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1 Multispecies mobilities and human belief in progress

Introduction

In the beginning of August 1862, when an exceptionally rainy and cold Finnish summer was gradually turning towards autumn, 55 cows and bulls, almost as many sheep as well a number of pigs, chicken, geese and even peacocks disembarked in Helsinki after a sea voyage on board the British steamer *The Albion*. They had been acquired in Scotland at the Finnish Senate's expense and selected and escorted by two men: Henry Gibson, himself a native Scotsman and one of the first state agronomists in Finland, and R. M. Fieandt, the head of a new agricultural school situated in Central Finland. The arrival proved to be a special event attracting curious spectators in the capital city of the Grand Duchy of Finland and, via printed media, the news of the event circulated elsewhere in the country.¹ The farm animals were soon to continue their journey from the coastal city to inland areas and after having become accustomed to the Finnish climate, soil and feed, they were to establish themselves in agricultural schools and manors where it was envisioned that they would predominantly help to establish cross-breed offspring. As native farm animals were considered to be of little value in terms of productivity, the newcomers, such as Ayrshire bovines and Oxford Down sheep, were hailed as harbingers of progress.

Progress was a highly ambiguous but very influential concept, which consolidated the belief in human ability and right to overcome nature. It connected human wellbeing to material prosperity and to the expectation of continuous growth.² In this anthropocentric mindset, nonhuman animals fulfilled the role of serving humans on their destined path towards a supposedly wealthier future. Farm animals as producers of raw material for various industries, not least for the food sector, held a most important but subordinated place in this system. This

1 Anon., "Veckan," *Helsingfors Tidningar*, August 4, 1862, 1; Anon., "Parempaa karja-lajia," *Tapio*, August 9, 1862, 1; Anon., "Kotomaalta," *Sanomia Turusta*, August 8, 1862, 1.

2 Jeremy L. Caradonna, *Sustainability. A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 55–57; Taina Syrjämaa, *Edistyksen luvattu maailma. Edistysusko maailmannäyttelyissä 1851–1915* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007).

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is an unfortunate legacy of the nineteenth century, which brought about factory farming in the twentieth century and that still underpins the current global crisis.

The human attempt to mould nonhuman animals has age-old roots, but more systematic breeding started in the late eighteenth century and became established during the nineteenth century. This process influenced practically all domesticated animal species. In their study on the millennial history of cattle, Feliuss et al. highlight the crucial importance of modern breeding by stating that the last 250 years have been “the most dynamic period in the evolution of cattle.”³ In her study on the mobility of livestock breeds in the British empire, Rebecca Woods has emphasised the centrality of breeding in modern animal husbandry. She has pointed out how, “the process of commodification [. . .] begins with reproductive control: the tactics of selection employed by breeders in the nineteenth century were undertaken, always, with the whims of the market in mind.”⁴ Animals’ bodies and characteristics were systematically modified to better serve human purposes and to increase human wealth, thus enabling the gradual intensification of animal exploitation in the modernising and industrialising world.

The nineteenth century witnessed a boom in the transnational mobility of both humans and animals, and an intensification of ever denser and wider networks.⁵ Due to new technologies, it became profitable to transport animals in growing numbers over long distances, even across oceans. Whilst countless farmed animals were transported to be slaughtered upon arrival, a more limited number of animals that were intended for breeding were expected to establish themselves in the new environment.⁶ The motley group of animal individuals landing on board *The Albion* in Helsinki, formed part of a huge contemporary phenomenon that reshaped animal breeds and animal geographies.

Breeding and the translocation of farm animals were not only human cultural practices, but also complex multispecies interactions and entanglements. Oxley Heaney et al. have recently demanded that more attention be paid to “otherthanhuman-animal immigrants,” who are “able to fulfill human needs or become an unwitting transgressor of social and political desires, fears and conflicts.”⁷ Indeed, it is very

3 Marleen Feliuss, Marie-Louise Beerling, David S. Buchanan, Bert Theunissen, Peter A. Koolmees and Johannes A. Lenstra, “On the History of Cattle Genetic Resources,” *Diversity* 6 (2014): 737, accessed June 17, 2022, doi:10.3390/d6040705.

4 Rebecca J. H. Woods, *The Herds Shot Round the World. Native Breeds and the British Empire, 1800–1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 14.

5 Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 712–724.

6 Woods, *The Herds*.

7 Sarah Oxley Heaney, Kristine Hill, Michelle Szydlowski, Jes Hooper and Thomas Aiello, “Members only? A Posthuman View of Otherthanhuman-Animal Immigrants across Human-Defined

well known in agricultural history that some breeds became extremely popular and influential internationally. This obviously required transnational animal mobility. Yet, these “otherthanhuman immigrants” have mostly remained outside research foci. This chapter explores them in the Finnish context. It examines why, how and with what kind of consequences breeding animals were translocated.

The chapter shows how a small number of animal individuals and their mobility were at the very centre of the process of modernisation of animal husbandry and consequently of the entirety of Finnish society from the early 1860s. The process was temporarily halted during the severe years of famine in the late 1860s, but gained strength and witnessed the breakthrough of animal husbandry that coincided with a transition to monetary economy in the 1870s and 1880s,⁸ which is also the time span of this chapter. As Finnish animal husbandry was centred on dairy cattle at this time, they are in the limelight more than other farm animal species in this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter showcases how even a relatively late industrialised country – the pace of industrialisation started to accelerate in Finland only in the 1870s – wished to intensify animal productivity not only to secure the survival of the national human population but also to enter world markets.

This research draws from animal history and multidisciplinary human-animal studies and is based on the premise that all living and all societies are inevitably multispecific.⁹ Species are by necessity interdependent and all human and non-human agencies are interrelated and relative.¹⁰ Despite human power to enforce animals to move and to die and even being able to mould their bodies and characteristics by breeding, humans were – and are – also dependent on animals, eventually on specific animal individuals with their particular lives.

The chapter is based on qualitative historical analysis of a variety of sources, which consists of reports, including statistics and records of the discussions in national agricultural meetings, and sources connected with the two most influential contemporary mass media: national and international exhibitions and newspa-

Borders.” *Trace. Journal for Human-Animal Studies* 8 (2022), accessed August 15, 2022, doi.org/10.23984/fjhas.110811.

