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# Motherless Girls and the Orphan Myth in the Making of Nation: The Gendered Representation of a Nation in the Repertoire of the Finnish Theatre Company, 1872–76

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Laura-Elina Aho 

## Abstract

In this article, I argue that orphanhood and motherlessness as presented in drama reinforce the gendered representations used in nationalist processes. I examine the plays presented by the Finnish Theatre Company (founded by the Finnish nationalists in 1872) in 1872–76 and analyse their contribution to the gendering of the nation. In Finland, the idea of collective nationality was established during the nineteenth century by defining an ideal ‘Finnishness’ and creating ‘national’ imagery, especially through the arts. One of the most enduring representations was the embodiment of Finland, *the Finnish Maid*. As the theatre was one of the nationalist’s central institutions, I argue that it had a strong role in producing imagery for their uses, and that its early repertoire reinforced the gendered representation of the nation, emphasising youth and virginity as its main features. The study’s focus is on orphanhood and motherlessness as vehicles for intensifying the feminine representation of nationality. The ubiquity of orphan girl characters and the absence of mothers emphasise the sexual metaphor of a defenceless virgin, the notions of ‘true’ origin and the nuclear family as a scale model of the nation.

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Simultaneously the representations naturalise the gender categorisations established in the Western cultures during the nineteenth century.

### Keywords

Nineteenth century theatre, nationalism, gendered representations, orphanhood, mother myth

This article examines orphanhood and motherlessness as literary and theatrical building material for the representation of a nation as feminine. The focus is on a specific place and period of time, but the aim is to gain insight into the network of complex connections between pan-European cultural nationalism and the categorising gender discourse of the nineteenth century. I approach the subject by analysing the dramatic literature performed by the Finnish Theatre Company (in Finnish, Suomalainen Teatteri), established by the Finnish nationalist intelligentsia in 1872. The main objective of the Finnish Theatre Company (hereafter, 'the FTC') was to foster the Finnish language and to create language-bound national imagery by producing 'national' literature and drama.<sup>1</sup> From its establishment, the theatre promoted itself as a national theatre of Finland.<sup>2</sup> Here, I take a close look at the repertoire presented by the company in order to analyse orphanhood as a means of creating nationalist representations. I discuss the utility of the female orphan for embodying the features attached to the imagined Finnish identity. I argue that the characters carry meanings advantageous to the nation builders, creating gendered metaphors for the nation that were in keeping with the societal gender discourse and hierarchies of the era.

Nationalism has been studied extensively in recent decades and the notion of nations as imagined constructions has become generally accepted.<sup>3</sup> The importance of gender in conceiving nationalist processes has also garnered significant attention.<sup>4</sup> I ground my study on the existing interdisciplinary examination of nationalism and gender that demonstrates the strong and complex connection between the ideals of nationality and gender roles that were established in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, forming a strict category an accepted and 'natural' femininity.<sup>5</sup> The long Western tradition of representing geographical areas or ideas of collectives through female personifications manifested itself in Finland during the nineteenth century as an embodiment that became known as 'The Finnish Maid' (in Finnish, Suomi-neito).<sup>6</sup> The FTC did not explicitly declare that it promoted this personification, but scholars have provided views on the theatre's role as a producer of the feminine representation of Finnish nationality.<sup>7</sup> My approach relies on the notion that the FTC's mission and distinctive quality as a national institution is manifested in its repertoire.<sup>8</sup>

Looking at the company's early repertoire and focusing on its female characters, I see one feature that leaps out as applying to most: orphanhood. Of the *eighty-*

four plays performed during the first five years, *forty-two* include one or more central female figures that are orphans, making fifty female orphan characters altogether. Orphanhood is a widely examined subject in studies of Anglo-American literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are many themes and attributes attached to the literary orphan of the era – such as malleability, the development towards one's 'true identity' and the idealisation of the concept of family – resonating strongly with the concepts employed by nationalist movements of the nineteenth century. However, the connection between the orphan myth and the imagery of nationalities is a topic not yet explored fully, especially with regard to gendered representations. Additionally, I claim that in particular the motherlessness of orphan characters contributes significantly to the imagery of nation-making. And while studies have provided many insights into orphanhood in prose literature, the same does not apply as robustly to the study of drama.

Theatre as an art form possesses an extraordinary ability to produce and repeat representations. I argue that the FTC contributed to the process of creating the representations and in conveying and popularising them for nationalist purposes in Finland. Following the ideas of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel and playwright Friedrich Schiller, and binding together the Finnish language and national culture, the Finnish-minded intelligentsia perceived the arts as organically linked with the creation of the nation. Theatre gained a special position. It was even claimed that there was no other intellectual or emotional force (including in science and arts) that could affect the people and their customs the way theatre could.<sup>9</sup> The performances were important occasions for gathering and appearing in the bourgeois society that was taking shape. Joep Leerssen has noted that the emergence of the concepts of *the public*, *public sphere* and *public opinion* in eighteenth-century Europe was, among other things, linked to the 'immense public function of the theatre'.<sup>10</sup> In Finland, this occurred mostly during the nineteenth century, when there were not yet many channels to express political, cultural and social issues; in that sense, I regard the theatre as a part of the developing public media of the time. It is also worth noting that the FTC's sphere of influence was not restricted to the capital, as the first years' activity was mainly based on tours around Finland.<sup>11</sup>

This article focuses on the repertoire performed between 1872 and 1876, that is the first five performance seasons of the company. By the end of that time, the FTC had succeeded in gaining stability and establishing its agenda as a promoter of 'Finnish culture'. In 1874, the Senate of Finland considered the FTC eligible for receiving annual state aid; the following year the company was able to buy its own building, and thereby stabilise the operation.<sup>12</sup> The company's aim was to promote vernacular drama, but since it was still very scarce, the vast majority of the early repertoire was of foreign origin. The great number of imported plays was a common custom of nineteenth-century theatres that nationalistic histories, including Finnish theatre history, tend to omit.<sup>13</sup> From the eighty-four plays, twenty-four were introduced as domestic and sixty of foreign origin, those being: German

27, French 16, Danish 7, Swedish 3, Austrian 1, Hungarian 1, not clear 5. Although I mention the origins of the plays I refer to, I do not analyse them according to those written originally in Finnish and those translated from other languages. The early Finnish playwrights adopted the themes and structures from Central and Northern European models and many of the plays that were produced as originally Finnish are likely to be adaptations. However, many of the translated plays include changes in venues and names that made the plays better address the Finnish context.

In the beginning of the FTC's operation the emphasis was on the entertaining singspiel, small amateurish comedies and depictions of folklife, but the goal was to produce more serious drama year after year. Hence the plays form an uneven group of texts in terms of genre, artistic quality, and the later success or the fame of their writers. However, my aim is to build a general outline of the themes and features related to (female) orphanhood and to consider their connection to the process of gendering the idea of a nation. Thus, I treat the plays as one body of texts. As mentioned, from the *eighty-four* plays produced *forty-two* contain orphan girl characters, and it is this subset that constitutes the material for this article (see Play List for a complete list of the plays).<sup>14</sup>

There are important questions of methodology in reading a large dramatic corpus, of what gets lost or left out. There are limitations to a largely textual analysis to theatre research, since dramatic texts at their simplest are 'only a sequence of lines that [the characters] say plus what other characters say about them'; hence, these texts should be understood as plans or 'skeletons' for the performers to bring alive on the stage.<sup>15</sup> Yet this study does not examine the ways the actors expressed the characters or the immediate reception of the plays. From the Finnish performances of this time, there are hardly any visual documents to evidence the staged performances. I discuss the cultural-historical discourses by analysing the textual material the company used with the understanding that the plays contain several thematic worlds, and the one that I have chosen – orphanhood – is only one of many. Because it is impossible to discuss the fifty orphan girl characters separately within a single article, I concentrate on the most illustrative. In addition, it is important to note that I am not examining the plays as an expression of the playwrights' personal nationalist (or other) aspirations, but as material in the hands of a nationalist theatre.

### **Gendered Nation and the Study of the Orphan Myth**

Like all identity formation, the idea of nationality is built on inclusion and exclusion. Origin and continuity have become particularly central to the definition of collective identity.<sup>16</sup> Repeated ideological and political efforts by nationalist leaderships are required to create a sense of continuity in national culture. The abstract notions of nationality need to be presented in ways that make them imaginable by the population.<sup>17</sup> As Ruth Roach Pierson says, 'Nations are constructions,

fictions; but the politicians and intelligentsia who articulate nations into being – the missionaries of nationalism – start with already existing materials.’<sup>18</sup> The female body has provided a particularly useful representational instrument for nation builders.

