kotimaa* on protecting the Christian sexual morality and the institution of marriage from "the poison-bearers" - the *Tulenkantajat* and other radicals - and their "nutrition of flesh".³⁵ Concomitantly, the pith of his scout message was to guard the sexual morality of the urban youth.

The Finnish Young Churchmen had learned freer forms of parish life from their mentors during their visits in the USA, England and Nordic countries. They fitted well in with their maturing ideal of 'people's church' in which also Christian scouting found its place. The acceptance of laymen in parish activities was meant to attract also young working-men whom the Young Churchmen regarded as estranged from the Church and religion. The scout ideology of the YMCA was remoulded to appeal to the workers so that they would be rescued from 'heresies' and be taught to be respectful and loyal to "paternal" public power. The message was to be as simple and apolitical as possible, and Louhivuori believed that relations of power were easy to hide from the minors by appropriate pedagogy.³⁶ The scouts of the Helsinki YMCA were bound to the state already when the Protector C.G.A. Mannerheim was asked to become their patron. He accepted the offer with pleasure with the following words: "The power of your youth and belief are the safeguard of our freedom and the hope of our future".³⁷ Correspondingly, the Christian scout work committed itself to enhancing the nationally integrative goal of the White victors; it would educate and take care of the future 'bearers of the national soul'.

THE SCOUT IDEAL

The ideal of man for Louhivuori was the "purifying and serving" Jesus Christ found in the works of a Danish YMCA-leader and Christian writer for the young, Olfert Ricard (1856-1929), whom Louhivuori

35 Louhivuori's statements recorded in Mäkinen, *Unelma jälkikristillisestä kulttuurista ja uskonnosta*, 70, 102, 202-203, 312.

36 Verner Louhivuori, *Pyhillä partiolla*. Partiolaisten käsikirjoja 7. Hämeenlinna 1919, 17-18.

37 Mannerheim's letter in *Partio* 3(1919), 36.

greatly respected. The importance of modernized and more dynamic features of the New Christ for Louhivuori's scout ideal is neatly reflected in the way he phrased the first paragraph of the scout law of the YMCA's Blues: "The scout fights for Christ, fatherland and humanity", although he later replaced Christ with God so that also religious minorities in Finland could accept it. In his scout stories Louhivuori often recalled the career of Christ, "the Saviour" purporting to show that he had always, even on the cross at Golgata, been "ready and steady".³⁸ Of the centrality of Christ in Louhivuori's view of life tells also the fact that he sat as a model for the YMCA hall's altarpiece depicting Christ.

In Christian notion of history Christ assumes the role of the saviour of humanity. Also for Louhivuori he was a pivotal figure in the history of humankind as an incarnation of the ideal of purity. The anti-type representing pagan impurity was the "Negro of the mud huts" who hampered the "work of the God of history" and was to be converted. Christ the Saviour was a lot more valuable for Louhivuori than St George for the British scouts, of whom he had hardly anything to say.³⁹ The birth of Christ had been a turning-point from paganism to 'true religion for the plans of God to emancipate man were revealed through him. After Christ the humankind became conscious of its "life at the gates of Heaven"— the import of revelation. The miracle of Christ's birth offered man an opportunity to be born anew:⁴⁰

But the winds of his [Christ's] spirit of spring made many such people rejoice who had until then soiled themselves in the water-pools of autumn, dirtying their souls and minds. It was his impact that made the pools dry and in their place grew the green foretelling of the new joys of summer.

Christ was the incarnation of the ideal of scout purity, the healer of their souls and their highest spiritual leader. The purity that Christ represented also in his "dignity demanding obedience"⁴¹ was to Louhivuori a permanent human value, the measure of proper citizenship. As

38 Louhivuori's notes from the 20th of February, 1911 and his stories 'Aina paikallaan' and 'Sinä olet minun rakas poikani, johon olen mieltynyt' dated 31st of January, 1920. File: Louhivuori 1910-1920.AHYMCA; Draft for the scout law (1910). File: Partioliiikkeen historiaa. LA. Louhivuori translated Ricard works; Nuoruus (Sortavala 1907) and *Kun hän täällä vaelsi* (Porvoo 1924).

39 Verner Louhivuori, *Joulupartio* (1924), 177-178; *Mihin suuntaan*. Porvoo 1939,7-8.

40 Verner Louhivuori, *Joulupartio* (1922), q. p. 113-114.

41 Olfert Ricard, *Kun hän täällä vaelsi*. Suom.Verner Louhivuori. Porvoo 1924, 19.

an arbitrator of Christ's message, he believed that 'pure' humanity would grow out of the rascal nature of every inexperienced young only if his/her guidance was of the kind that would suit the laws of natural development dictated by God. It had to be understood that the development of an individual recapitulated the growth of human culture. Leaning on this analogy, the YMCA Blues of Helsinki lived initially in the 'primitive' phase of cultural development from which they had to be disciplined and taught to keep their bodies clean and souls 'pure' and guided to such 'right' action that would help them to release their instinctive energies.

Louhivuori stated that the opportunity to get acquainted with Christ's personality "of forgiving magnanimity" offered by the YMCA Blues fulfilled the natural urge to religiosity in the young. By the example of an unconditionally Christian, sober, decent, well-mannered and reliable scout leader a boy-scout would grow to be an exemplary, dutiful and responsible Finn: "Who wants to be a man like Christ, he should listen already as a boy how Christ lived and was".⁴² By following Christ's path a scout could comply with the tenth paragraph of the scout law to be 'pure' which did not mean only abstinence from 'dirty pleasures' but also almost continuous doing good. As with Christ, so with the scout who was there to serve and not be served, and like Christ had to manage on his own. Having acquired many years' experience as a scout leader, Louhivuori still had to remind his boys that in building one's character one had occasionally to seek support from Christ, especially when one had "got a wound in one's conscience" because without such healing an internal "blood-poisoning" might follow.⁴³ The wounds signified the stigmata left by the attacks of the devil or 'internal animal', for instance, indecent thoughts which may remain there in the 'soul' if not erased by deep repentance. Approaching every scout intimately, Louhivuori probed:⁴⁴

Don't you sometimes realize how your passions arise? They are terrible forces - the forces of hate, envy, the bony hulk of greed, the beast of revenge with glowing eyes and the furtive, disgusting creature of lying. And you are taken aback by the idea that they are there in me, too!

In every young person there was lurking this inborn little rascal or hooligan who might, without proper education, become an idler or a

42 A copy of minutes of the 2nd meeting of the SPL 6th of January, 1918. File. Louhivuori 1910-1920. AHYMCA; Vernerin Louhivuori, *Partiolaisen aamuvartio*. Porvoo 1921, 9.

43 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Partio 4* (1923), 54.

44 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Joulupartio* (1923), q. p. 178. Cf. Ricard, *Kun hän täällä vaelsi*, 117-155.

loiterer, a crooked person, and in the end, a madman or a criminal. In order to root out deviant and unsocial development and seeds of vice, the example of Christ was ready at hand.

MEANS TO 'PURITY'

To further disentangle the notion of Christian purity of Louhivuori, we have to take a look at the means with which the young were supposed to attain the difficult goal. In the early 1920s the explicit goal of the YMCA scouting was to educate a citizen who would be voluntarily hard-working and blameless, inculcated with discipline and struggling to reach the ideal of Christ. A scout was no longer a paternally ruled subject. In this 'emancipation and moulding of character it was not enough to comply with the Ten Commands. The effort had to be complemented with learning of modern ideas of mental and social hygiene in order to regulate sexual morality. How to educate a scout into a decent citizen by reconciling the teachings of Christ about fighting against sin with modern, bourgeois advice of mental hygiene was the key-issue in YMCA's scout movement.

Rational reappraisal of the problems of adolescence started in Finland at the turn of the century when the knowledge and concepts of youth psychology reached there. Domestic hygiene specialists published, alongside with teetotallers' propaganda, a growing number of popular guides to sexual hygiene.⁴⁵ Puberty and adolescence came to be seen as critical phases in life. In Finland the division of the youth into controlled bourgeois students and restless working-class youth accentuated the issue. Louhivuori was well aware of the dangers to youth's growth of the culture of competition and technical efficiency as well as of the various entertainments and excitements modernity offered. The moral condition of the youth had not, in his opinion, much improved since the turn of the century but, on the contrary, more crude, obstinate and impudent generation was growing up. The many-sided scout activities in of the YMCA Blues, including in 1919 Bible hours (questioning, discussion, wall-pictures, story-writing competitions, tests), meetings, the choir, gymnastics, tours, camping, summer courses, clubs, study trips — was only an island in the sea of immorality. Such readings as the New

45 See the article no. 6 in this book and Mika Ojakangas, 'Mentaalihygieniä ja lapsuus'. In: *Terveiden lähteillä*. HArk 106. Eds. Timo Joutsivuo & Heikki Mikkeli. Helsinki 1995, passim.

