

Finland's "Great Hunger Years" Memorials: A Sesquicentennial Report.¹

Andrew G. Newby

Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki

This article provides an interim report, and gazetteer, on the enumeration and categorisation of memorials to Finland's Great Famine Years, an element of the Academy of Finland's 2012-17 project, "The Terrible Visitation': Famine in Finland and Ireland ca. 1845-68 – Transnational, Comparative and Long-Term Perspectives". To outside observers, it can sometimes seem as though Finland's famine of the 1860s has been "forgotten", particularly in comparison with catastrophes in Ireland (1845-51) and Ukraine (1932-3). In the latter cases, political circumstances have influenced historic narratives, and placed the Great Famines at the centre of a national narrative that emphasises the baleful role of an external other. In Finland, which was responsible for its own economic and political administration by the 1860s, commemoration has been more local in focus. The memorials nevertheless highlight the existence of an idealised national autostereotype, which stresses stoicism and forbearance, along with a persistent belief that the nation could be crystallised by shared suffering.

Introduction, Structure & Sources

This interim report is based on a combination of fieldwork, and primary / secondary source research, and is a step towards the creation of a comprehensive record of memorials to Finland's Great Hunger Years [*Suuret Nälkävuodet*] of the 1860s. The 150th anniversary of the great mortality crisis of 1867-68 represents an appropriate time to take stock of these memorials, and this account is supplemented by a more analytical / comparative article which will be published in the summer of 2017.²

1 The extensive fieldwork that has been required for this article has been funded as a part of the broader Academy of Finland project, "The Terrible Visitation: Famine in Finland and Ireland c. 1845-1868 – Comparative, Transnational and Long-Term Perspectives" (# 1264940 and #1257696). I am grateful to many individuals who have helped in the search for these memorials. These include Liisa Kortelainen (Juuka), Juha-Matti Junkari (Juuka), Rev. Jouko Ala-Prinkkila and Raija Kumpula (Kauhajoki Parish), and several good Samaritans from Kankaanpää and Nummikoski who in May 2016 helped to rescue my car from a particularly deep and viscous ditch on Road 6700, near Ämmälä, after I took a misguided shortcut between the memorials at Lapinkaivo and Hämeenkyrö. Unless otherwise stated, photographs are by the author.

2 Newby, 2017.

Andrew G. Newby (ed.)

"The Enormous Failure of Nature": Famine and Society in the Nineteenth Century

COLLEGIUM

Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 22.
Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies. 173–214.

The content of the report is based on various types of source. As might be expected, many valuable clues about memorial locations were found in Finnish local newspapers from the twentieth century. The newspapers were particularly useful in reporting inauguration ceremonies, and the local campaigns / committees which formed in order to establish a memorial. In a similar vein, a diverse range of internet sources has proved important in either confirming, or hinting at, the existence of a particular memorial. These sources include: the websites of Finnish municipalities and Lutheran parishes; heritages websites such as *Kirjastovirma*³ which provides pictures and historical sketches of parishes in Northern Ostrobothnia; individual travel and heritage blogs (the *Rastipukki*⁴ photo collection, and Mauri Kinnunen's Karelia-focussed *Makkerin blogi*⁵ have been especially interesting); and even online descriptions of *geocache* sites have given vital information.

The thirteen-volume series, *Suomen Muistomerkki* [*Finland's Memorials*] gives a marvellous indication of the diversity of Finland's public monuments, although it does not by any means record all of the memorials to the Great Hunger Years. Nevertheless, the series not only provided guidance and inspiration, it helped to contextualise the famine memorials in Finland alongside monuments to other historical events & individuals. While poring through these volumes in the library of the Board of Antiquities in Kallio, it was also possible to consult the myriad local histories of Finnish regions and municipalities, many of which highlight the famine to a greater extent than general national histories.

My own fieldwork, which is due for completion in September 2017, has meant thousands of kilometres of travel around Finland. Without having employed "scientific" oral historical methods, the contribution of local informants, as well as colleagues, must be acknowledged. Antti Häkkinen's work, in particular, has been a very important basis for this research into sites of famine memory, not least as Professor Häkkinen shared the results of some his own earlier fieldwork. Local residents have been extremely generous with their time and have helped in several instances to locate memorials.

Models and Inspiration

Various stimuli coalesced into a motivation to explore the existence, location and form of memorials to the Great Finnish Famine. As a mere dilettante in relevant academic fields such as Material Culture, Memory Studies, or History of Art, I have remained mindful of Peter Gray's warning that "the professional historian's role in commenting on these manifestations of 'public history' is not straightforward".⁶

3 <www.kirjastovirma.fi> References to online sources are accurate as of 1 February 2017.

4 <www.rastipukki.kuvat.fi> features photographs of several 1860s memorials, amongst various other types of memorial, churches, statues etc.

5 <<http://maurikin.blogspot.fi>>

6 Gray, 2004, 46.

Moreover, I have necessarily approached the topic with a foreign gaze, but particularly the gaze of someone whose mode of thought around famine commemoration has been shaped by the Irish experience. In general, it is easy to understand why Irish academics have written of Finnish popular “amnesia” in relation to the 1860s famine, and that the famine years themselves have been “unduly neglected” by historians.⁷ It is important to remember, however, that the Irish have also been charged with collective amnesia in relation to the 1840s, particularly prior to the “famine fever” which gripped the country in 1997.⁸ We should take care not to suggest that the post-1990s historiography on the Great Irish Famine is “normal” in an international context, even though in many respects it provides a model for critical interdisciplinary research.

An examination of the general historical literature on nineteenth-century Finland – not by any means limited to English-language sources – confirms the primacy of an economic-historical narrative that posits a relatively short crisis, followed immediately by an economic and demographic recovery.⁹ Moreover, the 1860s was a decade that saw confirmation of Finland’s autonomy within the Russian Empire – indeed its emergence as a nation – and the famine years have scarcely been deemed worthy of analysis in a political context. In addressing the question of “historical amnesia”, Eliza Kraatari has recently written of the “silence” that surrounds the history of the famine years in Finland, and of the “hesitation to address the concept even in related historical research”.¹⁰ While academic studies of the 1860s seem to have increased again in recent years, after a lull since the 1980s and early 1990s, public awareness of the sesquicentenary remains limited, particularly as it is subsumed beneath the more celebratory centenary commemorations around Finland’s independence. And yet, an unqualified “amnesiac” hypothesis is problematic. The famine years are covered in Finnish children’s books (including on the national curriculum), in university courses, and it has even been claimed the famine years are “indelibly marked in the memory of the Finns”.¹¹

Recent academic work – in a variety of disciplines – on memorials to the “Great Famines” in Ireland and (to a lesser extent), Ukraine, have been important guides as this project has developed. In its form and execution, it owes a debt to Emily Mark-FitzGerald’s comprehensive *Irish Famine Memorials* website¹², itself a valuable adjunct to her academic analyses.¹³ Inspiration also came from Rob Gibson’s *Highland Clearances Trail* (1983, subsequently several revised editions),

7 Ó Gráda, 1995, 208; Daly, 1997, 596.

8 Ní Dhomhnaill, 1997, 68–9; Ó Gráda, 2001; Haines, 2004, 17; Wilson, 2015, 145. Contrast Niall Ó Ciosáin’s analysis of popular remembrance (Ó Ciosáin, 2001).

9 Häkkinen, 1992, 150. Newby & Myllyntaus, 2015, 145–6.

10 Kraatari, 2016, 192.

11 Reunala, 1989, 45; Hieta et al, 2012, 46–7; Kaakinen et al, 2005, 118–9.

12 <<https://irishfaminememorials.com>>

13 *Inter alia*, Mark-Fitzgerald, 2012; Mark-Fitzgerald, 2013; Mark-FitzGerald, 2014.

a book that identified, located and contextualised "Clearances" sites in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, and which had a tremendous impact on me as a student.¹⁴ There is no intention on my part, however, to follow a path towards "heritage tourism", or indeed "misery tourism"¹⁵, not least because of the size of Finland and the relative inaccessibility of some of the monuments noted. This research will, however, eventually form the basis of an open-access, interactive website, again inspired by Emily Mark-Fitzgerald's work on Irish Famine Memorials, and will provide accurate locations and descriptions of these important Finnish sites of memory.

Memorialising the 1860s – A Brief Overview

A Memory of the Years of Dearth: In the lower storage room of Karstula belfry is a knapsack preserved from the 1867-68 Years of Dearth, which contains inside the remainder of some poor starving individual's bark-bread. This ever-so-nasty relic from the Dearth Years, which can be witnessed with one's own eyes, should be preserved, to remind future generations of the our ancestors' anguished history.¹⁶

By the time this "memorial" was discovered, in 1895, Finland's famine years of the 1860s were already a part of the nation's history. "Hunger Bread", although it was also used in non-famine years, became a recurrent symbol of the 1860s. Its use in memorialising the famine years had been noted by the British writer Emile Dillon (using the pseudonym E.B. Lanin) in 1892:

famine decimated the population [in the 1860s]...the museum of Helsingfors still possesses a gruesome collection of the "hunger bread" on which the peasantry was in those time of scarcity forced to live. They are all black or brown; as hard as a stone and generally as free from admixture of corn.¹⁷

Early written recollections focussed largely on the mortality crisis of 1868, and in emphasising the role of early frosts in September 1867 implied strongly that Finland's devolved administration in Helsinki were helpless in the face of a natural disaster. Anders Svedberg, a Swedish-speaking Finnish teacher, journalist and editor who represented the peasantry in the House of Estates in Helsinki, produced one of the earliest retrospectives. Entitled "Famine [*Hungersnöden*] in Finland. 1867", Svedberg's article was published in the Swedish newspaper *Förre och Nu* in September 1871. He noted the impact of the frost, as well as aid from overseas (particularly Sweden), and the redoubtable efforts of the Finns themselves. The emergence of a hegemonic elite narrative was already discernable:

¹⁴ Gouriévidis, 2010, is also a key influence in this respect.

¹⁵ Elliot, 2016, 35.

¹⁶ *Hämäläinen*, 3 Aug. 1895 (quoting *Suomalainen*, 31 Jul. 1895).

¹⁷ Lanin, 1892, 420.

However, when God strikes He heals well, and after the storm He lets the sun shine. This happened even here ... You could ask in conclusion, what Finland learned in the fiery trial it had just undergone. As the issue concerns the entire population, one cannot anticipate visible results immediately; but this much is certain, however, that greater diligence and thrift is notable as the first and immediate lesson of the time of trouble.¹⁸

Shortly after the publication of Svedberg's article, the nationalist *Suometar* published a similar narrative for a Finnish audience – emphasising the sense of Divine challenge, and the opportunity that the economic troubles provided for crystallising the people into a nation.¹⁹

The early 1890s, partly as a reaction to a renewed threat of famine, witnessed the emergence of literature dealing with the 1860s, and a potential challenge to the hegemonic narrative.²⁰ The elite's response was prompt, with the publication in 1892 of Agaton Meurman's *Hungeråren på 1860-talet* [*The Hunger Years of the 1860s*].²¹ Meurman's work reaffirmed a famine narrative that highlighted the people's stoicism, and the benefits that accrued from the experience of shared suffering. His arguments provided the template for articles and books on the 1860s until deep into the twentieth century. Of particular relevance to this report is Meurman's assertion that the Riihimäki-St. Petersburg railway, constructed as part of the famine relief works and opened in 1870, provided the Finnish people with the only monument they needed to the "noble sacrifice" of the 1860s.²²

In fact, the railway did become known colloquially as the "Skeleton Track" [*Luurata*], or "Hunger Track" [*Nälkärata*]. In 1907, a report in the railway workers' newspaper *Juna* claimed that each kilometre of the St. Petersburg-Riihimäki railway represented a construction worker who died from starvation or disease.²³ Memories faded, however. Writing in 1903 from Hausjärvi – a key railway construction site and a municipality which saw two contemporary memorials erected at Oitti and Hikiä – farmer and journalist Kalle Kajander complained that if someone in the south of Finland could not recall the 1860s, then they could have "no idea of what real hunger is".²⁴ By 1913 a concerned railwayman wrote to the press to highlight the "forgotten graveyard" at Kärkölä, which "nobody had touched for decades", and which possessed not a single memorial to distinguish it from the surroundings.²⁵ The writer added that there was a "sacred responsibility" to care for sites such as the mass grave at Kärkölä.

¹⁸ Svedberg, 1871.

¹⁹ *Uusi Suometar*, 25 Sep. 1871. Newby, 2017.

