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## Exerting American influence in Finland

– Formative years of the Department of English Philology and unsuccessful attempt to develop American studies with the help of the Fulbright program at the University of Oulu in 1966–1973

### Introduction

American studies -related humanities courses were the Fulbright Program's key area of development at the University of Oulu. It was closely linked to the overall development of the University of Oulu. The assignment of the first four Fulbright teachers in 1961–1965 was to teach voluntary conversation classes.<sup>1</sup> At time students studied the natural sciences, technology, education and medicine at the University of Oulu, and they were not eager to take voluntary English courses.<sup>2</sup> The situation changed when the Department of English Philology was founded at the University of Oulu in autumn 1965. It became then possible to do a higher degree in English. The teaching of the English philology at the University of Oulu began as a main subject in autumn 1965 under the supervision of the University of Helsinki and Professor Ole Reuter.<sup>3</sup> Ole Reuter left his position in spring 1974. The flow of Fulbright American literature lecturers to Oulu ended at the same time too. Contrary to Oulu, the Fulbright Program continued to finance American literature lecturers in higher education institutes in Jyväskylä, Turku and Helsinki.<sup>4</sup> A qualified American lecturer, M.A. James Lee Haines, began lecturing at the University of Oulu in autumn 1974.<sup>5</sup> Haines graduated from Ohio University as a linguist who studied the relationship

<sup>1</sup> See Hanna Honkamäkilä, "Reorienting Finnish higher education to the West: Promoting American Studies -related humanities courses by Fulbright exchange grantees at the University of Oulu in 1961–1965". *Faravid* 48/2019. Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, Rovaniemi 2019, 89–113.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1964, File 17, Suomen ja Yhdysvaltain opetusalan vaihtotoimikunta (Finnish–U.S. Educational Exchange Commission) hereafter FUSEEC, The National Archives of Finland hereafter FNA.

<sup>3</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland 1974–1975, 1975–1977, 19 File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>5</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (Annual Report of the University of Oulu) 1.9.1974–31.8.1975, 65.



between Yiddish and English. He taught American English, but he was not an expert in American literature.<sup>6</sup> Haines is an example of transformation from culture and literature -focused philology to linguistics in Oulu.

The Fulbright Program was steered globally by the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS) which was based in the United States. It was formally independent but was practically tied to the US Department of State. The Board of Foreign Scholarship approved the institutional status of the University of Oulu in the Program in 1961.<sup>7</sup> During the next forty years 1961–2001, the University of Oulu, which was founded in 1958, received one Fulbright grantee almost every year. In 1961–1972, ten out of fourteen exchange scholars from the United States at the University of Oulu were teachers or lecturers of the English language and American literature.<sup>8</sup>

The United States Educational Foundation in Finland (USEF) managed the Fulbright Program for Finland. Despite its independent foundation base and binational nature, it was under the direct guidance of the Embassy of the United States. The American Ambassador to Finland was USEF's Honorary Chairman, and the Embassy's Cultural Affairs Officer and Public Affairs Officer were in fact permanent members of the board throughout period of 1953–1996.<sup>9</sup> Finnish representatives on the USEF board were usually professors or representatives of industry. USEF's first Secretary-General, Sven-Erik Sjögren, underlined the very close co-operation with the Legation. The Legation was the official and only link between the USEF and the BFS; the Legation administered ASLA (Amerikan Suomen lainan apurahat, Grant from America's Loan to Finland) program, which was connected to the Fulbright Program; and in the beginning, USEF's offices were in same building as the United States Information Service (USIS) in Helsinki.<sup>10</sup> In this article, I explore the relationship between the Department of English Philology at the University of Oulu during its formative years and the United States Educational Foundation, which administered the Fulbright Program in Finland. My main material are the final reports

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

<sup>7</sup> United States Educational Foundation (USEF) in Finland's Annual Program proposal for Academic Year 1962–1963, File 15, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>8</sup> When discussing the Fulbright Program year 1961, it means the 1961–1962 academic year. It follows the timeline of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland. USEF used this until 1976. In 1977 USEF changed its annual report to cover the calendar year.

<sup>9</sup> Annual Reports of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland 1953–1996, Files 17 and 18, FUSEEC, FNA. The Legation of the United States was raised to the Embassy in September 1954.

<sup>10</sup> The first year of the Fulbright Program in Finland was 1953–1954. The Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland, (P.L. 584, 79<sup>th</sup> Congress, The Fulbright Act) Program Year 1953 covering exchanges for the academic year Sept. 1, 1953 – May 31, 1954, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA. See also Marek Fields, *Reinforcing Finland's Attachment to the West: British and American Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy in Finland, 1944–1962*. Dissertation, Helsinki 2015, 201.

of the Fulbright grantees in Oulu; the annual reports of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland and the annual reports of the University of Oulu.