The conflation of a solid and homogenous nation (its roots, continuity, honour or vulnerability) with idealised representations of women and strict gender roles has led to the multifaceted societal control of (female) sexuality throughout Europe and beyond.<sup>19</sup> And while there is a wide range of male personifications in the imagery of nation-making, their female counterparts have seemed more effective. As Tatiana Kuzmic has argued, the male personifications ‘are less compelling, especially when it comes to rallying cries and mobilizing people [men] on behalf of a nation. [...] A nation, like a woman, is an entity for which men will live and die.’<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the Finnish-minded nationalists of the late nineteenth century found it essential to prove the nation’s originality (the idea of one genuine origin) and continuity by demonstrating that at the ‘heart’ of Finnishness something had remained and would continue to remain the same no matter what the circumstances.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, only a particular kind of female was qualified to represent the origins of this (desired) nationality. In addition to gender, the most distinctive features expressed by almost all variations of the female embodiment of Finland were youth, innocence and vulnerability. The personification integrated the ideals of Western bourgeois femininity and ‘peasant romanticism’, a phenomenon essential to German-inspired nationalism adopted by the Finnish intelligentsia.<sup>22</sup>

One of the reasons we cannot discuss the creation of nationality without the gendered dimension is the developing social dichotomy of gender. Throughout the Western world, the definition of genders and their roles in society was established at the very same time as ideas of collective nationalities were spreading. Certain qualities, such as virtue, piety, morality and innocence, were categorised as feminine.<sup>23</sup> Also in Finland, these discourses occurred simultaneously and supported each other in many ways. The so-called ‘polarity ideal’, which emphasised the essential differences between men and women, became popular, containing the conceptions of men as active and rational and women as passive and emotional.<sup>24</sup> Embedded was the quest for the naturalisation of gendered power relations both within the nation and the family.<sup>25</sup>

In large part, the fusion of the concepts of gender and nation has been made possible especially through means of art.<sup>26</sup> The feminisation of Finnishness became established by representing Finland as the virginal maiden in visual arts, poetry, caricatures and schoolbooks yet orphanhood has not been analysed as a characteristic of the representation of Finland although it is one of the earliest features of the whole concept. The very first abstractions of Finland as a nation were built on its relationship to the former ‘mother country’, Sweden, and the prototype of the literary personification of Finland was of Swedish origin. After the region was separated from Sweden and incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1809,<sup>27</sup> a personification named ‘Aura’ was established to personify Finland.<sup>28</sup> In Aura the

attributes of innocence, helplessness and youth merged with orphanhood: as the embodiment of Sweden – *Moder Svea* – had been particularly maternal since its early days from the late seventeenth century, Aura represented Finland as a young girl separated from Mother Svea, stolen by ‘the Eastern giant’ and waiting grievously for a saviour.<sup>29</sup>

My enquiry into the function of female orphan characters in the repertoire of the FTC draws upon the studies of orphanhood in nineteenth-century Western literature more broadly. I take this wider angle based on the understanding of early cultural nationalism as a pan-European phenomenon, spreading ideas, methods and literature throughout the European continent.<sup>30</sup> The Finnish nationalist intelligentsia closely followed developments in European literature and sought to establish perception of historical connection to Western European culture and civilisation.<sup>31</sup> Orphans became central characters in Western novels during the eighteenth century, and literary scholars have explored the metaphorical implications of the figure in depth. Orphans allegorise various issues from class difference and economic disparity to different kinds of physical and spiritual exile.<sup>32</sup> They embody the individual’s experience of isolation in the developing modern society.<sup>33</sup> Some scholars, especially those who have studied the representations of ethnic minorities in the United States, have identified the potential of the orphan figure as a vehicle of nation-building. According to Maria Holmgren-Troy, the orphan works ‘as a prism, refracting and reflecting ideas about national identity and belonging’.<sup>34</sup> In the European context, there is little research explicitly tackling the connections between the abstractions of nationality and the orphan myth. However, there is a lot of analysis of concepts embodied by the literary orphan figure that, in my view, resonate with those used in the creation of Finnish nationality. In the sections that follow, I will discuss those concepts, including the idealisation of ‘origins’, the myths of family and mother, the youth and innocence of female orphans, and the educational hierarchy formed between the orphans and the males who ‘find’ them.

### **Embodying the Importance of the Family and Origins**

In the very first performance of the FTC, a ‘tableau’ produced in 1872 (*Alkajaisnäytelmä* by Tuokko, ‘The Opening Play’),<sup>35</sup> a young and orphaned ‘child of Hellas, a daughter of eternal poetry and art’ wanders in poor health in barbarian lands. After hearing that poetry is as native and natural to the North as it is to Hellas, the orphan makes her way to Finland, finding a new home in which to recover and flourish.<sup>36</sup> This first orphan girl of the FTC has a strongly allegorical appearance, connected to the nationalists’ desire to evidence the potential and originality of ‘the Finnish culture’. While this orphaned child of Hellas operates on a rather poetical and stylised level, that is not the case for most orphan characters of the repertoire. On the contrary, orphans are standard characters in all the genres presented: be it a tragedy, comedy, a folk play or a short musical play, the orphan girls are present.<sup>37</sup>

The large number of orphan characters forms a striking contradiction to one of the most central notions of nationalist thinking, that is the notion of family. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the family served as one of the cornerstones of Western concepts of the modern nation and society. As Geoff Eley has stated, nationalist ideologies throughout Europe adopted the concept, both to allegorise the idea of a national collective but also to replicate the patriarchy of familial forms. The metaphor was excellently suited for the vocabulary needed for nation formation, simultaneously upholding 'the gender regimes of men'.<sup>38</sup> The Finnish-language nationalists were very fond of presenting the notion of family (a married couple and their children) as a scale model and the moral backbone of a functional nation.<sup>39</sup> The whole existence of the nation was considered dependent on the realisation of the main purpose of marriage, which was to bear and bring up children. But above all, the philosophy was that the emotional bond for one's *native* country, the habits of the *fathers* and the *mother* tongue could only be produced in the loving environment of one's family.<sup>40</sup> Considering this, one could think that the stories told on the stage that was promoting nationalist aims would depict families in their idealised form. But the vast majority of the repertoire produced somewhat different imagery of family life. All of the forty-two plays considered here highlight orphanhood one way or another. Many of the orphan characters are the protagonists of their plays, but even when that was not the case, in some way orphanhood emerges as a matter of relevance in the narratives.

However astonishing this contradiction between nationalist family ideals and the enormous number of orphan narratives in the repertoire of the FTC may seem, it was not exceptional. Scholars of Victorian fiction have observed that from the late eighteenth century to the *fin de siècle*, the orphan is an omnipresent character in Western literature. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century British novel is claimed to openly undermine the ideologies of family it is assumed to maintain.<sup>41</sup> This mind-tickling paradigm opens up numerous representational possibilities.<sup>42</sup> One is to perceive the orphan characters as actually promoting the ideal of family and the emotional entity only a family can construct. The characters long for their lost families but also the love they imagine having lost in them, whether they have ever lived with those families or not. An orphaned girl in the German play *Päivölä* (orig. *Sonnwendhof*) narrates:

I have been so alone. As far as my memories go, no-one's hand has ever cuddled me, no mother has held me to her bosom, no-one has gently put her hand on my shoulders; oh, I wish I could once cry my heart out on a loving chest.<sup>43</sup>

David Floyd has expressed the idea that the orphan must be considered in light of the family from which it is exiled, since the literary depictions of the orphan noticeably change alongside perceptions of the family ideal.<sup>44</sup> Here, in their longing for the original families, the orphans of the FTC's repertoire underline the ideal of the family as a backbone of the national construction.

However, I argue there to be more in it. In their separateness from their birth families, besides reinforcing the ideal of the family itself, the orphan characters of the FTC's repertoire embody the centrality of the original Finnish identity. In all the plays, the importance of origin is clearly articulated through the orphan figures. I read the characters as forming a nationalist abstraction of 'finding' one's origin – becoming aware of one's identity. The notion of one genuine origin that reflects the idea of the collective identity is embedded in nationalist processes.<sup>45</sup> The literary orphan figure, on the other hand, has often been interpreted to be in pursuit of a 'true' identity, indicating the fulfilment of some potential.<sup>46</sup> According to Carolyn Dever, in the absence of parents, the orphan is left with a personal mystery that motivates the search for origins on different levels.<sup>47</sup> In the plays examined, the orphan's need to connect with her origins is, in most cases, not expressed as a dynamic activity of searching but rather more as a sense of not-belonging. The longing underlines her separateness from her original background, emphasising the notion of true identity and culture stressed by Finnish nationalists.

The pain of the separation from the loving original family is manifested especially in several plays in which the guardians treat the orphans abusively, using them as free labour, ensuring they remember being taken in by the family out of mercy. The caretakers speak rudely about the orphans as in the German play *Sirkka* (orig. *Die Grille*): 'the hussy becomes older day by day and its [sic] livelihood becomes more and more expensive. It eats a lot but does little work.'<sup>48</sup> Often the orphan receives harsh guidance from her guardian, as in the Finnish play *Nummisuutarit* ('Heath cobblers'): 'You are still late, you slut. If you are not here in a second, I will twist your neck, because today I am not in a playful mood.'<sup>49</sup> Similar narrative structure has been traced in the 'sentimental and post-sentimental' orphan girl novels of the nineteenth century. Joe Sutliff Sanders finds the genre to be driven by 'a story about girls adopted into families who are less than thrilled to accept them'.<sup>50</sup>

The alienation of the orphan can also occur in her 'original' home, as in the Danish play *Sven Dyringin koti* (orig. *Svend Dyrins Huus*) in which the father's new wife has subjected the children of the dead mother to extreme misery, almost starving them to death. The stepmother has broken the previously close relationship between the father and his children; the now-motherless first-born, who is particularly mistreated, tries to keep the memory of her dead mother alive.<sup>51</sup> From the perspective of nationalist imagery, this kind of cruelty illustrates the agony one must bear under the culture that is not the 'original'. Mistreated in the foster home, or by a foster parent, the orphan expresses the notion of a true (spiritual) home situated elsewhere. Emotions have been argued to be an essential driving force in the nationalist projects.<sup>52</sup> This narrative of an orphan girl suffering and separated from her original family (repeated in numerous plays performed by the nationalist theatre) invites the audience to feel compassion and to embrace the idea of a Finnish culture and identity in need of rescue and protection.

When expressing a personal need, the orphan is likely to get a response denying her cruel treatment, like in the Hungarian play *Mustalainen* (orig. *A szigany*): 'you

ungrateful creature, haven't I taken care of you and raised you as if you were my own child?'.<sup>53</sup> The imagery potentially arousing pity in the audience is accentuated by the complete virtuousness of the orphan girl herself. Despite the mistreatment, the girls are presented as thoroughly modest and virtuous and as quietly accepting of their circumstances. In *Nummisuutarit*, the orphan character Jaana even regards the cruelty as a guarantee of her innocence:

I thank you for the hard treatment you have given me! If you would have addressed softness to me, or let me throw myself into indecency, I might be a miserable girl now, deserving nothing but disdain from everyone. But I thank you, for now I can freely look into the eyes of my father [who has returned after many years of absence] and my fiancé.<sup>54</sup>

Each of these orphan characters proves suitable for the propagandist image of a vulnerable, pure nationality, imagined as having been under 'wrong' rule and in need of protection in its pure, 'original' state.