8 Teppo Vihola, *Leipäviljasta lypsykarjaan. Maatalouden tuotantosunnan muutos Suomessa 1870-luvulta ensimmäisen maailmansodan vuosiin* (Helsinki: SHS, 1991); Teppo Vihola, “Pärjääkö pienviljelys?” in *Suomen maatalouden historia II*, ed. by Matti Peltonen (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 157–178.

9 Susan Nance, “Introduction,” in *The Historical Animal*, ed. by Susan Nance (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 1–16; Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

10 Vinciane Despret, “From Secret Agents to Interagency,” *History and Theory* 52 (2013), 29–44; Tuomas Räsänen and Taina Syrjämaa (eds.), *Shared Lives of Humans and Animals. Animal Agency in the Global North* (London: Routledge, 2017); Tuomas Räsänen and Nora Schuurman (eds.), *Kanssakulkijat. Monilajisten kohtaamisten jäljillä* (Helsinki: SKS, 2020).

pers in Finnish and Swedish. Nineteenth-century Finnish newspapers have been comprehensively digitalised, thereby enabling various searches whilst exhibition documentation is typically highly fragmentary.

The first section of the chapter presents the crises of grain growing and the rising interest in animal husbandry and breeding and traces the cultural and natural environment that awaited animals upon arrival in Finland. The second section examines the practices of acquiring breeding animals and their translocations. The final section focuses on questions of pure versus cross breeding of imported animals and the changing evaluations of their foreignness.

Interest in intensifying animal husbandry awakens

Foreign farm animals were rarities, albeit not totally unknown in Finland at the time of the arrival of the animal passengers of *The Albion*. During the previous century, the gentry had acquired sheep of German, English and Spanish origin, for example, as well as some Dutch and Holstein bovines. In the late 1840s, the Finnish State started to import Ayrshires, Pembrokes and Voigtland cattle, but the practice was disrupted due to an outbreak of cattle plague in the 1850s. It has been counted that 121 bovines were imported between 1847 and 1850, of whom the majority were Ayrshires.¹¹ The loss of pedigree animals due to epidemics was a bitter setback. In the oldest agricultural school, Mustiala, which was founded and run by the Finnish Economic Society, for example, it was seen that the loss was so damaging that it could be covered only gradually.¹²

Finland, where the breeding animals arrived, was predominantly a small-holders' country in which households strived for self-subsistence. Resources for major investment and the capability to seize on novelties in agriculture and animal husbandry were limited to sparse manor houses and scattered vicarages. Traditionally Finnish agriculture relied on grain production and a human diet that was linked to bread consumption: 70 percent of daily energy needs were still sat-

11 Arvo M. Soininen, *Vanha maataloutemme. Maatalous ja maatalousväestö Suomessa perinnäisen maatalouden loppukaudella 1720-luvulta 1870-luvulle*, (Helsinki: SHS, 1974), 239–242; Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, “Karjataudit ja eläinlääkintä,” in *Suomen maatalouden historia I*, ed. by Viljo Rasilta, Eino Jutikkala and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 596. See also Anon., “Officiella Kungörelser,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, March 8, 1847, 3; Anon., “Skonerten Henriette,” *Åbo Tidningar*, September 1, 1848, 2.

12 Anon., “Kejs. Finska Hushållningssällskapet,” *Helsingfors Tidningar*, January 31, 1857, 3.

ified by the consumption of bread in the 1860s and 1870s.¹³ In Southern and Western Finland, animals were kept to produce manure for grain fields, or for their pulling power. In the eastern regions, where slash and burn agriculture was dominant, animals – and manure – were needed even less.

The number of animals who were kept alive all year round was quite limited. An example of the scarcity of resources was the common practice to kill newborn calves as they were considered more of a burden than being of any use.¹⁴ Severe winters restricted the number of animals who could be maintained. Farm animals needed, for example, shelter against the cold in winter. Even sheep, which in most other parts of Europe could roam outdoors around the year, needed to be housed in a shed in Finland. The biggest problem, however, concerned feeding. Even in the wealthiest regions of the country, the feed for animals was not nutrient-rich hay cultivated in the fields. Instead, it consisted of various wild plants and branches and leaves gathered in meadows and woods. Cultivating hay in fields was an unfamiliar and unattractive idea. It was deemed to be a waste to use precious fields to produce feed (hay) for animals and not food (grain) for humans. The agricultural historian Teppo Vihola has noted that traditional Finnish animal husbandry was in fact comparable to animal cruelty because of the starvation they endured.¹⁵ Yet, it must be acknowledged that their human owners also regularly faced hunger and when crop failures were not so rare, many starved to death.

In the traditional agricultural system, a rise in food production was only achieved by clearing more fields. However, it was not logistically possible to cultivate ever larger areas efficiently. For example, the manure needed to fertilise the fields was lacking due to poorly-fed animals producing very little of anything, even of manure.¹⁶ Thus, Finnish agriculture based on grain growing was caught in a vicious circle. Although animal husbandry did not appear lucrative for peasants because of the dilemma of feed, agricultural modernisers began to promote it. They viewed animal husbandry as a way to break out of the prevailing poverty and as a crucial key to more productive agriculture. One such agricultural moderniser was the state agronomist Henry Gibson.