Testament, Z. Topelius's *Lukemisia lapsille*, Christian guides of morality and biographies of great men had not been dispersed widely enough, not to say anything of modern, scientific advice on self-education. Ten years experience of working with boys had taught Louhivuori that the "stubborn Finnish character" was not easy to mould.⁴⁶ His Christian morality made him sceptical, at times even pessimistic about the possibilities to improve man and his morality in one generation.

Even if Louhivuori was of the opinion that theoretical knowledge was quite useless in the 'hard school of life', he could not do without concepts borrowed from physics and technical sciences in order to be able to describe the phenomena of human life. Sometimes he compared human body with a machine, e.g. locomotive. According to Louhivuori's popularized physics, all vehicles were set to motion by 'force' but the motions of human body were regulated by a refined form of it, namely "life-force" (*elämänvoima*). Put together these 'forces' formed the great 'force' of the Finnish nation. In Finnish national character this 'force' manifested itself as "perseverance" (*sisu*). Without proper control the 'life-force' would go astray, cause anarchy and chaos, as had happened when the ruffians from Ostrobothnia carrying knives caused havoc in the nineteenth century or when the socialists rebelled in 1918. In this manner Louhivuori's 'life-force' became a 'force' in history, the misuse of which had brought a lot of ruin and bloodshed with it in Finland. It had to be further ennobled to the "service of God, fatherland and fellowmen", for instance, in such feats as victories in the winter games of Holmenkollen. Louhivuori, like so many a public moralist who indulged in speculative philosophy of life, interpreted the 'life force' to be at crossroads in a young man; as free it was destructive, as harnessed it was constructive and sublimating. In the young it was still uninhibited and seeking outlets, in adults it had already calmed down and was concentrated on performing useful pursuits ('work-force'). The Finnish *sisu* was to be directed at preserving tasks which upheld and built society - in such 'work' one's 'life-force' became spirited and one could comprehend why man had been created by God in the first place. It was the career of Christ that showed to Louhivuori how a person could use his 'life-force' optimally in achieving some challenging spiritual goal.

When working among the urban youth, Louhivuori had noticed that a young person's 'fate' was determined in adolescence. Then it could be seen whether a boy would become a human wreck or grow into

46 [Veneri Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 88 (1919); 21 (1921).

a citizen with full capacity to work or whether a girl would take the role of a respectable and hard-working mother or become a "woman of the streets". Louhivuori's ideal was a bodily (sexually) pure person, and if assumed that indecent literature, movies, dancing, intoxicants, bad company and poor education at home had *not* made its impact the person could also be "mentally sober".⁴⁷ But the prospects of the young were gloomy since the Finnish urban reality was counter-productive: the character of the urban young was, according to Louhivuori's experiences, already since childhood more wicked and crooked than that of a child born in the countryside. Thus it was paramount that both authorities and voluntary organizations intervened in the process of growing up in urban settings.

The most important single sphere of intervention to Louhivuori was sexual morality. In exercising purity in sexual hygiene, "the preservation and saving of the life-force for manly tasks" well over the age of twenty was primary. Developing genitals were not to be "strained" but they had to be calmed down so that one did not have to regret the loss of "sexual force" (*sukuvoima*) in adult life. Decay of body and spirit *ex onania* was a familiar scourge to Louhivuori. Citing the precepts of the Swiss Christian hygienist, Fr. W. Foerster (1869-1966) and the Finnish expert in sexual hygiene, Max Oker-Blom (1863-1917), Louhivuori commanded the young to temper the outbursts of their 'life force' until "maturity", up to the age of twenty-four⁴⁸ since they consumed 'the force of blood' (*verenvoima*). All experiments with free love and "revelling" (*hummaus*) had to be given up. The young should not go to "exciting" dancing-schools, avoid walking with the opposite sex "in the moonlight" and get rid of all "sentimental day-dreaming" since they all might lead to premarital sexual contacts that would seriously harm 'the feeling of purity'. This argument Louhivuori backed up with 'scientific' information from central European institutions of social hygiene telling that premature use of "sexual force" of the domestic animals tended to harm their progeny - a result of research that was generally referred to in

47 Vernereri Louhivuori, *Elämän hurma*. Jyväskylä 1920, 54-55.

48 Vernereri Louhivuori, *Nuorena ja naimatonna*. Jyväskylä 1920, 17-18.: *Kotimaa* 36 (1917). Foerster whom Louhivuori cited did not advocate eugenics but vaguely proposed "the caring of the germ". See Fr.W. Foerster, *Sukuelämän siveys- ja kasvatustoppi*. Transl. Rope Kojonen. Porvoo 1912, 134. The horror-picture of degeneration by habitual onanism was painted by S.S. Salmensaari who recommended scouting as the cure for it. See his *Poikakysymys*. Jyväskylä 1920, 95, 102-103 and 325-327. Cf. J.H. Tunkelo, 'Sielutieteellisiä ohjeita'. *Kristillinen nuorisotyö*. Porvoo 1920, p. 51 which tells that onania "closes a person's heart". Of the scout leaders Kl. Suomela promoted scouting as a movement of racial hygiene. See his *Raittius ja urheilukunto*. Helsinki 1921, 3-5.

proving inherent degeneration. In Louhivuori's view, it held true also of human beings; semen, the bearer of the 'life-force' of male individuals and the whole nation, was not to be wasted since continence in adolescence had always been the hallmark of "strong and developing nations". There would not be any great men to lead a nation if its youth let its 'life-force' to be squandered or spoiled. Only "primitive" people and "degenerated, hyper-civilized" nations let immorality, fornication and masturbation destroy their culture. The loss of ovum did not matter for a nation's *elan vital* but the semen was invaluable since — if not wasted — it was stored in the testicles, from where it infiltrated into blood and, finally, was transformed into "will-power" in the brains. By referring to the teachings of Ricard, Louhivuori stated that the energy thus stored in renunciation "flowed into the character as steel".⁴⁹ The core of the Finnish *sisu* resided in this energy to be used mostly in hard work presenting a contrast with the way pagans, socialists and free lovers squandered it.

In prohibiting masturbation Louhivuori was more moderate than, for instance, Baden-Powell who had exhorted his scouts to "save that holy element" to later marital acts stating that semen's misuse on purpose would lead to "drying up and tension of organs".⁵⁰ Instead, Luohivuori did not want to frighten the young with degeneration for the rhetoric weight of his argument was on the positive influence of continence, not on the negative consequences of the 'vice'. He was of the mind that with self-discipline a young person could in fact "clean" from his character all "cheap rubbish" that had gathered. By following the rules set by St Paul in his letter to the people of Galata they could avoid 'mental decay' and be ennobled.⁵¹ Yet again, the firmest safeguard was the example of Christ: by fasting (!) and self-discipline one could grow "from a rascal to a knight".⁵²

Louhivuori's Christian notion of freedom was in glaring contradiction with the 'progressive' and radical one of contemporary social critics. For him real freedom was neither the liberal, negative individual liberty nor the Russian, anarchist "*svaboda*" (freedom) but it was what he called "supremacy of soul", a stringent control of the passions. Political rights had to be distributed in accordance with how well various groups and classes in society had succeeded in practising self-discipline and self-

49 Louhivuori, *Nuorena ja naimatonna*, 28; Luohivuori's speech in Turku [1919], LA.

50 R. Baden-Powell, *Tie onneen*. Transl. Väinö Nyman. Helsinki 1927, 101, 107-108. Cf. Jeal, *The Boy-Man. The Life of Lord Baden-Powell*, 107-108.

51 Vernerilouhivuori, 'Nuori mies ja hänen elämäntutsumuksensa'. *Nuori mies*. Porvoo 1921, 104.

52 Louhivuori, *Nuorena ja naimatonna*, 47.

government. In civilized and educated circles this 'freedom' could develop into real "rapture of life" (*elämänhurma*) which, for its part, was like great "electric battery" inexhaustibly emitting new "force".⁵³ As with the progressivist notion of 'freedom', so also with Louhivuori's; it was freedom from animal nature but Louhivuori's notion of it was more demanding in the sense that an individual had from his/her youth to fight for its attainment, not only to step into it - exercising citizen's rights — as an adult.