Importantly, the humility and gratitude expected from the orphans links with the ideals and expectations placed upon real-life women in the division of gender roles in the national construction. Humble submission to their circumstances was among the main characteristics of the ideal bourgeois woman of the century. Besides adding to the nationalist concepts of original identity and of family as the basis of the sought-after nation, the orphan characters fortify the imagery connected to gender categorisation.

### **Consolidating the Nationalist Mother Myth**

One particular detail of the orphanhood emerging in these plays merits special consideration. For orphaned characters who have lost only one parent, the lost one is *always* the mother. This means that all fifty orphan girl characters discussed are motherless. Hence the main type of female character in the whole body of plays is portrayed as being raised by her father, grandfather, uncle, or occasionally a non-related foster family or stepfamily. Additionally, the plays contain hardly any adult female characters depicted in a favourable light considering the gender ideals of the era.<sup>55</sup> The only adult women who are presented positively are the mothers who are already dead. This is striking, considering the centrality of the concept of motherhood in the ideals of nation-making. I argue that the all-encompassing motherlessness of the characters needs to be read against this ideal.

The nineteenth century brought motherhood to the very core of the Western notions of family and home. In middle-class societies, mothers were increasingly seen as the main educators of the new citizens, especially when it came to manners and morals.<sup>56</sup> The symbolic potential of women as mothers was deployed broadly in many nationalist movements. The maternal metaphor involved the idealisation of motherhood as the moral backbone of the nation as well as the guarantee of its physical existence.<sup>57</sup>

The Finnish nation-makers embraced motherhood as the bedrock of family and home and simultaneously the self-evident calling of womankind. The key notion for female identity was the assumed motherliness of every female: their 'natural' ability to nurture and understand.<sup>58</sup> The symbiosis of women and home was linked to the national project by invoking the role of family as a guarantee of societal balance and as a basic requirement for national construction.<sup>59</sup> As in many European models, Finnish nationalist thinkers separated female and male citizens into dichotomous categories with totally different characteristics of masculinity and femininity.<sup>60</sup> The mission to become a mother was seen as a female privilege and the objective of all the education given to girls/women was to teach them to respect and pursue this national duty of honour. The view was extended to involve women who, for one reason or another, could not have a family of their own, and to make so-called 'societal motherhood' – caring and educating of the underprivileged people of society – their calling.<sup>61</sup>

It is obvious that motherless orphans are not unique to the repertoire of the FTC. On the contrary: motherlessness appears to be such a characteristic feature of the time that it merits recognition as a literary tradition.<sup>62</sup> Dever has even argued: 'To write a life, in the Victorian period, is to write the story of the loss of the mother'.<sup>63</sup> The high mortality rate of real-life mothers of the era is commonly offered as an explanation for the lack of literary mothers, but the general conception of the extent of death in childbirth is fortified by the prevalence of maternal mortality in fiction. Furthermore, the image of the dead mother appears to be central to the whole construction of the good mother as a cultural ideal.<sup>64</sup> Hence, the overall motherlessness in the plays can be understood as reinforcing the general Western mother myth. Moreover, the almost total absence of living, physically present mothers in the plays performed by the FTC fostered the aims of the nationalist project. In order to express nationalist ideals through a young female, to incorporate those ideals into the character, what could be more convenient than to expose her to a glorified picture of her dead mother as a moral model? This is manifested in dozens of the plays where the surrounding community repeats stories praising the orphans' dead mothers, producing the desirable image of femininity. The departed women are invariably described as sweet and humble, self-sacrificing creatures above criticism.<sup>65</sup> The moral pressure set on the orphans is confirmed by repeatedly comparing them to their mothers: 'Oh! How she reminds me of her mother, that good Madelaine... the same pleasant smile [...] and the same heart.'<sup>66</sup> Or: 'You are a bright picture of your mother. You are as beautiful and fine as she was. You have her gentle eyes, but you also have her virtuous heart.'<sup>67</sup>

The orphan girls' development in the plays is not only controlled by setting up an ideal dead mother, but also by encouraging the girls to aspire to be like their mothers by complimenting them on their similarities. The mechanism is familiar both to the gender discourse and the nationalist conception of the nineteenth century.<sup>68</sup> It is easy to sanctify a dead mother when the corporeality, bodily desires and mundane faults that would be inconsistent with the nationalist gender ideals can be left out of the picture. This use of motherlessness confirms that developing

an ideal is more successful when the original model is not physically present.<sup>69</sup> As the orphans of the plays are without fail presented as willing to adopt this model femininity, they are put up on a moral pedestal on which they are looked up to but on which the room to move is narrow and controlled. The structure naturalises the stereotype of female moral superiority, representing the female as a guardian of gender-specific national morals.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the orphans embody an ideal all but analogous to the feminine representation of the Finnish nation.

In her study of gendering the concept of Finnishness, Johanna Valenius has seen the literary female characters' lack of living or positively represented mothers as a way of omitting the possibility of a matrilineal order, reinforcing patriarchy.<sup>71</sup> Regarding the orphan girls in the plays, this is especially so. By presenting mature women in a negative light, the plays make the young orphan characters the most central – often the only – representatives of positive womanhood. By and large, the repertoire of the FTC implies the ideal age of female to be no more than seventeen and this applies to all the orphan characters. The age is often mentioned, as in the Swedish play *Levoton yö* (orig. *Den oroliga natten*), in which a public servant approaching his thirties sighs in delight after proposing a motherless young girl: 'Only 17 years . . . Seventeen years . . . just the age that I find most loveable to a girl . . .'.<sup>72</sup> This age preference supports the bourgeois gender ideals of the era, emphasising the innocence and (sexual) ignorance of women.<sup>73</sup> Considering the strictly fixed roles of men and women, bearing the mother's responsibility to teach the tasks and manners of the female to the daughters,<sup>74</sup> but without any example of adult womanhood, the motherless characters appear ignorant of physical femininity, their own appeal or sexuality, thus confirming these ideals. Consequently, I perceive motherlessness as having a multi-layered relation to the control of female sexuality, a phenomenon often present in nationalist projects. For the continuation and purity (both moral and biological) of the community and culture, which have been conceptually connected to women, female sexuality has constituted a threat.<sup>75</sup> Adopting bourgeois sexual morality, nation-builders in Finland were expecting modesty and a certain incorporeality from their ideal women, transforming those ideals into the gendered embodiment of Finland as well.<sup>76</sup>

The orphan girls also form an expression of loyalty, that being an essential attribute both of ideal femininity and the idea of collective nationality.<sup>77</sup> In the forty-two plays analysed, the lack of mothers emphasises the characters' dependence on their fathers, grandfathers or foster parents. The guardians enjoy endless, unquestionable allegiance and admiration from their daughters/wards, who invariably place their guardians' wellbeing above their own personal needs.<sup>78</sup> This loyalty is stressed by reminding the orphans of their responsibility for their guardians' happiness. The commitment is reinforced by the guardians' strict control of the girls and the underlined unwillingness to part with them (to give them away to any suitors). As the father in the Finnish play *Lemun rannalla* ('On the banks of Lemu') states: 'I do not tolerate someone prematurely stealing away my rose, taking away my only joy here in life.'<sup>79</sup> The grandfather in the German play *Kukka kultain kuusistossa* (orig. *Sie hat ihr Herz entdeckt*) has similar feelings towards his

granddaughter, expressed in an older, poetic style in Finnish: 'You, the only ray of sunshine in my life, oh, you dear Aina! Yet your innocence delights my old heart and the cleanliness of your heart makes it happy.' [...] 'Oh, her innocence! How could I be such a fool that I would let my virtuous child into the world that is vain?'<sup>80</sup> In their (assumed) fear of losing the remaining guardian, the literary orphan figures have been considered as embodiments of extreme faithfulness.<sup>81</sup> The motherlessness of the orphan girl characters leads to a strong reliance on fathers and hence contributes to the desired patriarchal undertone of Finnish nationality.

### To Be Found, Loved and Educated

A fundamental metaphor of Finnish-language nationalism was the union of the intelligentsia and the so-called 'Finnish people', the latter imagined in its 'pure' state, yet in need of being educated.<sup>82</sup> The romanticised image originated in the nineteenth-century pan-European current of nationalism that no longer saw a nation's culture as its activity or artistic achievement, but as a manifestation of its *fundamental identity* that would be found in the folklore traditions and popular customs of 'the rustic peasantry'.<sup>83</sup> In the background of the developing interest in the 'people' was the nostalgia that the intelligentsia, who lived in a society that was gradually getting more complicated, felt for the 'original' and 'simple' peasant culture. It was also about the desire to gain support for the political aims of the rising Finnish bourgeoisie, who were yearning to gain the position of the old aristocracy.<sup>84</sup>

Several plays presented by the FTC, whether they were originally Finnish or not, contain a narrative supporting this metaphor. The union of the intelligentsia and the peasantry manifests in love stories that portray an orphan *peasant* girl discovered (usually from a village or from woods) and passively surrendering to be loved, guarded and educated by a well-educated male (but who is still a peasant at heart).<sup>85</sup> Such plots connect to the nationalist 'discovering' of the culture, nature and people. These activities in nineteenth-century Finland were both symbolic and historical. Throughout the whole century, an integral part of ideological actions of male university students, forming the core of the Finnish-minded intelligentsia, was to travel to the central parts of the Finnish region to 'find' the true Finland and Finnishness.<sup>86</sup> In the love stories of the FTC, the orphan forms a representation for this original, simple Finnishness to be found from the countryside.