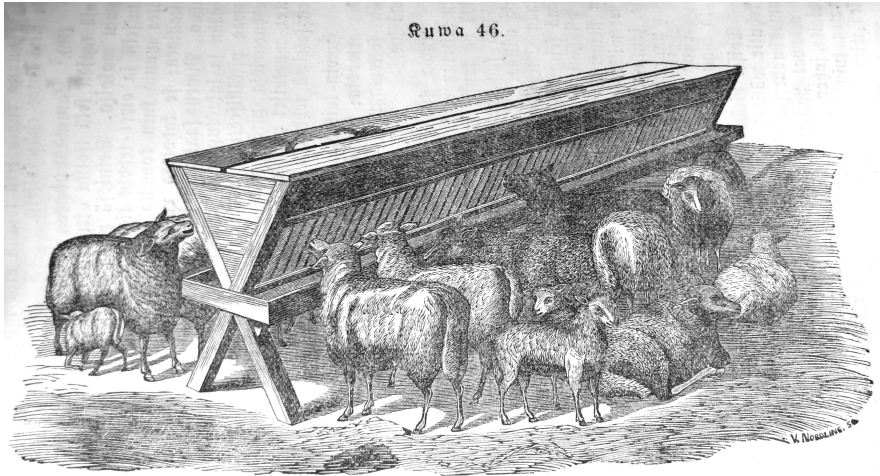
A year before Gibson set off to Scotland to acquire farm animals from among a number of species, he arranged for the publication of a manual on animal husbandry in Finnish, which was the language of the peasant population. It would be

13 Vihola, “Pärjääkö pienviljelys?” 157. See also Kirsi Laine, *Maatalous, isojako ja talonpoikainen päätöksenteko Lounais-Suomessa 1750–1850*, (Loimaa: Suomen maatalousmuseo Sarka), 269–274.

14 Vihola, “Pärjääkö pienviljelys?” 101–106.

15 Vihola, “Pärjääkö pienviljelys?” 164.

16 See also Laine, *Maatalous, isojako*, 319–324.



Rehuhäkki lampaille.

Figure 1.1: Instruction on how to efficiently feed sheep. Anon., *Lyhykäinen Oppikirja Karjan hoidossa*, (Hämeenlinna: G. E. Eurén, 1861), 102.

easy to imagine that in a country with a harsh climate and frequent crop failures, animal husbandry would have been sought after as a means to secure food for domestic consumption. However, Gibson reminded his readers early on that the work would open ways not only “to have healthy food” but also to “goods to export abroad.”¹⁷

Finland was very far from being a serious rival in the international agricultural markets of the time, but Gibson referred to Switzerland and Tyrol as encouraging examples of how regions with challenging natural conditions had succeeded in cattle keeping. Gibson also referred to Swedish success in making grain production more profitable via the use of more efficient animal husbandry (and by reducing the use of grain for peasants’ spirit distilling) and, thus, transforming the country from a grain importer to exporter.¹⁸ The Swedish model was especially significant. Not only were the natural conditions similar to a great extent, but culturally and socially Sweden and Finland had fundamental similarities due to a shared history. Although Russia had captured Finnish territory from Sweden in a war in 1808 to 1809, the centuries-old Finnish-Swedish cultural, fam-

¹⁷ H[enry] Gibson, “Alkusana,” *Lyhykäinen Oppikirja Karjan hoidossa*, (Hämeenlinna: G. E. Eurén, 1861), 4.

¹⁸ Gibson, “Alkusana,” 3–5.

ily and business connections remained tight. The Swedish model was often sought after in nineteenth-century Finland. Moreover, Gibson himself had resided in Sweden before being recruited to work in Finland.

Many means existed vis-à-vis how to increase the profitability of animal husbandry: investment in feed cultivation, the dissemination of information, and, in order to commodify milk, the acquisition of hygienic tools and learning new methods of production. All these methods were used by the Finnish Economic Society and by a number of more recently established regional associations.¹⁹ However, this did not suffice, but an essential change was expected of the animals themselves: they were to become more productive.

In principle, the intensification of animal husbandry included any farm animal species – as shown by the numerosity of species imported in Finland at one time in August 1862. There were fluctuating attempts to develop the breeding of sheep and pigs or meat cattle. Yet, in practice the emphasis became fixed on dairy cattle and they became the most significant farm animals in economic terms. According to the contemporary estimations of the authorities, Finland was reported to have exported circa 1.5 million kilos of butter by sea in the early 1860s and this quantity was growing.²⁰ Historians have, however, noted, that at this stage, the growth in exports was not due to an increase in production. Because of the dire economic climate, butter was not consumed domestically but sold abroad. In any case, Finnish butter was far more competitive than the products generated from Finnish fields. Butter was produced in small quantities by peasants and gradually in a more systematic and technically more advanced manner in manors. Thanks to the availability of ice, dairy products could be stored and as butter was expensive compared to its weight, it was worth transporting over long distances. The production and export of butter did eventually boom at the turn of the 1870s and 1880s, but by this time dairy production systems – and the cattle and cattle accommodation – had been altered.²¹ In the mid-1870s, parallel to the growth in total exports due to the emergence of the timber industry, the exportation of butter – to Russia, Sweden and Great Britain – formed approximately 12 percent of all Finnish exports.²² The

¹⁹ Jari Niemelä, *Lääninlampureista maaseutukeskuksiin. Maaseutukeskusten ja niiden edeltäjien maatalousneuvonta 1700-luvulta 1990-luvulle*, (Tampere: SHS and Maaseutukeskusten Liitto, 1996), 85–90.

²⁰ *Suomenmaan virallinen tilasto II. Yhteenveto kuvernöörin viisivuotis-kertomuksista vuosilta 1861–1865*. (Helsinki, Keisarillisen Senaatin kirjapaino, 1868), 6.

²¹ Soininen, *Vanha maataloutemme*, 243–248; Vihtola, “Pärjääkö pienviljelys?,” 158; Matti Peltonen, “Uudet kaupallistumisen muodot,” in *Suomen maatalouden historia II*, ed. by Matti Peltonen (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 92–107.

²² K. E. F. Ignatius, *Suomen suuriruhtinaskunta. Tilastollisia tietoja Suomen ensimmäisen yleisen näyttelyn Helsingissä johdosta 1876* (Helsinki: Hufvudstadsblad’in kirjapaino, 1876), 42.

sale of dairy products offered opportunities to earn money for the people in the countryside and notably to women who usually managed the processing of milk. Thus, it became an important force in the gradual shift from self-subsistence to monetary economics.²³

In global terms, the decades from the 1860s to the 1880s witnessed an intensification in the industrial exploitation of farm animals. Branded industrial meat production boomed when the supply of raw materials – animal bodies – became abundant and continuous. At the time the famous – and later infamous – massive slaughterhouses in Chicago were the hallmark of the new era in the 1860s. During the following decade it became possible to export frozen meat across oceans from the Americas, Australia and New Zealand to Europe.²⁴ Although sparsely-populated Finland, with its small farms and dramatic years of famine, may at first glance seem to be far from the core hubs of the industrialising animal business, references to entering world markets with products of animal origin kept appearing in the Finnish media at this time. Some even dreamt of selling meat in the huge markets of Britain.²⁵ The enlarging markets were lucrative, but also highly competitive. Animals were required to produce more in order to be profitable, and here breeding and acquiring excellent breeding animals abroad became the focus of attention.