²⁰ Newby, 2014, 392–3.

²¹ Meurman, 1892; Jussila, 2013, 30–31.

²² Newby & Myllyntaus, 2015, 157–8; Meurman, 1892, 44, 78.

²³ *Juna*, 30 May 1907.

²⁴ Kajander, 1903, 5.

²⁵ *Uusi Rautatielehti*, 15 Aug. 1913.

Although this interim report is intended primarily as a gazetteer of sites, rather than an in-depth discussion of the place of the 1860s famine memorials in the construction of Finnish national history, it is possible to argue that the memorials can be used to construct / solidify both the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic narratives:

1. HEGEMONIC: the location of many of these memorials in graveyards overseen by the state church, along with biblical quotations stressing forbearance and stoicism in the face of Divine challenge; the proximity in many cases of "Hero Graveyards", the graves of locals who fell in battle in 1918 and 1939-44 (and in the case of the Civil War limited to those who fought the "White" cause) indicates adherence to a particular narrative of adversity; the inauguration ceremonies for these memorials often follow a well-established format, including the traditional interpretation of the famine years as a frost-induced natural disaster; the inclusion of the Great Hunger Years as a "building block" for the nation, alongside later traumas.

2. COUNTER-HEGEMONIC: highlighting regional tensions and divisions in the context of an overarching national famine narrative, particularly in areas with higher than the average excess mortality; taken as a whole, the widely divergent sets of dates which can be found on the memorials indicates that different areas of Finland suffered severe economic difficulties well in advance of the frost "trigger" of September 1867 – the inefficient reaction of the central administration in Helsinki is therefore thrust into sharper relief.²⁶

Summary of Findings

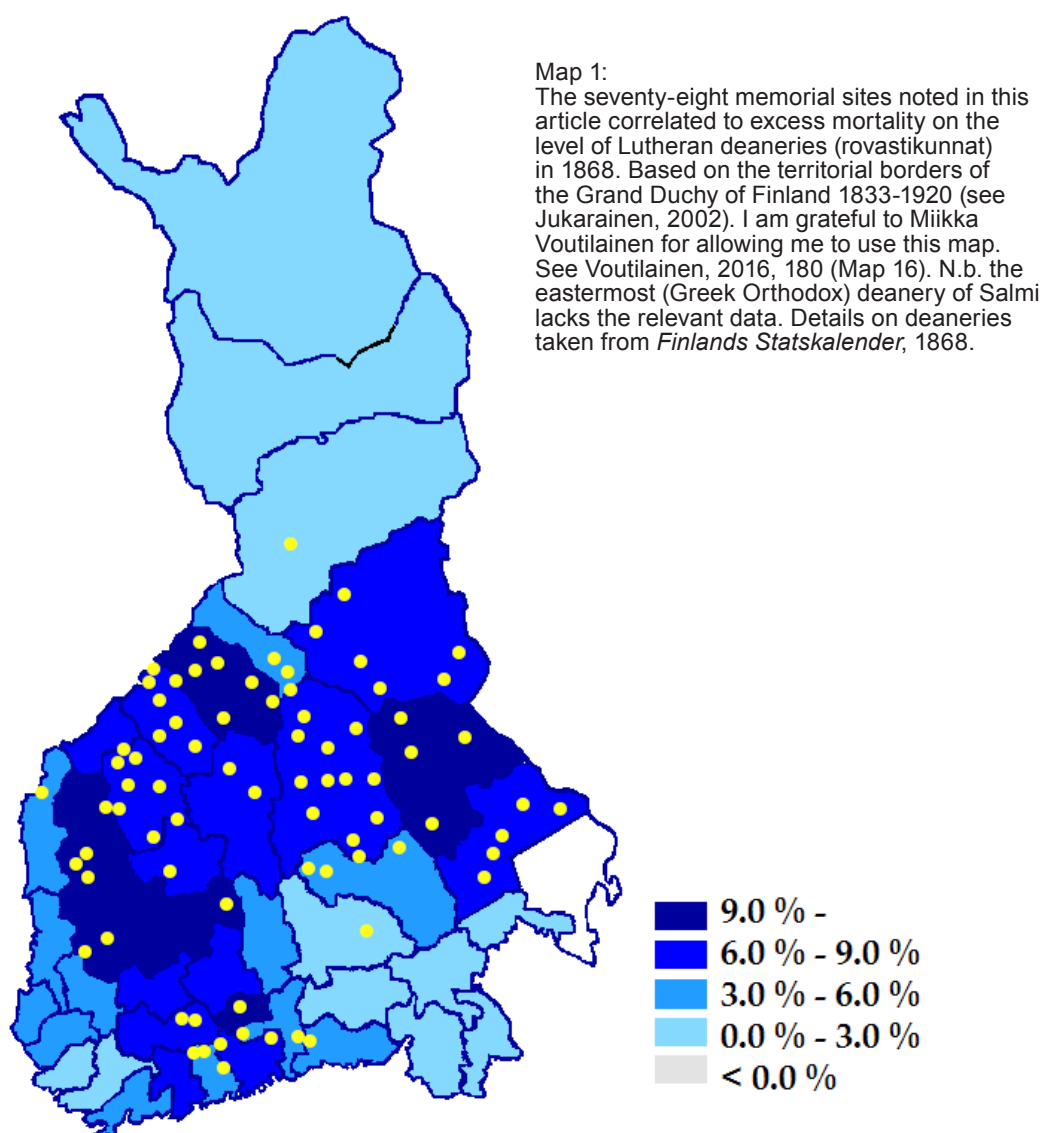
Geographical Spread of Monuments

It is notable that, in contrast to e.g. Ireland and Ukraine, there is no "national" famine monument, either in the capital or some other symbolically important site.²⁷ Indeed, the largest town to host a famine memorial in Finland is Lahti, which (in

²⁶ Newby, 2017; Ó Ciosáin, 1995, 9–10; Crowley, 2012.

²⁷ Although famine memorials are notable by their absence from Finland's largest towns, there are nevertheless sites which are linked to the 1860s in, for example, Helsinki, Espoo, and Tampere. Perhaps the best-known example of this in Helsinki is the paving at the observatory in Ullanlinna Park (Tähtitorninvuori). Although landscaped by C.L. Engel some decades earlier, private initiatives from the local residents used relief labour to flatten and tarmac the road. (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 27 Jan., 12 Feb., 18 Feb., 1868; *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, 18 Feb. 1868.) In the neighbouring city of Espoo, the medieval cathedral is one of many examples of an unmarked famine-era mass-grave. It is recorded that 298 people were buried in the Espoo Churchyard in 1868, mainly unmarked. In at least one instance, though, there is the grave of an identifiable individual victim: Carl Birger Agricola, whose death in March 1868 was caused by "the raging typhus epidemic that was hitting all social classes." (*Hufvudstadsbladet*, 24 Mar. 1868). In the city of Tampere, the pathway through Pyynikki churchyard was constructed by relief work in 1867, and the "puuportti" at Finlayson's factory was also a site of gratuitous distribution of relief meal by the factory owners. See <www.tampere.fi/material/attachments/p/jiSwrlyA0/pyynikin_kirkkopuisto_esite.pdf> <www.tampere.fi/liitteet/k/64kuOvsey/nottbeckin.pdf>

2016) was the eighth most populous municipality. The local focus becomes more explicit when examining the distribution of memorials on Map 1, which exposes a close correlation between the presence of a memorial and higher mortality during the 1860s. Three main clusters of memorials can be identified: (i) sites associated with the Riihimäki-St. Petersburg railway; (ii) western sites in *Pohjanmaa* and (iii) eastern sites in *Vaara-Suomi*. The northernmost site found to date is at Pudasjärvi, some 700 km north of the capital Helsinki and 640 km from the most southerly memorial (Mäntsälä). This reflects the relatively minor impact that the famine made on the north of the country.²⁸ On the west-east axis, Vaasa lies approximately 550 km from Ilomantsi.



²⁸ Newby, 2017; Voitto Viinanen's account of the "Ruijan Reitti" – the northern road taken by some Finns in search of work in Norway or, indeed, onward passage to America, implies that some graves in Inari belonged to 1860s vagrants. See <www.voittoviinanen.com/albumi/ruijanreitilla/676142>

There is a strong tendency in Finland (over 70% of those noted in the gazetteer) for famine memorials to be located in churchyards, often in proximity to a famine-era mass grave. The excellent records of the Lutheran church have arguably made it easier to locate these memorials, which might create a bias in the results until such time as all the memorials are found, but nevertheless the role of the church in famine commemoration is undeniably strong. Otherwise, mass-graves related to relief work sites are also common locations. Finnish famine memorials (in contrast to the Irish case) are only rarely afforded "public spaces" in towns – and in no case is there a memorial that would arrest the attention of a casual visitor or tourist. It can be said, therefore, that the intended "audience" of the Finnish famine memorials differs considerably from those of their post-1997 Irish famine equivalents.²⁹

Chronological Development of Monuments

The earliest memorials are contemporary, generally plain stones with a simple inscription, and hark back to an earlier tradition of marking significant events, including famine.³⁰ An exception in this case appears to be the site at Oitti, where a gravestone-style memorial was erected in memory of lost railway workers. It was nearly sixty years after the famine years, however, that a new generation of memorials – planned by committees at particular *lieux de mémoire*, emerged. The earliest of these were at Varkaus (in the vicinity of the Taipale Canal relief work mass grave), and at Sotkamo.³¹ The events of the 1940s understandably interrupted famine memorialisation, but the first post-war monument at Piipola (1946) presaged a new burst of activity. The 1950s saw memorials established at Alajärvi (1951), Lahti (1953), Varpaisjärvi (1950s, precise date not yet established), Veteli (1954), Kiuruvesi (1955) and in Hämeenlinna's old graveyard (1958), where four hundred victims of hunger and disease were buried during the famine. Reports of the Hämeenlinna memorial made specific mention of the 90th anniversary of 1868, a sign of the increasing awareness around the importance of anniversaries.³² This awareness was confirmed in the 1960s, with the famine's centenary focussing the attention of parishes and local history societies, particularly in some of the places that had been worst affected: Lehtimäki (1962); Karttula, Kitee (1963); Lohtaja (1964); Nurmes (1965); Soini, Sievi (1966); Eno, Evijärvi Väinöntalo, Heinävesi, Lavia, Paltaniemi (1967); Leppävirta, Lieksa, Nilsinä, Ristiina (1968). Railway-related sites were also inaugurated in Kärkölä and Kuusankoski during the centenary period, as was a new memorial to the famine road at Tokerotie, in the

29 Newby, 2017.

30 For example, *Vaarojen Sanomat*, 5 Nov. 1969 notes the discovery of a contemporary stone commemorating a famine year in 1835.

31 See also the gazetteer entry for Lieksa, where a plan for a monument was announced in 1935.

32 *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 15 Nov. 1958.

Aronkylä neighbourhood of Kauhajoki.³³ In the five decades since the centenary, the memorials have increased steadily in number, with more diverse artistic forms being employed. To date, the most recent additions have been at Vaasa (2008), Nivala (2009), and Käsämäki (2014). There is no indication that the famine sesquicentenary will herald a new wave of memorialisation such as that seen in Ireland around 1997, although it is possible that local organisations will mark the occasion amidst the national-scale *Suomi100* celebrations.

Inscriptions

The most common euphemism for the 1860s famine years found on famine memorials is, unsurprisingly, “the (Great) Hunger Years” [(*Suuret*) *Nälkävuodet*], an expression that was popularised by Agaton Meurman’s 1892 book.³⁴ Other expressions occur, including: Years of Dearth [*Katovuodet*]; Years of Frost [*Hallavuodet*]; Years of Disease [*Tautivuodet*], and Poor Years [*Köyhät Vuodet*]. To date, not a single example has been found of the word used to describe modern famines – *nälänhätä*.³⁵ Many of the memorials also contain mortality figures specific to the locale. Moreover – unsurprisingly given the tendency for the memorials to be located in churchyards – biblical quotations proliferate. Details are given in the individual site descriptions below, although the most common quotation is “give us this day our daily bread”, or a variation.

Varying Forms of Monuments

As might be expected, there is also a diversity in the form of the memorials, reflecting local or time-specific trends, or the use of particular tropes which might be considered local manifestations of more universal themes: grieving human (particularly female) forms, begging hands, or the failed foodstuff (generally depicted in Finland as rye). The re-appropriation of material germane to the site also occurs regularly, for example: the use of millstones in Evijärvi, Sonkajärvi and Ilmajoki; the reconfiguring of a bridge built as relief work into a memorial (Kivijärvi), or the symbolic use of iron railway tracks at mass-graves of railway workers (Lahti, Kärkölä).

