

REGENERATING THE NATION - THE IDEOLOGY OF GYMNASTICS AND HYGIENE IN IVAR WILSKMAN'S THOUGHT c. 1870-1920

This article explores the ideology of gymnastics in Finland from the 1870s to 1920s as found in the writings of Ivar Wilschman (1854-1932), the leader of the Finnish gymnastics and sports movement. His ideas are studied from the standpoint of adolescence, i.e. why and how Wilschman wanted the youth of Finland to be rationally controlled and schooled into decent citizenship by gymnastics and hygiene? The primary method of study is that of intellectual history.

Wilschman became a teacher and propagandist of gymnastics in the pessimistic atmosphere of the fin-de-siècle, the age when the discourse of degeneration had become compelling. He found it handy in describing and explaining the physical and cultural decline of mainly urban lower classes and decadent élite. As a public moralist he depicted dystopic visions of 'madness' and 'death' of the Finnish nation to the reading public in order to make them realize how vital physical exercise was for bodily and mental health.

Wilschman localized the source of physical degeneration e.g. in respiratory organs ('rottening' lungs) and circulation ('fatty' heart). Its concomitant, 'moral' degeneration seemed to threaten contemporary high society way of life. It was caused by too much knowledge, reading and mental work in general and by all sorts of 'bad' habits, such as drinking, smoking, masturbation, pub-going, free-love and socialist agitation. Nervous breakdown ('neurasthenia') of the whole nation loomed large. Wilschman's fears appeared to materialize in the Finnish Civil War of 1918. In consequence, his ideology of gymnastics was militarized by ideas of discipline. The concepts of fitness ("kunto") and of ability to defend ("puolustuskuntoisuus") became nearly synonymous in Wilschman's thought.

Wilschman's panacea against degeneration was gymnastics. In the 1910s, when it appeared that gymnastics was losing ground to athleticism and professionalism, he introduced regular bodily and

mental hygiene and toyed with 'racial hygiene'. However, what Wilskman always stressed was that gymnastics and other physical exercises, such as wood-chopping, should 'develop' the upper body, especially the area of chest. Body- and character building should begin at school by gymnastics, play and games, and proceed in more serious and demanding gymnastic exercises. Winter sports, shooting and swimming only complemented. A modern Finnish male should approach the ideal form of the classic Hellene, not look and think like a Roman gladiator.

Wilskman's ideology of gymnastics was conservative and nationalist. Gymnastics should cement social harmony and bring hostile social classes together to form a coherent and powerful 'nation' in times of encroaching Russian imperialism. What remains remarkable in Finnish gymnastics movement led by Wilskman is that 'the duty of developing one's body and will' was the well-received message by over 300 gymnastics societies and their appr. 13.000 members (1907) in such a sparsely populated country as Finland was at the time.

Antti O. Arponen

THE HPL - THE FIRST CLUB TO SPECIALIZE IN FINNISH BASEBALL

The Helsingin Pallonlyöjät (HPL) was the first (Finnish) baseball club in Finland and the first Finnish baseball champion in 1922. Out of the six first baseball championships it won five.

HPL was in many ways progressive and unbiassed club. It was the first baseball club to introduce uniform playing-suits for its players, and it took the initiative to organize a national union for baseball players. Besides, it arranged the first boys' club for youngsters.

The (Finnish) baseball is a Finnish invention and the national game of Finland, but since the 1920s there were attempts to introduce the game also to neighbouring countries. HPL made the first playing trip abroad, to Estonia in 1930.

Historic was also the first international baseball match Finland versus Estonia in Tallin in 1932. Finland won by 14 to 3, and it was the HPL that played as the Finnish team.

All ended in due time. Except for a couple of years, the HPL was among the four best clubs in Finland in the years 1922–1942, but in 1948 the club got relegated from the championship league and gradually slid lower and lower to end up in dissolution in the 1960s.