Louhivuori discussed one dimension of the question of 'freedom' in connection to his castigation of the Finnish apostles of 'free love'. The debate had been opened by the writer Arvid Järnefelt who advocated absolute sexual morality and by the Young Churchman and Louhivuori's friend, Paavo Virkkunen who vehemently opposed it. Also Louhivuori took a stand, and in order to be convincing, he leaned again on a selection of findings of modern science to prove opponents' arguments for free sexual drive false and deleterious to the nation. Man's mission was not to waste 'life' away but to attain rational control over it. Difficulties in fulfilling the task had been recorded, for instance, by St Augustine in his *Confessions* and Olavi in Johannes Linnankoski's feverishly romantic novel *Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta* (1905). Their erotic adventures had been conducted in a "fury of blood" reminiscent of the passions of the Prodigal Son. Their mental condition was deep anguish. The human being was the only animal that could practise continence and thus compel the 'life-force' like any other force of nature to serve him. "Rapture of pleasure" (*nautinnonhurma*) was to be sacrificed to the altar of work or a grand (national) idea. Although Louhivuori did not concur in Luther's notion that copulation in marriage was also something 'dirty' but regarded it as 'a holy act', he nevertheless considered man's calling a motive that dragged him out of marital bed.⁵⁴ Only a person free from seeking pleasure could "catch the lightning, put it in his machines and force it to make them run". Obviously, it was the inventor of electricity who felt the greatest 'rapture of life', joy that originated in successful intellectual effort. With continence, self-discipline and hard work a young person could progress in life, for instance, a carpenter could become an owner of a work-shop in the same fashion as Edison had become an inventor and factory-owner.⁵⁵ On a larger scale, progress' in

53 Ibid., 52. a. [Verner Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 63 (1921).

54 Louhivuori, *Elämän hurma*, 50-51.

55 Ibid., 8; *Nouseva Polvi* 3(1917), 34.

history was dependent on how nations could channel 'raptures of life' into nation-building.

Naturally, Louhivuori could not demand from his scouts the same achievements as from adults. The boy-scout did not have to exert himself to the utmost but he should have felt a more humble joy of inventing and finding out the source of all 'life-force'. In nature he could face up to his creator, God, and learn about Christ as he comprehended the meaning of life. The peace and calm of nature extinguished all 'bad thoughts' and cleaned the scouts' hearts.⁵⁶

Life - new heavens and new land where there are no enemies of life,
where the sun shines, birds sing without fear of the bullet, where there
are no tears, no wailing, no war, no revolution.

With these words Louhivuori consoled the young who had suffered from the Civil War, and it was in its aftermath, in 1919, that his warlike sermons softened into words of reconciliation, harmony and unity. When the victorious Whites cried for revenge, Louhivuori's politics was already 'healing' and his scout ideology took on post-Romantic, idealist and essentialist undertones. He did not any longer want to see in Finnish life any "signs of death", although there was a lot of "lying, laziness and dirtiness" around after the war. External fighting was transformed in Louhivuori's scout ideology into an internalized struggle.

In his relations to fellow countrymen and comrades a scout-boy was no proto-hero but a polite knight and all-around good-doer, always ready to help, and not only weak or elderly people but also the society as a whole. He should push the carts of grandmother up the hill, he should denounce moon-shiners and henchmen, help mother at home and sacrifice a part of his holidays to scouting etc.⁵⁷ Practical scouting was incessant preparation for citizenship, mainly to its duties and responsibilities. The scout grew in his tasks into a useful and loyal adult, and also the lower classes should have realized that 'helping' the society was the ideal also for them. The worker should not have seen his position as a class one, i.e. in an antagonist relation to the employer, rather he/she should have pondered the deeper meaning of work, which was not, according to Louhivuori's economy of redemption, a "race for money" but saving of one's own soul and augmenting the plans of God on earth.

56 Louhivuori, *Pyhillä partiolla*, q. p. 77.

57 Ibid., 78; *Ok valmis!* 2(1917). For the girl-scouts, see Tuuletar', *Partiolainen* 7-8(1917), 120.

For the poor also, 'work' was the essence of the civilization process; while working everyone's "powers grew, will was strengthened into steel, eye-sight got sharper, character grew stronger, all temptations of the world were overcome", Louhivuori reassured.⁵⁸ Working and toiling was the way to avoid the fate of Tommi from Turmiola, the stereotype of Finnish adolescent degenerate.

A scout should have practised self-control and show Christian discretion in choosing his companions. The urban scout in particular should have been sharp-eyed since in the 'world of towns' there were so many "traitors" and an inexperienced scout may easily be fascinated by new acquaintances.⁵⁹ The growing scout should build a strong "internal fortification" against the approaches of fake friends. A scout should have learned from the YMCA's programme those "high ideals of life" for which one would fight like a "lion" and with which to fend off cigarettes, drinks, indecent literature and papers offered by fishy acquaintances. The movies, playing cards, philosophizing in restaurants and nightly pleasures were part of the Nietzschean culture of *Übermensch* and decadence - to the "siren-songs" of the *leben und leben lassen* -culture the scout should not ever listen. A good friend could be told off from a nihilist or a relativist by judging whether he or she could enjoy small things. Boisterousness, noisy behaviour as well as enjoying mammon and noisy entertainments - modern egotism — were signs of a poor candidate. The criteria in choosing comrades should have been roughly the same as Christ used in choosing his disciples; that Christ chose also Judas was a test to a young man.⁶⁰

If a male scout had to be careful in choosing comrades, choosing a girl-friend was critical. Because all premarital relations were out of the question, dating may turn out to be physically and mentally demanding. The transfer of sexual drive into chivalrous admiration of the opposite sex was anyhow quite necessary in view of accumulating national 'life-force'. Yet in close encounters the suppressed passion may become violent and the boy-man might go for an "attack". This was the moment of danger: a young man pursuing a woman could not know in advance whether the object was 'pure' and or not. Appearance may deceive but usually the bashful were the chaste as they could also teach the man to curb his passions by demanding chastity also from him and by refusing intercourse. It was also reasonable to find out whether the prospective

58 Verner Louhivuori, 'Nuorimies ja hänen elämäntutsumuksensa', 105.

59 Verner Louhivuori, 'Nuori mies ja hänen toverinsa'. *Nuori mies*, 52.

60 *Ibid.*, 66.

partner carried a venereal disease. In the Bible (Matthew 19:12) one could find the needful information about the types of men a scout-girl should avoid,⁶¹ It view of the quality of future citizens a clever scout girl should have been able to select from the candidates the one with whom she could 'produce' healthy and fit children. It was good to remember the 'data' from England showing that 90 % of the children who had been born out of occasional relations had become criminals. Handicapped and homeless children born out of wedlock as well as children suffering for divorces were also a huge burden to society there. Wondering whether Finland was already in the same predicament, Louhivuori insisted that male scouts should not impose themselves as superior and aggressive sex-maniacs. And he warned scout-girls especially of the publications of the Swedish pioneer of the women's movement, Ellen Key (1849-1926), whose teachings of free love had reached also Finland. All such theories of "selfish love" contradicted the principles of Christian, "constructive" love which dictated that reasonable continence should have been continued in marriage. Sheer "idolatry of flesh" had been found to diminish "the joys of giving birth", being almost as dangerous as contraception to the fertility of the Finnish nation. Sexual freedom was to Louhivuori a devilish doctrine of "intoxication" and "insubordination", the enjoyment of which led to "drifting of outcasts to the ways of animal kingdom" - a dystopia for Finland. If individual demoralization assumed collective forms, Finland would face the fate of the Roman Empire. Again, the regenerative 'force' came from the countryside, from the bosoms of "fresh and decent" rural young whose unspoiled hereditary propensities and beneficial, acquired characteristics should have been passed on to the next generation.⁶² In this work scout movement was Louhivuori's main tool.