³³ *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 10 Feb. 1972. See also *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 22 May 1998.

³⁴ It was translated into Finnish as *Nälkävuodet 1860-luvulla*.

³⁵ An examination of these euphemisms is outside of the scope of the current report, but it will be important to analyse the Finnish and Swedish words used to describe “famine” events both in Finland and abroad.

Next Steps

Various gaps in the basic information of some of the memorials remain, and this is the immediate priority – viz. discovering the date / year of inauguration, and completing the task of visiting each one personally to record GPS coordinates and check inscriptions, form etc. To date, secondary information has been obtained from fieldwork, local informants, local newspapers and internet sources (particularly Lutheran parish websites). It will be important to consult archival sources – particularly church and municipal records – as a means of confirming inauguration dates etc. of the memorials. There are also plenty of local newspapers still awaiting analysis.

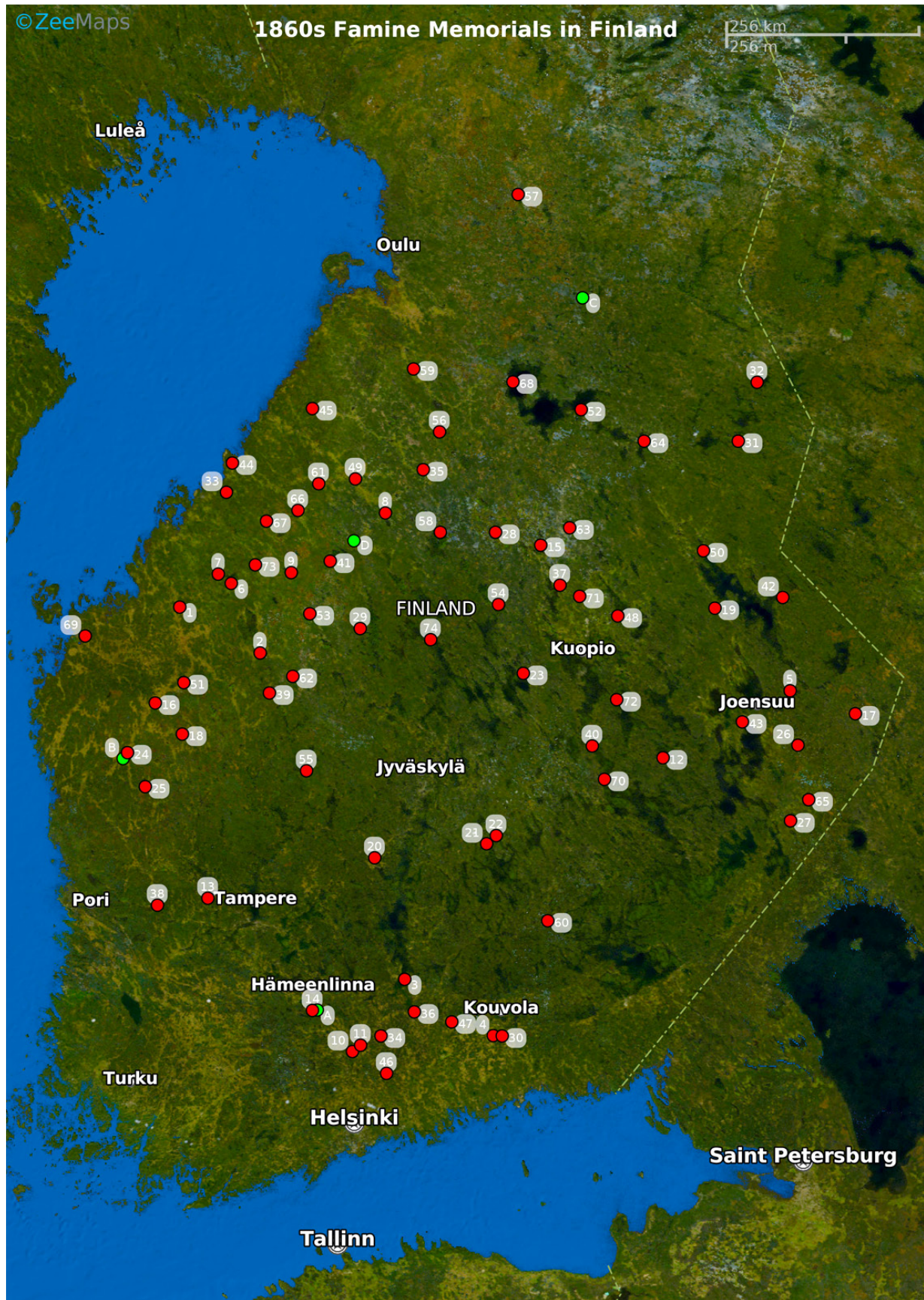
The development of a complete catalogue of 1860s memorials is intended to create a resource for further research, particularly allowing contextualisation: (i) alongside other "trauma" memorials in Finland (many of which have aesthetics, locations, and indeed sculptors in common with the famine memorials), it will be important to analyse the position of famine memorials within a "hierarchy of memory"³⁶; and (ii) comparative work with other countries.

In taking the comparative study with Ireland to its logical conclusion, it will of course be necessary to confirm whether any 1860s memorial sites exist outside of Finland. This includes among diasporic settlements in North America and the lands that comprised the Russian Empire, but also those "lost territories" of the 1940s.³⁷ It seems quite apparent that, despite the following pages describing over seventy memorials, more are waiting to be uncovered. Indeed, it is hoped that by publishing this interim report informants might contact the author with more sites, or more details of the memorials noted here (or errors in fact or interpretation). In the week before submission, two more memorials came to light which precipitated further road-trips, and there seems no doubt that this will not be a "final" list.³⁸

36 Conway, 2010, 7–8; Tuomisto, 1990; Tuomisto, 1998; Raivio, 2000; Worthen & Muir, 1–30; Kivimäki, 2012, 482–504.

37 Other than a memorial to the 1697 famine in Jääski (erected in 1916. See *Uusi Suometar*, 7 Sep. 1916) I have not encountered references to any other memorials in the ceded parts of Karelia.

38 To put this interim report into perspective, Petri Raivio's study, based on fieldwork undertaken in 1997–99, was based on 546 sites of memory related to the Second World War in Finland. Raivio, 2000, 164 (fn. 25).



Map 2: Locations of the seventy-eight memorials recorded in the gazetteer. Based on the territorial borders of Finland 1944 to present (see Jukarainen, 2002). Map by permission of ZeeMaps.

Sites of Memory: The 1860s Great Hunger Years

An Interim Gazetteer of Finnish Famine Memorials Organised Alphabetically by Location.

NB: Finnish spelling conventions are used; translations of inscriptions are the author's own, and attempt to take some account of style and cultural peculiarities; for reasons of space, original Finnish texts / inscriptions have been omitted here but, but the author can be contacted for further details if required.

As far as possible, the name of the municipality in 1868 has been used in the alphabetical arrangement. In cases where this municipality has been merged subsequently, the new entity is noted in square brackets before the region. Where it is considered useful, the name of the specific village within the municipality is noted in brackets.

Naturally, there are numerous sites of memory around Finland which relate to the Great Hunger Years, but which are not explicitly indicated by a memorial or interpretive board. These include place names, former parish grain-stores, grave-sites etc. The list of memorials adheres to the definition suggested by Emily Mark-FitzGerald in her analysis of recent Irish memorials: a "Famine monument has been defined as a three-dimensional form set in public space", and other existing historical sites, "famine roads", or the remains of poor-houses, are not included unless they are also accompanied by a memorial or more extensive commemorative intervention.³⁹

1. Alahärmä [Kauhava]

Southern Ostrobothnia

Alahärma Churchyard, Härmäntie 39 (63°14'45.6"N 22°51'28.6"E).⁴⁰ Inaugurated on 10th July 1989 by Alahärmä Parish; natural stone with brass plaque (by Jussi Somppi): "In memory of those who died of starvation in the years 1867-1868. Alahärmä Parish 1989".

2. Alajärvi

Southern Ostrobothnia

Gabriel's Church, Alajärvi; Kirkkotie 6 (63°00'00.3"N 23°49'31.7"E).⁴¹

Inaugurated 12 August 1951; gravestone with inscribed Christian cross and text: "This stone was erected in 1951 by Alajärvi parish in memory of those who perished during the Great Hunger Years of 1866, -67 and -68. Father Give Us Our Daily Bread".



Fig. 1: Alajärvi, July 2016.

³⁹ <<https://irishfaminememorials.com/user-guide/>>

⁴⁰ SM 1994c, 6.

⁴¹ *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 20 Apr. 1967.

3. Asikkala

Päijänne Tavastia

Vääksy Canal Park, off Kanavatie on the north side of the Vääksy Canal Bridge (61°10'36.6"N 25°32'10.7"E).⁴² The "Hard Times Memorial", erected in advance of Finland's sixtieth anniversary as a nation and inaugurated officially at a ceremony coinciding with this anniversary in December 1977.⁴³ Tall, cenotaph-style with stones embedded. Designed by Heikki Sipponen, built by volunteers. 24 standing stones represent the villages of Asikkala. "The Work of Previous Generations: Difficult Times – Winter and Continuation Wars 1939-1945; Events around independence 1917-1918; Hunger Years 1867-1868; Canal Building 1868-1871; The Great Northern War ('Great Hate') 1713-1721. Memorial inaugurated by the people of Asikkala 7.1977 as a message to future generations".



Fig. 2: Asikkala, January 2017.

4. Elimäki (Koria) [Kouvola]

Kymenlaakso

In the vicinity of Kallioniemi Dancing Hall (60°51'07.2"N 26°36'60.0"E). A granite stone memorial (currently to the right of a wooden terrace with picnic table), which is dated 19 August, 1869. The memorial features the initials of six people, and is said to be carved by the railway workers themselves in memory of their dead colleagues.

5. Eno [Joensuu]

North Karelia

Eno Churchyard; Enontie 28 (62°47'25.4"N 30°10'05.4"E). Inaugurated in 1967 on behalf of the parish society by mayor Emil Palonen.⁴⁴ Tall Christian cross flanked by two low, rectangular / cuboid black stones. Designed by Pastor Esko Jalkanen. Inscribed on the left stone: "In memory of those who died of starvation 1866-1868", and three healthy rye stems. Inscribed on the right stone: "Eno parish society, 1967", and three broken rye stems.



Fig. 3: Eno, October 2016.

⁴² SM 1996c, 8.

⁴³ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 4 Dec. 1977.

⁴⁴ *Länsi-Savo*, 5 Jun. 1967. *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 5 Jun. 1967; SM 2000a, 6.

6. Evijärvi 1

Southern Ostrobothnia

Evijärvi Churchyard, Kirkkotie 77 (63°22'31.7"N 23°28'27.4"E).⁴⁵ Inaugurated in 1986. Re-used millstone, lying flat. Organised and funded by the local Lions Club. Millstone donated by Erkki Paalanen. Inscribed by Aleksi Kultalahti with: "Give us our daily bread. In memory of the hunger-dead of the 1800s. Lions Club Evijärvi 1986".

7. Evijärvi 2

Southern Ostrobothnia

Väinöntalo Lake Region Museum, Latukantie 99. A memorial to the Great Hunger Years is located in the garden of Väinöntalo Museum. It was inaugurated in 1967. It is a natural stone slab, into which is carved: 18 1/6 67.⁴⁶

8. Haapajärvi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Haapajärvi Old Churchyard, off Kauppakatu (63°44'52.5"N 25°18'57.2"E).⁴⁷ Inaugurated in 1988 and designed by Armas Kosonen. Stone memorial with inlaid black marble, featuring three emaciated hands praying and grasping for a single rye stem. Text "In memory of those who died of starvation in the 1860s". Author Aki Ollikainen suggested that the memorial in Haapajärvi partly inspired his award-winning novel *Nälkävuosi* (*White Hunger*) (2012).⁴⁸

9. Halsua

Central Ostrobothnia

Halsua Churchyard, off Perhontie. Memorial in the form of a stone wall, inscribed with text: "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread". Designed by Sulo Kalliokoski and prepared by Kalle Jokela.⁴⁹

10. Hausjärvi (Hikiä)

Tavastia Proper

Hikiäntie, Pässinlukko, between Seppälä and Hikiä on Road 290 (60°44'32.4"N 24°56'13.7"E). A contemporary memorial stone, in the vicinity of the Riihimäki-St. Petersburg railway relief work, resituated in 1988. Accompanied by a plaque: "The years of poverty, 1862-1868. As a consequence of the Years of Dearth, the parish of Hausjärvi lost one fifth of its five thousand inhabitants to contagious diseases. According to tradition, this stone was placed here on Pässinlukko Hill in memory of those who died of typhoid". Organised by the Hikiä Society. Confirmed by National Board of Antiquities in 1987 as marking a mass grave.⁵⁰

45 SM 1994c, 16.

46 SM 1994c, 16. This seems to indicate a specific date (1 June 1867). The municipality of Evijärvi was founded around this time. The Väinöntalo museum is open during the summer and has an entry charge.