Tuomas Hoppu

IFK, PALLOSEURA AND PYRINTÖ - THE PIONEERS OF BANDY IN TAMPERE

Bandy came Finland at the end of the 19th century. The new game was first played in Viipuri and Helsinki, a few years later also in Turku, Vaasa and Oulu. In Tampere the pupils of two secondary schools played the first matches in March, 1909. In school games there were 7 players in each team, but when clubs started to play bandy in 1911, they had 11 players on the rink.

The club of the Swedish schoolboys, IFK, started bandy in 1911, but it was not successful and quitted already after one season. Before 1915 no other matches except school matches were played. That year a combined team played one match, but it was not before 1917 when a more serious attempt was made. A new club, Palloseura, was founded, but again only one match was played.

In 1918 Pyrintö finally decided to form a bandy squad, but they had to wait one more year as the Civil War broke out. The year 1918 cost the life of three bandyplayers and also caused heavy financial damages to Pyrintö, but despite this the club came back next year. The winter 1919 was the most active bandy year so far. For the first time a team from Tampere took part in the Finnish championship competition. The two following winters did not see as many matches as in 1919 and that is why a new club for bandy and soccer, Tampereen Palloilijat, was established in July 1921.

Most bandyplayers in Tampere were students or pupils of secondary schools. In IFK's squad all the players came from the Swedish secondary school, whereas Palloseura and in the beginning

also Pyrintö mostly recruited their players from the Finnish secondary school. In the combined team of 1915 and during the last years of Pyrintö, the nationalities were mixed. Those players who came outside of Tampere, mostly from Helsinki and Viipuri, did not find nationality as important as local players did.

Though the quality of clubs was never very high, there were some quite good players in Tampere, too. However, most of them developed their skills outside of the town, usually in Helsinki. Some of them played for KIF or PUS, but the most notable ones were those three who broke the long domination of Sudet in 1921. These three players of HJK became the champions of Finland that year.

Juha Pohjonen

THE KING OF THE GAMES ON ICE IN JOENSUU

Game called bandy has a long and very traditional history. Firstly, man had to be able to skate. There are some written evidence, that the very first skaters were in Netherlands. That was sometimes in the 17th century.

Then one must have sticks and rules. And Englishmen had these. During the 19th century the British played hockey on ground, but in the Lake District in Northwestern part of the island hockeyplayers made an innovation. They started to play hockey on ice, and they used a ball and curved sticks called "bandy". A new game was born.

Bandy was an upper class game and soon it was widely played all over Europe. In the 1890s it was known in St. Petersburg and also in Viipuri. At the beginning of the 20th century this new game was known also in Helsinki, then in other major towns at the coast and few years later in some inland towns.

The home of North Carelian bandy is in the city of Sortavala in the so called "Border Carelia". There was an educational high school, established in 1880, and sports played a notable part in school's educational programs.

Still, it was as late as in 1930, when first bandy teams were established. The reason was simple. The Carelian branch of the Finnish Football Association, under which also bandy was played, was grounded at that time. Afterwards development was fast.

First teams of Joensuu played at the local level, but in 1940s and 1950s Joensuu was one of the leading bandy towns in Finland. The best year was 1954: JMP (Joensuu Stick Boys) lost the Finnish championship only by one point margin. That was close that.

The downhill was fast. More violent and hasty ice-hockey became increasingly popular, and bandy lost its supporters and players. The last serious attempt to regain old status was in 1970, but it failed, and since then ice has been free for those hockeyplayers.

Heikki Klemola

UPS AND DOWNS: THE ARRIVAL OF CYCLING IN FINLAND

It was in the year of 1869 that bicycles appeared in traffic in Finland. It has not so far been ascertained, who was the first cyclist in the country. In 1882 the first specialised cycling club (Helsingfors Velocipedistklubb or Helsingin Polkupyöräklubi) informally started its activities. In those times cycling-races had been held in other countries, and Finland followed the lead in 1884 as in October cyclists raced on a track of less than 500 metres in Kaivopuisto, Helsinki.