Breeding animals on the move

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries cattle breeding gained momentum, especially in Great Britain. Local stocks were gradually established as “breeds” and started to enjoy excellent reputations abroad, which in turn led to the growing transnational mobility of breeding animals sold overseas. Many practices connected to breeding, such as arranging shows and competitions as well as keeping heard books that registered pedigrees, also spread internationally.²⁶

23 Peltonen, “Uudet kaupallistumisen muodot,” 86–87, 89, 106–107.

24 Pierre Saunier, “Food Production: Industrial Processing Begins to Gain Ground,” in *A Cultural History of Food in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Martin Bruegel, (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 36–38; Osterhammel, *The Transformation*, 229–230; Joshua Specht, *Red Meat Republic: A Hoof-to-Table History of How Beef Changed America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); Amy J. Fitzgerald, *Animals As Food: (Re)connecting Production, Processing, Consumption, and Impacts*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015), chapters 2 and 3.

25 Anon., “Wielä kerran eläinten uloswiennistä ulkomaille,” *Päivätär*, December 9, 1865, 1 and December 16, 1865, 2.

26 Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate. The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 46–81; Woods, *The Herds*, 16–18.

Especially productive dairy cattle hailed from Scotland and these breeds caught the attention of Nordic promoters of animal husbandry. Ayrshire, the rural home county of the most renowned milking cow breed, became an esteemed international centre of excellence in breeding attracting purchasers from abroad. Cities, where animal shows were regularly staged, also played an important role. Animals could be acquired there directly during the shows, which made these urban locations temporary hubs of breeding, whilst the prizes awarded in the shows functioned afterwards as quality labels for individual animals and for breeders' talents.

The Swedish veterinarian Johan Lindeqvist, who served as the state agronomist of Norway,²⁷ gave a detailed description of his endeavours in Scotland in selecting bovines and sheep for Aas Agricultural School in Southern Norway. His account appeared in an influential newspaper, published by the financial department of the Finnish Senate, where interest in similar moves was growing. During the summer of 1860, Lindeqvist had travelled around East Ayrshire on foot, by horse and by train looking for breeders who were well known in the region and who had prize-winning animals. He also visited cattle shows in Scotland and England, where he examined Ayrshires and a number of different sheep breeds. Eventually he selected 31 bovines and 14 Oxford Downs, 12 Cheviot, and three New Leicester sheep that were to be shipped to Norway.²⁸

The logistical endeavour in transporting the livestock to Norway began in mid-August and first consisted of a near 24-hour train journey – with a break for feeding and milking – from New Cumnock in Ayrshire to Hull. A five-day voyage then ensued aboard a steamer to Drøback in Southern Norway, close to the capital city of Christiania (Oslo). Lindeqvist wrote that he had initially hesitated at transporting full grown cows as he feared their sensitive udders could be injured during “such a long and violent removal.” He was, however, encouraged to select adults – in fact the oldest animal of the group was a seven-year-old cow named Hornie – and afterwards he was satisfied with his travel arrangements because all the animals survived.²⁹

Steam technology made travelling more rapid and more foreseeable than before, yet journeys were tough and dangerous. Breeding animals were prized as investments and they were taken care of attentively, as owners were well aware

27 Dag Aanderaa, “Statsagronom Johan Lindeqvist,” *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (Store norske leksikon 1999–2005), updated June 29, 2022, accessed September 5, 2023, https://nbl.snl.no/Johan_Lindeqvist.

28 Anon., “Om införskrifning af utländska afvelsdjur till förbättrande af den inhemska boskapsracen,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, April 16, 1861, 2–3, April 17, 1861, 2–3 and April 19, 1861, 3.

29 Anon., “Om införskrifning.”

of the risks of epidemics and tried to minimise injuries. Thus, hay and sawdust were spread on train wagon floors for Hornie and her fellow passengers. Moreover, aboard ship they travelled in stalls below deck, where there was no risk of being washed away in a storm. Despite such arrangements, the journey must have been an ordeal for animal passengers. Their travelling conditions were, however, in many ways vastly superior to those of other animals. This was particularly the case with regards to animals being transported for slaughter. They had to endure overcrowded vessels and many of them died before being slaughtered because of the hardships of transportation.

The cattle selected by Lindeqvist survived the journey to Norway, but there proved to be a dramatic epilogue: an outbreak of cow pneumonia soon led to their deaths. This happened despite precautions being taken by the state agronomist, which included not visiting Scottish farms known to be rife with the disease and having the train wagons washed with soap and treated with thick limewater before the animals embarked.³⁰ Afterwards, an official examination traced the origin of the disease to a Scottish cattle show that had taken place a few weeks before the cattle set off for Norway. The first cow to fall ill in Aas had been at a show where a disease carrier had also been present. The long incubation period made the disease undetectable until it was too late to avert an epidemic in Aas.³¹ Animal mobility, whether due to temporary factors, such as visits to shows, or through permanent migration, was considered a prerequisite for developing the productivity of animal husbandry. However, it also entailed risks, such as the circulation of diseases.

Despite the sad outcome in Norway and previous domestic experiences of epidemics in Finland, there was a growing interest and demand among Finnish modernisers of agriculture to speed up the breeding process by buying high-rated animal individuals abroad. Apart from the dramatic years of famine, the Finnish State repeatedly arranged the importation of breeding animals, and not only from Great Britain. Such arrivals took place in July or August to allow time for the newly arrived animals to recover from the journey and to get used to the Finnish environment and feed before the hard wintertime. It was also a less dangerous season for crossing the sea, which could be stormy in the autumn. All marine traffic ceased too, it should be remembered, when the Northern Baltic Sea froze over.³²

³⁰ Anon., "Om införskrifning."