The power structure between the male 'discoverer' and the orphan he has found is clear. As expressed by one finder/founder in the French play *Gringoire*: 'You are beautiful and pretty and rosy-cheeked as a spring flower, that kind of treasure cannot be left without an owner.'<sup>87</sup> The orphan girl narratives in Western popular culture are regularly built on the premise that the orphan is in an 'inferior position of power and dispossessed of rights or other forms of property'.<sup>88</sup> Mariglynn Edlins has also observed that despite often being the protagonist, in the love stories the orphan is depicted as passive, only able to respond to the actions of the

counterpart character, ‘the lover’. The orphan is repeatedly outlined as dependent on the lover in order to maintain the livelihood or security, thus revealing a power differential between the characters. The positioning infantilises the orphan, ruling out any self-determination and autonomy.<sup>89</sup> These remarks are in line with the positioning between male and female – the lover and the orphan – of the plays presented by the FTC. I perceive the hierarchy fortifying the gendered power relations of the Finnish national structure of the era.

The romantic narratives of the plays invariably contain a development (or a promise of such) of the orphan girl discovered by the intelligent male character, and as such, they repeat the notion of the literary orphan as a composition of the development towards ‘the ultimate fulfilment of his or her true identity’.<sup>90</sup> However, I am inclined to agree with Teemu Ikonen who has criticised the simplistic perception of the orphan as a symbol of an individual’s possibilities of *defining* his/her identity.<sup>91</sup> Looking at the passivity of the orphan girl characters presented in the FTC, I find it impossible to perceive them as depictions of any kind of self-determination. This is connected to the gender of the orphan characters. Ikonen has pointed out that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literary orphans were predominantly female in European literature, which tended to define the genre and plot of the novel. Whereas boy orphans appeared in adventure tales, orphan girls were featured in romantic narratives in which the orphan was raised by a male guardian whom she would often marry at the end.<sup>92</sup> Quite similarly, the plays examined contribute to the ‘fulfilment’ read in the literary orphan figure by positioning the orphan girls repeatedly as waiting to be *found* and *educated*.

The male characters in the plays take the educator’s role as natural. They approach the orphans with lines such as: ‘how unspeakably charming you would be if someone would smooth your slightly uneven nature? Young lady, I would very much like to complete your education! What do you say?’.<sup>93</sup> The female characters are willing, even eager to place themselves at the male characters’ feet (literally, in many cases) to listen and learn.<sup>94</sup> When the well-educated male cousin of orphaned Loviisa in the German play *Toinen tai toinen naimaan* (orig. *Einer muss heiraten!*) offers – after realising how lovely the girl is – to serve as a guide to her education, the girl expresses:

(*eagerly*) Oh, how wonderful it would be to know all countries and nations the way that you do, to understand the essence of nature and to rise above the land to explore the journeys of the suns and worlds. How insignificant I feel when I raise my eyes to you from here and find myself lacking everything, everything except the desire to follow and understand you.<sup>95</sup>

I see a notable resonance to Nina Auerbach’s notion of malleability connected to literary orphan characters.<sup>96</sup> I argue that here such malleability appears through the discourses of nation and gender, linking to the Western societal and nationalist demands and expectations that were placed on femininity. As Caine and Sluga

have pointed out, where men were encouraged to display their talents, women were taught that modesty was the most important quality they could possess.<sup>97</sup> The early Finnish-minded nationalists considered the relationship between husband and wife specifically as a power dynamic in which the wife was not only to be dependent on her husband but also to openly acknowledge it. To be lovable to a man, a woman must appear in need of protection and ask for it from the man.<sup>98</sup> The orphans of the plays take shape among that ideal quite perfectly. Then again, on the abstract level of nationalist imagery, the female orphan setting herself up to be reshaped by a man who has found her appears to enact the metaphor of the peasant people 'waking up' to their identity and becoming civilised subjects with the help of the intelligentsia. In the repertoire of a theatre proclaiming to be a producer of national imagery, this structure connects also with the gendered dichotomy often used in nationalist representations: the male embodying the active renewal of the culture and the female embodying the passive maintenance of the origins and traditions of the community.<sup>99</sup>

One clear factor reinforcing the metaphorical hierarchy between the orphan and the discoverer/guardian/educator is of course the youth of the orphans in the plays. Referring to the orphan stories in European literature, Eva König sees the choice to portray orphans regularly at a very young age as linked to the themes of becoming a civilised subject.<sup>100</sup> The notion comes close to the rhetoric of the Finnish nationalist thinkers of the mid-nineteenth century:

We are a young people, at the beginning of our development, dependent on one another, tough in our character but faltering in our views, without experience, without clear opinions, without an awakened self-esteem and therefore easily susceptible to all influence, evil and good.<sup>101</sup>

For the nationalists, it was essential to illustrate the state of the Finnish nationality as premature to emphasise the importance of the educated classes. Equally important was to depict the feminine embodiment of Finnishness in the space between childhood and adulthood to make the idea of nationality desirable among the intelligentsia which was predominantly male.<sup>102</sup> The youth and virginity of the representation of nationality made it possible for Finnishness to be perceived as a potential beloved but also in need of protection and guidance. The orphan girls in the stories told on the nationalist stage underline this ideal.

## **Conclusions**

Theatre was a central institution for the cultural-nationalist project of the Finnish-minded intelligentsia of the late nineteenth century. Viewing their repertoire of performances as a manifestation of the FTC's aims, the themes around orphanhood were representations of Finnish national identity. The theatre produced embodied representations of nationality to impact the thinking of its audiences.

I have argued that the themes of female orphanhood and motherlessness can be perceived as building material for the embodied and gendered representation of an ideal nation as evidenced in the repertoire of the FTC. The early repertoire, which consisted of both European and Finnish plays, introduced femininity with a clear emphasis on youth, innocence, vulnerability and dependence on male guardians. These were essential ingredients for the nationalist representation of Finland in the late nineteenth century. The astonishing scale of orphanhood and the motherlessness of the characters in the FTC's repertoire worked as a means of reinforcing the impact of these features. Similarly, they worked as a medium to establish and naturalise the definitions and categories of gender that were central to the construction of patriarchal nationality.

Orphanhood contributes to these discourses in numerous ways. The orphan characters' separation from their original families highlights both the importance of origins but also the ideal of family. Another highly important feature is motherlessness, proving that the ideals of motherhood have the strongest influence in the absence of the real mothers. The nationalist and societal feminine ideal, as presented to the young and impressionable orphans, is confirmed through this disembodied, glorified model. The absence of adult femininity leaves the stage for the young female (orphan) characters that present no threat to the patriarchal construction of the nation, similarly confirming innocence and virginity as multi-layered features of the allegory of nation. The nationalist metaphor of embracing one's true identity, that is the collective nationality and its 'original' culture, manifests through the young orphan waiting (passively and often unconsciously) to be found, eager to be educated and guided when the right male arrives. The repeating structure creates a link to the core narrative of Finnish-language nationalism: the orphan embodying the 'true heart of Finnishness' located in the peasantry, to be found, loved and cultivated by the intelligentsia.

The connection between the concepts of gender and nation is shaped through symbols and images that have been 'imprinted deep into our psyches', images often invested with sexual and erotic meanings.<sup>103</sup> In addition to forming sexualised metaphors of the 'natural', pure state of the nation, the orphan girl characters invite the male characters to provide them with protection, guardianship and educational guidance; those being exactly the attitudes the nationalists wished to evoke in the intelligentsia towards the idea of the Finnish identity. However, I do not claim that the representations were only to affect men. The women in the audience were equally exposed to the ideology of the prevailing power structures through the standardising representations provided. It is likely, too, that the 'Cinderella-stories' taking the orphan to a new level of civilisation appealed to the Finnish-language nationalists as a wider group seeking to establish its place and power in society.

The dramatic repertoire analysed here was performed in the Finnish context but mostly consisted of imported, European material. Here lies the paradox of nationalist projects. The representations created to express the originality and 'true national identity' of the country tend to be fusions of ideological innovations

and already existing cultural strata. As Geoff Eley has stated, the creators of nationalist concepts have worked with the material available: 'not with cultures of their own choosing, but with cultures directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past'.<sup>104</sup> This is also clear in the material presented by the FTC, seeking to evoke national consciousness. It is not essential to grasp whether there was any intentionality in the FTC to produce as many orphan girl plays as possible. The orphan figure was a literary phenomenon of the era; but as standard imagery provided by a theatre that was producing the ideals and abstractions of nationality, the orphan girl becomes part of the representation of that nationality. The pan-European and in many ways intertextual bourgeois ideals served the nationalist needs by offering representations with the potential to channel (mostly masculine) dreams and desires into the idealisation of Finnishness. The young female orphan provided a means of articulating this sought-after form of nationality.

The power of the strongly metaphorical representations of gender and nation lies somewhere in the complex net of human thought and emotions. A young orphan girl character possesses great potential to create in the audience an emotional bond to the notions she was made to represent. However, the fundamental reason to look closely at the formation and use of the seemingly harmless and mundane representations is their highly stereotyping nature. And to quote an apt remark by Aleksi Ahtola, the stereotypes 'justify the dominant power relations, prevent alternative readings but also create in people a sense of security which is based on groundless belief in general truths'.<sup>105</sup> All the phenomena we are living with today have their seeds in the past. Embedded in the gendered representations of nationality are gender categories and roles: the far-reaching imagery of accepted and 'natural' femininity and masculinity. Also embedded is the establishment of a gendered power structure on a societal but also on a conceptual level, which works through sexualised abstractions, rooting and naturalising the notions such as the 'original' and 'foreign', 'pure' and 'dirty', 'accepted' and 'unaccepted', falsely entitling the fear of 'the other'.