A period of development had begun which witnessed both race-cycling and cycling excursions plus everyday cycling. During the 1890s the 'velocipedi' (bicycle) became enormously popular especially among the higher ranks of society. There were so many bicycles in the capital that they had to be registered under law. Common excursions abounded. Once there was a cycling carnival which brought all the Helsinki to the streets as it run from the centre to Alppila where there was also an appropriate shelter for the bikes and a 'guardian' who kept watch over the bikes while their owners amused themselves at a restaurant.

Thus, towards the turn of the century cycling had gained a rather remarkable status as a means of exercise and travel. Clubs were being established, a private velodrome was built at the Helsinki Zoo and a national union was founded in 1898. The prospects for cycling appeared good. However, a long period of slack set in soon. In spite of the fact that a few Finnish cyclist had reached the international

level, race-cycling started to wither. It was found that the cause of the slump was that the union had initially had a too far-reaching programme. It was not able to carry simultaneously through both race-cycling and demanding travel- and excursion programmes besides a policy of general development.

The slack of interest showed itself in Suomen Urheilulehti, too. Early issues of this sports periodical had featured articles on cycling quite often, but since 1901 it contained complaints about how cycling had gone out of mode and attention had shifted towards motoring. The ordinary people, however, rode the bicycle as their vehicle more often at the beginning of this century. The decrease in the prices of bicycles was the main cause of this trend.

The motorization of the traffic, train included, tended to reduce the status of cycling both by posing new problems in road cycling and in the arrangement of traffic and by gradually affecting the hobbies of the citizens by new "mystical forces".

Race-cycling was invigorated since the 1920s and especially the cycling of the 'people' has increased during the last twenty years.

Erkki J. Hämäläinen

A CLUB OF "WINTER-SWIMMERS" BREAKING ICE AND MYTHS - THE EARLY DAYS OF SWIMMING IN WINTER IN HELINKI

Even in the Roman baths, the toughening and calming effects of cold baths were known. In Southern and Central Europe, balneotherapy is still a commonly approved method of treatment. In Finland and in the other Nordic countries, however, it is less common; indeed, it is thought of as a kind of nature cure. The same is true of the so-called Kuhne therapy (cold hip baths, which were adopted in Finland at the beginning of this century).

On the other hand, it is an old custom in Finland to make a hole in the ice and jump in for a swim after the sauna – or to roll in the snow. There are seventeenth century pictures of this. Some winter swimmers still go swimming before or after the sauna. Others consider that a proper winter swimmer never visits the sauna just before or after swimming but goes straight into the cold water or into

a hole in the ice from a dressing room with ordinary room temperature or perhaps with a slightly lower temperature, about 15°C, and afterwards straight back to the dressing room. This is because the change between the hot sauna and the cold water is considered too abrupt and hence too much of a strain on heart and blood pressure. Besides, winter swimming is more effective without the sauna. Some people, however, defend the sauna as a place for meeting people.

Even the Vikings seem to have practised winter bathing and swimming; Olaus Magnus mentions a man called Sigvard who did. In Denmark, the first people to practise this winter sport were called Vikings. They used seaside resorts which were open all the year round. This started at least as early as in 1887.

In 1939, Svend Lund-Andersen interviewed 170 Danes, 116 men and 54 women, who had practised winter swimming. He found that they had usually recovered easily from various illnesses (nervous and rheumatic troubles, pain, circulatory disorders, insomnia, asthma, stress, colds in the head), become more resistant to cold and improved their general physical condition. However, this study suffered from a lack of medical expertise. Still, the positive effects could not quite be denied. In Sweden, winter swimmers' associations were not founded merely for the medical effects, as in Denmark; there were more athletic associations as well. Amongst these we find the so-called "Isbitarna", founded in Gothenburg in 1933. These associations arranged winter swimming exhibitions with diving, swimming under the ice from one hole to another and competitions. In addition to sports and entertainment, they taught important things like artificial respiration or saving someone from the ice and made winter swimming generally known.