Louhivuori sincerely believed that lost self-control and -discipline could be regained by the Finnish youth in the scout movement since it was the very movement that offered "attractive tasks" in which sexuality's 'force' could be directed to constructive goals. The starting-point was that boys and girls were separated in different camps.⁶³ In camp life the young scout should remember to govern "the surface rippling of the forces of life before big storms" either by sticking to his/her fellow scouts or staying alone with Christ. A true scout should avoid doubting belief since a sceptic young person was "a monstrosity", and the road of doubt

61 Louhivuori, *Nuorena ja naimatonna*, 11-13,61,74.

62 Vernerin Louhivuori, 'Nuorimies ja hänen elämänkutsuksensa', 31-33, 39, 110.

63 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Partio* 4 (1920), 50.

would lead to neurasthenia and madness. The slightest deviations of character meant abnormal development to Louhivuori; the "boyish" girl was "rough" and the girlish boy was "corny". Boys and girls were sexually too different to become friends during scout years and they should have avoided any "public platforms" (dancing, play-clubs, movies) which "tore the walls of shyness and chastity" apart. Coyness in a scout-girl was a sign of health, the boy-scouts health was maintained by scouting practises, praying and work, the purpose of which was to relax emotional tension. Young men with "fragile souls" had by continuous activity to protect their 'life-force' from approaches of "emancipated, double- or light-minded" young women, and they had to exert their powers since "indolence and sluggishness" were the states of mind susceptible to giving in to temptations. In the fight against these 'weaknesses' bodily exercises (sports, gymnastics) were recommendable as hardeners of the will. In practise, scouting itself was very sportive and developed the body, the "command" over which was the first step in gaining "independent" control over one's life.⁶⁴ It was easier for a physically strong scout to perverse purity', although it did not guarantee it.

Louhivuori's own experiences in adolescence ascertained the significance of the transference impact of physical exercises. He had to strengthen "the temple of spirit" with the Finnish methods, skiing and gymnastics. In his weak moments he had to resort besides the Bible to the precepts in Ricard's and Foerster's books which emphasized praying in the name of Christ who was the protector of purity'. The years in the Helsinki YMCA taught Louhivuori that complete freedom could be achieved only by hard work and celibacy which lasted until the age of marriage (24). He had rejected all pleasing relations with women in order to be able to dedicate himself totally to YMCA's boy scouts and other work with the young.⁶⁵

In scouting the tension between instinctual life and self-discipline was relaxed by accelerated activity and competitions. In the outer world, relaxation was reflected in the woes of humankind; among private people as a fight against sin and weaknesses in character, in the public sphere between religion and science and nations and empires. This struggle between 'good' and 'bad' was not an evolutionary struggle for survival or social-Darwinian battle between strong and weak but a Christian

64 [Verner Louhivuori], *Nouseva Polvi I* (1917), 5-6; *Partiolainen* 3-5 (1918), 39-40; *Kotimaa* 17 (1917).

65 Louhivuori's diary 17.2., 17.7. 11.8., 2.9.1915. LA; Louhivuori, *Elämän hurma*, 64; *Kotimaa* 26 (1923).

fighting-process towards complete purity. For Louhivuori, it was the character, not the physical fitness that counted most. Differing from some racist scout leaders who selected as scouts only "pure, muscular, manly, steel-like, sturdy, large-chested, light-eyed path-breakers" and rejected "atrophied" boys⁶⁶, Louhivuori favoured those who "kept their heads clear", who "washed also their thoughts in the morning" and reproached themselves in the evening of the wrong-doings of the day. For a Christian scout mental purity' was more important than bodily (racial) fitness. Louhivuori did not find any use for the psychogram recommended by the *Partiojohtaja* to monitor the psychological development of a scout. He rather trusted that he could do it himself by observing scout behaviour.⁶⁷

CHARACTER-BUILDING AND PARAMILITARISM

The character-building among YMCA Blues was closely knit together with Christian philosophy of life which emphasized man's basic relation to nature and Creator. In a neo-traditionalist sense, it was a counterpoise to the destructive tendencies of modern, urban life-style that threatened the unity of creation (man - nature). The scout movement offered an opportunity to restore the relation of the young to the nature by comprehension of the principle of creation. Comradeship in nature was believed to mould a more self-conscious and courageous human nature - modelled on the modernized image of Christ - which was a precondition to active life in adulthood. Scouting was such character-building that enabled the scouts who prepared themselves for social life to stand all the tests of intensified economic and social competition and mental exertions that taxed human nerves.

Nature was 'free and clean' environment, juxtaposed with the stinginess of schools, factories and offices. It invited the young to try their budding abilities, and of the seasons the best for it was spring. That was also the time to recruit scouts and make them move since then nature abounded objects that guided to 'purity' and 'clean growth':⁶⁸

66 'Partiokynä', *Partiolainen* 4-5 (1917), 57.

67 Verner Louhivuori, *Partiolaisen joulunumero* 1918, 1645-165; Anon., *Partiojohtaja* 1 (1930), 5—6.

68 [Verner Louhivuori], *Partio* 4 (1923), q. p. 49. Cf. *Partiolainen* 1 (1917) in which nature was viewed more mechanically, as regenerating the body and 'purifying' the morality.

Spring is the season of wet shoes and shirt sleeves but it is also the time of wonderful discoveries and visions for a person who spends his holidays rambling outdoors and keeping eyes and ears open. It is the time to make observations, to sharpen one's eye and ear.

The urge to action awakened by nature could be satisfied by scouting which led to adventures, to play Red Indian, rambling and camp life — to experience exciting activities. Rascals let loose in nature but guided by scout programme spontaneously consumed their 'life-force' in the building up a small community. In this context they developed useful altruism, the foundation of all societal organization.⁶⁹

The natural instinct of self-preservation which is manifested in instinct to compete in order to overcome all opponents, has to be purified from all individual ambition and idolizing of rough, bodily skilfulness and ennobled with self-sacrifice and with noble competition in willingness to serve.

In this Louhivuori's argument did not greatly differ from current cultural, evolutionary arguments to the effect that the human being was to be cultivated from animal nature to superior humanity. His goal, however, was different: the 'cruel' battle of all against all had to be transformed in scout competitions to a peaceful strife of 'all for all'. Individually, the spiritual struggle was for the price of the purest'. That did not include training in the use of arms or drill demanded by some militarist scout leaders but rambling, camping and getting acquainted with the teachings of Christ and the great book of nature. Religious teaching in forest was the method most favoured by Louhivuori. His scout programme was thus distanced from the military imperialism of 'BP' and the Old Church paternalism of the Old Testament.

Louhivuori often criticized the scout leaders who did not pay attention to the peculiarity of boys' mental life filled with imagination. It was wrong to expect from boys deeds that could be performed only with adult mind tuned to "life of will". One should not demand top achievements from them, the right attitude was rather to "nourish, prune and support" their efforts.⁷⁰ Illustrative and demonstrative teaching appealed to them better than explanatory and informative. Since the emotional life of the boys was vivid and varying, it was easy to sweep them away to "brisk life",

69 Verner Louhivuori, 'Poikien sielunelämä' *Joka poika*. Toim. Y. Karilas. Porvoo 1922, q. p. 29.

70 *Ibid.*, 27.

although Louhivuori - but not very emphatically - reminded his readers that scouting was meant to complement education at home and school.

To gain firm hold of the boys a punctual and at the same time attractive programme in which serious teaching, play and games alternated was needed. For starters, a collective shout of hurrah was appropriate to vent out boys' accumulated "will to life".⁷¹ Teaching should not have been such hammering as in confirmation classes but the scouts should rather have studied the stories of the Bible and demonstrated them by pictures, short lectures and objects from nature. From the Bible the scout teacher could evoke such a gallery of personalities which, shown in their historical contexts, "would be ineradicably engraved" in the boys' minds. Good method was to deal with one parable at a time from the Bible that appealed to deep emotions.⁷² Louhivuori collected stories from the Bible into one hand-book of the scouts in which he stressed that the best cultivator of a scout's self-discipline was conscience, "the compass of life" given by Christ and surveyed by God with "X-rays".⁷³ Both Baden-Powellian and free thinkers' scout movements surely resented such an openly religious emphasis in teaching.

Militarism of the Finnish scout movement has been usually denied as contradicting the 'true' ideals of the scout movement. Yet it seems that militarism has been defined rather narrowly for the message of scout ideology in 1917-1919 all the same contained many warlike ideas and practises which continued well into the 1920-1930s⁷⁴. One can say that also the Young Church branch idolized some distinctly military virtues, and although the leadership the *SPL* forbade its members to take part in the military training of the Civil Guards (*Suojeluskunnat*), that did not make the scouts a peace 'movement' since it accepted the widely acclaimed presupposition of the times that the world was a merciless battleground of life. Violence was accepted as belonging to 'natural order', especially when 'evil' was to be destroyed. Diversity of the scout movement also allowed local leaders to pursue their own methods, in Ostrobothnia in particular where they had intimate relations with the Civil Guards.