47 *Maaselkä*, 22 Dec. 1994; SM 1996a, 9.

48 *Kansan Uutiset*, 16 Dec. 2012.

49 SM 1994c, 18; see <<http://www.kase.fi/~joukohe/pappi.php>> for an image.

50 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 24 Oct. 1987.

11. Hausjärvi (Oitti)

Tavastia Proper

Vanha Valtatie, Hausjärvi, opposite junction with Viinikaisentie (60°47'28.8"N 24°59'38.0"E).⁵¹ Railway Builders' graveyard fenced, with sign "Radanrakentajien Hautausmaa" from the road. Gravestone with cross motif and inscription: "1867. The Railway Builders Lie Here".

12. Heinävesi

Southern Savonia

Heinävesi Church, Kirkonmäki Graveyard, Museokuja (62°25'57.1"N 28°37'44.2"E).⁵² Inaugurated in 1967 and designed / executed by the noted sculptor Veikko Jalava (1911-1981, see also Nurmes). Granite relief featuring a grieving figure, and the inscription: "In commemoration of the suffering of the inhabitants of our area during the Great Hunger Years 1866-1868. Erected by the Heinävesi Society, 1967".



Fig. 4: Heinävesi, October 2016.

13. Hämeenkyrö

Pirkanmaa

Hämeenkyrö Church, Härkikuja 13 (61°38'08.8"N 23°11'36.1"E). Tall natural stone, inscribed with: "Years of Dearth 1867-1868. Grave of the Hundreds of Dead. Lord You Kill, But You Restore Life".

14. Hämeenlinna

Tavastia Proper

Hämeenlinna Old Graveyard Park, Turuntie (60°59'41.4"N 24°27'10.4"E).⁵³ Inaugurated in 1958, a gravestone with plaque: "In this graveyard lie four hundred who perished from hunger and disease during the Great Hunger Years 1867-68". Nearby in the same graveyard is the tombstone of Pastor C.W. Appelqvist, who died in 1868 "from the fever that ravaged Hämeenlinna".⁵⁴

⁵¹ SM 1996c, 19.

⁵² SM 2000c, 13.

⁵³ *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 15 Nov. 1958.

⁵⁴ *Hämeläinen*, 24 Dec. 1868.

15. Iisalmi

Northern Savonia

Old Churchyard, Kirkkotie 10
(63°34'42.5"N 27°10'10.6"E).

Inaugurated in 1977. Menhir-style memorial with two plaques: (1) "In memory of those who suffered during the 1860s Years of Dearth. Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread – 4th PETITION". This indicates the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer; (2) on the reverse of the monument a second plaque records "this memorial was erected by Iisalmi Parish, in the year 1977".



Fig. 5: Iisalmi, February 2017. Image courtesy of Ronan Newby.

16. Ilmajoki

Southern Ostrobothnia

Ilmajoki Churchyard, Kirkkotie 18
(62°43'37.6"N 22°33'44.6"E). Broken millstone, with metal Christian cross. Designed by Pentti Haapamäki. Prepared by Otto Talvitie (1914-2007). Inscribed with the text: "Victims of the Hunger Years – Known to God".



Fig. 6: Ilmajoki, July 2016.

17. Ilomantsi

North Karelia

A memorial to those who perished during the Hunger Years of the 1800s was inaugurated in 2003 in Mustamäki Churchyard.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ See <www.ilomantsi.fi/suur-ilomantsin-synty>; *Pogostan Sanomat*, 26 Nov. 2009; *Karjalainen*, 19 May 2016; Ensio Kettunen, "Nälkävuodet," *Kettusviesti 2015* (accessed via <www.kuolismaankettuset.fi/tiedostot/uusi_Kettusviesti_2._2015.pdf>)

18. Jalasjärvi [Kurikka] (Taivalmaa) Southern Ostrobothnia

Taivalmaa Village Roadside, Tokerotie (Road 672), by junction with Vainiontie (62°33'21.7"N 22°54'08.6"E).⁵⁶

Tokerotie itself translates as “Slop Road”, as it was said that its builders were too weak to ingest anything other than a very “sloppy” mixture of flour and water.⁵⁷ According to local tradition (via Antti Häkkinen), the sign was made by Joel Kanto the only local man who could write (Finnish?), who had learned to write while in prison.⁵⁸ Original Stone: “Road Built 1867. Aleksander Nikoljv”. Plaque: “The Builders of Tokerotie – Did this text here during the Great Hunger Years. Villagers lifted the stone onto its pedestal in 1967 for it to be cherished by future generations”.



Fig. 24: Tokerotie, April 2016.

19. Juuka North Karelia

Juuka Churchyard; Kokkokalliontie 3. In the vicinity of the famine-era mass-grave. Inaugurated in 1980. Menhir-style memorial, approx. 1.5 metres high, comprising two natural stones (memorial and base), designed and executed by the well-known sculptor Kauko Kortelainen (1933-). Inscription “1689 – 1868. In memory of those who perished by hunger”, with representations of wilted rye stems carved into one flank. Commissioned by a local memorial committee, led by Pietari Korhonen, and fundraising organised by local entrepreneurs and Lions Club. The name of the memorial is “Katovuosi” (Year of Dearth), and the additional allusion to the crisis of the late seventeenth century is distinctive among the 1860s memorials.⁵⁹



Fig. 7: Juuka, October 2016. Image courtesy of Liisa Kortelainen.

⁵⁶ <www.jalasjarvenkylat.fi/taivalmaa_tokerotien_muistomerkki>

⁵⁷ Vuorela, 1935; Knuuttila & Koivu, 1975, 115.

⁵⁸ Antti Häkkinen was informed by a local resident, Yrjö Taivalmaa, in 1986 (Häkkinen, 1991a, 138, fn. 24) .. The Joel Kanto story is also noted in *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 10 Feb. 1972.

⁵⁹ *Karjalainen*, 8 May 1980. A preliminary sketch, including some small differences from the finished monument, is included in this article.

20. Jämsä

Central Finland

Jämsä Churchyard, Koskentie (61°52'27.2"N 25°11'01.7"E).⁶⁰ Inaugurated in 1987. Abstract granite memorial with small plaque: "In Memory of those who were lost during the Hunger Years 1866-1868". Designed by Paavo Keskinen, the monument lies in the main church's "Memorial Graveyard", situated next to the (White) Civil War and later Winter / Continuation War graves, and a memorial to the Karelian refugees.⁶¹ An interpretive board notes the "Hunger Years, 1866-68", and quotes the former Finnish President, P.E. Svinhufvud (1861-1944): "our people's entire past is a guarantee of the future". Moreover, the memorial was invested with explicit meaning by the artist: "the monument consists of a recumbent stone slab, cleaved into three sections [...] the three-piece slab represents the tragedy of people lost to hunger, and their broken life cycle. The rough, untreated surface of the stone reflects the diversity and nuances of human existence".⁶² The interpretive panel gives the local context – 1,082 people perished in 1868 in Jämsä – and highlights the "awful weather conditions" which triggered the famine.



Fig. 8: Jämsä, April 2016.

21. Kangasniemi 1

Southern Savonia

Joutsanmaantie 568, approx. 9km SW of Kangasniemi (61°56'42.6"N 26°31'34.8"E). Pylvänälä-Joutsa Road Memorial. Interpretive board explaining the history of the road, which was started at relief work in 1868. Vagrants in debt to the municipality were also ordered to help in the road's construction. The road was completed in 1880, and was in use between Kangasniemi and Joutsa for around one hundred years. Moss-covered contemporary memorial, marked "Rauhoitettu Kivi" [Protected Stone] with sign from the main Road 616: "Muistokivi" [Memorial Stone].

22. Kangasniemi 2

Southern Savonia

Museum of Local History & Culture, Joutsantie 1 (61°59'25.3"N 26°38'34.9"E). Inaugurated in 1970. Site of a famine-era grain store.⁶³ Recumbent stone, with abstract relief.⁶⁴ Accompanying plaque: "To the memory of those lost to hunger and deprivation

⁶⁰ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 21 Sep. 1987.

⁶¹ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 21 Sep. 1987.

⁶² Quoted on <<http://www.museo24.fi>>

⁶³ *Länsi-Savo*, 4 Oct. 1988, 15 Jan. 2013.

⁶⁴ For the memorials, *Länsi-Savo*, 29 Jun. 1970; 4 Oct. 1988.

during the Great Years of Dearth in Kangasniemi. Kangasniemi Peasant Culture Foundation [*Talonpoikauskulttuurisäätiö*] 1970”.

23. Karttula [Kuopio]

Northern Savonia

Karttula Old Churchyard, Kirkkotie 28 (62°53'15.7"N 26°58'11.6"E).⁶⁵ Inaugurated in 1963. Stone monument, reminiscent of a sarcophagus, with a cross on the right-hand side. A black marble inlay with the text “To the memory of those buried here during the Hunger Years of 1866-68. 1963. Karttulan Farmers' Society Alliance [*Maamiesseuraliitto*]”.



Fig. 9: Karttula, February 2017. Memorial bottom right. Image courtesy of Ronan Newby.

24. Kauhajoki (Aronkylä)

Southern Ostrobothnia

Aronkuja 1, in the Aronkylä neighbourhood of Kauhajoki, by the start of Tokerotie (see Jalasjärvi).⁶⁶ (62°27'17.3"N 22°13'42.1"E). Inaugurated in 1967.⁶⁷ Menhir-type natural stone on a base of smaller stones. Designed by Matti Porkkala. Plaque with text: “In Memory of the Builders of Tokerotie during the Hungers Years 1867-68. Kauhajoki Society”. Organised by neighbourhood residents.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ <www.kuopionseurakunnat.fi/hautausmaat/karttulan-hautausmaa>; SM 2000b, 28. This source notes that 200 were buried in the mass-grave at Karttula, including the uncle of future Finnish President, Urho Kekkonen.

⁶⁶ SM 1994c, 35.

⁶⁷ *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 22 May 1998.

⁶⁸ A play, “Tokerotie” had also been conceived a year earlier. Written by Kaarlo Peren and performed by Lauri Tuuri. *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 13 Sep. 1966.

25. Kauhajoki (Lapinkaivo)

Southern Ostrobothnia

The memorial to "Juurakko Gustaf" at an isolated location in Kauhaneva-Pohjakangas National Park (62°15'60.0"N 22°26'26.0"E), simply records that he died of hunger at that spot in April 1868. Little is known about this memorial, other than the current stone monument supplemented a carving in a nearby tree. As "Gustaf" (Kustaa Salomoninpoika Ohmero) came from Kauhajoki, some 30km distant, it seems as though he may have been in Lapinkaivo, a few weeks short of his 60th birthday, engaged in the marsh drainage that was being carried out as relief work.



Fig. 10: Kauhajoki (Juurakko Gustaf), April 2016.

26. Kiihtelysvaara [Joensuu]

North Karelia

Kiihtelysvaara Churchyard; Aprakkatie 3 (62°29'37.7"N 30°15'06.7"E).

Inaugurated in 1974.⁶⁹ A 150cm tall installation by Eero Eronen, (see also Tohmajärvi) entitled "Tyhjentynt kappa".⁷⁰ Featuring a bronze sculpture of three hands (representing a child, an adult and an older person) grasping at the empty container, with an inscription on the dolerite base: "In memory of those who died of hunger 1864-1868". Nearby, surrounded by an iron fence, is the tomb of a local victim, "Young Isidor", who died aged two years and eight months, in April 1868. According to the Kiihtelysvaara Society, on the day of Isidor's burial, seventy other victims were waiting to be buried.⁷¹



Fig. 11: Kiihtelysvaara, October 2016.

69 *Kiihtelys-Pyhäselkä Lehti*, 28 Sep. 1974.