## **Play List**

This is a list of plays containing orphan girl characters performed by the FTC from 1872 to 1876, in order of the year of premiere (and alphabetically by author within each year). Many of the plays were revived several times in the years following the first production.

I have considered the earliest possible versions of the texts. With few exceptions, the plays have been examined as hand-written promptbook manuscripts used by the company, the repository being in the archives of the Theatre Museum of Finland (Teatterimuseo), Helsinki. I have examined those plays for which the promptbooks have not survived either from the actors' part scripts (the plays by Laura Calonius, Rudolf Kneisel, Victor Hugo and Clara Andersen) or from printed versions (the plays

by Evald Ferdinand Jahnsson, Aleksis Kivi, Zacharias Topelius, August Säfström, Adam Oehlenschläger and one play by Tuokko), with publication data noted below.

Swedish was the mother tongue of the Finnish intelligentsia for centuries. This is why plays that were ‘originally Finnish’ were in many cases written initially in Swedish. In this list, I have indicated those plays and included both Swedish and Finnish versions of some of the authors’ names. Among those who were ‘awakened’ to the cause of Finnish-language nationalism in the mid nineteenth century, it was popular to invent Finnish versions of the old Swedish-language names and to start using either both names or just the Finnish version. Additionally, I have included the titles of the plays in the original languages when possible; the English titles are mainly my own translations.

## 1872

Adolf Bäuerle, *Valtioviisas (kylän)räättäli* (premiere on 27 October)

(orig. German: *Die musikalische Schneiderfamilie oder Die Heirat durch Gesang* [?])

English: ‘A Wise Village Tailor’

Finnish translation: by August Öhqvist (a.k.a. Aukusti Korhonen)

Laura Calonius, *Kalatyttö* (premiere on 20 October)

(orig. Finnish)

English: ‘The Fisher Girl’

Eduard Jacobson, *Hääilta* (premiere on 23 October)

(orig. German: *Beckers Geschichte oder Am Hochzeitstage*)

English: ‘The Wedding Night’

Finnish translator unknown

*Laululintunen* (premiere on 16 October)

(orig. German: *Singvögelchen*)

English: ‘A Songbird’

Finnish translation by K. Suomalainen

Aleksis Kivi, *Margareta* (orig. Finnish) (premiere on 23 October), *Aleksis Kiven Mestariteokset I–II* (Helsinki: Otava, 1968)

Rudolf Kneisel, *Viuluniekka* (premiere on 29 November)

(orig. German: *Die Lieder des Musikanten*)

English: ‘The Songs of the Musician’

Finnish translation by T. J. Dahlberg

August von Kotzebue, *Suorin tie paras* (premiere on 16 October)

(orig. German: *Der gerade Weg der beste*)

English: ‘The Straight Path is the Best’

Finnish translation by Nikodemus Hauvonen

Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter, *Kukka kultain kuusistossa* (premiere on 25 September)

(orig. German: *Sie hat ihr Herz entdeckt*)

English: 'The Golden Rose in the Woods'

Finnish translation by Aleksanteri Rahkonen

Isidor Lundstöröm, *Levoton yö* (premiere on 20 November)

(orig. Swedish?: *Den oroliga natten*)

English: 'The Restless Night'

Finnish translation by August Öhqvist (a.k.a. Aukusti Korhonen)

Eugène Manuel, *Työväen elämästä* (premiere on 20 October)

(orig. French: *Les ouvriers*)

English: 'Workers'

Finnish translation by Pietari Hannikainen

Karl Rosendahl, *Lemun rannalla (På Lemos strand)* (premiere on 30 October)

(orig. Finnish, written in Swedish)

English: 'On the Banks of Lemu'

Finnish translation by Antti Törneröös (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

Johan Ludvig Runeberg, *Pilven veikko (Molnets broder)* (premiere on 13 October)

(orig. Finnish, written in Swedish)

English: 'The Cloud Brother'

Finnish translation by August Oksanen

August Säfström, *Marin rukkaset* (premiere on 18 October)

(orig. Swedish: *Malins korgar*)

English: 'Mari Gives the Mitten'

Finnish translation by August Öhqvist (a.k.a. Aukusti Korhonen), *Marin rukkaset: Laulunsekainen Monologi 1:ssä Näytöksessä* (Kuopio: U. W. Telén 1907)

Zacharias Topelius, *Saaristossa (Ett skärgårdsäfventyr)* (premiere on 13 October)

(orig. Finnish, written in Swedish)

English: 'In the Archipelago'

Finnish translation by Kaarlo Jaakko Gummerus, *Draamalliset teokset/Z. Topelius* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1898–1901)

Tuokko (a.k.a. Antti Törneröös), *Alkajaisnäytelmä* (premiere on 13 October), *Kirjallinen kuukausilehti* 1872 (9)

(orig. Finnish)  
English: 'The Opening Play'

Pius Aleksander Wolff, *Preciosa* (premiere on 6 November)

(orig. German)  
Finnish translation by Paavo Cajander

## 1873

Theodolinda Hahnsson, *Ainoa hetki* (premiere on 7 November)

(orig. Finnish)  
English: 'The Only Moment'

Pietari Hannikainen, *Lapsuuden ystävät* (premiere on 2 December)

(orig. Finnish)  
English: 'Childhood Friends'

Evald Ferdinand Jahnsson, *Bartholdus Simonis* (premiere on 30 April), *Bartholdus Simonis* (Helsinki: Helsingin kirjapaino-yhtiön kirjapaino, 1881)

(orig. Finnish)

Aleksis Kivi, *Lea* (orig. Finnish) (premiere on 12 September), *Aleksis Kiven Mestariteokset I–II* (Helsinki: Otava, 1968).

Salomon Hermann Mosenthal, *Deborah* (premiere on 8 October)

(orig. German)  
Finnish translation by Antti Törneroo (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

*Päivölä* (premiere on 21 February)

(orig. German: *Der Sonnewendhof*)  
Finnish translation by Antti Törneroo (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

Victor Hugo, *Maria Tudor* (premiere on 9 September)

(orig. French)  
Finnish translation by Antti Törneroo (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

Édouard Plouvier, *Salakuljettaja* (premiere on 16 February)

(orig. French: *Une nuit blanche*)  
English: 'One Sleepless Night'/'A Smuggler'  
Finnish translator unknown

Karl Rosendahl, *Ainamo* (premiere on 9 February)

(orig. Finnish, written in Swedish)

Finnish translation by Aleksanteri Rahkonen

## 1874

Theodore de Banville, *Gringoire* (premiere on 26 March)

(orig. French)

Finnish Translation by Hanna Asp

Jean-François-Alfred Bayard and Gustave Lemoine, *Haapaniemen hanhenpoika*  
(premiere on 26 November)

(orig. French: *Le Niais de St Flour*)

English: 'The Fool of Haapaniemi'

Finnish translation by Edvard Törmänen

Charles Duveyrier and Mélesville, *Michel Perrin* (premiere on 10 June)

(orig. French: *Michel Perrin, ou l'Espion sans le savoir*)

Finnish translator unknown

Hertz Henrik Heyman, *Sven(d) Dyringin koti* (premiere on 12 June)

(orig. Danish: *Svend Dyrins Huus*)

English: 'Svend Dyring's House'

Finnish translation by Antti Törneröös (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

Tóth Kálmán, *Mustalainen* (premiere on 8 November)

(orig. Hungarian: *A szigany*)

English: 'A Gypsy'

Finnish translator unknown

Mélesville and Nicolas Brazier, *Kultaristi* (premiere on 16 December)

(orig. French: *Catherine, ou la croix d'or*)

English: 'The Gold Cross'

Finnish translation by Edvard Törmänen

Friedrich von Schiller, *Kavaluus ja rakkaus* (premiere on 25 February)

(orig. German: *Kabale und Liebe*)

English: 'Intrigue and Love'

Finnish translation by August Oksanen

Alexander Wilhelmi, *Toinen tai toinen naimaan* (premiere on 26 November)

(orig. Austrian: *Einer muss heiraten!*)

English: 'The Other One Must Marry'

Finnish translation by S. K. Hämäläinen

Adolf Willbrandt, *Ensi lempi* (premiere on 15 April)

(orig. German: *Die Jugendliebe*)

English: 'The First Love'  
 Finnish translation by Samuli Suomalainen

## 1875

Clara Andersen, *Natalia ja Nadescha* (premiere on 7 April)  
 (orig. Danish: *Rosa og Rosita*)  
 English: 'Rosa and Rosita'/'Natalia and Nadescha'  
 Finnish translation by Edvard Törmänen

Auvray, *Orposisarukset* (premiere on 6 June)  
 (orig. French: *Christophe et Renée*)  
 English: 'Christophe and Renée'/'Orphan Siblings'  
 Finnish translation by Antti Törneröos (a.k.a. 'Tuokko')

Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, *Sirkka (eli Pikku Fadette)* (premiere on 8 June)  
 (orig. German: *Die Grille*)  
 English: 'A Cricket'  
 Finnish translation by Edvard Törmänen

Pietari Hannikainen, *Neitsyt Siiri* (premiere on 20 May)  
 (orig. Finnish)  
 English 'Virgin Siiri'

Aleksis Kivi, *Nummisuutarit* (premiere on 24 September)  
 (orig. Finnish)  
 English: 'Heath Cobblers'

## 1876

Rudolf Hahn, *Hänen ylhäisyytensä etuhuoneessa* (premiere on 21 May)  
 (orig. German: *Im Vorzimmer Sr. Ekzellenz*)  
 English: 'In the Hall of His Highness'  
 Finnish translator unknown

Adam Oehlenschläger, *Aksel ja Walpuri* (premiere on 1 September)  
 (orig. Danish: *Axel og Walborg*)  
 English: 'Axel and Walborg'  
 Finnish translation by J. Enlund  
 Adam Oehlenschläger, *Aksel ja Walpuri* (Otava, 1895).