The aim of this paper is to examine how the development of American Studies was supported and promoted at the University of Oulu in 1966–1973. Fulbright lecturers were responsible for the compulsory American literary course in Oulu as was the case at the University of Helsinki. However, relationship between USEF and English Department in Oulu ended. My aim is to explain why it happened. I contextualize my analysis to the general social and university development situation, which partially explains that Fulbright lecturer in American literature was no longer necessary. Especially, the politically heated committee work on the qualifications of university degrees in the philosophical and social sciences (FYTT), which had begun its work in 1969, affected on the situation.<sup>11</sup> Simply put, the question was whether the emphasis in university studies should be on academic or practical skills. As committee work concerned the type of professional qualifications students should acquire, in the early 1970s, it related to discussions of how much literary and practical language knowledge English philology studies should contain. This was related to the crisis at the Department in 1973. This crisis also involved an extraordinary dispute over library acquisitions that focused on esoteric and mystical literature. The last Fulbright lecturer, Dr David Hesla took part in this dispute and heavily criticized the Department, consequently affecting the Fulbright withdrawal.

### **Bridging the gap of American literature by Fulbright lecturers**

The concept of American Studies evolved along with the Fulbright legislation's evolvement. In 1961 Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act contained definition for American Studies. Subjects as American history, government, economics, language and literature, and other those related to American civilization and culture were encouraged.<sup>12</sup> However, these ideas were implemented already after the Second World War in Germany and Austria, where need to reform the education system and denazifying the society were urgent. To reshape the long-term positive reception of U.S. culture, school-systems were democratized, English-language

<sup>11</sup> "Filosofisten ja Yhteiskuntatieteellisten Tutkintojen Toimikunta", which was abbreviated and generally referred to as FYTT. Osmo Kivinen, Risto Rinne & Kimmo Ketonen, *Yliopiston huomen, korkeakoulupolitiikan historiallinen suunta Suomessa* (University's tomorrow, historical development of the higher education policy in Finland). Hanki ja jää, Helsinki 1993, 110–124; Osmo Lampinen, *Suomalaisen korkeakoulutuksen uudistaminen, reformeja ja innovaatioita*, (Renewing Finnish Higher Education, reforms and innovations). Opetusministeriön julkaisuja no 25, 2003, 37–39.

<sup>12</sup> Gilles Scott-Smith, "The Ties that Bind: Dutch-American Relations, US Public Diplomacy and the Promotion of American Studies since the Second World War". *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, 2007, 288–289.

classes were developed, U.S. topics were augmented to the teaching curricula and American Studies were supported.<sup>13</sup>

In this article, I will study seven academic years from 1966 until 1973 at the Department of English Philology at the University of Oulu. I will refer to the first Fulbrighters in Oulu in 1961–1964 briefly in some parts as a point of reference. In Table 1, there is a summary of Fulbright lecturers at the Department of English in 1961–1972.

*Table 1. List of American grantees in American studies –related humanities courses at the University of Oulu in 1961–1972<sup>14</sup>*

<b>Name of the Grantee</b>	<b>Category of the Grant</b>	<b>Year of arrival</b>	<b>Definition of the field in Fulbright Center database</b>	<b>Home institution in the US before departure</b>
Arnold A. Solkov	Teacher	1961	language_literature_non_US_literature	Santa Rosa High School
George W. Quinnell	Teacher	1962	language_literature_non_US_literature	Defiance College
John Jr. Watanen	Teacher	1963	language_literature_non_US_literature	Bowling Green State University
Elaine R. Jalonen	Teacher	1964	language_literature_non_US_literature	Lapham School
Daniel J. Casey	Teacher	1966	American_literature	University of Delaware
Ronald A. Wells	Lecturer	1968	American_literature	U.S. Coast Guard Academy
James W. Bowers	Teacher	1969	American_literature	Olivet College
Marden J. Clark	Lecturer	1970	American_literature	Brigham Young University
W. Coburn Freer	Lecturer	1971	American_literature	University of Montana
David H. Hesla	Lecturer	1972	American_literature	Emory University

<sup>13</sup> Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colanization and the Cold War – The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*. Translated by Diana M. Wolf. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, London 1994, 150–151.

<sup>14</sup> Statistical information concerning Fulbright grantees at the University of Oulu was provided for me by the Fulbright Finland Foundation.

In 1965–1966, 67 students began studying English philology at the newly established Department of English in Oulu, and 22 completed so-called approbatur (basic level) first-year studies.<sup>15</sup> The university did not have a Fulbright English teacher for 1965–1966, but Elisabeth Ahonen, wife of Fulbright grantee Charles O. Ahonen, joined the teaching staff at the Department of English and taught conversational English classes.<sup>16</sup>

From 1966 to 1972, there was a Fulbright grantee at the Department of English Philology almost every year to lecture on topics related to American literature. The only exception was 1967, when Oulu's Fulbright lecturer was geologist Lawrence Lundgren. However, The United States Educational Foundation in Finland (USEF) wanted to keep up Fulbright lecturers at the Department of English also then. Daniel J. Casey had a teacher grant in Oulu in 1966–1967. He received a renewal and an upgrade for his grant, and he lectured at the University of Helsinki in 1967–1968. As Casey was familiar with the department in Oulu, he took the responsibility for the examinations there.<sup>17</sup> Besides Casey, other Fulbright grantees at Finnish universities at Tampere, Jyväskylä and Turku taught American literature courses at the University of Oulu in 1967–1968.<sup>18</sup>