Militarist and conservative ideas went hand in hand in both British and Finnish scout movement but differently. Although ideological kinship of the clergyman Louhivuori and the soldier Baden-Powell was of a general kind, both may be called radically conservatives who did not have any

71 Vernereri Louhivuori, 'Poikatyön käytännölliset tuodot'; 'Raamattutunti'. In *Joka poika*, 80 and 119-120.

72 Vernereri Louhivuori, 'Raamattutunti', 62.

73 Vernereri Louhivuori, *Pyhiä seikkailuja*. Helsinki 1931, 63-64, 110.

specific party alignment. In scouting it amounted to understanding, governing and character-building of a young person so that he or she could become a fit citizen (*kansalaiskuntoinen*) who respected traditional values and order. Louhivuori admired 'BP' just because he had understood the "soul of a boy" right and connected his "natural and healthy" adventurousness with practical learning of bodily and mental hygiene. And yet their ideals for the scout remained apart. Baden-Powell emphasized military obedience and discipline, Louhivuori sought for a man "who bound his conscience to God".⁷⁵ Thus, 'proper citizen' did not mean the same in British and Finnish scouting; the YMCA's scouts were not educated to become rulers of empires, individualist colonial officials but persons who feared God, respected the public power and were "fit to defend their country" (*puolustuskuntoinen*). If the Finnish scout law in itself deviated only slightly from 'BP's and R.E. Phillips's precepts and used in places militaristic, racist and anti-egalitarian language translated from the British originals, in Louhivuori's own texts these features are very rare.⁷⁶ In critical moments, for instance in 1917, he might regard the "immoral and fickle" Slavic (Russian) race as "degenerative force of nature" if intermingled with the Finns and call "offensive Christianity" to combat against immorality and atheism but his tone became defensive when peaceful times ensued.⁷⁷ From the public announcements made by 'BP' before the World War I Louhivuori could conclude that he was a "jingo" but of the ones the British scout leader made in early 1920s he could detect a shift towards internationalism and brotherhood. Jamborees proved it concretely. In his old days Louhivuori finally condemned all "racial and national pride" as a sin that led to wars and confessed that also many a Christian had fallen to it.⁷⁸

74 Cf. e.g. *Partiojohtaja* 7-8 (1929); 8 (1938).

75 Verner Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 3.4. 1917; Louhivuori's prememoria to the government 12.3. 1928. File: Partioliiike, 1928-. LA; 'Louhisuden huuto' (circular s.a.). Manuscript 32. Lou 2825. The manuscript collection of the Scout Museum.Turku.

76 Racism of *Scouting for Boys* comes through in racial stereotypes (p. 131), militarism in its exhortations to learn to shoot potential enemies (pp. 20-22) and anti-egalitarianism in admiration of hierarchic order. Cf. Kaarlo Soinio, *Partiopoijat*. Helsinki 1911 for stereotypes (pp. 117-119), spying,guarding, taking prisoners,play-war,animals as each others' enemies (pp.49—50, 144-145 and 153-154), hierarchical society (pp. 192-193), and Hämeen-Anttila (ed.), *Partiolaki*. Partiolaisen käsikirjoja 4 (Hameenlinna 1918), the permanent threat of the Slavic people (pp. 20-21,46,86), the indolence teeming in town is sentenced to death and 'civilization' is condemned as waste, and scouting presented as preparation for war (p. 83). See also *Partiopoikien opas*. Partiolaisen käsikirjoja 1.Hämeenlinna 1917,7, 12.

77 Verner Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 54 (1917).

78 Verner Louhivuori, *Partio* 8 (1921), 115: Louhivuori's memoirs in the veteran guild 17.1. 1977. Casette X-XI, a-side.AFS.

The ideological differences between Louhivuori and Baden-Powell were reflected also in Louhivuori's choice of the form of activity in Helsinki YMCA. Louhivuori did not want to build from his scouts a paramilitary organization but integrated scouting with other tasks such as carpentry, employment service and a club for the newspaper and errand boys. In establishing and running the *SPL*, he aimed at decentralization, and he sought compromises allowing the opinion of alternative scout groups to be heard. Baden-Powell, instead, was like a commanding officer in his 'army of scouts'.

Despite rhetoric of 'soul healing' also Louhivuori's scout language contained military emphasis at times. First, the terminology describing human activity was a combination of military vocabulary and popularized metaphors of 'struggle for life'. Liberal freedom was reduced to libertinism, peace was a state of affairs of distant future and subordination to commands of superiors was emphasized. The command of the scout law "the scout instantly obeys his leader" and the ceremonial scout oath belong to military discipline rather than to the moral code of the knighthood or to fulfilling obligations of normal social life. Baden-Powell's 'whistling in troubles' was erased from the Finnish scout law as "a hired man's irresponsibility".⁷⁹ It could be doubted, as was done by the working-class paper, *Työmies* in spring 1911, whether scout discipline after all was prone to educate unthinking children to apprehension of Christian modesty and humility.⁸⁰ Usually only the scout leaders who aimed at an officer's career demanded unconditional obedience although, for example, the leader of the girl scouts, Anni Collan, was more consistent in introducing a subordination and uniform "group discipline" (*joukkokuri*) than Louhivuori to whom self-discipline was of primary importance.⁸¹

Independent of Louhivuori's leadership, some local scout leaders used their own combative jargon egging their scouts to self-sacrifice. For example, in their marching song *Toimenpojat* from Vaasa boasted that they would fight for God and fatherland "until death". In the scout march of Eino Leino, the famous poet, the scouts grew to be "the guardians of the land and hunters of the bogeys of Finland". All those were called "lilylivers and cowards" who did not dare to join the 'common

79 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Kun työmme alkoi*. Tampereen Kotkain 10-vuotisjulkaisu. Tampere 1930,7.

80 'I-o' *Työmies* 29.3. 1911.

81 Luonnon partiosäännöiksi 20.2. 1911. File: Louhivuori 1910-1920. AHYMCA; Anni Collan, *Partiotyttöjen opas*. 2. painos, Helsinki 1920,7,30-31; *Kisakenttä* 9-10(1919).

liberation front'.⁸² There surfaced in the Finnish scout ideology a military ideal which demanded that the responsibility of every citizen was to die for his country in a war. For Finland, the enemy seemed to be both within and outside (Socialism, savagery, paganism).

The 'activist' language of the scout ideology evoked many strong associations of fear, decay, threat, attack and being on guard unfamiliar in normal circumstances. The exhortation to be alert (*Ole valmis!*) carried originally with it the message that there was a potential enemy somewhere near. It was later in the 1920s that the connotation of being ready to serve and help was emphasized. It was highly important for a scout to be on guard not only against the attacks of the 'enemy of the soul' but he (she) was supposed to keep an eye on other people and environment like a secret agent or a policeman. These expectations actualised for Louhivuori always when the prevailing social order appeared to be under threat, for instance, in summer 1917 when he called the scouts to self-sacrifice and work - when Finnish independence appeared to come true, the scouts had to earn it. There was no room for misfits in the nation which lived at the crossroads of freedom or death. It was as if the attainment of political self-determination were not enough, what was at stake was 'internal independence', the "moral rebirth of the Finns".⁸³

As the Civil War broke out nationalism and militarism came together in scout ideology. For Louhivuori, the war, begun as a Red 'rebellion', was a national struggle for life and sheer bloodshed, not a class-war. This was quite understandable since Louhivuori's nationalism was Christian-idealistic, a mixture of rural traditionalism and old Fennoman nationalism, from which the ideology of true Finnishness (*aitosuomalaisuus*) of the early 1920s was not afar. To him the 'real' Finnish people were the peasantry that had through centuries of suffering and warfare acquired their world-view "at the foot of the altar". His condemnation of the revolutionary working-class movement emanated from this basic stance, and he divided the working-class into two, the decent ones who behaved properly and the deviants, radical social democrats. He sympathised with the demand of eight hours workaday and fair wage since they would have made it possible for the workers to study - not to learn revolutionary 'heretics'.⁸⁴ One fundamental purpose of scout movement,

82 *Ole valmis!* 2(1917), 18; Eino Leino, 'Suomen partioväen marssi'. *Kotoa ja kaukaa*. Helsinki 1917, 141.

83 [Verner Louhivuori], *Nouseva Polvi* 5(1917), 67. Cf. Alapuro, *State and Revolution in Finland*, 205.