In Finland, the first public winter swimming exhibitions were held as early as in 1916, in Helsinki, Lahti, Tampere and Turku. A performance was given by the American-Finnish swimmer Hubert Finley-Nenonen. This performance was different from those given later in Sweden, since Finley-Nenonen performed sensational acrobatic feats like swimming fourteen metres under the ice from one hole to another. The public was delighted, but Finley-Nenonen does not seem to have made winter swimming more popular in Finland; indeed, this sport was considered insane and dangerous to one's health. In October 1916, Finley-Nenonen failed in an attempt to swim

down the Vantaanjoki falls. The first winter swimmers' association in Finland ("*Talviuimarien kerho*") was founded in 1924 at the Ursin shore in Helsinki. It was founded by Emil Järvo (1877–1968), foreman of a printing plant, wrestling champion in 1903 and winner of the Finnish Hercules diploma in 1904. In 1924, he experienced a crisis. He lost his job because of a misunderstanding and became an insomniac. In order to improve his nerves and his sleep, he continued, with five friends, to practise swimming till very late in the autumn, and even in winter. It was such a mild winter that the sea did not freeze till mid-March – and even after that, they made a hole in the ice and so were able to experience the "sting" of winter swimming, a kind of euphoria which is the swimmer's greatest pleasure. Although he had recovered from his insomnia, Järvo continued to practise swimming.

Having made the surprising discovery that the sea did not freeze, the swimmers decided to go bathing together off the Ursin shore at the beginning of Advent. It was on this occasion that they founded their club (on 29 November 1924).

Things were rather uncomfortable at the beginning, since there were no heated cabins. Only in 1931 did they get a stove; the members paid for the firewood. Before the Second World War, there were never more than twenty members and they were all men. In spite of the information provided, few people dared become members and enter the icy water, although many came to watch. Since there were so few members, there were no permanent and official activities. No records were kept, not even when the club was founded. Hence our main sources are personal memories. The rules were never officially approved and the only election was that of the chairman. Järvo remained chairman for over forty years, till shortly before his death.

The swimming hole was kept open and other necessary jobs were done by voluntary workers. Thus hardly any funds were needed and there was no membership fee except that the members paid for the heating. In 1935, however, there was a great improvement in the financial situation of the club, since they received a fee of 1000 marks for a film in which one member, the former circus performer Pekka Halonen, ate an ice cream in their swimming hole.

Enok Rytönen, a bookseller in Hämeenlinna, also practised this cold sport. He started at about the same time as Järvo and his friends, in 1925. But it was a long time before he could get anyone to go swimming with him. Just before the war, Rytönen founded a winter swimmers' association in his former home town Viipuri as well, but very few people there acquired a taste for this form of physical exercise. Before the Second World War, there were very few winter swimmers in Finland; one or two could be found in Oulu as well.

Hannu Ikonen

"FACING THE DIRE STRAITS" - THE SKIING COMPETITIONS AT A. AHLSTRÖM'S FACTORY IN VARKAUS

Some private enterprises and government offices organized skiing competitions for their workers and civil servants already in the nineteenth century in Finland. The great coming of the so called 'company's skiing competitions' (*puulaakiihdot* in Finnish) dates back to the 1920s, though. The greatest part of this communal form of sports was born in the areas where wood processing industry had settled. The primus motor of the *puulaakiihdot* was Lauri Tahko Pihkala who worked for the employer's union in the 1920s.

In Varkaus industrial community the *puulaakiihdot* were started in 1934. They were organized in 1934-39, 1941, 1945 and in 1947. The factory skiing competition comprised both several singles races and the so called 'percentage-race' between the different departments of the factory. The best skiers did not receive only trophies but also the title of the King and Queen of Varkaus skiing. Since the skiing was organized in departments, participation was almost obligatory, although the voluntary nature of the skiing was emphasized by the organizers.