The 1972–1973 academic year was the last that the University of Oulu received a Fulbright grantee for American studies -related humanities courses. However, cooperation between USEF and English philology did not end completely. A master's seminar (Laudatur seminar) was organised in 1973–1974 through the collaboration of USEF and Fulbright program. Fulbright lecturers at the University of Helsinki, David Andersen, and at the University of Jyväskylä, Sibyl Jacobson, held seminars.<sup>19</sup> USEF covered Dr Andersen's costs through the Inter-University Program, but not those of Dr Jacobson. USEF had also covered costs of Dr Lyle R. Campbell to lecture

<sup>15</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

<sup>16</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 36. Charles O. Ahonen was Fulbright lecturer at the Department of Theoretical Physics at the University of Oulu. Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019. Marjomaa participated in Elisabeth Ahonen's conversational classes.

<sup>17</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1969, 57; A Proposal from the Faculty of Philosophy to the University of Oulu administrative collegium May 31, 1967, Saapuneet asiakirjat (Received documents) Eab:1, Archive of the University of Oulu (AUO).

<sup>18</sup> Host institutions of Fulbright grantees from the Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1967–1968, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA. List of lecturers from the Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1968, 57.

<sup>19</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1973–31.8.1974, Oulu 1975, 55. Sibyl's first name is misspelled as Sybil in the University's annual report.

in Oulu. Cambell was Fulbright lecturer in linguistics at the University of Helsinki.<sup>20</sup> Academic year 1973–1974 was the last year for a Fulbright cooperation of this extent at the Department of English Philology. The following year, Professor William Hoffa, Fulbright lecturer of American literature at the University of Jyväskylä, visited the University of Oulu once.<sup>21</sup> To summarise, Fulbright Program sponsored in 1961–1973 English language and literary teaching to the newly established University of Oulu every year. After the sudden stop it took ten years before the University of Oulu hosted next Fulbright grantee in American Literature.<sup>22</sup>

### The formative period of Ole Reuter

Professor Ole Reuter was chosen to supervise the education of English philology at the University of Oulu.<sup>23</sup> His responsibilities were overseeing the teaching, examinations and curriculum. In the 1960s, the content and validity of degrees in Finland were determined in general in a process of comparison with standards of the University of Helsinki.<sup>24</sup> Acting as head of the English philology in 1965–1967 was Lic. Phil. Aimo Seppänen, who was responsible for actual teaching and examinations.<sup>25</sup> Reuter visited Oulu in the beginning two–four times a year, and his main responsibility was oral examinations. Seppänen lived in Oulu and took the responsibility of laying grounds for all the practicalities in Oulu.<sup>26</sup>

Reuter was born in 1906 in autonomous Finland and nominated to his professorship during the war in 1941. After the World War II, his career was characterized by years of expansion of English philology in Finland. He retired from the University of Helsinki as a full served Professor of English Philology in 1969. Ole Reuter was a member and vice-chair of the Finnish Committee on Study and Training in the

<sup>20</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland 1973–1974, File 17, FU-SEEC, FNA. Jacobson lectured American Literature at the University of Jyväskylä in 1973–1974 and then at the University of Turku and Åbo Akademi in 1974–1975. Lyle R. Campbell is not mentioned in the University of Oulu's Annual Report.

<sup>21</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1974–31.8.1975, Oulu 1976, 62.

<sup>22</sup> Dr Trudy H. Peterson was grantee in American literature in 1983–1984. Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.8.1983–31.7.1984, Oulu 1985, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Matti Klinge, *A European University, The University of Helsinki 1640–2010*. Translated by Anthony Landon & Malcolm Hicks. Otava, Keuruu 2010, 745.

<sup>25</sup> Oulun yliopiston hallintokollegion pöytäkirja, (Minutes of the administrative collegium of the University of Oulu) No 12/1965, August 4, 1965, Cb:2, AUO.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

United States (FCSTUS) in 1952–1971,<sup>27</sup> and from August 1971 to 1980, he served as chairman.<sup>28</sup> This Committee was formally part of Finnish-American Society, and it helped the American Embassy in the administration of ASLA funds.<sup>29</sup> As a chairman of FCSTUS, Reuter must have had regular interactions with the USEF and the Embassy.