84 [Verner Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 32-33(1917).

however, was to break all class barriers, to recruit from all social classes and build a uniform youth to safeguard the future existence of Finland. In Louhivuori's ideology there was not a trace of social or economic reform which, of course, made it sound empty and bourgeois in the ears of the political left. Seen from Louhivuori's angle, it was redundant to bother scouts with such matters, rather it was timely to envisage a future Finland, not very dissimilar from the paradise led by God's "royal will". After the Civil War Louhivuori had opted for a constitutional monarchy for Finland but he had to be content with Presidency and *Eduskunta* as "God's servants" who should make "righteous" laws. This was the ideal state of the Young Church as explained to the scouts, and if there was inequality, poverty and other grievances in Finnish society, they could be put down to the mischievousness or ignorance of the sufferers themselves - a conservative presupposition of man's imperfection - not to any basically unequal social-economic relations which could be gradually improved as Christian morality gained more ground.⁸⁵

At the root of a change in a person's character for the better lay Christ's example of readiness to help, the *primus motor* in history. The founder of the YMCA, the British George Williams had, according to Louhivuori's judgement, lived in accordance with the principle 'serve the needs of God's realm' and donated a part of the profits of his successful firms to social work. Everybody, rich or poor, should have done the same. As in the British self-help -ideology, however, every scout who wanted to change for the better had to be able to manage on his or her own. A scout helped others but was not to be helped, and if somebody had poorer opportunities than the other, it did not count since the only difference between the rich and the poor was that a "tougher" character was demanded from the poor one in comparison to a scout who had inherited some property. In the same sense as scouting was not play but useful work, every citizen had to serve the nation in his occupation and not to resign himself to a "vagrant's" (*löysäläinen*) fate.⁸⁶ After Finland had become independent the scout movement did not any longer accept to its ranks "snobs" or other "sluggish gentlefolk" but recruits who were healthy commoners, the working-class youth included. This material was of the same kind as Baden-Powell's in Britain⁸⁷ but Louhivuori's

85 [Verner Louhivuori, *Partiolaisen aamuvartio*, 45–46; *Kotimaa* 23-25 (1918).

86 Verner Louhivuori, 'Nuori mies ja hänen elämäntutsumuksensa', 126.

87 Cf. R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (1908). 9th ed, London 1918, 187.

intention was not to educate individualist empire-builders but pioneers of nation-building. In the same way as every scout could manage on his own, the common goal for everybody was self-sufficiency of Finland.⁸⁸

The next turning-point in Finnish history since the conversion of the Finns to Christianity was the nineteenth-century revivalism which had united the Finnish people, the "masters and the peasants". The revivalists had been 'equal' and 'righteous' but since their demise the modern form of 'unholy democracy' had led to violence and immorality. The unity of the nation had been torn apart by "materialism" politically represented by Liberalism and Socialism. In 1917 the mission of the Church had been to restore the lost unity⁸⁹ but since it had not succeeded, also the Young Churchmen, Louhivuori with them, assumed in 1918 a more aggressive and 'crusading' stance and their image of history was painted with apocalyptic colours.

To Louhivuori the outbreak of the Civil War proved that Finns had lost the mercy of God. During it he reminded his compatriots of how the Finns had in times immemorial - in more dire conditions than the people of Israel (!) - conquered their "promised land" of the North, build their churches there and soon taken part in crusades against the Slavic peoples, then Tsarism and finally Bolshevism. However, in the end of the nineteenth century a section of the Finns had betrayed their mission, listened to "fake prophets", acquired socialist ideas, scepticism of the bourgeois intellectuals, "laissez-faire" (*antaa mennä*) Liberalism and the 'free morality' of the artists. Under the threat of general turmoil, Louhivuori longed for new revivalism, return to "the paths of Godly morality". After the war he expected the rise of a leader from the deep ranks of the people who could show that its "life-force" had not been exhausted. This Great Man would save the Finns from God's judgement and "spineless philistines".⁹⁰ In Louhivuori's imagination, the leader could not originate in urban background but from the 'pure' countryside where the cradle of real Finnishness lay.

'Purity' in scout terminology ominously referred also to (ethnic) cleansing. For the conservative scout leaders whose ideology was permeated by militarism the Finnish blood had been purified and the national organism healed when the White army had cut from it the

88 Verner Louhivuori, 'Nuori mies ja hänen toverinsa', 119-120.

89 [Verner Louhivuori], *Kotimaa* 21 and 30 (1917).

90 Verner Louhivuori, *Sotajoukkojen jumalan edessä*. Porvoo 1919, 15, 22, 24, 28, 40-41; *Nouseva Polvi* 6 (1918), 50.

sinful and heretic "canker" (the Reds).⁹¹ Only after the Reds were ousted Finland could again become the "holy land" of true Finns, only then was the promise of freedom fulfilled once more as the Finnish soil had sucked the "holy sacrificial blood" of the Reds. Seen from Louhivuori's Christian angle, the 'rebellion' was not only a senseless attack on the part of socialists against a lawful order but it was a cardinal sin against godly world order. Even if the demands of the workers were justified, they should have been pursued peacefully. The logical punishment of the crime was death penalty ("a sufficiently deep-going surgery of the nation's body"), the purpose of which was also to teach a lesson to the working-class. Justice was to be dispensed to the innocent, to the misled and to those who had stayed at home, to whom the clergy could write certificates telling of respective mitigating circumstances. Junior clergymen also felt sympathy towards the Red losers but among them were also such legalists who appealed to Luther in condemning all pity as approval of illegality.⁹²

There was a fair dose of glorification of bloodshed in Finnish scout militarism during and after the Civil War. Its import was to touch the deepest senses of the scout by appealing to the 'death-smelling' bearer of the 'life-force', blood, in speaking about his duties. This rhetoric device was fashionable in their songs ("blood is the measure of his ideology"; *on verensä aatteen mitta*) and even in the poems for scout-girls.⁹³ Onni Kokko, a 14-years old boy-scout who died in the war became a symbol for boy-scouts' self-sacrificial spirit. Also Louhivuori talked about "ransom in blood" and preached as an army chaplain about the love of one's homeland as "readiness to sacrifice one's life" for it. The 'rebellion' started by the Reds who had been misled by the Bolsheviks had to be put down by "fire of God" which burnt the Red "lewdness".⁹⁴ The victory gained with the support from Germany in May 1918 made Louhivuori rejoice and the Christmas of 1918 was transformed in his imagination from a celebration of Christ's birth to a "celebration of the Germanic light", although in another context he had regarded the fall of 1918 as

91 Verneril Luohivuori, *Ole valmis!* 3-7 (1918), 34. Cf. pp. 35-36 and Juha Siltala, 'Etninen puhdistus Suomessa'. *HAik* 2 (1992), 221-228.

92 Louhivuori's diary 13.4. 1918. LA; *Kotimaa* 12 (1917). Vrt. Jaakko Paavolainen, *Poliittiset väkivaltaisuuudet Suomessa 1918, U. 'Valkoinen terrori'*. Helsinki 1967, 382-383; Kena, *Kirkon aseman ja asenteiden muotoutuminen itsenäistyneessä Suomessa 1918-1920*, 98-99.

93 Hämeen-Anttila (Ed.), *Partiolaisen käsikirjoja* 4, 13-14; *Ole valmis!* 4(1917), 54-55

94 Louhivuori, *Sotajoukkojen jumalan edessä*, 9; *Kotimaa* 10 (1917) and 3 (1918). Cf. SPL:n vuosikertomus vuodelta 1918. SLD 242-91.9/12/1. File 17.AFS.

a time of "deep uncertainty".⁹⁵ It was the young among the demoralised Whites who had in flush of victory fallen to drinking bouts and fornication⁹⁶, they should have epitomised hope in the midst of chaos. In the moment of emergency, Louhivuori appealed to the 'ancient' Finnish values, such as the trust in God of the persevering peasant Paavo from Saarijärvi, with which the Finns would rise again and would, in the end, be "moulded in the forge of distress into something good and valuable".⁹⁷

In the Civil War and in its aftermath the scout movement faced a practical test. The civilians had disapproved of the recruitment of the scouts to the army so loudly that the Council of the *SPL* had recommended that they should not get enrolled, a command which aroused grumble among active scouts. It was, among other things, claimed that Baden-Powell would have been ashamed of a scout who refused to use a weapon.⁹⁸ The *SPL* forbade the carrying of guns but actually gave the scouts the permission to take part in punishing the Reds. In new instructions signed by Louhivuori as the President of the *SPL* and by Anni Collan as the Secretary, the scouts were told to ask from their parents a permission to be recruited as guards of the Red prisoners of war. The use of guns was now allowed by pointing out that they had the duty to shoot every "robber" they encountered.⁹⁹ To preempt criticism, the scouts were later instructed not to wear the scout uniform in military operations. Besides, the scouts who belonged to the Civil Guards were forbidden to appear in scout occasions in Civil Guard's uniforms.¹⁰⁰ Decisive in demilitarisation of the scouts was not what they actually did, but what they looked like. If need arise, they could be made soldiers by changing uniform.