Thomas Overskou, *Roistoväkeä* (premiere on 24 June)

(orig. Danish: *Pak*)

English: 'The Villains'

Finnish translation by Edvard Törmänen

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## Notes

1. 'The Finnish region' was part of the Swedish realm until 1809, followed by years as part of the Russian Empire until Finland's independence in 1917. The educated classes and the dominant powers of the Finnish society remained Swedish speaking during the nineteenth century. The nationalist discourse, primarily drawn from the German model and created by members of the small intelligentsia, gained a foothold especially in the second half of the century. It focused not so much on actual independence but rather on the cultural concept of nationality with origins separate from the Swedes and the Russians. Gradually, the status of Finnish and Swedish started to produce differing views on 'real Finnishness'. The German idea of a vernacular theatre cultivating 'the people' and constructing the nation gained great popularity in both language groups. See Ilona Pikkanen, 'Theatrical Societies', in Joep Leerssen (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 888–90; Matti Klinge, 'Speech on the 25th Anniversary of the Theatre Museum of Finland', in Pirkko Koski (ed.), *Teatteri ja Historia. Fondi*. (Helsinki: Teatterimuseo 1988), pp. 11–20; Loren Kruger, *The National Stage. Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Elina Pietilä, *Sivistävä Huvi: Suomalainen Seuranäytelmä Vuoteen 1910* (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), p. 111; Ilona Pikkanen, 'Theatre Histories and the Construction of National Identity: The Cases of Norway and Finland', in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds), *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 209–32; Hanna Suutela, *Impyet* (Helsinki: Like, 2005); David Wiles, *Theatre and Citizenship. The History of a Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); S. E. Wilmer, 'German Romanticism and its Influence on Finnish and Irish Theatre', in Helka Mäkinen, S. E. Wilmer and W. B. Worthen (eds), *Theatre, History and National Identities* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001), pp. 15–69.
2. The company was renamed the Finnish National Theatre in 1902. The study in the FTC and Finnish National Theatre in brief: most exhaustive is the four-part history *Suomalaisen Teatterin Historiasta* by Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, written from a rather nationalist perspective in 1906–9. The company's attachment to cultural nationalism is studied by Steve Wilmer (e.g. 2001) and Ilona Pikkanen (2010, 2012). The director of the company, Kaarlo Bergbom, has been broadly studied by Pentti Paavolainen (2014, 2016, 2018). Hanna Suutela (2005) has examined the nationally symbolic role of the company's actresses. Good compilations of the history can be found in Pirkko Koski, *Näyttelijänä Suomessa* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2013) and Mikko-Olavi Seppälä and Katri Tanskanen, *Suomen Teatteri ja Draama* (Helsinki: Like, 2010).

3. 'Early cultural nationalism often coincides with the discovery of the nation's identity [...] which might even be called its "invention" or "construction".' Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 165. Also: 'nationality was *not* a natural consequence or outgrowth of common culture of great antiquity; nations were not so much discovered or awakened, as they were invented by the labours of intellectuals.' Geoff Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', in Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall (eds), *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), pp. 27–40, p. 30.
4. For example, Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, 'Preface', in *Gendered Nations*, pp. xv–xviii; Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', in *Gendered Nations*, p. 33. I share Catherine Nash's view on the cultural weave of nationhood and gender as inseparable from the organisation of society and the nature of politics. Catherine Nash, 'Embodied Irishness: Gender, Sexuality and Irish Identities', in Brian Graham (ed.), *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 108–27, p. 110.
5. Following the European models, the debates of nineteenth-century Finland aimed to define broad and abstract concepts like the 'right' kind of family, marriage and gender roles; a clear division between the concepts and spheres of private and public was established. This division was tied to genders and the assumed 'natural' essence of them. The emphasis was on the definitions of femininity, in which modesty, gentleness and innocence were seen central. Much less was said about the ideals of masculinity. Kai Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata: Perheen Ihanne ja Sivistyneistön Elämäntapa 1800-Luvun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1994), p. 137, 174, 183, 215.
6. Also 'the Maiden of Finland'. The embodiment has its foundations in the early nineteenth century. It was used in different forms by different interest groups, not just the Finnish-language nationalists. The current form that is still fully established as a visual and verbal concept in contemporary Finland became stabilised during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Initially, the personification was perceived as a national self-portrait documenting the development of the nation as well as the search for national identity, but later research has interpreted the figure more as a brand of the mental and material space of the nation. See e.g. Aimo Reitala, *Suomi-neito: Suomen Kuvallisen Henkilöitymän Vaiheet* (Helsinki: Otava, 1983), p. 11, 158; Johanna Valenius, *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004). Also: Tuula Gordon, Katri Komulainen and Kirsti Lempiäinen (eds), *Suomineiton Hei! Kansallisuuden Sukupuoli* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2002).
7. For example, Suutela, *Impyet*; Laura-Elina Aho, 'Neitsythahmoinen Kansallisuus. Suomi-neidon Representaatio Suomalaisen Teatterin Ohjelmistossa 1872–1882', *Ennen ja Nyt. Historian Tietosanomat*, 5 (2016), n.p.
8. For example, Pirkko Koski, *Suomen Kansallisteatteri Ristipaineissa: Kai Savolan Pääjohtajakausi 1974–1991* (Helsinki: SKS, 2019), p. 12.
9. Zacharias Topelius and Valfrid Vasenius, *Topelius Om Teatern I Finland 1842–1860: Bedömanden Och Artiklar* (Borgå: Schildt, 1916), p. 258. The importance of theatre as an institutional power was realised both by the pro-Finnish and the pro-Swedish 'sides' of the language debate. Theatre held one of the key positions in the discourse on the status of the two languages during the late nineteenth century. See Asko Rossi, 'Kotoperäisen Teatteri-Instituution Jäljillä. Minkäläinen Teatteri Suomeen Haluttiin

- 1800-Luvun Lopulla?', in Helka Mäkinen (ed.), *Lihasta Sanaksi: Tutkimuksia Suomalaisesta Teatterista* (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1997), pp. 227–68. On the importance of theatre for nationalist projects on the European level, e.g. Joep Leerssen, 'National Drama and National Theatre', in *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism*, pp. 147–8.
10. Leerssen, *National Thought*, p. 94. Also e.g. Benedict Anderson has stressed the role of the media in nation formation, by their establishment of a public opinion and sense of community. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
  11. From 1877, the company could afford to stay longer in one place and established itself permanently in Helsinki, where previously there was not enough of a Finnish-speaking audience to maintain the company. The Swedish and Russian theatres that operated in Helsinki also had their share of the audience. See Pentti Paavolainen, *Arkadian Arki: Kaarlo Bergbomin Elämä ja Työ. II, 1872–1887* (Helsinki: Taideyliopiston Teatterikorkeakoulu, 2016), p. 25; Mikko-Olavi Seppälä, 'Kotimaisesta Teatterista Kansallisteatteriin', in Mikko-Olavi Seppälä and Katri Tanskanen (eds), *Suomen Teatteri ja Draama* (Helsinki: Like, 2010), pp. 25–43.
  12. Paavolainen, *Arkadian Arki*, p. 107, 124.
  13. See Pikkanen, 'Theatrical Societies', p. 889.
  14. To have the oldest possible versions of the texts used, with few exceptions the plays have been examined as handwritten manuscripts in the FTC's archive (Theatre Museum of Finland, Helsinki).
  15. John Lennard and Mary Luckhurst, *The Drama Handbook: A Guide to Reading Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 13–14.
  16. For example, Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga, *Gendering European History 1780–1920* (London and New York: Leicester University Press: Continuum, 2000), p. 87; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997), p. 2, 23.
  17. Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', pp. 30–1.
  18. Ruth Roach Pierson, 'Nations: Gendered, Racialized, Crossed with Empire', in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 41–61, p. 48.
  19. For example, *Ibid.*, p. 53; also: Sara Friedrichsmeyer, 'Romantic Nationalism. Achim von Arnim's Gypsy Princess Isabella', in Patricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller (eds), *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp. 51–65; Anne Helmreich, 'Domesticating Britannia: Representations of the Nation in *Punch*: 1870–1880', in Tricia Cusack and Síghle Breathnach-Lynch (eds), *Art, Nation and Gender. Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 15–28; Irina Novikova, 'Constructing National Identity in Latvia: Gender and Representation During the Period of the National Awakening', in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 311–34. In the Western context, the history of representing geographical areas as well as mental collectivities through various forms of female personification can be traced back to the traditions foundational to modern European literature and cultures, for example to ancient Greek, Roman and Hebrew myths. See Tatiana Kuzmic, *Adulterous Nations: Family Politics and National Anxiety in the European Novel* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016), pp. 15–16. After the French Revolution, the questions of nation and nationality became