As Reuter guided the main subject remotely, acting heads of English philology changed frequently in Oulu. They did not always live in Oulu as Aimo Seppänen did. After Seppänen, acting head of the Department in 1967–1968, was M.A. Pekka Tenkilä.<sup>30</sup> In 1968–1969, the acting head was Lic. Phil. Ilkka Raimo.<sup>31</sup> Fulbright lecturer James W. Bowers commented on arrangements in 1969–1970 at the Department of English philology, while Lic. Phil. Ritva Tiusanen<sup>32</sup> was in charge of teaching writing: “The department head (Reuter) was most gracious, but we saw him only three or four times during the year since he lived in Helsinki. The acting head of the department (Tiusanen) came up from Helsinki once a week, so we did not see much of her either.”<sup>33</sup> After Tiusanen, the acting head in 1971–1974 was Lic. Phil. Rolf Lindholm.<sup>34</sup> It is striking that none of the acting heads had obtained doctor’s degree. Scientifically, Ole Reuter was the supreme authority. John Roland Dove, who worked in Oulu since autumn 1967 as an Associate Professor over twenty years,<sup>35</sup> had a doctoral degree, but he could not head any department because of his modest Finnish skills. This was the case with almost all British English teachers at the time in Oulu.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Suomen Professorit 1640–2007*, (Professors of Finland 1640–2007) Ed. Leena Ellonen. Professoriliitto, 2008, 595.

<sup>28</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (Annual Report of the University of Oulu) 1.9.1970–31.8.1971, 13. Reuter was the second chairman of FCSTUS after professor, chancellor and minister Eino Saari. Saari chaired FCSTUS since its founding in 1947 until his passing away in 1971; he was also a member of the USEF board since 1953.

<sup>29</sup> About ASLA, see Hanna Honkamäkilä, “Interest in Deepening U.S. – Finnish Scientific Cooperation 1947–1952”. *Faravid* 40/2015, 205, [http://pro.tsv.fi/pshy/julkaisut/Faravid\\_40-2015.html](http://pro.tsv.fi/pshy/julkaisut/Faravid_40-2015.html). Read September 20, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1969, 57.

<sup>31</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1968–31.8.1969, Oulu 1970, 62.

<sup>32</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1969–31.8.1970, Oulu 1971, 56 and 1.9.1970–31.8.1971, Oulu 1972, 55.

<sup>33</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>34</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomukset (University of Oulu Annual Reports) 1971–1974.

<sup>35</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1969, 57.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019. Dove’s career at the University of Oulu lasted until 1989. Matti Salo, “Humanistinen tiedekunta”. *Oulun yliopiston historia (1958–1993)*. Edited by Matti Salo. University of Oulu, Oulu 1998, 353.

Ilkka Marjomaa began as a student of English philology in Oulu in 1965 thus being one of the students of first English major student class. He worked at the Department of English Philology since 1969 and has a long perspective on the development of the Department.<sup>37</sup> It seems that Professor Reuter was not fully respected compared to his real capacities and competence. Marjomaa argued that Reuter liked his role at the University of Oulu and being a founding father of the English Philology Department was a kind of a new lease on life for him. As the subject of English philology developed, Reuter's role developed, too. He visited Oulu more often. He guaranteed that the level of master thesis was equated to that of the University of Helsinki.<sup>38</sup> Reuter was very committed to the founding of the Department of English Philology, because he continued to work for the Department in Oulu until 1974, five years after his retirement from the University of Helsinki.

The first graduate seminar in English philology began in autumn 1973 and Reuter's last task was to lead the first seminars. This year master's seminar was organised jointly with United States Educational Foundation and it was the first year when the Department in Oulu did not have an own Fulbright lecturer. The number of master's-level students had increased rapidly in few years. At the time, the number of students who completed the master's-level studies was 29, and respectively the number of students in bachelor's-level studies 70 and basic level studies 104.<sup>39</sup> A year before in 1972–1973 there were 18 students and in 1971–1972 only 4 students who completed master's-level studies. Ole Reuter had a decisive role in the development of the department's first eight years. He was the only one who worked for the Department without interruption. He connected the Department to the traditions of the University of Helsinki and to the co-operation with the Americans.

After Reuter discontinued his role as supervisor for Oulu, Rolf Lindholm united the posts of Department's head and Acting Professor of the Department of English Philology. He held this double position in 1974–1980.<sup>40</sup> However, the first permanent professor at the Department was Dr Heikki Nyysönen, who was appointed to the professorship in 1981 and had already begun as head of Department a year before. Nyysönen had obtained his master's degree at the University of Helsinki in 1963. He had begun to teach English at the University of Oulu's Language Center in 1970 and obtained his doctor's degree in Edinburgh in 1976.<sup>41</sup> Research development began at

<sup>37</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1969–31.8.1970, Oulu 1971, 56; Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019. Marjomaa worked as an assistant since 1969 and as lecturer since 1977.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomukset 1.9.1973–31.8.1974, Oulu 1975.

<sup>40</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomukset 1974–1980 (University of Oulu Annual Reports 1974–1980). Lindholm was Licentiate in Philosophy.

<sup>41</sup> Nyysönen retired in 2002. *Suomen professorit 1640–2007*, 2008, 503.

the Department after Nyysönen's appointment.<sup>42</sup> That is to say, it took 15 years to build academically independent department and develop own research profile.