The experiences of the Civil War left deep scars in the mind of the Young Church clergy which made their impact on the reformulation of scout ideology in White Finland. The role of the clergy, in particular, as the healer of the divided nation was strengthened. Louhivuori, who had been 32 years of age in 1917, did not find the cause of the war in the leaders of the nation but in the "selfish mob" (*pohjasakka*) that

95 *Partiolainen* 9-10 (1918);NMKY:n partiojoukon päiväkäsky no. 14 (1919),AHYMCA;Yliuevoston pkt 28.5. 1918. SLD 242-91,9/12/1. File 17, AFS.

96 Louhivuori, *Sotajoukkojen jumalan edessä*, passim.

97 *Ibid.*, 87.

98 'H', *Partiolainen* 7-8 (1918), 97-101.

99 NMKY:n partiojoukon päiväkäsky no. 9 (1919).AHYMCA;Vernerin Louhivuori & Anni Collan, *Ole valmis!* 10(1918), 141.

100 *Partiolainen* 9-10 (1918), 149; NMKY:n partiojoukon päiväkäsky no. 14 (1919). AHYMCA; Yliuevoston pkt. 28.5. 1918. SLD 242-91,9/12/1. File 17. AFS.

floutingly demanded social and political reforms. Democracy had been too permissive, and now there was a great need of order, morality and discipline by the church, army and teachers. On one hand, the clergy was the sword of God slashing inflamed passions, immorality and radical politics¹⁰¹, on the other hand, it was the "healer" (*tervehdyttäjä*) of a "sick nation". In the process, the fear of God had to be rekindled especially in young Reds "who had sucked the poison of class-hatred from breast milk". In view of possible further 'rebellions' their character had to be reformed in the "spirit of God", and the children of the Red to be moved to the countryside to recover from mental wounds. There they should have been taught all the basics, viz. the physiology of sex life, racial hygiene and temperance.¹⁰² Also the scouts were to be re-educated; they should not have become beggars but helpers of the civilians, and if there was not anything else to eat in post-war times of rationing, they should have gone to forests to collect eggs of ants.¹⁰³

The scout-leaders who were more militarist than Louhivuori, would not have liked to disarm their scout-boys but drill them in "fitness to defend" just in case the 'old woe' should rise its head again. They emphasized the importance of physical fitness in times of technological warfare. It was already in 1911 that the workers paper, *Työmies*, had remarked that scouting was a capitalist ideology that purported to cure atrophy in work-force and ward off "degeneration" in recruits for the army.¹⁰⁴ This did not quite hit the core of Louhivuori's message but could be applied in explaining scout militarism in Finland also in the 1920s.

As the project of national integration was launched in the early 1920s the belonging of the scouts to the Civil Guards was still problematic from the vantage point of reconciliation of class-hatred and scout internationalism. For Louhivuori the Civil Guards were more than necessary due to the threat of Communism but in order to avoid the label of ultra-right-wing appendage of the Guards, the scout movement had to justify its own particular role in the White state. The solution was that military practise was forbidden, and the scout movement did not accept Civil Guards' boy-brigades into its ranks and army officers were excluded from *SPL's* Council.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the strengthening of the

101 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Nouseva Polvi* 9 (1917), 118-119; 12 (1917), 162-163.

102 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 15 (1918); 21 (1918) E. Hjelt & Vernerii Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 16(1918).

103 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 27(1918).

104 'Pollux', *Partiolainen* 3(1919), 34-35; 'K.E.P.H.'. Partio I (1919), 6; 'l-o', *Työmies* 29.3. 1911.

105 Liittoneuvoston ptk:t 8.3. 1920, 18.12. 1921,21.1. 1922. SLD 304-91,9/ii/v. File I,AFS; *Kotimaa* 7 (1921). Cf. Martti Siisiäinen, *Suomalainen protesti ja yhdistykset*. Jyväskylä 1990,34-35.

'fitness to defend' remained as a cornerstone of national scout ideology since the initial definition of the year 1918.

In his early years as the High Chief of the scout movement, Louhivuori tried to reformulate its ideology and send a more peaceful and less derogatory messages to the class enemy, albeit he still emphasized that a "vagabond or a bum" could not become an orderly citizen without "moral self-discipline and sober way of life". Only if morally regenerated the Red losers could be rehabilitated in the White republic.¹⁰⁶ Yet he could not accept any forceful conversion, and he tried to keep the scout movement aloof from totalitarian tendencies. At times he had to argue with the Germanophile scout leader, Vuolasvirta and the militarist clergyman Anttila, who wanted to identify the Civil Guard's scouts (*Suomi-pojat*) and the National Scouts with the Hitler *Jugend*. Vuolasvirta ja Anttila waged their propaganda-war in *Partiojohtaja*, a paper for the scout leaders, and demanded during the rise of the Lapua movement that the scouts should practise shooting in order to enhance "the will to defend". This Louhivuori could not accept stressing that every scout should fight only within himself against evil and selfishness. Scouting should have been joyful self-sacrifice in helping and serving the less fortunate, not serious and stern military training.¹⁰⁷ In the same spirit, he refused to deal out instructions for national defence among his scouts and recommended instead Anglo-Saxon boys' adventure literature such as Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and E. Thompson-Seton books for youth as suitable readings for them.¹⁰⁸

Louhivuori's instructions for scouts, however, encouraged paramilitary activism. Models for action were to be sought in contemporary history, in the organization of the White Guards, in the recruitment of the *Jaegers* or in the ways Finnish-speaking political activists disturbed the activities of the Swedish-speakers. One appropriate test was, for instance, to obstruct the performance of a Swedish play and have it banned.¹⁰⁹ In this way, Louhivuori's nationalism was easily politicized and the parable to sacrificial spirit in such actions was to be found in nature: in the same way as the parent birds took care of their young forgetting their own

106 See, Louhivuori's statements in *Partio* 5-6(1919), 90; *Kotimaa* 28 (1919).

107 Louhivuori's memoirs in the veteran guild 20.11. 1978. Casette XIV-XV.AFS;Anon., *Partiojohtaja* 7-8 (1929),55-57;Veikko Tolin's interview, 18th of February 1992.

108 Vernerilouhivuori, *Partio I* (1923), 9-10.

109 Louhivuori, 'Nuori mies ja hänen elämäntutsumuksensa', 59-60 *Partiolaisen oamuvartio*, 15-16; *Samppa ja me*. Porvoo 1936, passim. Cf. also his *Urkkijat kintereillä* (1934) which reflects the anti-Russian frame of mind in an adventurous fashion.

well-fare "to the point of death", also the scouts should have been ready to submit to the "natural law of sacrifice". Was it not St George himself who had fearlessly fought against the dragon?¹¹⁰ Thus a scout should have been ready to die for his country in a war but not to learn to kill in times of peace. Scouting was a kind of national self-defence, and in spite of denials of militarism many scout practises and ceremonies resembled basic military practise as if scouting were preparatory to war. Camping, parading, drills, muster, dealing out badges, hoisting of flag and inspection of equipment filled the day. The scout salute during the hoisting of the flag was performed with right hand lifted to a 45 degree angle.¹¹¹ As with the Finnish sports movement which gathered momentum after nationally self-reassuring victories in the Stockholm Olympics (1912) so with the scout movement; it assumed the mission to train the young to future national self-defence¹¹².

In the 1920s Louhivuori wanted to reject aggressive nationalism and calm the attitudes of scouts down in national questions. He was very sorry for the division in the movement and sought reconciliation with the Swedish-speakers. He resented "national repression" and "cleansing of language" of some scout leaders and opposed the participation of the scouts in the expeditions to Russian Karelia planned by the Academic Karelia Society and organized by the scout leader Toivo Vitikka. Louhivuori warned that during the raids to Aunus the scout-boys may acquire "crooked character". In general, young Finns could not be allowed to develop into "boasting upstarts" or warmongers, they should rather concentrate on gathering "internal life-force".¹¹³ In his influential position, Louhivuori succeeded in keeping the public image of the scouts non-violent and defensive.

At the juncture of relaunching the scout movement in 1917, the sought-for 'finnicization' of its forms of activity originated in the criticism of the great British style in Baden-Powell's scouts. Glamour and pomp did not suit the Finnish, 'nationalized' scouting but it assumed a simple outlook. Taking the Finnish climate into account, it was self-evident that the colonial outfit with sun helmet and stick would

110 Verner Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 70 (1920); *Partio* 3 (1924), 33.

111 *Joulupartio* (1922), 129; *Partio* 2 (1924), 10,11.