Because Varkaus had only one main factory, the *puulaakiihdot* was organized primarily by it, namely A. Ahlström Co. and the newspaper owned by it, the *Warkauden lehti*. These skiing competitions became a big event of sports and physical exercise for the people. The climax was reached in 1935, when as many as 2317

skiers took part – their number was 20.57% of the entire population of the community.

The significance of the skiing competitions was manifold. For the company they formed a part of wider social control. The skiing also cemented the bourgeois form of organization. It served also the militarily defensive goals of the civil guards (*Suojeluskunnat*). For the skiing clubs and their members it created an important arena. Skilful skiers could find a job since the factory departments were searching for future champions.

The activity aroused by the *puulaakihiidot* led the local skiers to success. Decades afterwards the skiing achievements were counted as factory's credit. The competitions were also utilized in building local identity.

After the War years the company did not take part in the organization of the competitions any longer. The responsibility was now with workers' union, commune and the sport clubs. This trend also led to a reduction in participation so that the top years could no longer be reached. The competition was held for the last time in 1947.

Kalevi Römpöti

MILITARY SPORTS AS A FORERUNNER

Y.M. Sprengtporten, the father of physical education

The roots of systematized sports in Finland lead us back to the cadet-school, founded by Colonel Yrjö Maunu Sprengtporten in 1779. Its programme of physical education was already remarkably extensive consisting of orderly physical exercises during both service and free time. The variety of sports, including some fifteen winter and summer sports was, when compared even internationally, considerably ahead of its times. It was as late as in 1843 that gymnastics, and gymnastics only, was decreed to become a subject of study in Finnish schools.

According to the regulations laid out by Sprengtporten, those cadets who were exceptionally skilful in physical exercises, should be given an opportunity for them. It appears that Sprengtporten represented quite modern thinking in this respect. The harbinger of

the idea of Finnish independence, later General and Count Sprengtporten may thus be justifiably nominated as the father of Finnish physical education.

The first sports clubs in Finland, founded in the circumstances of war in the 1850s, were led by officers and formed the 'coast guard' of the country. The ten military units which had been established in the early years of the 1880s and spread throughout the country decisively influenced the birth and growth of physical exercise in Finland during the 1880-90s.

Civil guards as bulwarks of physical culture

The organization of civil guards (*Suojeluskuntajärjestö*) founded in 1918 was the first institution in Finland to be lawfully responsible also for the physical training of the citizens. It developed into being the first organization for keep-fit exercise which recruited a vast body of sports enthusiasts. It also established the status of cross-country skiing, biathlon and Nordic Combined, ski jumping and Finnish baseball within physical education in Finland. Orienteering and shooting as sports also developed under its wing.

The meaning of sports activities of the civil guards was revealed in the Winter War; the over 100.000 men fighting for successful defence had gained their physical fitness and skills mostly by taking part in them.

Defensive forces carry on with the development

The military defensive forces of Finland became the second national organization which was, according to the law, made responsible for taking care of the physical capacity of the citizens. Also a part of working-time of the personnel was provided for maintaining their fitness.

The defensive forces also created the basis for sports schools system in Finland by founding units of military sports in 1964. In the 1960s they also launched extensive fitness-tests among the conscripts. In 1964 the Finnish army became the first army in Europe to introduce running-tests.

The sporting activities of the Finnish army have indirectly influenced e.g. on the Swedish army which established its own units of military sports in 1967 according to the Finnish model. Based on Finnish initiative, the CISM included into its programme a scheme for development aid in sports, which idea was passed on also to the Olympic Committee in 1969.

Arto Tiihonen

HOW STUDENTS WERE MADE TO MOVE? FOUR STORIES OF STUDENT PHYSICAL EXERCISE

This article answers the question "How students were made to move?" with four analytical case studies; (1) the political grammar of the *Opiskelijoiden Liikuntaliitto* (OLL) (2) the status of marginal groups as promoters of change in the union, (3) the identity of the union, and (4) the change in the forms of students' physical exercise and sports. The time-span covers the last twenty-five years.