### The Helsinki curriculum and the debate over language or literature

As the University of Helsinki's English philology was a model for Oulu, consequently, the curriculum adopted for the University of Oulu was identical to that of the University of Helsinki in 1965.<sup>43</sup> The curriculum of English philology at the University of Helsinki is described in Diana Webster's autobiographical novel.<sup>44</sup> At the time of her arrival in 1953–1954, the curriculum included "Old English, Middle English and Chaucer, which were the province of Professor Reuter and Dr Mustanoja" and "whole English Literature after Chaucer until the present day, plus American Literature. Apart from Literature, it included English Language, translation into and from Finnish or Swedish, Written English, Spoken English, and Pronunciation (phonetics and intonation), all at every level of study."<sup>45</sup>

This list could be a description of what was lectured in the 1960s and 1970s in Oulu. Old English refers to the earliest historical Anglo-Saxon form of English from the fifth century onwards, and it was lectured as an extensive course as part of the master-level (laudatur) studies. Ilkka Marjomaa thought it was exciting, but also a little problematic, as the aim was to graduate and begin teaching English for school children. Middle English meant studying Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, originally written around the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The course was part of the bachelor-level (cum laude) studies.<sup>46</sup> American James W Bowers described the emphasis of curriculum in Oulu in 1969 as: "half on technical study of the language (history of the language, phonetics, pronunciation and translation) and half on reading and understanding literature".<sup>47</sup> This tradition continued well into the 1970s in Oulu.

<sup>42</sup> Salo 1998, 354.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019. As mentioned, according to the established practice of the time, the University of Helsinki was responsible for matters relating to the degree system. Other university degrees had to be in accordance with its degrees. See also Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993, 106, 122.

<sup>44</sup> Diana Webster came from the Great Britain to Finland in 1952; she was recruited by the British Council to teach English. She moved to Helsinki to work as an assistant lecturer in English at the University of Helsinki in 1953. Diana Webster, *Finland Forevermore – Helsinki 1953–1963*, Schildts&Söderströms, 2015, 14–15.

<sup>45</sup> Webster 2015, 34. Klinge explained that the second chair in English Philology was created at the University of Helsinki in 1959 "following the active lobbying by the students of this subject". Klinge 2010, 734. Ole Reuter was the First Professor of English Philology and Tauno Mustanoja the Second Professor of English Philology since 1961. Mustanoja was First Associate Professor of English Philology in 1957–1961. Klinge 2010, 902.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

English fiction was central to the curriculum. Discussions of whether language or literature should be the focus of teaching occurred regularly. Associate Professor John Dove especially stressed that studying the English language was identical to studying English literature. Literature was the supreme form of language, and these two things were inseparable.<sup>48</sup> This debate related to the overall development of the Humanities division. In 1965, when Humanities division was founded, three new main subjects began: English philology, Nordic philology and literature. The aim was to alleviate the lack of the language teachers in the Northern Finland. Literature was perceived as a complementary subject to English and Swedish.<sup>49</sup> All three departments were situated in 1965–1967 in same premises in Torikatu 23 in Oulu.<sup>50</sup> The Departments of English and Nordic philology were both supervised from the University of Helsinki, but the Department of Literature began to develop independently in 1968, when the well-known leftist intellectual Raoul Palmgren was appointed for the professorship. In fact, Palmgren was after the World War II the loudest opponent of the University of Helsinki's German-oriented professors.<sup>51</sup> He began the Marxist education and research tradition at the Department of Literature.<sup>52</sup>

Palmgren was a member of the Finnish Communist party until he was kicked out in 1952. He was too independent a thinker and was accused of being too intelligent. He was a civilised writer, but his aristocratic appearance raised doubts about his loyalty to the party.<sup>53</sup> Palmgren was a friend of President Urho Kekkonen, and they exchanged letters on political matters.<sup>54</sup> Literature was supposed to become a central supportive subject for English and Nordic philology, but the development went different. In 1969–1970 Fulbright lecturer James Bowers stated in his Final Report that the Department of Literature had no connection with the English Department.<sup>55</sup> Because this notion was so neutral it is impossible to know whether it was a bad or a good thing. However, this is the only time the Department of Literature is mentioned

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

<sup>49</sup> Salo 1998, 345.

<sup>50</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1969, 57.

<sup>51</sup> Matti Klinge with Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola & John Strömberg, *Helsingin yliopisto 1917–1990*. Kolmas osa (The University of Helsinki). Otava, Keuruu 1990, 154–156, 159. Palmgren was the editor in chief for *Vapaa Sana* magazine, which demanded e.g. resignation of the Rector Rolf Nevanlinna. Nevanlinna resigned in August 1945.

<sup>52</sup> Salo 1998, 358–359.

<sup>53</sup> Kalevi Kalemä, *Raoul Palmgren, suomalainen toisinajattelija*. Tammi, 1984, 211, 216, 219.