70 I translate "Tyhjentynt Kappa" as "The Emptied Basket", although "kappa" is a technical term referring to a container – and by extension weight – of produce, typically potatoes. Details of the memorial at <<https://erkkieron.com/portfolio/tyhjentynt-kappa/>>

71 See <<http://kiihtelysvaara-seura.fi/nahtavyudet/muistomerkki/>>

27. Kitee

North Karelia

Kitee Churchyard; Savikontie 5 (62°05'45.9"N 30°09'00.7"E). Inaugurated in 1963. Granite gravestone with a relief of a mother and two children with small bags of provisions. Planned by art teacher Annikki Palosuo-Louhioja.⁷² Inscription on the reverse: "In memory of those who died of hunger. The people of Kitee. 1963".



Fig. 12: Kitee (detail), October 2016.

28. Kiuruvesi

Northern Savonia

Pappilanranta, Kirkkokatu (63°38'47.2"N 26°38'30.1"E).⁷³ Inaugurated in 1955. Designed by local architect, Aarne Timonen. Site of a famine-era mass-grave, approximately one kilometre south-east of Kiuruvesi's main Lutheran church. Pyramid with stones inlaid around the central plaque, topped with a granite cross. "Here lie those forest-clearers who perished through hunger during the great frost years of 1867-1868".



Fig. 13: Kiuruvesi, February 2017.

⁷² Despite the centenary context, the reports around the inauguration of this memorial actually suggest it was erected to remember the 105 known – and many other unknown – victims of hunger in Kitee in 1809-10. *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 23 Sep. 1963.

⁷³ Leinonen, 2008, features a picture of the Kiuruvesi memorial on its front page. See also SM 2000b, 38.

29. Kivijärvi

Central Finland

Hannonsalmi Bridge, junction of Sallatie and Kivijärventie (63°07'57.5"N 25°01'05.8"E).⁷⁴ Inaugurated in 1985. Memorial made from the stones of the Hannonsalmi and Matalasalmi Bridges, which had originally been constructed as relief work. Plaque with text: "HUNGER YEARS MEMORIAL erected from the old bridges. Eat your bread with gratitude and blessings. Lions Club Kivijärvi. Kivijärvi Municipality. 1985".

30. Kouvola (Kuusankoski)

Kymenlaakso

At Ristikankaantie, location 60°50'33.1"N 26°42'39.5"E. Inaugurated in 1987. Established by Kouvulankylä Village Council, 7 Jun. 1987. Commemorating the Ristikangas Graveyard, and particularly: those buried as a result of wars in the 1700s; Russian army reservists from the Crimean War; residents of Kouvulankylä; and those who died while building the Riihimäki-St. Petersburg railway.

31. Kuhmo

Kainuu

Hankaniemi Churchyard, Kappelikuja 1.⁷⁵ Inaugurated 2 June 1991. Planned and prepared by gardener Jarmo Aalto. Erected by Mauno Hyvärinen. Asymmetric grey granite pillars: the taller "Hunger Years 1866-1868", accompanied by biblical text: "Blessed is the one who will eat at the Feast in the Kingdom of God (Luke 14:15)".

32. Kuhmo (Lentiira)

Kainuu

Lentiira Church Old Graveyard, Sutelantie. Inaugurated in 1980 at the instigation of Lentiira Men's Circle [*miestenpiiri*]. Designed by "border-region pastor" [*rajaseutupastori*] Jukka Pirttijoki from Kuhmo.⁷⁶ Iron cross and plaque on natural stone. Biblical quotation: "Never Again Will They Hunger (Rev. 7:16). 1867-68".

33. Kälviä [Kokkola]

Central Ostrobothnia

Kälviä Churchyard, Kälviäntie 22. A memorial to those of died of hunger is situated in the churchyard.⁷⁷

34. Kärkölä

Päijänne Tavastia

Tillolantie, Hähkäniemi (60°51'17.3"N 25°16'18.9"E). Inaugurated 1967.⁷⁸ Cross made from railway tracks. Octagonal centre plaque "Hunger Years 1868-1869. Buried Railway Workers' Resting Place. Kärkölä Parish, 1967". Grave area fenced, with a signpost

⁷⁴ SM 1998, 66.

⁷⁵ *Kuhmolainen*, 23 Sep. 2016; SM 1996a, 34.

⁷⁶ SM 1996a, 34.

⁷⁷ See <www.kase.fi/~eharju/toimipisteet.htm>

⁷⁸ SM 1996c, 61; *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 29 May 1967.

“Radanrakentajien Kalmisto 1868-70” from the road. After falling into some disrepair the site was cleaned up by forty volunteers, and rededicated with the help of European Union rural development (LEADER II) funding in 1998.⁷⁹



Fig. 14: Kärkölä, April 2016.

35. Käsämäki

Northern Ostrobothnia

Käsämäki Churchyard, Frosteruksenkatu 26.⁸⁰ Inaugurated 2014. Donated by Teija and Timo Surakka. Natural stone with engraving: “Whoever is kind to the poor lends to the Lord. Proverbs 19:17”.

36. Lahti

Päijänne Tavastia

Off Road 312, in the vicinity of Motorway 4 & Motorway 12 junction (60°58'16.8"N 25°42'54.6"E). Inaugurated in 1953 (1954?). Again, this memorial was placed in the vicinity of a mass grave. The monument's main text reads: “During the 1867-1868 Great Hunger Years, were buried in this place railway builders who died of hunger and disease from Hollola parish, the villages of Lahti and Järvenpää, and from other places. Monument erected by Lahti Parish, 1953.” Surrounded by a fence made of railway tracks, and in the style of a Finnish croft There is also a contemporary gravestone in the vicinity. Plans for dedicating the site were made from as early as 1947.⁸¹ In 1950, the “Lahti Society”, a typical Finnish community group, petitioned the town authorities to ensure that the “so-called ‘Hunger Years Graveyard’, which has persistently been left completely untended”, should be protected and equipped with the appropriate symbols of a cemetery.⁸² In support of their argument, the Lahti Society provided a historical account of the famine years in the town, noted that popular memory still recalled these harsh times, and stressed that the mortality was so great at the time that the local churchyard was unable to accommodate the workers’ corpses. As a result, the railway authorities reserved land on a nearby ridge for the purpose. Although the site was revered for decades, the current generation had forgotten its significance, and it had become a “playground for the children and dogs” of local inhabitants. The existence of the railway had contributed greatly to the development of the town, the society argued, and so those who gave

⁷⁹ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 24 Aug. 1998.

⁸⁰ <<http://karsamaenseurakunta.fi/hautausmaa>>

⁸¹ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 16 Oct. 1947. More generally, see Forsius, 1980.

⁸² *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 24 Mar. 1950.

their lives in creating it should be given due recognition.⁸³ The petition seemed to have some effect, a considerable amount of money was raised locally, and when the Railway Board transferred the cemetery to the care of the church in 1953, a monument was erected.⁸⁴ The site's centenary (of the start of the building work) was noted in 1968.⁸⁵ The 110th Anniversary of the railway opening was acknowledged at the site in 1980.⁸⁶ Nowadays, the site is completely surrounded by the Lahti intersection of Motorway 4, but it is signposted as the "Railway Builders' Graveyard".⁸⁷



Fig. 15: Lahti, July 2014.

37. Lapinlahti (Lapinlahden Kirkonkylä) (Northern Savonia)

Lapinlahti, Linnansalmentie 2. Inaugurated in 1968. Large boulder with plaque.⁸⁸ "Erected in memory of those who died during the Hunger Years of 1867-68. Lapinlahti Parish. Give us our daily bread". Connected to relief work building the nearby Nerkoo Canal, which started in 1866 and cost over one hundred lives.⁸⁹ A *lieu de mémoire* can also be found at nearby Akanoja ("Women's Ditch"), where women – tired of circumnavigating a peninsula to bring food to the male labourers – dug a passage at the neck of the peninsula.⁹⁰

83 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 24 Mar. 1950.

84 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 21 Dec. 1950. Although the memorial stone is dated 1953, the inauguration ceremony seems to have taken place in the summer of 1954. See *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 26 Jun. 1954.

85 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 18 May 1968.

86 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 12 Sep. 1980.

87 A report of a commemoration at the site in 1980 notes that this fence was planned at the time. *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 12 Sep. 1980. The symbolic use of railway track is repeated in the monumental cross at the Kärkölä railway workers' memorial (1967). In a similar vein, the memorial at Hannonsalmi (Kivijärvi, 1985) is made from the remains of a stone bridge that was built as a relief work in 1868.

88 See <www.pohjois-savonmuisti.fi/documents/10543/0/Lapinlahden+kirkonkylän+historiakierros>

89 Nerkoo / Lapinlahti was also one of few sites which recorded a serious popular agitation during the famine years. See Häkkinen, 1992, 158.

90 <www.lapinlahti.fi/fi/Tietoa-kunnasta/Kylat/Nerkoo/Historia/Kanavatyon-uhrit> "Akka" is a slang and generally dismissive / derogatory word for a woman, and might be suited to a more colloquial translation.

38. Lavia [Pori]

Satakunta

Lavia Churchyard, Tampereentie 9 (61°35'41.8"N 22°35'53.8"E).

Inaugurated in 1967.⁹¹ Tall sculpted stone, with "Hunger Years, 1866-68" text above a relief of a mother bending protectively over a pleading child. Small plaque on the base with text: "In this garden of God lie approximately 800 Lavia residents, who during the sore trials of the Hunger Years died without leaving their home parish. Centenary Memorial Erected by Grateful Lavia Residents, 1967".

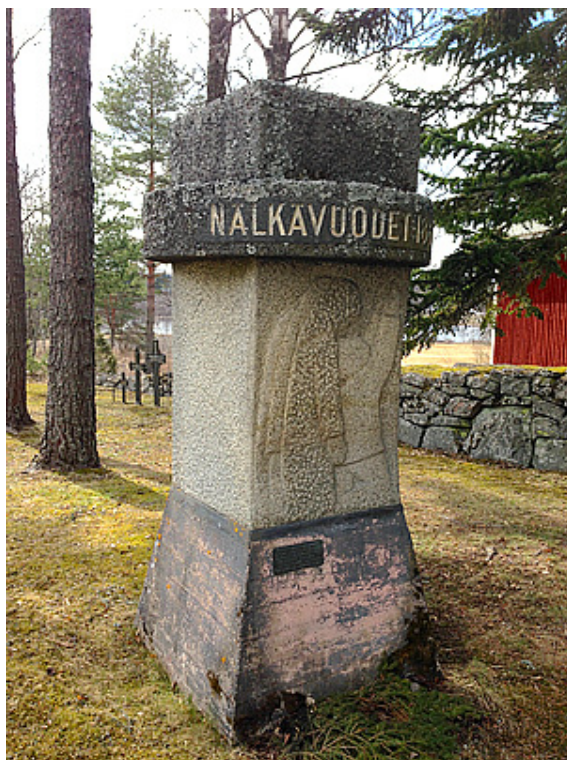


Fig. 16: Lavia, April 2016.

39. Lehtimäki [Alajärvi]

Southern Ostrobothnia

Murtolampi Old Graveyard, Töysäntie. Inaugurated in 1962.⁹² Tall natural stone with relief of a mother giving food to children, designed by engraver Ensio Antikainen. Inscribed text: "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread. Hunger Years, 1863-1868".

40. Leppävirta

Northern Savonia

Leppävirta Churchyard, Kirkkokaari (62°29'24.3"N 27°47'16.8"E). Inaugurated 1968.⁹³ Simple gravestone with plaque: "To the victims of the Hunger Years 1867-68". It was reported at the inauguration that 1,536 parishioners were buried in the famine-era mass grave.

41. Lestijärvi

Central Ostrobothnia

Lestijärvi Church Graveyard, Lestitie 16. A memorial to the 1868 Great Hunger Year is located in the graveyard.⁹⁴

91 Pitkäjärvi, 2008; *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 18 Feb. 1967; *Tyrvään Sanomat*, 26 Sep. 2013 notes that Lavia has a "rare 1867–68 memorial".

92 *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 6 Oct. 1962; SM 1994c, 192.

93 *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 13 Jul. 1968.