The change in students' physical culture has not been merely lip-service, since the sports and forms of physical exercise have varied during the period under scrutiny. At the beginning of the 1970s keep-fit exercises were emphasized – it was exercise for the best of society. The end of the decade witnessed the rise of athletics – it was sports for the élite. At the beginning of the 1980s floorball gained ground and the emphasis shifted to searching for personal experiences from the exercise. During the ongoing decade the exercise-political programme of the OLL is becoming more extensive; it is changing from a three-dimensional keep-fit, competitive and experience-based exercise pattern towards possibly offering exercise and sports "just for you", for all possible groups, sports and individuals.

Although it so seems in retrospect, the change in physical exercise and sports has not been straightforward and predictable. The history of the political grammar of the OLL deconstructs official programmes for activities and their conceptions about the subject and object of the students' physical exercise. It shows that student generations with varying life-spans have defined the apparent similarity of the physical exercise in radically differing ways. There have occurred great changes in the environment, too, which have

affected the self-understanding and in that way the content and forms of the activities. Without, however, the contribution and rise of the marginalized groups to the centre of action, the current forms of students' physical exercise and the notions about it would not exist.

Maybe the students would not have become the group that takes most physical exercise in Finland had not their union been able to change its direction and conceptions so fast and to assume openness in its relations with marginalized groups and other forms of physical exercise?

Jouni Koskela

RUNNING THROUGH AMERICA IN 1928 AND 1929: ATHLETICISM, FINNISHNESS AND PUBLICITY

This article testifies to what it is to seek fame and money in the van of hope, pain, happiness and lies.

The American sports manager Charles C. Pyle organized pan-American races in 1928 and 1929. They were meant for professionals and were about 5600 and 5800 kilometres long. Races as long as these were generally held to be impossible as far as organization of the race and the physical condition of the contestants was concerned.

Pyle tried, but without success, to invite great champions such as Paavo Nurmi and Ville Ritola to take part in the races. In the race of 1928 from Los Angeles to New York there were 199 runners. Fifty-five of them reached the finish. In the race of 1929 from New York to Los Angeles eighty-nine runners participated. Nineteen of them made it. Both of the races featured several American-Finnish runners. The best and the only one to reach the finishing-line of them was John Salo. Salo won the latter race and became second in the former.

Publicity treated the races according to the success of Pyle and the runners. Pyle was heavily criticised, since he ran into great economic difficulties during the races. The race earned the nickname 'wart-race', but the contestants gained appreciation as sportsmen after initial denigration. In Finland, where amateur sports was highly valued, the pan-American races and the success of John Salo gained low esteem. Because of this, Salo's achievements have almost completely been forgotten.

Niels Kayser Nielsen

SPORTS, EXERCISE, TIME AND SPACE c. 1900 - JOHNS. V. JENSEN AND POSSIBILITY FOR A "NEW CLASSLESS SOCIETY"

The ideological context of sports undergoes changes several times during the 19th century. In the first decade the moral and philosophical heritage from the previous century is still prevailing. Virtue and reason are the most important conceptualizations when explaining why it is necessary to practise sports. But as a result of the new nationalistic turn during and after the Napoleon wars the military legitimization gains footing. Sports are not any more primarily a question of rationalism and pedagogy, but rather a question of discipline and patriotism. However, after 1850 a new change is noticed, not least due to the idea of degeneration which emerges in France, especially after the war with Bismarck's Germany. Sports now become a subject promoted by doctors instead of preasts and military people, while at the same time turned into a question of health and bodily competence.

From here there is but a little step further to the stage where sports are recognized as an aim in itself instead of simply being a means, e.g. for health. Sports are equivalent to health, as can be seen in several Western European countries around the turn of the century in 1900. These four stages do, however, overlap, so that you still find reminiscences of virtue, military nationalism and health promotion during the first decades of the 20th century.