<sup>54</sup> For example Allan Tiitta, *Suomen Akatemian historia 1, 1948–1969, Huippuyksiköitä ja toimikuntia*. SKS, Helsinki 2004, 670. Tiitta referred to a letter from President Kekkonen to Professor Palmgren about the conservative party's parliamentary obstruction of approving the one man, one vote principle in March 1970.

<sup>55</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

in the Fulbright Final reports and it was a year after Professor Palmgren began in his position, so at least his beginning interested the Americans.

The Department of Finnish was established at the University of Oulu in 1966. The division between Finnish literature and language was also puzzling for British lecturers at the Department of English, who did not understand how Finnish language was separated from the education of Finnish literature. They saw literature as the best and the only way to learn language.<sup>56</sup>

### Overcoming the shortage of lecturers in American literature

Establishing the Department of English created a completely new group of students majoring English at the University of Oulu. This influx of students meant more lecturing hours. Daniel J Casey came to Oulu as a Fulbright grantee from Newark, Delaware. He lectured at the University of Oulu during the academic year 1966–1967, which was the second year for the first English philology major students. With him came a young family, including his wife Linda and their three kindergarten-age sons.<sup>57</sup> Casey taught American literature, English language and teaching methods at the Department of English and at the Teacher Training College at the University of Oulu. His grant was for the teacher category, but he lectured more demanding courses than Fulbright teachers before him did.<sup>58</sup> Casey's workload was considerably higher compared to what for example Elaine Jalonen reported in 1964–1965. Casey knew this because he received communication from her. Casey and his wife also visited Jalonen in Madison, Wisconsin. Half of Casey's lectures were at the cum laude -level corresponding to bachelor's level, which was the highest level at Oulu at the time. Sixty English students attended to both Casey's lectures on American literature and on Shakespeare, forty attended tutorials, and ten attended his Proseminar (bachelor-level seminar) in American literature.<sup>59</sup>

Though he did not elaborate on the issue, Daniel Casey criticised the University of Oulu for their difficulty adjusting to foreigners. This problem was severe enough that he had contacted the USEF's Executive Secretary Sven-Erik Sjögren<sup>60</sup>, who helped him and took the initiative and "compensated for their lack of initiative". However, Casey recommended that another American literature grantee be sent to Oulu. "It would be a great mistake indeed to neglect a field in which we have made inroads and in which the Finns have few specialists."<sup>61</sup> It is interesting that, despite

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>57</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>58</sup> Final report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>59</sup> Final report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>60</sup> The title General Secretary of the USEF was changed to Executive Secretary of the USEF.

<sup>61</sup> Final report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

American Fulbright grantees' complaints about the university's inability to adjust to foreigners, they recommended continuation of the program, as we will see also in other examples to come. Perhaps they did not want their own work in Oulu to be wasted even if the reception was weak.

Library services were central to the teaching of literature and humanities. During the first academic year in 1965–1966, a total of 477 books were acquired for the library of the Department of English Philology, 55 of them donations.<sup>62</sup> The next year, 156 books were acquired, and 72 of those were donations.<sup>63</sup> USEF was following the development of Finland and keeping the US Department of State updated. The Department of State, aware of the lack of course books in American Literature in Oulu, had advised Daniel Casey to bring his own basic library with him.<sup>64</sup> He had shipped it to Finland while he and his family took the airplane.

USEF's Annual Report contains a peculiar sentence, which states that in order for the University of Oulu to overcome the shortage of a lecturers in American literature, Casey had been assigned to the course, although this was not part of his originally planned teaching program.<sup>65</sup> Casey's home institution in the US was the University of Delaware's College of Education, and he also taught at the Teacher Training College in Oulu. Course content there included grammar and methods of teaching English and literature. If he was not supposed to teach American literature in Oulu, why should he have brought books on American literature with him? It looks like the US State Department had fostering of American Studies in Oulu as an option in their mind before the USEF had it.

Ilkka Marjomaa remembered Casey very well. He assessed, that for Casey, the cultural exchange was clearly a two-way road. Casey and his wife were both of Irish origin, and they were very interested in Finnish customs. Marjomaa said that Casey visited his home, and, for example, he took him to visit his mother in Halosenniemi in Haukipudas near Oulu. In Helsinki, Casey completed a degree of Finnish Lic. Phil. under the supervision of Ole Reuter. His subject was to compare Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers*.<sup>66</sup>

The University of Oulu received its first language studio in December 1966. Antti Sovijärvi, Professor of Phonetics at the University of Helsinki and responsible for the

<sup>62</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

<sup>63</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1966–31.8.1967, Oulu 1969, 52.

<sup>64</sup> "Since the University of Oulu is in the early stage of development, there is no library in American literature; books and materials are in scarce supply. My department head advised me of this before my departure from the States. I was able to ship my own basic library and avoid an otherwise disastrous situation." Final report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>65</sup> Annual Report of the USEF for the academic year 1966–1967, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019. Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1967–1968, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

beginning phonetics at the University of Oulu, brought the model for the language studio from America to Finland and to Oulu.<sup>67</sup> The Department of English Philology was later also involved in a project led by Matti Ojala, Professor of Electronics to set up a teaching television.<sup>68</sup> Associate Professor John Dove was the secretary of the Commission on Educational Television.<sup>69</sup> However, the technical development of education was not an issue in any final report of the Fulbrighters who lectured in Oulu.