- fundamental concerns in Central Europe and Britain, combining and merging with the debates on the meanings and implications of the physical and psychological differences between men and women. See Caine and Sluga, *Gendering European History*, p. 7.
20. Kuzmic, *Adulterous Nations*, p. 16.
  21. Derek Fewster, *Visions of Past Glory: Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History*. Studia Fennica (Tampere: SKS, 2006), p. 14; Ari Jääskeläinen, 'Kansallistava Kansanrunous. Suomalaisuus ja Folklore', in Pentti Alasuutari and Petri Ruuska (eds), *Elävänä Euroopassa. Muuttuva Suomalainen Identiteetti* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 1998), pp. 41–82, p. 41; Pikkanen, 'Theatre Histories', p. 221.
  22. In the search for national identity in Western European countries, the romantic nationalism of the mid-nineteenth century 'singled out the peasant population as bearers of age-old traditions'. Ida Blom, 'Gender and Nation in International Comparison', in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 3–26, p. 11.
  23. For example, Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender'.
  24. For example, Reetta Eirinen, *Lähisuhteet ja Nationalismi: Aate, Tunteet ja Sukupuoli Tengströmin Perheessä 1800-Luvun Puolivälissä* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 2019), p. 411.
  25. For example, Katri Komulainen, 'Kansallisen Ajan Esitykset Oppikoulun Juhlissa', in Gordon, Komulainen and Lempiäinen (eds), *Suomineiton Hei!*, p. 144. Also Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata*, p. 12, 136; Anneli Mäkelä et al., 'Huoneentaulun Nainen', in Maria-Liisa Nevala (ed.), *Sain Roolin Johon en Mahdu: Suomalaisen Naiskirjallisuuden Linjoja* (Keuruu: Otava, 1989), pp. 57–9.
  26. Tricia Cusack, 'Introduction. Art, Nation and Gender', in Tricia Cusack and Síghle Breathnach-Lynch (eds), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 1–11, p. 1.
  27. A compact but comprehensive depiction of the formation of Finnish nationality and the phases before the independence of the country can be found in Joep Leerssen (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, pp. 888–91.
  28. The character was named after the river Aura, situated in the most inhabited area of Finland of the era. The Finnish word Aura also means 'a plow' in the sense of a cultivation tool, which can be considered a reference to pioneering for the Finnish nation. The name Aura is descended from Aurora, a symbolic expression for the coming daylight, familiar to nationalist uses.
  29. Reitala, *Suomi-neito*, p. 27, 29. See the poem 'Aura Till Svea' by F. M. Franzén 1840, in F. M. Franzén, *Samlade Dikter, II* (Örebro: Lindh, 1868).
  30. Leerssen, *National Thought*, p. 165.
  31. Marja Jalava, *J. V. Snellman: Mies ja Suurmies* (Helsinki: Tammi, 2006), p. 125.
  32. David Floyd, *Street Urchins, Sociopaths and Degenerates: Orphans of Late-Victorian and Edwardian Fiction* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 13, doi: 10.2307/j.ctt9qhh3c; Teemu Ikonen, *1700-Luvun Eurooppalaisen Kirjallisuuden Ensyklopedia eli Don Quijoten Perilliset* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2010), p. 203.
  33. Nina Auerbach, 'Incarnations of the Orphan', *ELH*, 42:3 (1975), 395–419, 395; Christine Van Boheemen, *The Novel as Family Romance: Language, Gender, and Authority from Fielding to Joyce* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 102.

34. Maria Holmgren-Troy, *Making Home: Orphanhood, Kinship, and Cultural Memory in Contemporary American Novels* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 83.
35. The titles and quotations from the plays are translated into English by the author.
36. The original manuscript of *Alkajaisnäytelmä* has not survived. See Aspelin-Haapkylä, *Suomalaisen Teatterin Historia II* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1906), p. 8. The play is printed in *Kirjallinen Kuukausilehti* 1872 (9).
37. The FTC included mainstream popular genres in the repertoire due to the lack of what they and their contemporaries considered to be better material. Nineteenth-century popular genres often reinforced middle-class virtues, such as female chastity and innocence, and the suspicion of the aristocratic lifestyle as 'foreign' to the masses. Popular genres form fruitful material for examining the imagery of nationalism. See Leerssen, *National Thought*, p. 95; Lennard and Luckhurst, *The Drama Handbook*, p. 64.
38. Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', p. 33. Also: Gaine and Sluga, *Gendering European History*, p. 97.
39. The term 'nuclear family' was not in use at the time, but the notion of family in Finnish-language nationalism referred to a model that is nowadays understood as the heteronormative nuclear family and the term is used in the later studies of Finnish nationalism. The family metaphor was widely used in the Fennoman rhetoric and included the division of roles in which the woman appears as a keeper of the tradition and the man as a cultural innovator, but also embedded was the pursuit to naturalise the internal power relations of the nation and the hierarchy between the sexes. See Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 92–3; Komulainen, 'Kansallisen Ajan Esitykset', pp. 133–54, p. 144; Anne Ollila, 'Politikoiva Vaimo on Miehelle Kauhistus: J. V. Snellmanin Perhekäsitys', *Naistutkimus* 4 (1990), 25–34. <http://hdl.handle.net/10224/3517>; Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata*, p. 136; Mäkelä *et al.*, 'Huoneentaulun Nainen', pp. 59–78, p. 67.
40. Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 93, 169.
41. Carolyn Dever, *Death and the Mother from Dickens to Freud: Victorian Fiction and the Anxiety of Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 1–2, doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511585302.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
43. Salomon Mosenthal, *Päivölä*, pp. 188–9: 'Olen niin yksinäni ollut. Niin kauas kuin muistoni ulottuu, ei ole kenenkään käsi minua hyväillyt, ei kukaan äiti mua helmasaan suosinut, ei kenkään kättänsä ystävällisesti laskenut niskaani; ah, saisin kerran, kerrankin lempivillä rinnoilla itkeä, kuollakseni itkeä...'
44. Floyd, *Street Urchins*, p. 15.
45. For example, Caine and Sluga, *Gendering European History*, p. 87; Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, p. 2, 23; Fewster, *Visions of Past Glory*; Jääskeläinen, 'Kansallistava Kansanrunous'; Valenius, *Undressing the Maid*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
46. Floyd, *Street Urchins*, p. 3. See also Laura Peters, *Orphan Texts: Victorian Orphans, Culture and Empire* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000); Kate Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
47. Dever, *Death and the Mother*, p. XI.
48. Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, *Sirkka*, pp. 61–2: 'letukka vanhenee päivä päivältä ja sen [sic] elatus tulee yhä kalliimmaksi. Se syö paljon vaan tekee vähän työtä'.
49. Aleksis Kivi, *Nummisuutarit*, p. 83: 'Sinä viivyt vielä, lunttu. Jos vilauksessa et ole tässä, niin niskas nurin kierrän; sillä tänään ei ole mieleni leikittävä.'

50. Joe Sutliff Sanders, *Disciplining Girls: Understanding the Origins of the Classic Orphan Girl Story* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 22.
51. Hertz Henrik Heyman, *Sven Dyringin Koti*.
52. Eiranen, *Lähisuhteet ja Nationalismi*, pp. v–vi, p. 413.
53. Toth Kálmán, *Mustalainen*, 3: ‘sinä kiittämätön, enkö ole sua hoitanut ja kasvattanut, kuin olisit oma lapseni, sekä suonut sulle aina, mitä sydämesi halasi’.
54. Kivi, *Nummisuutarit*, pp. 92–3: ‘Teitä kiinteän [p. o. kovan] kohtelemisen edestä kiitän myös! Jos hempeyttä mua kohtaan osoittaneet olisitte, mun sallineet heittäytyä rietauden helmaan, niin olisinpa kentiesi nyt tyttö kurja, ylenkatsetta ansaitseva kaikilta. Mutta teitä kiitän, että näin vapaasti nyt isääni ja sulhaistani kasvoihin katsoa taidan.’ See also e.g. Birch-Pfeiffer’s, *Sirkka*, pp. 166–7: ‘never mind, dear grandma. I thank you for every blow, every hard breadcrust you have given me – it is those exactly through which I have learned to suffer and resign myself.’ In Finnish: ‘mitäpä siitä, mummo kulta. Minä kiitän sinua jokaisesta lyönnistä, jokaisesta kovasta leivän-kuorosta jonka olet minulle antanut – juuri sen kautta olen minä oppinut kärsimään ja tyytymään.’
55. The majority of female characters over the age of seventeen represent the opposite to the values and ideals (in the context of Finnish nationalism) represented by the young female. The mature women are portrayed as either ridiculous (e.g. ‘silly wives’, who learn through some comic incidents that the husband should always be the head of his house; or older, non-married women who are made fun of) or evil (e.g. witch-like stepmothers). There are some mothers of young girls, but they are presented in an unfavourable light (e.g. as uneducated social climbers) and thus – in contrast – reinforcing the ideals represented by the young female.
56. Päivi Lappalainen, ‘Perhe, Koti, Kansa ja Isänmaa – Kiista Yhteiskunnan Tukipylväistä’, in Lea Rojola (ed.), *Suomen Kirjallisuushistoria 2: Järkiuskosta Vaistojen Kapinaan* (Helsinki: SKS, 1999), p. 43.
57. For example, Silke Wenk, ‘Gendered Representations of the Nation’s Past and Future’, in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 63–77, p. 66; Jitka Malečková, ‘Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation: The Czech National Movement’, in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 293–310, p. 296; Ida Blom, ‘Gender and Nation in International Comparison’, pp. 8–9; Karen Hagemann, ‘A Valorous Volk Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806–15’, in *Gendered Nations*, pp. 179–205, p. 192.
58. Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 171.
59. Ollila, ‘Politikoiva vaimo’, p. 29; Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata*, p. 216.
60. Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 171.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 173. It is notable that the early Finnish feminist movement that was taking shape in the 1880s took motherhood as the main support for the demands for widening women’s public sphere. Motherliness was argued to define femininity most perfectly but, simultaneously, it was separated from mere biology to involve maternal solitude towards the whole of society. Irma Sulkunen, ‘Naisten järjestäytyminen ja kaksijakoisen kansalaisuus’, in Risto Alapuro, Ilkka Liikanen, Kerstin Smeds and Henrik Stenius (eds), *Kansa liikkeessä* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1987), pp. 157–172, p. 162, 164. Invention of the ‘social sphere’ and defining it as an area of feminine activity occurred hand in hand with categorisation of genders and formation of Finnish nationality. Eira Juntti, “‘Kansalliset Harjoitukset’” ja Sukupuolitetut Sfäärit