This differentiation of sports as a purely bodily matter can also be noticed in the area of sexuality, where the spreading of contraceptives since the 1880s contributes to the emerge of sexuality as something different from procreation.

When moving to a third topic of body history: food and the field of nutrition, a further trait is evident. It is a characteristic feature of the health debate around 1900 that food must be easily digestible in order that no constipation occurs. Peristaltic must be active and without any breaks; i.e. in perpetual movement. These new ideas of the body partly concern the beauty of the body and its powers in

itself, partly a fascination of movement, change and speed, while stagnation and lull are condemned as societal evils.

But it is also a characteristic feature of this epoch that the criticism of sports as mere luxury turns up around 1900. It is now claimed that sportsmen and women cannot do anything else, and that sports has turned into tricks and feats, so that being inactive was a symptom of *noblesse* and spiritual education. On the other hand the defenders of the new moveability attack the sickness of the degenerate aristocracy and make propaganda for the new vitalism and bluffness. This occurs not least in the Nordic countries, and the Danish author Johannes V. Jensen is one of the most typical representatives of the new jauntness.

The first part of his works, written in the 1890s, is still haunted with the notion of decay and degeneration, but after the turn of the century he becomes a tough spokesman for a new sportive mankind. In a book on Kipling from 1912, he writes that the movable and remote tempt him more than introvert and brewing. His heroes are those men and women who confirm themselves "in their birth rights to the realm of the brave".

Jensen is part of the new democratic society, build on bodies and movement instead of rank, money and socio-political power. He never took interest in party politics, just as he later in the century as a fanatic Anglophile was full of contempt for Nazis and Fascists. Jensen wanted to create a new classless society, but also a society dominated by personal differences among its citizens. This should be obtained by means of bodily criteria, so that personal and individual biological powers were separating factors. Genetical heredity should be discerned as more important than social heredity and environment. Bodily, not social stratification was his intent. As such he is part of the movement of a new civil body-democracy, more interested in the possibilities of democracy than its actual accomplishment. This last point makes him more than a simple Rupert Brooke-figure. For him time and space are first and foremost a place of movement and possibilities.

STUDYING SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF ATHLETIC CLUBS

Finnish athletic clubs have been studied from the point of view of administration, organization and results. Following the lead of social scientists of sport, historians of sports and athletic clubs could reform sports history by studying social structures of athletic clubs.

In studying the social structures, following issues concerning members would be in key position: 1) age, sex and family relations, 2) social status, 3) education, 4) position in a club, 5) duration of membership, 6) reasons for joining a club and withdrawing from it. It is not possible to answer these questions without systematically rewriting the lists of members. This information can be used in future historical research.

Basic research into past few decades could be done while writing histories of athletic clubs. Sufficient amount of basic research into the social structures of athletic clubs from the turn of the twentieth century till today would enable the historians generalize and analyse nation-wide. Thus also in sports history modern study of organizations would become feasible. The main issues are not only the organization, economy, function and results of a club, but first of all the participants, in other words the club as a social community.

NOT ONLY STATISTICS AND RESULTS

This article describes the versatility and thematical richness of the archive materials of sports clubs and private persons deposited in the Archive of Sports in Finland (Suomen Urheiluarkisto).

Records, annual reports, correspondence, minutes concerning celebrations and other happenings, printed material, club papers, calendars, yearbooks, posters, photos, maps and drawings, studies, competition programmes and results, are all duly collected. Private archives consist of correspondence, diaries and notebooks, records concerning the appropriate person's various activities, photos, clippings and other biographical materials.

The normal visitor in the archives is a student writing a dissertation, or an historian working on organizational or specific sports oriented study, or an official of a sports organization. Besides some sportsmen interested in their own career and achievements, coaches, journalists, various kinds of sports researchers, statisticians, betters, sports managers, architects, boat- and canoe-builders, genealogists and even persons conducting research on geography or music enlist as visitors.