### **Boosting the American program in Finland and exerting influence**

The History of Fulbright Program was published in 1965 when Daniel Casey taught in Oulu. Although the program was an interchange of private citizens, the US Congress had indicated that the selection of individuals for the program was the most important step in the actual conduct of the program. Johnson and Colligan went even further, explaining that each individual represented “co-operative commitment” of the program, and they maintain their “country’s presence abroad.” They also defined participants of any international exchange program as “general brokers of the commerce of ideas, knowledge and skills.”<sup>70</sup> For example, the first Annual Report of the Fulbright Program in 1953 in Finland appraised the evidence of the program’s effectiveness, referring to Finnish American graduate student Taimi Ranta saying “Miss Ranta was a real travelling salesman of American ideas.”<sup>71</sup>

This ethos was well expressed in Casey’s final report. He depicted the personal and professional qualifications that American grantees should have, proclaiming that “all candidates should be scholars or experienced teachers in the humanities or the social sciences fields in which they can better promote the stated aims of the Fulbright Program.” He observed that “people in the sciences have a limited number of contacts and exert little influence on faculty or students in a way of cultural exchange”.<sup>72</sup> From the report, one can read, that Casey strongly embraced the Fulbright Program’s goal of influencing people. He was committed to the objective

<sup>67</sup> “Tarinoita menneestä: Adam näytti miten ääntäminen sujuu” (Tales from the past: Adam showed how to pronounce). Newspaper *Kaleva*, October 6, 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1968–31.8.1969, Oulu 1970, 73.

<sup>69</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1970–31.8.1971, Oulu 1972, 55.

<sup>70</sup> Walter Johnson & Francis J. Colligan, *The Fulbright Program – the History*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1965, 25–26.

<sup>71</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland, (P.L. 584, 79<sup>th</sup> Congress, The Fulbright Act) Program Year 1953 covering exchanges for the academic year Sept. 1, 1953–May 31, 1954, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>72</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

of the program and was well-prepared for his exchange year. He strongly believed that people could be affected only through culture, education and social sciences. Casay wrote that "American history and literature, political science, government, philosophy, psychology, sociology, education and language are excellent fields in which to place Fulbrighters, but physics, chemistry, and technology are non-cultural fields."<sup>73</sup> It seems to me like he had been asked to assess Program's effectiveness.

In the fall of 1966, a special Department of State-appointed long-range planning team representing American higher education visited Finland in November and December and met with Finnish universities and the USEF board. Their task was to execute a study to project the exchange program for more than one or two years.<sup>74</sup> This was probably due to 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the global Fulbright Program.<sup>75</sup> Three members of this group were American professors, Napier Wilt, Wayne E. Thompson and Henry Faul, who visited the University of Oulu at the end of November 1966, as arranged by USEF. Thompson's field was sociology, and Faul represented physics and natural science.<sup>76</sup> Napier Wilt had a short, two-months Fulbright grant at the University of Helsinki in American literature in the fall 1965. His task in Finland was to talk "with Ph.D. and M.A. candidates working on theses in the American field". He recommended that the University of Helsinki should have a permanent professor in American literature. Promoting this initiative probably was his main mission then.<sup>77</sup> In the program at the University of Oulu in 1966, Americans visited the University's Departments. In the evening, they met the complete consistorium, which was the University's highest decision-making body headed by the Rector of the University. It consisted of thirteen members, all professors in permanent posts. Rector Koiso-Kanttila urged every member of the consistorium to participate "because this matter concerned the entire university."<sup>78</sup> This demonstrates that the aim was to raise co-operative commitment at the institutional level.

The American planning team meetings stimulated ideas of further programming of the exchanges between the United States and Finland but did not lead to proposals for definite projects.<sup>79</sup> Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural

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<sup>73</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>74</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland 1966–1967, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA. The size of this planning team is unclear.

<sup>75</sup> US Congress passed the law of the Fulbright Program in 1946.

<sup>76</sup> Letter from USEF Sven-Erik Sjögren to Rector Erkki Koiso-Kanttila at the University of Oulu in November 23, 1966, Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 Ea:1, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, AUO.

<sup>77</sup> Annual Report of the USEF for academic year 1965–1966, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>78</sup> Program of the visit is attached to the Letter from USEF Sven-Erik Sjögren to Rector Erkki Koiso-Kanttila at the University of Oulu in November 23, 1966, Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 Ea:1, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, AUO.