94 SM 1994c, 192.

42. Lieksa

North Karelia

Roadside memorial, Lamminkyläntie, near junction with Koulutie (63°18'24.7"N 30°03'46.5"E). Inaugurated in 1968 at the instigation of the Lieksa-Pielisjärvi Society.⁹⁵ Boulder with motifs: (i) Christian cross; (ii) three broken stems of rye. Text: "1866-1868. Hunger Years". Plans were afoot already in 1935 to erect a monument to the famine dead of the area.⁹⁶ The Finnish Garden Alliance [*Suomen Kotipuutarha-liitto*] reported in 1937 (in a special "Graveyards and Churchyards" issue of their newspaper), that a memorial was planned for the Pielisjärvi Churchyard in the Rauhala neighbourhood, by the famine-era mass graves. The famous artist and designer Antti Salmenlinna, a member of the alliance, had designed a cuboid stone memorial with a text: "Here Lie Those Who Perished From Starvation".⁹⁷ The article only mentioned that this stone – a matter of 500 metres from the 1968 memorial – was *intended* for the churchyard, and so more research / fieldwork is needed to confirm what transpired.

43. Liperi (Ylämylly)

North Karelia

Roadside memorial, at an elevated site off Ylämyllyntie near junction with Lautasuontie (62°37'30.7"N 29°35'03.6"E). Rededicated September 2002. Original stone inscribed with "1867", laid upon a flat stone with plaque: "Memorial Stone to the Hunger Dead. Maker Unknown. 30.9.2002. Liperi Society. Liperi Council".

44. Lohtaja [Kokkola]

Central Ostrobothnia

Lohtaja Graveyard, Karhintie 143.⁹⁸ Inaugurated in 1964. Memorial dedicated to those who died of hunger, 1867-1869. A gift of the Lohtaja Local Society [*kotiseutuyhdistys*]. 350 local inhabitants and homeless vagrants were buried in the churchyard in the famine years.

45. Merijärvi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Merijärvi Churchyard, Kirkkotie 14. Inaugurated in 1992.⁹⁹ Approximately 65 inhabitants of Merijärvi died of hunger and related diseases in 1867-68, and a memorial in their memory was erected near the gates of the graveyard.¹⁰⁰ Two broken rye stems on black stone and inscription: "To the victims of the Hunger Years 1866-1868. Merijärvi Parish".

46. Mäntsälä

Uusimaa

Vanha Porvoontie 10 (60°37'50.2"N 25°19'23.9"E).¹⁰¹ Inaugurated in 1984. Relief of famine refugees, mounted on stone. The stone base has two natural dark bands,

95 See <<http://lieksapielisjarviseura.fi/45-artikkelit/100-seuran-historia>> Note also footnote 29.

96 *Viena-Aunus*, 1 Jun. 1935.

97 *Puutarha ja Koti*, 6–7 (1937).

98 SM 1994c, 90.

99 SM 1996a, 44.

100 See <www.kirjastovirma.fi/merijarvi/historia>

101 *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 7 Nov. 1983; 23 Jul. 198

which are intended to be reminiscent of mourning ribbons. Main text: “In memory of the victims of the 1866-68 Hunger Years” with a supplementary credit to “Mäntsälä Council. Mäntsälä Society”. The Mäntsälä monument is reminiscent, in some respects, of the much larger Irish Memorial (2003) in Philadelphia. Its development followed typical lines. In late 1983 it was reported that the Mäntsälä Society has undertaken to collect money in order to finance a monument to the “Hunger Refugees” of 1866-68. The money would purchase a large natural stone, which was located directly outside the old parish hall. The society’s chairman, Osmo Viljanen, stated that “famine refugees came in their droves to Mäntsälä [...] the former parish hall, which was the largest building in the town, was the reception centre for those refugees”. The Mäntsälä Society’s active fundraising over the winter of 1983-4 was rewarded. The well-known sculptor Heikki Varja (1918-1986) produced the piece, which was unveiled to great acclaim at a wreath-laying ceremony in July 1984. Viljanen’s speech suggested a long crisis, as he alluded to the earlier hard year of 1856, but nevertheless the cause of the famine was again given as “the power of nature”, specifically “severe rainfall, ice and night frosts”, rather than any failures on the part of the Helsinki administration. He continued: “when the famine years were at their worst, entire families went around begging. Infected beggars spread diseases north and south. Animals were forced to eat roof thatch as there was no other food available”. The memorial depicts a scene of chaos and vagrancy, one of the most literary common tropes of the 1860s famine years in Finland.



Fig. 17: Mäntsälä, April 2016.

47. Nastola [Lahti] (Uusikylä)

Päijänne Tavastia

Ylämaantie 213, Uusikylä (60°55'33.7"N 26°06'35.0"E). Inaugurated in 1990.¹⁰² Natural stone memorial with cross mounted. Text inscribed: "To the memory of the dead builders of the Riihimäki-St. Petersburg railway, 1868-1870. Nastola Council and Parish, 1990." An article in a local newspaper in 1988 had bemoaned the fact that: "the existence and historical significance of railway-builders' graveyards in Oitti, Järvelä (Kärkölä) and Pekanmäki (Lahti) is already recognised, and they have received deserved memorials, but for one reason or another, the neglect of the Uusikylä mass grave just continues..."¹⁰³ A stone wall of approximately 10km in length, also part of the famine relief work, runs next to the memorial.



Fig. 26: Uusikylä (Nastola), May 2016.

48. Nilsinä [Kuopio]

Northern Savonia

Nilsinä Old Churchyard, Pisantie 2 (63°12'08.1"N 28°05'24.9"E). Inaugurated in 1968. Large natural stone with a plaque: Memorial: To the blessed unknown in this graveyard, particularly the inhabitants of Nilsinä who died of hunger in the 1860s. 1253 souls perished in 1868. Town and Parish, 1968".

49. Nivala

Northern Ostrobothnia

Nivala Churchyard, Kirkkotie 6.¹⁰⁴ Inaugurated in 2009. Black plaque with yellow-golden text, flanked by ten stylised rye stems. Inscription: "In memory of the 1867-1868 victims of hunger. [erected by their] Descendants, 2008. 'Give us this day our daily bread'". Designed by artist Riitta Latvala-Erkkilä.

50. Nurmes

North Karelia

Kirkkoharju, Nurmes (Nurmeksen Sankarihautausmaa); via entrance and stairs on Pappilansuora (63°33'11.3"N 29°07'10.4"E).¹⁰⁵ Inaugurated in 1965. The memorial in Nurmes was a pioneer among Finnish famine memorials in that it was a named piece of art, a relief by Veikko Jalava (see Heinävesi, above) entitled "Maaemon syli" ("In

¹⁰² *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 7 Nov. 1990.

¹⁰³ *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 17 Sep. 1988.

¹⁰⁴ <www.kirjastovirma.fi/muistomerkit/nivala/15>

¹⁰⁵ Plans seem to have been under way as early as 1962 for the memorial in Nurmes. See *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 18 Sep. 1862. For the inauguration in 1965, see *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 10 Jun. 1965; Juustila, 1965, 6–8; SM 2000a, 63.

the Lap of Mother Earth”). On the base of the relief a text reads: “In memory of those who died of hunger in 1866, [this memorial] was erected in 1966. Nurmes Parish, Council, and Chamber of Commerce. Valtimo Parish and Council”. Another indication that famine memorialization was entering a new stage in 1965 is that the unveiling of “Maaemon syli” was accompanied by a 147-page book, edited by Yrjö Juustila. The local significance of the famine years is highlighted by the inclusion of the opening lines of Juho Reijonen’s *Nälkävuonna* (which focuses on the tribulations of a family from the Nurmes village of Kuohatti) in the preface of Juustila’s book. The foreword also explains that the Nurmes parish lost 1,218 inhabitants in 1868, buried in unmarked mass graves, and that to “honour these victims’ difficult battle for their daily bread”, the consortium of local organizations named on the memorial had commissioned Jalava’s sculpture. An additional aim was to connect those who died “to the members of the same families one hundred years later”, something that was achieved by naming all of the local famine dead, including date and cause of death.¹⁰⁶



Fig. 18a: Nurmes, February 2017.



Fig. 18b: Louis Sparre’s sketch for Juho Reijonen’s short story *Nälkävuonna: karjalainen kertomus* (1893), largely set in the Nurmes parish of Kuohatti. This distressing tale of a family’s struggle to survive in 1868 featured prominently in the 1960s commemorations in Nurmes. Louis Sparre, *On Hunger Year* [undated]. Image by kind permission of the Finnish National Gallery (Ateneum Art Museum). Photographer Ainur Nasretidin.

¹⁰⁶ Juustila, 1965, 6–7.

51. Nurmo [Seinäjoki]

Southern Ostrobothnia

Nurmo Churchyard, Nurmonjoentie 17 (62°50'18.8"N 22°54'25.5"E). Natural stone memorial with inscription: "In memory of the victims who died in the Great Famine Years of the 1860s: Give Us Our Daily Bread".

52. Paltaniemi [Kajaani]

Kainuu

Paltaniemi Old Church [kuvakirkko], Paltaniementie 851 (64°17'35.1"N 27°39'35.3"E).¹⁰⁷ Inaugurated in 1967. "In memory of those who died of hunger, 1866-1868". Relief named "Anovat kädet" (Pleading Hands), featuring six hands reaching for rye stems, designed by Une Pihlman. Featured in Part 8 of YLE's Finnish-language radio series, "Kainuulaiset patsaat" (2014).¹⁰⁸



Fig. 19: Paltaniemi, February 2017.

53. Perho

Central Ostrobothnia

Perho Churchyard, Sahintie 3. Simple contemporary stone memorial, inscribed with "1869", and protected by a low, chained, fence.¹⁰⁹

54. Pielavesi (Kirkosaari)

Northern Savonia

Museum Graveyard, Kirkkosaarentie.¹¹⁰ Inaugurated in 1967. Plaque on natural stone: "In memory of the 2,100 parishioners who died during the Hunger Years 1866-1868". Inauguration speech by Provost Matti A. Castrén. The parish in 1868 included Tervo, Maaninka and Kiuruvesi.

55. Pihlajavesi [Keuruu]

Central Finland

"Wilderness Church" [Erämaakirkko] Graveyard, Erämaakirkontie 100 (62°21'48.3"N 24°21'29.8"E). The memorial was inaugurated in 1984, in the proximity of the mass-grave on the north side of the churchyard. A grey natural stone with a black granite plaque: "1862-1867: To the memory of those who died by starvation. Pihlajavesi parish".¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁷ SM 1996a, 25.

¹⁰⁸ Accessible via <<http://areena.yle.fi/1-2202143>>

¹⁰⁹ Pictured on the cover of *Vartiaisten Viesti* (2/2008), see <www.vartiaiset.fi/sites/default/files/vartiaisten_v2_2008.pdf>

¹¹⁰ *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 5 Aug. 1967; *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, 24 Jul. 1967; *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 22 Aug. 1967; *Savon Sanomat*, 28 Sep. 2015.

¹¹¹ See <www.keuruunmuseo.fi/kotiseututietoa/pihlajavesi> The best approach is from Hollikankaantie, where there is a sign directing people along Erämaakirkontie to the church. Depending on driving direction, a navigator might encourage crossing a small wooden bridge on Virransillantie (at 62°22'17.2"N 24°21'30.9"E – about one kilometre north of the church). Travelling from Soini, I was directed along this road, but decided against crossing the bridge with my car, heading instead around Köminjärvi for Pihlajavesi Station and then approaching the church from the south.

grave of the parish priest at the time of the famine, Carl Nauklér, (1846-1868), is also in the cemetery. Nauklér was particularly active in raising relief funds from Germany in 1867-68.¹¹²

56. Piipola [Siikalatva]

Northern Ostrobothnia

Piipola Churchyard, Keskustie 3. Inaugurated in 1946.¹¹³ Natural stone memorial with two inscriptions and central plaque. "Travelling Man. We had belief in prayer, and work. You reap the harvest. Sanctify your thoughts while you stand on our resting place". [PLAQUE: *In this place are buried five hundred of parishioners who died victims of hunger and disease in the years 1866-68. Give us this day our daily bread. Matt 6:11.*] "Blessings on our ancestors and gratitude for their labours – from the current generation".

57. Pudasjärvi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Pudasjärvi Churchyard, Siuruantie. Plaque on natural stone. "In the Dearth Years of 1866-1868, 962 people died in Pudasjärvi, to whose memory this stone is erected. Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread. Matthew 6:11". Broken rye stems motif.

58. Pyhäjärvi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Pyhäjärvi Old Graveyard, Pyhäjärventie 387. The section of the graveyard that was used from 1736-1875 is called "Jumalanpelto" ("God's Field"). Surrounded by a stone wall with famine memorial in the centre.¹¹⁴

59. Rantsila [Siikalatva]

Northern Ostrobothnia

Rantsila Church, Rantsilanraitti 10 (64°30'19.4"N 25°39'15.9"E).¹¹⁵ "1866. 1867. To the Victims of the Hunger Years. Home District [Kotiseutu]". Outstretched hands and Christian cross motif.