- 1840- ja 1850-Luvuilla Sanomalehtikeskustelussa’, in Tuija Pulkkinen and Antu Sorainen (eds), *Siveellisyydestä Seksuaalisuuteen: Poliittisen Käsitteen Historia* (Helsinki: SKS, 2011), pp. 56–82, p. 76–7.
62. Jill Bergman, *The Motherless Child in the Novels of Pauline Hopkins* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), p. 11.
63. Dever, *Death and the Mother*, p. 1.
64. *Ibid.*, p. I, XII. pp. 10–11, p. 18.
65. See e.g. Auvray, *Orposisarukset*; Oehlenschläger, *Aksel ja Walpuri*; Duveyrier and Mélesville, *Michel Perrin*; Heyman, *Sven Dyringin Koti*.
66. Duveyrier and Mélesville, *Michel Perrin*, pp. 19–20. P: ‘Ah! Kuinka hän muistuttaa muistuttaa äitiänsä, tuota hyvää Madeleinea ... Sama miellyttävä hymysuu.’ T: ‘Ja sama sydän joka teitä niin hartaasti rakastaa.’
67. Heyman, *Sven Dyringin Koti*, p. 67: ‘Te olette äitinne kirkas kuva. Te olette kaunis ja hieno kuin hän oli. Teillä on hänen lempeät silmänsä, mutta teillä on hänen hurskas sydämensäkin...’
68. By glorifying womanhood, women were categorised as ‘harmless dolls’ or good mothers and spouses living only through their families. Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata*, p. 131. Also Harri Kalha has discussed the ways women have been put on a moral pedestal by idealisation in arts. See Harri Kalha, ‘Kuvataide (Epä)Siveellisyyden Käsitesfäärissä: Kaksi Tapausta’, in Pulkkinen and Sorainen (eds), *Siveellisyydestä Seksuaalisuuteen*, pp. 240–77; Harri Kalha, *Tapaus Havis Amanda: Siveellisyys ja Sukupuoli Vuoden 1908 Suihkulähdekiistassa* (Helsinki: SKS, 2008).
69. See Dever, *Death and the Mother*, p. 34.
70. In Finland, too, the developing general conception of femininity also included being the guarantor of morals. Tuija Pulkkinen, ‘J. V. Snellman Poliittisena Ajattelijana – Siveellisyys’, in Pulkkinen and Sorainen (eds), *Siveellisyydestä Seksuaalisuuteen*, pp. 36–55. pp. 51–2. See also Valenius, *Undressing the Maid*, p. 40.
71. Valenius, *Undressing the Maid*, 186. Valenius has examined the gendering of Finland and Finnishness in different visual and verbal forms but her study does not cover theatre.
72. Lundström, *Levoton yö*, p. 3: ‘Vain 17 vuotta ... Seitsemäntoista vuotta ... juuri se ikä jonka pidän herttaisimpana nuorista tytöistä...’
73. In the bourgeois marriage of nineteenth-century Finland, an age difference between husband and wife was often considered advisable. With his greater experience, the husband was considered to guide his wife ‘through the life’. Häggman, *Perheen Vuosisata*, pp. 86–7.
74. See e.g. Satu Apo, ‘Valitus ja Viha: Lyyrinen Laulurunous’, in Maria-Liisa Nevala (ed.), *Sain Roolin Johon en Mahdu*, pp. 154–85, p. 165.
75. In the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, openly sexual women were seen as a social threat, especially to families. The view that what a girl does not know, she cannot desire, was thought to protect the innocence of the young woman. See e.g. Ritva Hapuli, Anu Koivunen, Päivi Lappalainen and Lea Rojola, ‘Uutta Naista Etsimässä’, in Tapio Onnela (ed.), *Vampyyrinainen ja Kenkkuinniemen Sauna: Suomalainen Kaksikymmentäluku Ja Modernin Mahdollisuus* (Jyväskylä: SKS, 1992), pp. 98–112, p. 103.
76. Valenius, *Undressing the Maid*, p. 120.

77. Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', p. 29: 'The ideal of "the nation", as opposed to some other principle of state-political organization, became a source of extraordinary legitimizing power in the centralizing drives of government during the nineteenth century, enabling demands on the population's loyalties going far beyond the expectations of earlier forms of government'.
78. For example, Duveyrier and Mélesville, *Michel Perrin*; Jacobson, *Laululintunen*; Calonius, *Kalatyttö*; Manuel, *Työväen Elämästä*; von Königswinter, *Kukka Kultain Kuusistossa*; Rosendahl, *Lemun Rannalla*; von Kotzebue, *Suorin tie Paras*; de Banville, *Gringoire*; Kivi, *Lea*; Hahn, *Hänen Ylhäisyytensä Etuhuoneessa*; Kneisel, *Viuluniekka*.
79. Rosendahl, *Lemun Rannalla*, p. 36: 'En suvaitse minä, että joku ennen aikojansa ryövää ruusuni pojjes, tuiki ainoan iloni täällä elämässä.'
80. Königswinter, *Kukka Kultain Kuusistossa*, p. 15, 36. 'Sä ainokainen säde elämäin, oi, armas Aina! Vanhaa sydäntäin wiattomuutes vielä riemahuttaa, sydämmes siisteys sen ilahuttaa', p. 15. 'Wiattomuuttaan oi! Kuink' olla voisin niin tuhma, että turhaan maailmaan siveän lapseni mä laskisin!', p. 36.
81. Rose-Emily Rothenberg, 'The Orphan Archetype', *Psychological Perspectives*, 60:1 (2017), 103–13, 103, doi: 10.1080/00332925.2017.1282265.
82. For example, Suutela, *Impyät*, p. 38.
83. Leerssen, *National Thought*, pp. 100–1, 193.
84. Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 169. It was appealing for the upper classes and intelligentsia to create loyalty among the peasants to gain support for their attempts to attain and hold positions in the developing society. See also Risto Alapuro and Henrik Stenius, 'Kansanliikkeet Loivat Kansakunnan', in Risto Alapuro *et al.* (eds), *Kansa Liikkeessä* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1987), pp. 7–52.
85. For example, this structure appears in the following plays: Suomalainen, *Erehdykset*; Korhonen, *Kosijat*; Hannikainen, *Lapsuuden Ystävät*; Jakobson, *Hääilita*; von Kotzebue, *Suorin tie Paras*; von Königswinter, *Kukka Kultain Kuusistossa*. The first two are not included in the Play List since in these two examples, either there is no certainty about orphanhood or there is a mother character, but she is presented in non-favourable light vis-à-vis the feminine ideal.
86. See e.g. Alapuro and Stenius, 'Kansanliikkeet Loivat Kansakunnan'.
87. de Banville, *Gringoire*, p. 30. 'Sinä olet kaunis ja sievä ja punaposkinen niinkuin kevätkukka, eihän semmoinen aarre saa jäädä omistajatta.'
88. Joe Sutliff Sanders, *Disciplining Girls: Understanding the Origins of the Classic Orphan Girl Story* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 22.
89. Mariglynn Edlins, 'Superhero, Sleeping Beauty, or Devil? The Making of Orphan Myths and Public Administration', *Public Voices*, 14:2 (2017), 67–80, 78, doi: 10.22140/pv.11.
90. Floyd, *Street Urchins*, p. 23.
91. Ikonen, *1700-Luvun Eurooppalaisen Kirjallisuuden Ensyklopedia*, pp. 203–4. Italicising is my own.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Willbrandt, *Ensi Lempi*, pp. 31–2: 'kuinka sanomattoman viehättävä te olisitte, jos joku teidät pienet epätasaisuutenne tasoittaisi? Minä neitiseni halaan sanomattomasti tehdä teidän kasvatuksenne täydelliseksi! Mitä siihen sanotte?'
94. This applies to some of the 'suitor' characters (e.g. Wilhelmi, *Toinen tai Toinen Naimaan*; Andersen, *Natalia ja Nadescha*) but in great amount also to the guardian characters (e.g. Banville, *Gringoire*; Duveyrier and Mélesville, *Michel Perrin*).

95. Wilhelmi, *Toinen tai Toinen Naimaan*, p. 61: '(innolla) Kuinka ihanaa olisi niin kuin te tuntea maat ja kansat, käsittää koko luonnon olemus ja kohoten maan yli tutkia aurinkojen ja mailmojen matkat. Kuinka vähäpätöiseksi tunnen itseni, kun täältä kohotan silmäni teihin ja huomaa olevani vailla kaikkea, kaikkea paitsi halua seurata ja käsittää teitä!'
96. See e.g. Auerbach, 'Incarnations', p. 398.
97. Caine and Sluga, *Gendering European History*, p. 12.
98. Jalava, *J. V. Snellman*, p. 173.
99. For example, Wenk, 'Gendered Representations', p. 66; Komulainen, 'Kansallisen Ajan Esitykset', p. 144; Ollila, 'Politikoiva Vaimo', pp. 31–2.
100. Eva König, *The Orphan in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: The Vicissitudes of the Eighteenth-Century Subject* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 242.
101. Topelius and Vasenius, *Topelius Om Teatern I Finland*, p. 267: 'Vi äro ett ungt folk, i början af vår utveckling, osjälfständige i det ena och det andra, sega i våra lynnen, men vacklande i våra åsikter, utan erfarenhet, utan klara opinioner, utan en vaken själfkänsla och därför lätt åtkomlige för alla intryck, onda och goda.' The book contains published writings of one key opinion-former and Finnish-minded cultural influencer Zacharias Topelius, from the 1840s to the 1860s.
102. See Valenius, *Undessing the Maid*.
103. Roach Pierson, 'Nations: Gendered, Racialized, Crossed with Empire', p. 42.
104. Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender', pp. 30–1.
105. Aleksi Ahtola, 'Svea-mamma Suomi-neidon Silmin', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, 108 (2010): 4, Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, pp. 508–9, p. 508.

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