³¹ *Norges officielle statistik udgiven i aaret 1863. Beretning om sundhedstilstanden og medicinalforholdene i Norge i aaret 1861*, (Christiania: Departementet for den indre, 1864), 129–130.

³² The first Finnish steamship capable for winter navigation was launched in 1877. Aaro Sahari and Saara Matala, "Of a Titan, Winds and Power: Transnational Development of the Icebreaker,

Although Scotland continued to be an indisputable centre for the purchase of livestock breeds, animal geographies varied. Animal individuals were imported from Northern Germany, Denmark and Sweden, that is, from nearby regions that had a more prosperous tradition of animal husbandry and agriculture than Finland. Voyages from these places were shorter than those of the animals arriving from Britain, but still unavoidably entailed travel aboard a ship. Auction announcements and reports published in newspapers record such arrivals. In 1874, for example, 40 Southdown sheep from Sweden,³³ 22 Angler bulls and 68 heifers from Denmark and 12 Ayrshire bulls from Scotland all arrived in Finland.³⁴ The number of imported animals was usually restricted. For example, in July 1882 the British steamer *Salisbury* brought 12 bulls, three heifers and two pigs from Scotland to Hanko, wherefrom they continued by train to Helsinki to be auctioned.³⁵ Yet, large procurements were also possible. In July 1875, for example, 120 Angler bulls, 46 Ayrshire bovines and 40 Southdown sheep arrived in Finland. This seems to have been related to a temporary turn in bovine breed preferences.

As the example of British breeds of sheep and bovines imported to Finland from Sweden demonstrates, translocations were rarely straightforward single shifts from one place of origin to a final destination. Mobility partly took place over a number of generations, but also an animal individual could experience a number of displacements after shorter or longer stays. Most of these animals settled down in agricultural schools in different provinces, but some were auctioned to wealthy enthusiasts of animal husbandry and agriculture. For example, of the animals who landed in Helsinki in 1874, six bovines and five sheep were auctioned in the capital city. One of the wealthiest industrialists in the country, Axel Wahren, was among the buyers. He was also an eager agricultural moderniser, as was the noble manor owner Constantine Linder.³⁶ Both perfectly exemplify the social ranks of private owners of foreign-born breeding animals.

It is striking how small numbers of animal individuals were at the centre of auctions and the competition of bidders. To take another example: in August 1879 three auctions were arranged in the three largest towns in Finland to sell Ayrshires imported at the expense of the State. Four animals (three bulls and one heifer) were sold in Turku in southwestern Finland; three animals (two bulls and one heifer) were auctioned in the eastern city of Viipuri in Karelia, and seven ani-

1890–1954,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 33 (2021), accessed August 15, 2022, doi.org/10.1177/08438714211062493.

33 Anon., “Elukoita,” *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, August 8, 1874, 2.

34 Anon., “Siittö-eläinten,” *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, December 8, 1874, 1.

35 Anon., “Englantilainen höyry,” *Sanomia Turusta*, July 13, 1882, 2.

36 Anon., “Vid boskapsauktionen,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, August 20, 1874, 1.

mals (six bulls and one heifer) were sold in Helsinki.³⁷ It is obvious that the purpose was not – and the resources would not have allowed – to have large pure bred cattle, but to improve productivity of native farm animals by crossbreeding.

Showcasing such small numbers of individuals indicates that these breeding animals were considered to be of extremely high importance. They were the living links who connected Finland to the most important and up-to-date global and regional centres of animal husbandry and who were expected to contribute to raising the country from poverty and hunger towards being a modern economy. No wonder that they were also willingly exhibited. In fact, “Finnish” Ayrshires had been displayed as early as 1860 in a large agricultural show in St. Petersburg.³⁸ Being able to exhibit them was seen as a proof of progressiveness and if not a proof of current wealth, then at least of future potential.

The value of an individual was, however, relative and subject to change. This is demonstrated by the case of a large exhibition in Moscow. In the first place, Finnish breeders were preparing to participate in it in 1881 by displaying pedigree farm animals in different categories. The exhibition, however, was postponed when Emperor Alexander II was assassinated. At this point, announcements about the sale of fine young bovines who had been intended to be displayed in Moscow appeared in Finnish newspapers.³⁹ Without the possibility to display them and to participate in competition for prizes, these animals were not considered to be worth maintaining but were sold. The following year, when the exhibition finally took place, Finnish breeders were again prepared to display pedigree bovines, sheep, horses and pigs. Many also received prizes. But due to risks of epidemics, the animals were not allowed to return to Finland. Instead, they were auctioned with great difficulty in Moscow and with the sellers not receiving good financial remuneration.⁴⁰ In other words, a prize and the fame were more important for a breeder than keeping hold of a prize animal.

37 Anon., “Joku määrä härkiä ja hiehoja,” *Sanomia Turusta*, August 16, 1879, 2.

38 Antti Manninen’s report, translated and forwarded by the Senate’s department of agricultural and public works to the Finnish Economic Society, April 12, 1861. The Finnish Economic Society Archive D I: 3.

39 Anon., “En mycket vacker storväxt Ayrshire tjur,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, April 23, 1881, 3; Anon., “Fler st. fullblods Ayrshire ungtjurar,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, April 24, 1881, 4.

40 Rob[ert] Runeberg, *Berättelse om Finlands deltagande i allmänna ryska konst och industriutställningen i Moskva 1882*. (Helsinki: J. Simelii arfvingsars tryckeri, 1883).

Changing evaluations of breeds and foreignness

The expected productivity of a breed was crucial when animals were acquired as well as the decision about what was intended to be produced, for example, milk or meat in case of bovines. Both could hardly be attained. Whilst the meat industry was the biggest sector in global terms, Finland counted on dairy production and thus, breeds of dairy cows prevailed. Another decisive factor in choosing breeds was their capability to acclimatise to the new environment.