Fig. 20: Rantsila, December 2016.

¹¹² Kalliala, 1924.

¹¹³ *Suomen Kuvalehti*, 10 Oct. 1975.

¹¹⁴ See <www.pyhajarvenseurakunta.fi/hautausmaat/hautausmaiden-historia>

¹¹⁵ SM 1996a, 103.

60. Ristiina [Mikkeli]

Southern Savonia

Site of famine-era mass grave.¹¹⁶ Boulder memorial with plaque: "Peace to the living, rest to the dead". Inauguration ceremony (July 1967) included an unveiling by council secretary Jarl Meling and local farmer Aulis Karhinen, a speech by Rev. Kalevi Toiviainen (1929-2015), and a play by local schoolchildren, written by their teacher Katri Pulkkinen ("Nälkävuosina 1867-1868"). Toiviainen's speech described that disease was already present in 1866, but the mortality in Ristiina culminated with 271 deaths in 1868.

61. Sievi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Sievi Graveyard, Haikolantie, 1966 (63°54'31.3"N 24°30'44.7"E). Black stone with inscription, "In Memory of the Victims of the Hunger Years, 1866-1868". Accompanied by a motif of broken rye stem and a quotation from the poem *Saarijärven Paavo* (J.L. Runeberg, 1830) "Vaikka Kokee Eipä Hylkää Herra". ("Although you may be tested, do not abandon the Lord"). The theme embodies important elements (forbearance, sedulity) of the Finnish national autostereotype.

62. Soini

Southern Ostrobothnia

Soini Churchyard, Karstulantie 2, 1966 (62°52'31.3"N 24°12'27.1"E).¹¹⁷ "During the Hunger Years of 1866-68, the people of Soini lost 354 souls. This stone was erected in their memory, V 1966. "Father Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread".

63. Sonkajärvi

Northern Savonia

Sonkajärvi Churchyard, Rutakontie 3, 1989.¹¹⁸ Central position (63°40'14.7"N 27°31'10.0"E). Millstone with accompanying stone plaque, inscribed with: – "In Memory of those who died of hunger during the Years of Dearth 1866-68. Sonkajärvi Parish. Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread". *Approximately 20km west-northwest of Sonkajärvi, at Palomäki, is another memorial to the famine dead.*¹¹⁹



Fig. 21: Soini, July 2016.

116 *Länsi-Savo*, 23 Jul., 25 Jul., 29 Jul. 1968. The later of these articles also has a picture of the memorial, notes that there were "hundreds" in attendance and highlights the role of the Ristiina Society in arranging the memorial.

117 SM 1994c, 128.

118 SM 2000b, 93.

119 This site was mentioned on the Widgren Family's 2009 annual reunion report. I have not yet visited the site personally and cannot confirm at this stage whether it accessible to the general public. See <www.widgren.fi/sukukokoukset/sukukokous-2009-viereman.html>

64. Sotkamo

Kainuu

Sotkamo Parish Graveyard; Rauhantie 11.¹²⁰ One of the earliest memorials in Finland to the 1860s famine years. Inaugurated in August 1938 at an event to commemorate the forgotten dead.¹²¹ Designed by architect Ulla Hjelt (née Lukkari), and constructed by stonemasons Juho Kivioja and Matti Lukkari. The memorial is situated at the eastern side of the Prayer Chapel. Large Christian cross on a square base.¹²² Inscribed on the base



Fig. 22: Sotkamo, February 2017. Image courtesy of Ronan Newby.

is: "In Memory of the Dead of the Great Hunger- and Disease-Years of 1867-68. This memorial erected by Sotkamo Parish, 1938. // To the Memory of all the unknown or forgotten victims buried here. // 'Your cross be the only sign on my journey.' Hymn 49". This was a traditional verse adapted by Elias Lönnrot, and is Verse 49 in the Finnish Lutheran Hymnal (*Virsikirja*).

65. Tohmajärvi

North Karelia

Tohmajärvi Churchyard (Kirkkoniemä), Kirkkotie 590 (62°11'29.3"N 30°23'02.5"E). Inaugurated in 1994 after several years of planning.¹²³ Sculpture by Eero Eronen (see also Kiihtelysvaara), named "Tuhoutuneet tähkät" (Destroyed Ears), depicting the failed rye harvest. Inscription: "Every Third Resident of Tohmajärvi Died of Hunger, 1865-68".



Fig. 23: Tohmajärvi, October 2016.

¹²⁰ *Kainuun Sanomat*, 20 Aug., 28 Aug. 1938. See also *Sotkamo-Lehti*, 1 Dec. 2012, and 20 Aug. 2013 for a photograph of the inauguration ceremony, and accompanying text by Väinö Tervo.

¹²¹ *Kajaani-Lehti*, 23 Aug. 1938. It was noted in a speech at the inauguration that 1,300 out of 6,000 inhabitants in the parish died.

¹²² *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 15 Apr. 1967.

¹²³ *Karjalainen*, 23 Dec. 1991.

66. Toholampi

Central Ostrobothnia

Toholampi Churchyard, Kirkkotie 143 (63°45'48.5"N 24°16'09.1"E). Inaugurated 30 May 1971. Approximately 180 victims were buried in the graveyard. Designed by Voitto Laine, and uses the stone step from Matti Koskela's house.¹²⁴ Text on the stone: "1866-1868. Others have done the hard work and now you have taken up their labour. John 4:38". Arranged by Toholampi Local Society.

67. Ullava [Kokkola]

Central Ostrobothnia

Ullava Old Churchyard, Ullavantie 665 (63°42'27.9"N 23°53'36.9"E).¹²⁵

Some similar elements in form to the memorial in the neighbouring parish of Toholampi. Mortality rates were so sign in the worst years of the 1860s that three mass graves were dug in the Ullava churchyard. The memorial is natural stone with iron text in capital letters: "In Memory of the Dead of The Years of Hunger 1865-1868: My Grace Is Sufficient For You. Cor. 12:9". Below the text is the image of an angel, kneeling and weeping.



Fig. 25: Ullava, July 2016.

68. Vaala

Northern Ostrobothnia

Säräisniemi (Old Graveyard). Two monuments for mass graves. One is for a boat accident in October 1856, the second is to commemorate those who died during a dysentery epidemic while draining the Pelonsuo swamp as relief work in the 1850s and 1860s.¹²⁶

69. Vaasa

Ostrobothnia

Kappelimäki Old Graveyard, Kappelimäentie, Ristinummi (memorial is at the north end of the graveyard 63°05'46.2"N 21°43'57.5"E). Erected by Ostrobothnia Historical Society (*Pohjanmaan Historiallinen Seura*) (proposed in June 2006), in collaboration with Vaasa

¹²⁴ SM 1994c, 137.

¹²⁵ SM 1994c, 141.

¹²⁶ *Suometar*, 11 Aug. 1863, *Länsi-Savo*, 19 Aug. 1885. For an illustration of the drainage channels see *Asuttaja*, 1 Nov. 1918. See also *Turun Sanomat*, 13 Nov. 2000; Nevanlinna, 1907, 98.

and Mustasaari Parish. Inauguration ceremony 18 October 2008.¹²⁷ Wooden cross with two plaques: (i) “Victims of the Hunger Years 1867-1868 – Remembering. Blessing. Honouring”; (ii) “The mass graves of those who had to leave their homes and died from hunger and disease”.



Fig. 27: Vaasa, July 2016.

70. Varkaus Northern Savonia

Könöpelto, signposted (“Hautamuistomerkki”) after Pitkälänniementie 24 (62°18'33.5"N 27°55'49.5"E).¹²⁸

The Varkaus memorial stands in the vicinity of a mass grave for those who perished in the construction of the Taipale Canal. News of construction work spread quickly in 1867, and people streamed in to Varkaus – from nearby parishes but also from Ostrobothnia and Karelia – in the hope of finding employment and food.¹²⁹ Located in a gap in the forest just outside the town, the monument itself is a striking truncated square pyramid, nowadays covered in moss. This is apparently the first example of a famine monument built specifically to reflect upon the suffering of the generations that had gone before. A text recalls 281 nameless victims who were buried in the mass grave from 51 different parishes. As would become common, a New Testament quotation is included, in this case from the book



Fig. 28: Varkaus, October 2016.

¹²⁷ <www.pohjanmaanhistoriallinenseura.com/pohja%20N%E4lk%E4vuosien%20muistomerkki.htm>

¹²⁸ SM 2000b, 108.

¹²⁹ *Tapio*, 16 Nov., 7 Dec. 1867.

of Jeremiah: "You are my refuge in the day of disaster".¹³⁰ The inscription is completed by: "this statue was erected by Varkaus parish in memory of the deceased. 1936". Local newspapers reflected on the historical context in their reports of the inauguration ceremony for the new memorial in September 1936, which was attended by *inter alia*, SDP politician Onni Hiltunen.¹³¹

71. Varpaisjärvi [Lapinlahti]

Northern Savonia

Site between Varpaisjärvi and Kangaslahti, off Road 582 (Rautavaarantie) at the settlement of Korpinen (63°26'03.1"N 27°59'09.8"E). Wooden memorial from 1950s replaced in June 2012 with a stone monument – "Buried here are approximately 60 people, who died during the Great Hunger Years 1867-1868". Accompanied by a Biblical text (Exodus 3:5 – "Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is holy ground").¹³² *Note: Exodus is known in Finnish as the Second Book of Moses.*

72. Vehmersalmi [Kuopio]

Northern Savonia

Horkanlahti Graveyard, Lempelänniementie 286 Vehmersalmi. The majority of the deceased in Horkanlahden Graveyard succumbed to tuberculosis or during the hunger years. There is a memorial to the victims of the hunger years, many of whom lie unmarked.¹³³

73. Veteli

Central Ostrobothnia

Veteli Churchyard, Torpantie 130 (63°28'36.3"N 23°45'35.3"E). Inaugurated in 1954.¹³⁴ Elongated granite gravestone, featuring three stars and three broken stems of rye. Two inscriptions: (i) 1866-1867. Victims of the Hunger Years lie here in Veteli's consecrated earth; (ii) "The hand of God lays heavily over us // Oh lift our harsh load just once! // Heaven, relieve your people's burden!".

74. Viitasaari

Central Finland

Memorial in the vicinity of Viitasaari Church, Kirkkotie (location might be more accurately described as Haapasaarentie, at 63°28'36.3"N 23°45'35.3"E).¹³⁵ The memorial was completed in 1977 by Elis Räsänen, and recalls specifically the construction of a hundred-

¹³⁰ Jeremiah 17:17.

¹³¹ *Länsi-Savo*, 3 Dec. 1935, 17 Sep. 1936; *Nuori Kansa*, 22 Oct. 1936; *Rakennustaito*, 13 May 1938.

¹³² *Matti ja Liisa* -lehden kesäliite 31 May 2012 accessed via <www.varpaisjarvenseurakunta.fi>

¹³³ *Savon Sanomat* Online (published 17 Aug. 2015), features a video tour of the Horkanlahti graveyard. See <www.savonsanomat.fi/kotimaa/Hautausmaa-on-t%C3%A4ynn%C3%A4-harvinaisia-muistomerkkej%C3%A4/537959>

¹³⁴ Veteli's *Kotiseutuyhdistys* noted that 1954 had been a very productive year, including the inauguration the "Famine Years Memorial." *Keskipohtanmaa*, 4 May 1954.

¹³⁵ SM 1998, 92.

metre long stone swing-bridge, as famine relief work.¹³⁶ The memorial's low stone base is supplemented by a relief with illustration of a man with a horse and belongings in the foreground, and silhouette of a line of workers in the background. An inscription reads: "This bridge was built as relief work during the Great Hunger Years of 1867-69".

In addition to the above memorials, the following sites feature plaques or interpretative boards highlighting a historical connection with the 1860s Famine Years. These sites are indicated by green markers on Map 2.

A. Hämeenlinna

Tavastia Proper

Katisten Kartano, Katistentie 91 (60°59'43.5"N 24°29'53.0"E). Having bought the manor house at Katinen in 1856, the businessman J.F. Lönnholtz oversaw a private relief scheme during the Great Hunger Years. In return for constructing a stone fence around the house's grounds, workers were offered a meal. Grateful recipients built a stone mound in the gardens.¹³⁷



Fig. 29: Katisten Kartano, Hämeenlinna, March 2017.