112 See for the sports movement, Toivo Aro, 'Suomalaisten saavutuksia fyysillisen kulttuurin alalta'. *Suomi ja suomalaisen sivistys*. Porvoo 1919. Cf. Seppo Hentilä, 'Urheilu, kansakunta ja luokat'. In Alapuro, Liikanen, Smeds & Stenius, *Kansakunta liikkeessä*, 221; Erkki Vasara, 'Urheilu - maanpuolustusta ja nuorisokasvatusta'. *Ajankohta* (1992), 116-119.

113 Verner Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 92 (1919); 12 (1920); *Partiolainen* 1-2 (1918); Toivo Vitikka, *Partiolainen* 3-4 (1918), 56.

not do.¹¹⁴ Because there were not enough badges and uniforms for everyone so that the scouts could perform collectively, it seemed appropriate to concentrate on the message of internal, individual battle for morality and character-building. In one, more important question of principle, Louhivuori was adamant; although Baden-Powell had said that one glass of wine a day will not harm anybody, for the Finns it was all too much because they did not stop there. In times of agitation to prohibit the selling of alcohol in Finland, Louhivuori proposed that the church should offer non-alcoholic wine in the Holy Communion.¹¹⁵ All this was meant to create the impression that the scouts were teetotallers.

The outer symbol of scout unity, the scout-badge was also laden with national, Finnish meanings. Every scout should understand that the "valiant, muscular lion" in it linked him or her to the Finnish nation and its glorious history. The heroism that their forefathers had shown in their deeds was expected from them.¹¹⁶ St George was almost replaced by the Finnish hero, the aforementioned Paavo from Saarijärvi, in whom the Finnish experience and knowledge of forests and fields was combined with "Kalevala civilization". This was one of the rare contexts in which Louhivuori referred to 'civilization' in a positive way, usually it meant to him the opposite of 'culture', i.e. civilization of fancy books, superficial manners and glittering surface. The *Kalevala* mythology was gradually attached to scouting in the 1920s, a tendency that culminated in 1935 in Kalevala jamboree. In the early years of Finnish scout movement Louhivuori had regarded camping and rambling as the best means to build character but when in the 1920s scout symbolic and ceremonies were more widely accepted as psychological means to influence young minds, also he had to concede that they were highly significant in uniting scouts nationwide.¹¹⁷ Alongside with nationalization of the scout movement, it promoted close contacts with the so called kinship nations¹¹⁸ and the ideological formulation of internationalism remained on the level of jargon of 'friendship- and comradeship'.

114 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Partio I* (1919), 2-3.

115 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Partiojohtaja* 7(1931); *Kotimaa* 28 (1917). The authorities in alcohol research in Finland, Matti Helenius Seppälä and Väinö Voionmaa had shown in their works (*Alkoholioppi*, 1914; *Yhteiskunnallinen alkoholikysymys*, 1920) that alcohol destroyed semen and thus caused inevitable national 'degeneration'.

116 *Partiolainen* 7-8(1917), 98.

117 Vernerii Louhivuori, *Partio* 4 (1919), 50-51; 2 (1924), 17.

118 For instance, the Hungarian 'knights' were present in the 1935 Kalevala camp. Ks. *Levente -nuorisotervehtii Suomen veljeksansaa!* Budapest, s.a.

EPILOGUE

In the end of the 1920s Finnish scout movement set itself two goals, the regaining of 'the lost youth' and its organizing into a nation-wide movement consisting of scouts 'fit to defend the nation. The character of a young person had to be trained for the purpose by learning Christian morality and modernized mental and bodily hygiene as well as basic skills of survival even in circumstances of war. Louhivuori described the ideological difference between scouting and the Civil Guards in the following way:¹¹⁹

We [the scout leaders] certainly are patriotic and try to educate the scouts to the same frame of mind [as in Civil Guards] so that if need arises they are ready for the greatest sacrifice for the fatherland. But now they are still under-aged and we have, above all, to try to impress in their minds positive ideals of life, love for the neighbour and brotherhood towards all.

Here scouting sounded like an apolitical and non-military but not an anti-military activity. In 1928 Louhivuori in an application for a grant from the Finnish government introduced the purpose of the scouts more exactly. It nailed its social mission down in a nutshell. Even though Louhivuori designated the movement basically as "self-education" of the young, the gist of the argument was that scouting was meant to teach respect of authority to the young. Although scouting as group activity educated young to manage on their own, in critical situations subordination to discipline and collective goals was of primary importance. To realize that "the best of all is the best for the individual" gave birth to responsibility for the community which was the precondition for successful activity in adulthood. In group activity the essential dispositions, "orderliness, punctuality, loyalty and purity" were ingrained scouts' minds. These moral agencies were complemented with practical skills such as "finding one's way, building of bridges, camping, first aid, signalling, reporting", all necessary in defending one's country.¹²⁰ In patriotic mood Louhivuori declared that the most timely virtue of a citizen was "fitness to defend" (*puolustuskuntoisuus*) born out

119 Louhivuori Elis Pekoselle 3rd of November 1929 (Copy). LA.

120 Louhivuori's promemoria to the government 12th of March, 1928, p. 4. LA. Cf. the doctrine of "voluntary obedience" in *Partio* 5 (1928).

of "abstinence and manliness"¹²¹ legitimating scouting as one of the bulwarks of the security of the White, Finnish state.

Louhivuori denied that scouting had anything to do with party politics but in his public announcements he often indirectly referred to 'higher politics', to maintenance of the physical and mental health of the Finnish body politic over all boundaries of social classes and party lines. As a man from the "camp of Svinhufvud" (President of Finland), Louhivuori could rely on the support of the power of the state in educating the youth to the service of national integration and defence.¹²² The scout movement was conservative and authoritarian without being party politically rightist, rather it was populist in telling that everybody *should* have understood the message of salvation of the scout movement, although 'salvation' remained obscure and did not refer to any political or economic reforms or to changing power relations in the Finnish society. Nevertheless, the moral reform it pursued was deemed urgent since the Finnish nation, emerging from the abyss of the year 1918, should have been saved from the demonic forces of vice and anarchy in one generation.¹²³ In contrast, the progeny of the Reds did not consider the Finnish predicament a consequence of their 'bad behaviour' or 'vicious mind' and mostly reprehended denigration from the part of the scouts. Even if they would have liked to see more 'progress', their supposed 'revolution' was far less a real threat than the scout movement made it sound like.

In the matured ideology of scout movement the ideal of purity became the principal moral category. Referring to the philosophy of the Victorian conservative aesthete, John Ruskin, Louhivuori slanted the ideas of 'free will' in modern thought. The exercise of 'free will' was for him only wasting of the precious 'life-force', which may prove fatal in critical situations. The essence of man was caught in continuous, all-time balancing between "sensuality and manly purity", between "duty and pleasure" and between "listlessness and briskness".¹²⁴ Louhivuori disapproved all Rousseauist theories of primeval goodness of man, and as a believer in man's imperfection saw in human beings tendencies to relapse to animal nature. In consequence, all theoretically

121 Louhivuoren paraatipuhe senaatintorilla 1935. LA.

122 'Amicus' [Louhivuori], *Sinä ja kansasi tulevaisuus*. Helsinki 1936; Interview of Pekka Louhivuori on 9th of February, 1993. Cf. Anni Collan, *Ajatuksia partioliikkeestä*. Ylipainos Suomen kasvatustieteellisen yhdistyksen aikakauskirjasta 7 (1936).

123 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Kotimaa* 1 (1921).

124 Vernerin Louhivuori, *Kun sinä tulet partiolaiseksi*. Helsinki 1934, 43–44.

envisioned reforms inaugurating happiness for all were deemed to failure.¹²⁵ It was psychoanalysis (!) that had shown to Louhivuori that in the depths of "the human soul" there resided the "thorn of our sins". Because the 'knowledge of belief concerning human nature was not material 'knowledge' but 'higher knowledge' of godly nature, it was incontestable.¹²⁶ This 'knowledge' the scouts could always trust.

Louhivuori's scout ideology was a significant contribution to the conservative, neo-traditionalist and authoritarian *Weltanschauung* that prevailed in Finland for two decades after the Civil War. It managed to recruit quite a few young to the defence of traditionalist values and moral norms, and ostensibly with their own consent.

125 Cf. Anthony Quinton, *The Politics of Imperfection*. London & Boston 1978, 16-22; Albert Hirschman, *The Rhetoric of Reaction*. London 1991.

126 Verner Louhivuori, 'Terve mieheen te NMKY:n Katajaiset'. *Tartu poikaan ja tee hänestä mies*. Forssa 1967, 51.