Agricultural schools and the wealthiest manors could offer the best feed and the best care for the newcomers. It was vital to ensure that animals arriving from abroad, who were accustomed to more-or-less mild climates, would survive the Finnish winter and that the feed available would suit them. Even the survival of sheep, who as a species were considered to be resistant and were able to metabolise poor feed that was unfit for bovines and horses, was not self-evident in Finland. At a national agricultural meeting it was frankly stated that sheep who produced wool of the highest quality were too vulnerable and therefore it would be necessary to be content with sheep whose wool was coarse.⁴¹ Yet, it was not only Finland or other Nordic countries that experienced difficulties with foreign-born animals. Spanish merino sheep, when translocated to Britain, did survive but lost their adored soft wool, which was gradually transformed to a much coarser coat in the new environment.⁴²

The acclimatisation of animals was an intriguing issue in the age of revolutionised transport technologies and expanding empires.⁴³ The phenomenon included the large-scale outward-bound movement of farm animal stocks from Europe⁴⁴ and financially less successful experiments of breeding “exotic” species imported from the colonised regions.⁴⁵ Animals imported to Finland from other European locations formed part of a busy network of intra-European mobility, which thoroughly transformed European farm animal stocks.⁴⁶ British breeds were extremely popular, but not without competitors. The dominant position of Ayrshires was especially challenged by Angelns, originating in Schleswig. The

41 *Wiidennen Yhteisen Suomen Maanviljelijäin-Kokouksen Haminan kaupungissa w. 1860 toimituksia* (Helsinki: SKS, 1862), 74–77.

42 Woods, *The Herds*, 52–77.

43 Dorothee Brantz, “The Domestication of Empire. Human–Animal Relations at the Intersection of Civilization, Evolution, and Acclimatization in the Nineteenth Century,” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Kathleen Kete (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2011), 86–92.

44 Woods, *The Herds*, 109–64.

45 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 232–242.

46 Felius et al., “On the History of Cattle Genetic Resources.”

Finnish Senate hurried to acquire 120 Angeln bovines at one time in the mid-1870s and, as mentioned above, it was an exceptionally big acquisition.⁴⁷ It was exceptional also in another way: these bovines were such welcome novelties that auctioning them produced profit for the State. The Senate usually subsidised animal husbandry by selling imported breeding animals at auctions at a price that did not cover all expenses. Finns were eagerly following a trend that hyped Angeln. In fact, some warned that the international demand for the breed was larger than the supply. It was claimed that all kinds of animal individuals were being sold, not only those most suited for breeding, and even cattle from neighbouring regions, which only had their colour in common with Angeln, were sold as pure-bred Angeln.⁴⁸

To avoid unsuccessful purchases, a first-hand selection made by a reliable specialist was still needed in the same manner as Lindeqvist and Gibson had worked two decades earlier. At the same time, competition was getting even tougher and animal markets were overheating. Problems were not restricted to Angeln, but even the quality of the world-famous Ayrshires that were put up for sale was doubted. For a long time, foreignness had been seen as a guarantee of quality,⁴⁹ but towards the end of the 1870s and especially in the 1880s more dissonant voices were heard. The new Finnish state agronomist, K. J. Forsberg, who travelled himself to Scotland to continue the already traditional purchasing of Ayrshires, criticised this practice in the early 1880s. At a meeting of agronomists, he, first, argued that such huge numbers of animals had been and continued to be exported from Scotland that those currently on sale or recently imported to Finland should be considered quite common bovines of local farmers, rather than special breeding animals. Second, he recommended that the State should stop purchasing Ayrshires abroad and focus on Finnish-born Ayrshires. Arguably they had the advantage of having already become accustomed to Finnish conditions and at the time when their progenitors had been imported, individuals of higher quality had been more easily available.⁵⁰ Forsberg's suggestion was not, however, a total novelty as the State had already promoted the distribution of Finnish-born pedigree animals. For example, in 1877, purebred two-year-old Ayrshire bulls, born in Southern Finland, were bought by the State and were auc-

47 Anon., "Importen af afvelsdjur," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, August 29, 1875, 1.

48 Anon., "Om importen af Angler boskap," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, November 22, 1874, 1.

49 On contemporary Finnish attitudes on foreignness in general, see Taina Syrjämäa, "Making Difference, Seeking Sameness. Negotiating Finnishness and Foreignness in an Exhibition," in *Nordic Perspectives on Encountering Foreignness*, ed. by Anne Folke Henningsen, Leila Koivunen and Taina Syrjämäa (Turku: General History, University of Turku, 2009), 27–40.

50 Anon., "Agronomien kokous," *Sanomia Turusta*, March 17, 1883, 1.

tioned in order to be transposed northwards.⁵¹ From this perspective, a mixture of foreign ancestry and recent Finnish pedigree came to be seen as optimal, even for pure-bred Ayrshires. Thus “Finnish” Ayrshires were valued higher than “Scottish” Ayrshires in Finland. Interestingly enough, Britons themselves were quite perplexed and worried about the risk of cattle losing their nativeness and valuable characteristics when farmed away from the home region.⁵²

In practice, the vast majority of Finnish pedigree animals with foreign ancestors were cross bred. The catalogue of the Turku agricultural show of August 1881 clearly demonstrates the importance of crossbreeding. First, crossbred bovines were even included in the classes of purebred Ayrshires and Angelns, which were the only two breeds that had their own specific categories. Animal individuals who had a maximum of a 1/4 of another breed were classified as purebred. Second, of the approximately 450 bovines present, the largest category by far consisted of crossbred individuals. Among these were individuals defined as Angelns that had been crossbred with local manor stock; Angelns that had been crossbred with Ayrshires; bovines that were half Dutch and half English; those of a Finnish–Danish breed, and some of a Dutch–Finnish breed.⁵³ The geographical denominations uncover mobility over generations, but they also provide evidence of how fickle the field was and how different breeders and manors undertook divergent experiments in search of increased productivity and endurance to the local conditions. Thus, alongside well-established and widely recognised breeds there were also local mixtures with ad hoc designations.