Sports leaders have been busy in many areas of life. The archives contain materials concerning critical times of our history and sports politics with its small-scale historical biographies. The archives of the *Suomen Valtakunnallinen Urheiluliitto* (SVUL) contain records under the title "Correspondence concerning the clubs and persons which were expelled from the union because of their partaking in the rebellion with some information concerning those sportsmen who fought in the Civil War", some correspondence from the times of Winter War and some information on those who lost their lives in the war. The archives of *Työväen Urheiluliitto* (TUL), of its branches and clubs contain information on those working men's sports clubs which were expelled or closed in the 1930s. Information on sporting and managing careers of the late presidents Kekkonen and Svinhufvud can also be found there.

The materials concerning the sports of the Civil Guards (*Suomen Suojeluskuntajärjestö*) such as records, results and records of construction from the years of 1920-39 as well as information on some of its clubs which took part in the world championships of shooting in 1937 are deposited in the archives, too. The private archives of Anni Collan, the late Councillor of education, contain a lot of records of scouts' movement.

The Archive of Sports has received a number of donations. They include the papers of *Suomen Naisten Liikuntakasvatusliitto*, of its Swedish-speaking sister organization, of TUL and of some other organizations founded at the turn of the century as well as private papers of the most influential chairmen of the *Naisten Liikuntakasvatusliitto*. The picture of women's sports history in Finland is complemented by the papers of the first women's sports club and by the private papers of some sportswomen.

Numerous records of sports clubs and unprinted small-scale club histories provide useful source material for local historians who study such areas as construction of stadiums, grounds, tracks, kiosks, bingo-halls and restaurants. The progress of the building of the Helsinki Olympic Stadium can be recalled in the extensive archives of the Stadion-foundation. Other thematics include the sports life in Russian Carelia, sports art, folklore and the materials of some keep-fit organizations.

The Archive of Sports keeps a yearly list of all its archives. There are listed the names of the organizations or private persons, and the list mentions the date and the amount of the materials. This list can be obtained from the following address: Suomen Urheiluarkisto, Olympiastadion, SF-00250 Helsinki, Finland, tel. (90) 407 011, fax (90) 409 232.

Esa Sironen

"THE WOODPECKER GAME"

The article describes an eccentric tradition of darts ("the woodpecker game") practised in the deep country in Finland. This variation of darts, as a game demanding accuracy, has been ingeniously complemented by a test of endurance. During the trial heats the competitors empty out a bottle of popular Finnish strong wine made of the berries of the mountain ash.

During the years, the strict, quantitative configuration of the darts, the counting of the final points, has acquired an odd, vague but important supplement of ritual and style which within the tradition is called "prank" – the amusing of the audience during the very act of throwing the dart. On this qualitative dimension of the game, the performances are evaluated, as well, even to the point of certain "records".

Out of these elements there has grown a version of a game which, in an easy and proportional way, combines all the four components of the play, specified by Roger Caillois in his classical *"Les Jeux et les Hommes"*, 1958: *alea* (chance), *agon* (contest), *mimicry* ("prank") and *ilinx* (vertigo). Do we have, here, the mythical "king of the sports", so long sought in vain in the athletics?

On a deeper level, however, this game is not sports, in the proper meaning, but something else. It is easy to find some archaic, even totemistic (the mountain ash) features in it. On the other hand, there is a lot of "grotesque realism" and "deep ambivalence" (Mikhail Bakhtin), typical for carnevalistic folksy feasts in general.

Even in the heart of the traditional feast and modern sports, it is concluded, there is lurking the same act of destruction of time – in its profane, linear form as a working time but also as the present spare time. One can recognize here the age-old rite of death and resurrection. Goooo...ol! The church is guarding these rites in its own way, but also the medieval "*sociétés joyeuses*", "*fool-societies*", or, as we would say nowadays – the sports clubs – have done their best.