¹³⁶ An interesting analysis of the rates of remuneration on this particular famine worksite can be found at: <<http://blogit.ksml.fi/mehta-pena/sillanrakentajien-palkkaseurantaa/>> (posted 30 Oct. 2014).

¹³⁷ Ivars & Putkonen, 2003, 96-7.

B. Kauhajoki

Southern Ostrobothnia

Kauhajoki Church, Topeeka 9 (62°25'16.9"N 22°10'42.4"E). Plaque on the exterior wall of the main church sacristy ["Give us this day our daily bread. In memory of victims of the 1867-68 hunger years"]. Designed by Arvo Lusa and organised by Kauhajoki Society.¹³⁸



Fig. 30: Kauhajoki Church, March 2017. Image courtesy of Raija Kumpula, Kauhajoki Parish.

C. Puolanka

Kainuu

Puolanka Old Church Graveyard. Kirkkokatu 1. An interpretive board notes that the dead from the Great Hunger Years are buried in this place.¹³⁹

D. Reisjärvi

Northern Ostrobothnia

Reisjärvi Church, Reisjärventie 15. On the wall of the church is a memorial to the Great Hunger years, unveiled in 1972, "which tells not only of the harsh experiences of the people, but also their faith in God".¹⁴⁰

References

Newspapers:

Asuttaja

Etelä-Suomen Sanomat

Förre och Nu

Hufvudstadsbladet

¹³⁸ SM 1994c, 33.

¹³⁹ <www.puolanka.fi/media/matkailu/hautausmaaesite.pdf>

¹⁴⁰ <www.reisjarvenseurakunta.fi/toimitilat>

Hämeläinen
Irish Times
Juna
Kainuun Sanomat
Kajaani-Lehti
Kansan Uutiset
Karjalainen
Keskipohjanmaa
Kiihtelys-Pyhäselkä Lehti
Kuhmolainen
Länsi-Savo
Maaselkä
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus
Matti ja Liisa
Nuori Kansa
Pogostan Sanomat
Puutarha ja Koti
Rakennustaito
Savon Sanomat
Sotkamo-Lehti
Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti
Suomen Kuvalehti
Suometar
Tapio
Turun Sanomat
Uusi Rautatielehti
Uusi Suometar
Vaarojen Sanomat
Vartiaisten Viesti
Viena-Aunus

National Library of Finland, Helsinki

Finlands Stadskalender 1868. Helsinki: Helsingin Yliopisto.

National Board of Antiquities Library, Helsinki:

Suomen Muistomerkit [Finland's Memorials] Series

SM 1994. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 1. Varsinais-Suomi*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.

SM 1994b. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 2. Satakunta*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.

SM 1994c. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 3. Pohjanmaa*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.

- SM 1996a. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 4. Pohjanmaa*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 1996b. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 5. Lappi*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 1996c. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 6. Häme*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 1998. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 7. Keski-Suomi*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 1999a. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 8. Kymi*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 1999b. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 9. Uusimaa*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 2000a. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 10. Pohjois-Karjala*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 2000b. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 11. Vanha Kuopion lääni*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 2000c. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 12. Vanha Mikkelin lääni*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- SM 2002. *Suomen Muistomerkit. Osa 13. Helsinki*. Nousiainen: Värteos Henna.
- Conway, B. 2010. *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Crowley, J. 2012. Sites of Memory. In J. Crowley, W.J. Smyth & M. Murphy (eds.), *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*. Cork: Cork University Press. 614-20.
- Daly, M. 1997. Historians and the Famine: A Beleaguered Species? *Irish Historical Studies* 30. 591–602.
- Elliot, M. 2016. Roy Foster, an Irish Historian in Britain. In S. Pašeta (ed.), *Uncertain Futures: Essays about the Irish Past for Roy Foster*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forsius, A. 1980. *Katovuosi 1867 ja sen seuraukset Lahdenseudulla*. Lahti: Lahden kaupunki.
- Gibson, R. 1996. *Highland Clearances Trail*. 5th Ed. Evanton: Highland Heritage Books.
- Gouriévidis, L. 2010. *The Dynamics of Memory: History, Heritage and the Highland Clearances*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Gray, P. 2004. Memory and the Commemoration of the Great Irish Famine. In P. Gray & K. Oliver (eds.), *The Memory of Catastrophe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 46–64.
- Haines, R.F. 2004. *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine*. Dublin: Four Courts.
- Hietä, P., V. Häikiö, M. Johansson & T. Putus-Hilasvuori. 2012. *Aikalainen. Historia 7*. Helsinki: Sanoma Pro.
- Häkkinen, A. 1991. Kovat ajat ja sosiaaliset suhteet "Pernaan lapuan tie tehtiin jauhonaaloolla nälkävuosina" – Hätäaputyöt: epäonnistuiiko valtiolta? In A. Häkkinen, V. Ikonen, K. Pitkänen & H. Soikkanen (eds.) *Kun halla nälän tuskan toi. Miten suomalaiset kokivat 1860-luvun nälkävuodet*. Porvoo, Helsinki, Juva: WSOY. 129–57.
- Häkkinen, A. 1992. On Attitudes and Living Strategies in the Finnish Countryside in the Years of Famine 1867–1868. In A. Häkkinen (ed.), *Just a Sack of Potatoes? Crisis Experience in European Societies, Past and Present*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 149–66.
- Jukarainen, P. 2002. The boundaries of Finland in transition. *Fennia* 180:1–2. 83-88.
- Jussila, T. 2013. Nälkävirret: 1860-luvun nälkävuosien historiakuva Pietari Päivärinnan, Juho Reijosen ja Teuvo Pakkalan teoksissa. University of Tampere. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Accessible via <<http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:uta-1-23362>>
- Juustila, Y. 1965. *Maaemon Syli: 1860-luvun nälkävuosien nurmekselaisten uhrien muistolle*. Nurmee: Nälkävuosien Muistomerkkitoimikunta.
- Kaakinen, J., J. Kuisma & K. Manninen. 2005. *Suomen Lasten Historia*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Kajander, K. 1903. *Nälkämailta: kuvia ja havaintoja Koillis-Suomesta Nälkävuodelta 1902*. Helsinki: Eero Erkon Kustannus.

- Kalliala, L. 1924. Eräs "Caritas Fraterna" muisto nälkävuosien ajoilta 1868-9. In *Teologisk Tidskrift – Teologinen Aikakauskirja*. 2–3:1924. 60–66.
- Kivimäki, V. 2012. Between Defeat and Victory: Finnish Memory Culture of the Second World War. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 37:4. 482–504.
- Knuuttila S. & L. Koivu. 1975. *Isoon lusikan pitäjä: tarinaa ja totta Kauhajoelta*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kraatari, E. 2016. *Domestic Dexterity and Cultural Policy: The Idea of Cottage Industry and Historical Experience in Finland from the Great Famine to the Reconstruction Period*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Lanin, E.B. [pseud. of Dillon, E.J.] 1892. *Russian Characteristics: reprinted, with revisions, from the "Fortnightly Review"*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Leinonen, M. 2008. Kun kesän leipä oli toisen aitassa. Elämää Kiuruvedellä suurina hallavuosina 1866-1868. University of Joensuu Masters Thesis.
- Mark-FitzGerald, E. 2012. The Irish Famine and Commemorative Culture. In C. Noack, L. Janssen & V. Comerford (eds.) *Holodomor and Gorta Mór: Histories, Memories and Representations of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*. London: Anthem Press. 145–64.
- Mark-FitzGerald, E. 2013. *Commemorating the Irish Famine: Memory and the Monument*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Mark-Fitzgerald, E. 2014. Photography and the Visual Legacy of the Famine. In O. Frawley (ed.) *Memory Ireland. Volume 3: The Famine and the Troubles*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 121–37.
- Meurman, A. 1892. *Hungeråren på 1860-talet*. Helsingfors: Folkupplysnings-sällskapet.
- Nevanlinna, E. *Suomen raha-asiat vuosina 1863-1904*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Newby, A.G. 2014. "Neither do these tenants or their children emigrate": famine and transatlantic emigration from Finland in the nineteenth century. *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents*. 11:3. 383–402.
- Newby, A.G. 2017. Overcoming Amnesia? Memorialising Finland's "Great Hunger Years". In M. Corporaal, E. Mark-FitzGerald & O. Frawley (eds.) *The Great Famine and Its Legacies: Visual and Material Culture*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Newby, A.G. & T. Myllyntaus. 2015. "The Terrible Visitation": Towards an agenda for Comparative Irish-Finnish Famine Studies. In D. Curran, L. Luciuk & A.G. Newby (eds.) *Famines in European Economic History: The Last Great European Famines Reconsidered*. London: Routledge.
- Ní Dhomhnaill, N. 1997. A Ghostly Alhambra. In T. Hayden (ed.), *Irish Hunger: Personal Reflections of the Legacy of the Famine*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press. 68–78.
- Ó Ciosáin, N. 1995. Was there "Silence" about the Famine? *Irish Studies Review* 13. 7–10.
- Ó Ciosáin, N. 2001. Famine Memory and the popular representation of scarcity. In I. McBride (ed.) *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 95–117.
- Ó Gráda, C. 1995. *Ireland: A New Economic History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ó Gráda, C. 2001. After the Famine Fever. *Irish Times*, 19 May 2001.
- Pitkäjärvi, P. 2008. Nälkävuosien 1866-1868 Muistomerkki. *Lawiaa*. Lavia: Lavia-seura ry.
- Putkonen, L. & M. Ivars, 2003. *Kyliä ja Kortteleita: Hämeenlinnan ja Hattulan rakennuskulttuuriselvitys*. [Hämeenlinna]: Hattulan kunta & Hämeenlinnan kaupunki.
- Raivio, P.J. 2000. "This is where they fought." Finnish war landscapes as national heritage. In T.G. Ashplant, G. Dawson & M. Roper (eds.) *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War*. London: Routledge. 145–64.

- Reijonen, J. 1893. Nälkävuonna: Karjalainen Kertomus. *Nuori Suomi* 3:1893. Helsinki: Päivälehti.
- Reunala, A. 1989. The Forest and the Finns. In M. Engman & D. Kirby (eds.) *Finland: People, Nation, State*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Roselius, A. 2014. The War of Liberation, the Civil Guards, and the Veterans' Union: Public Memory in the Interwar Period. In T. Tepora & A. Roselius (eds.) *The Finnish Civil War 1918: History, Memory, Legacy*. Leiden: Brill. 297–330.
- Svedberg, A. [A. S-g], 1871. Hungersnöden i Finland 1867. Tidsbild från våra dagar. In *Förre och Nu* (11:9). 275–8.
- Tuomisto, A. 1990. *Sotiemme muistomerkit*. Helsinki: Suomen matkailuliitto.
- Tuomisto, A. 1998. *Suomalaiset sotamuistomerkit: sotiemme muistomerkit Pähkinäsaaren rauhasta 1323 nykypäivään 1998*. Helsinki: Suomen mies.
- Voutilainen, M. 2016. *Poverty, Inequality and the Finnish 1860s Famine*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Vuorela, T. 1935. Vuosien 1867-68 suurista kato- ja nälkä-ajoista Etelä-Pohjanmaalla. In *Kotiseutu* (II vihko). 67–75.
- Wilson, A. 2015. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. 4th Ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Worthen, H. & S. Muir. 2012. Introduction: Contesting the Silences of History. In S. Muir & H. Worthen (eds.) *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan. 1–30.

Internet Sources [full page references given in the endnotes]

- | | |
|---|--|
| http://blogit.ksml.fi/mehta-pena/ | http://maurikin.blogspot.fi |
| http://erkkieronon.com | www.pohjanmaanhistoriallinenseura.com |
| www.ilomantsi.fi | www.pohjois-savonmuisti.fi |
| https://irishfaminememorials.com | www.puolanka.fi |
| www.jalasjarvenkylat.fi | www.pyhajarvenseurakunta.fi |
| http://karsamaenseurakunta.fi | www.rastipukki.kuvat.fi |
| www.kase.fi/~eharju | www.reisjarvenseurakunta.fi |
| www.keuruunmuseum.fi | www.savonsanomat.fi |
| www.kiihtelysvaara-seura.fi | www.tampere.fi |
| www.kirjastovirma.fi | www.varpaisjarvenseurakunta.fi |
| www.kuolismaankettuset.fi | www.vartiaiset.fi |
| www.kuopionseurakunnat.fi | www.voittoviinanen.com |
| www.lapinlahti.fi | www.widgren.fi |
| www.lieksapielisjarviseura.fi | |