This meant that a limited number of purebred animals were used to raise larger crossbred cattle. In order to further enhance breeding in Finland, imported animal individuals were excluded from prizes in the show. Instead, second or later generations of imported animal individuals were accepted in competition. A very restricted number of these entrants could be purebred, intended primarily for breeding and producing offspring, whilst the task of the majority of crossbred cattle was to produce milk. Grim, a two-and-a-half-year-old Ayrshire bull from Qvidja Manor in the Turku Archipelago, serves as an example of this. Whilst he was a purebred, he was exhibited in the show together with nine cows and four calves who were Ayrshires who had been crossbred with local manor stock.⁵⁴

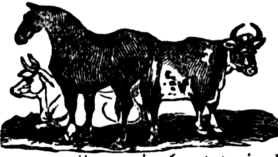
⁵¹ See, for example, Anon., “Virallisia ja laillisia julkistuksia,” *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, July 19, 1877, 3.

⁵² Woods, *The Herds*, 12–13, 49.

⁵³ *Kahdeksas Yleinen Suomen Maanviljelyskokous Turussa 1881. Luettelo*, (Turku: G. W. Wilén, 1881), 3–27.

⁵⁴ *Kahdeksas Yleinen*, 8, 18–19.

Mustialan maanviljelysopistoissa pidetään oppilait-
ten vuosittain tulewan heinäkuun 2 ja 3 päivänä.



Tutkinnon päätettyä
viimeksi mainittuna päi-
vänä myhdään julki-
fella huutokaupalla kello
 $\frac{1}{4}$ jpp. enimmän tar-
joowalle seuraawat e-
läimet erinäisistä ulko-
maan lajista, ja huutoarjoukset tutkitaan kohta huu-
tokaupan päätettyä, niin että myhdyt eläimet, jos os-
tajat niin tahtowat, saadaan kohta senjälkeen ulosottaa.

Norjalaisista lajia.
Yksi tamma, pruuni-wärinen, 10 korttelia $\frac{1}{2}$ tuu-
maa koria, syntynyt 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ /62.
Yksi ori, mustanpruuni, 10 korttelia 2 tuumaa kor-
tia, syntynyt 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ /64.

Ayrshire-lajia.
Sonneja:
N:o 1 syntynyt 18 $\frac{10}{11}$ /61. N:o 8 syntyn. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ 66.
" 2 " 18 $\frac{29}{5}$ 65. " 9 " 18 $\frac{9}{4}$ 66.
" 3 " 18 $\frac{14}{6}$ 65. " 10 " 18 $\frac{22}{4}$ 66.
" 4 " 18 $\frac{17}{6}$ 65. " 11 " 18 $\frac{25}{4}$ 66.
" 5 " 18 $\frac{24}{7}$ 65. " 12 " 18 $\frac{3}{5}$ 66.
" 6 " 18 $\frac{10}{1}$ 66. " 13 " 18 $\frac{5}{5}$ 66.
" 7 " 18 $\frac{31}{3}$ 66.

Sehkosia:
N:o 1 syntynyt 18 $\frac{21}{5}$ 65. N:o 5 syntyn. 18 $\frac{2}{5}$ 65.
" 2 " 18 $\frac{28}{5}$ 65. " 6 " 18 $\frac{29}{12}$ 65.
" 3 " 18 $\frac{1}{6}$ 65. " 7 " 18 $\frac{27}{4}$ 66.
" 4 " 18 $\frac{2}{6}$ 65. " 8 " 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ 66.

Sekanaista Pyhyyt-sarwi- ja Ayrshire-lajia.
Yksi sonni syntynyt 18 $\frac{21}{5}$ /64.

Oxfordshiredowni-lajia.
9 pääsiä ja pääsitaritsaa,
10 uttia ja uttifaritjaa.

Southdowni-lajia.
12 pääsitaritsaa.
4 uttifaritjaa.

E. A. Zitting.

Figure 1.2: Mustiala Agricultural School announced an annual auction of pedigree animals, such as Norwegian horses, Ayrshire bovines as well as Oxford Down and Southdown sheep. Ayrshire cattle, born in the school, were presented in the most detailed manner with exact birthdays. Anon., "Mustialan maanviljelysopistossa," *Sanomia Turusta*, June 1, 1866, 4.

As important as breeding was, the question of how inheritance actually functioned and what were the optimal practices when seeking to produce better descendants did not find univocal answers. British breeders, who were recognised as being the most esteemed specialists globally, continued to put their faith in practical experience. Thus, the major shifts in scientific paradigms regarding evolution, selection and inheritance did not make a difference in their practices instantly. Instead, older assumptions, such as the supposed priority of males in

determining the characteristics of the offspring partially lingered on. Such conceptions, embedded in contemporary culture, could also transcend boundaries of species and intersectionally connect with issues of gender and social position.⁵⁵ Females (both nonhuman and human) could be considered to be passive and only served as a fertile space in which the seeds of the male would grow. On the other hand, female sexuality could be seen as menacing and in need of being restricted and controlled.⁵⁶

The great utility of a single highly ranked breeding animal was emphasised, for example, in the above-mentioned manual on animal husbandry that was published in Finnish in 1861. It described in detail how one bull could produce better offspring, even if the cow was considered to have poor qualities. It was presumed that each new generation would be improved if the bull mated with the progeny of his daughter. It was assumed that after the eighth round, the offspring would have 7/8 of the qualities of the esteemed bull and only 1/8 left of the poor inheritance of the first cow.⁵⁷ Such a model made crossbreeding appear as a most profitable alternative and persuaded those who were still distrustful about animal husbandry to invest in breeding.

Towards the end of the century, the views on inheritance and breeding gradually changed and a more theoretical basis for systematic breeding was developed. Simultaneously, following the views of Professor Victor Prosch, from Denmark, interest in nativeness and local stocks grew in Finland. Besides “national” horse and dog breeds, traditional domestic bovines were also sought out.⁵⁸ In Norway, in fact, regional Telemark cows had already been gaining in popularity since the middle of the nineteenth century. The very same state agronomist Lindeqvist, who walked around Ayrshire in search of excellent foreign breeding animals in 1860, had escorted Telemark cows to Oslo a few years earlier.⁵⁹ Finnish promoters of domestic breeds criticised the omnipresence of foreign breeds and how local stocks had

55 Dominik Ohrem, “Feminist Intersectionality Studies,” in *Handbook of Historical Animal Studies*, ed. by Mieke Roscher, André Krebber and Brett Mizelle (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021), 341–355, especially 347.

56 Woods, *The Herds*, 27–37; Harriet Ritvo, *Noble Cows and Hybrid Zebras. Essays on Animals and History* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 13–28.

57 Anon., *Lyhykäinen Oppikirja Karjan hoidossa*, (Hämeenlinna: G. E. Eurén, 1861), 11.

58 Hilja Toivio, “Risteytyksistä maataisrotuihin. Professori Victor Prosch ja kotieläinjalostuksen murros 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskolla,” *Lähde. Historiatieteellinen aikakauskirja* 2014, 96–122. On dog breeds, see Taina Syrjämää, “Spectacles of Modern Companionship: Men, Dogs and Early Finnish Dog Shows,” in *Shared Lives of Humans and Animals. Animal Agency in the Global North*, ed. by Tuomas Räsänen and Taina Syrjämää (London: Routledge, 2017), 63–77.

59 Liv Emma Thorsen, *Dyrenes by. Hover, klover og klør i Kristiania 1859–1925* (Oslo: Press, 2020), 178–180.

been crossbred with them. Eventually, the quest for domestic breeds led to peripheral regions where foreign breeding animals had not had impact on local stocks.⁶⁰ From this perspective, the foreignness of breeding animals was not only unwelcome, but outright disastrous.

Epidemics constituted another factor that questioned the value of foreign-born animals. It was feared that during such epidemics the animals would carry diseases – as did happen, but they were also blamed for diseases which actually were endemic. In any case, some breeds appeared to be particularly vulnerable. Ayrshires were prone to suffer from pneumonia. This was a well-known but unsolvable problem, which occurred time after time. The Mustiala Agricultural School reported, for example, in 1883 that it had had to slaughter six Ayrshires and two crossbred Ayrshires. It was underlined that half of slaughtered Ayrshires had been killed because of pneumonia. Furthermore, their value as milkers was questioned in the same context as it was noted that only one of them had been a top milker, whilst the others were mediocre or poor.⁶¹ However, when announcing the sale of “precious” bull calves just a few months earlier, the very same school emphasised that their father had been imported from Great Britain a year before.⁶² Such a kinship and fresh connection to the British Isles was still expected to sound promising in the ears of potential purchasers. Although the glory of foreignness and foreign-born pedigree animals was wavering, their inheritance was powerful.

Conclusion

Breeding animals, including the individuals who travelled by the steamer *The Al-bion* across the North Sea and the Baltic Sea to Finland in August 1862, were expected to survive and leave a permanent imprint on the livestock of their new home. They were also envisaged as assisting in making the country wealthier. The modernisation of animal husbandry involved transnational mobility of both animals and humans: foreign specialists were recruited and promoters and pro-

⁶⁰ Toivio, “Risteytyksistä maataisrotuihin,” 111–115; Raimo Savolainen, “Grotenfelt, Nils (1846–1902),” *Kansallisbiografia*, (Helsinki: SKS), accessed August 15, 2022, <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:skskbg-007588>.

⁶¹ Anon., “Årsberättelse om Mustiala landbruks- och mejjeriinstitut för tiden 1 juli 1882 – 1 juli 1883,” supplement number 247, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, October 23, 1883, [1]. On animal diseases, see, e.g., Abigail Woods, “A Historical Synopsis of Farm Animal Disease and Public Policy in Twentieth Century Britain,” *Philos Trans R Soc Lond B Biol Sci* 366 (2011):1943–1954, doi: 10.1098/rstb.2010.0388.

⁶² Anon., “Årsexamen,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, June 7, 1883, 4.

professionals of animal husbandry travelled abroad to learn and conquer ground in international markets; farm animals were imported for breeding, whilst some of them or their offspring were sent to agricultural shows to represent Finnish potential for further progress.

To adapt the idea of Oxley Heaney et al., whereby the reception and evaluation of animal immigrants varies according to human expectations,⁶³ it can be said that the breeding animals were mostly welcome, but not always. They were seen as being potential threats when it was feared that they endangered the health of other cattle or of the human population. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, proponents of national breeds also considered them a menace to domestic breeds. Yet mostly these newcomers were quite highly appreciated, which in terms of immigration may be exceptional. They were an animal elite whose survival was crucial. Prosaically, they were expensive investments from a human point of view. They were, no doubt, exploited and they certainly suffered from journeys, translocations and new challenging living conditions, but compared to other animals on the move or living in Finland, they were offered better feed and more professional care. The status of having been acquired and imported at the expense of the Senate also protected them from being slaughtered and from being sold abroad for a minimum of three years. As breeding animals, bulls in particular had a much longer life expectancy than they otherwise would have had.

These animal immigrants were at the vanguard of modernisation. They became co-actors in the modernisation process of the entire society: with their bodies and lives they advanced a gradual shift from low-yield grain growing to more profitable animal husbandry. This meant a fundamental transition from rural self-sufficiency to commercialised monetary economics, which in turn changed society fundamentally. They also connected Finland to international markets and the production logic of animal industries, which thrived in more rapidly industrialised and more urbanised countries of the future Global North. The Finnish position in the international animal economy can be compared to colonial complicity, that is, how Finland joined a colonial mindset although it did not possess colonies itself.⁶⁴ In a similar manner, although Finland did not have Chicago-style slaughterhouses and it did not succeed in conquering international markets of products of animal origin, as Denmark did, it did participate in the very same system in which animal husbandry was intensified in order to enrich humans and nations.

⁶³ Oxley Heaney et al., “Members only?”.

⁶⁴ Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen, and Timo Särkkä, “Finns in the Colonial World,” in *Finnish Colonial Encounters. From Anti-Imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity*, ed. by Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen and Timo Särkkä (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 1–38, doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-80610-1_1.