<sup>79</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland 1966–1967, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA

Affairs Charles Frankel defined American policy in the exchange programs in the beginning of 1967 as helping “develop durable relations of practical interdependence between educational systems of other countries and our own.” He wanted to think of educational exchange in institutional rather than individual terms. Exchange programs should accomplish definite and selected goals in given countries “that will contribute to the practical interlacing of their educational systems with our own.” With these he referred to mutual curriculum planning and development and exchange of teaching materials. He also wanted to weave a web of relationships between individuals, departments and institutions that will endure.<sup>80</sup>

The Foreign Service of the United States of America decided to award ASLA leader grants to Finnish university rectors of the Universities of Oulu, Tampere and Jyväskylä. They visited the USA for five weeks starting on March 27, 1967.<sup>81</sup> Koiso-Kanttila had improved his English language skills over roughly one year before his visit with the help of a visiting American professor at the university.<sup>82</sup> This person was most probably Daniel Casey. Studying English with an American professor in 1966–1967 was part of his preparation for his ASLA grant and travel. If Koiso-Kanttila wanted to study English generally, he could have done it with a Finnish or British English teacher. Koiso-Kanttila most probably already knew about his grant in November 1966 when Americans visited Oulu. Henry Faul, a member of the American planning team, invited Koiso-Kanttila to visit him while he was in the United States in April 1967.<sup>83</sup> Taking English language lessons during 1966–1967 with an American was a good source of information of American affairs. It probably made Koiso-Kanttila more receptive to the messages of the three-member American group and promoted the idea on weaving the web of relationships.

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<sup>80</sup> A letter of the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Charles Frankel to the Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on International and Cultural Affairs Homer D. Babbidge, January 17, 1967 attached to correspondence from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State to USEF, File 19, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Erkki Koiso-Kanttila to the Ministry of Education on March 8, 1967, Anomusasiakirjat 1967, number 810, Opetusministeriön II arkisto Eb:515, FNA; Erkki Koiso-Kanttila: *Yliopistoja rakentamassa*. Omakustanne, Multiprint, Helsinki 1999, 88.

<sup>82</sup> Koiso-Kanttila 1999, 89.

<sup>83</sup> Letter from Mr. Henry Faul from the University of Pennsylvania Department of Geology to the Rector Erkki Koiso-Kanttila on March 17, 1967, Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 (Arrived letters), File Ea:1, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, AUO.

### Fulbrighters and their families as ambassadors of American ideas and presence

Daniel Casey also reported that he had held a speech “A Defence of Vietnam”, at the Officers’ Club in the Finnish Military Garrison in Oulu, which he hoped, would lead to “increased understanding”.<sup>84</sup> As his lecturing program at the university concentrated on American literature and Shakespeare, his defence of Vietnam lecture was a surprising field of expertise. Perhaps he received background information for this from the US Embassy. Ilkka Marjomaa recalled that Heikki Mielonen studied English philology at the same time as Marjomaa.<sup>85</sup> Mielonen’s father was Major General Unto Mielonen, who was Commander of the Artillery Regiment of Ostrbothnia in Oulu in 1965–1970. Before arriving to Oulu, his family had lived in the United States and Canada in 1961–1965, as Unto Mielonen worked as the Finnish military liaison officer in Washington and Ottawa.<sup>86</sup> Teacher-student relationship explains connection between Casey and Heikki Mielonen. They must have had a conversation about the origins of Mielonen’s language skills and then Casey was asked to speak for Finnish officers, or he proposed it himself. This example shows how the Fulbright Program was connected to foreign policy and how Finnish military was also open to hear American security policy views.

Fulbright grantees reported to the Department of State how the mutual understanding between the people of the United States and those of another country had been increased. They were also asked to list the most striking misconceptions the grantee had heard about the host country or the United States. Casey mentioned his misconceptions about Finns and about Finland: “a degree of affluence, an economic dependence on Russia, socialized welfare services, and moral licentiousness.” He added that these were dispelled by reading before arrival.<sup>87</sup> One can ask whether these misconceptions were actually created in the pre-departure reading and orientation. Finnish American John Watanen, grantee in Oulu in 1963–1964, stated

<sup>84</sup> In same paragraph, Casey listed that he had lectured at the Oulu English Club and had participated in American Field Service selection and a professional educators’ seminar in Jyväskylä. Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>86</sup> Obituary of Unto Mielonen January 10, 1976, Newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. Unto Mielonen served also in Finnish Ministry for Defence and as an Adjutant for Finnish Defence Minister Kalle Lehmus in 1957–1958 ([https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unto\\_Mielonen](https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unto_Mielonen), read on October 15, 2019). Ilkka Marjomaa recalled that Heikki Mielonen asked Daniel Casay for exemption from pronunciation and conversation classes because he felt he was bilingual after years in the US and Canada.

<sup>87</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1966–1967, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA. Americans who came to Finland had a pre-departure orientation. It included books too. Casey recommended in his Final Report *Lion Among Roses* by David Bradley which Mr. Preston from the Department of State had lent for him, and Aaltio’s *Finnish for Foreigners* and Toivola’s *Introduction to Finland*.

that the average American knows that Finland paid its war debts, and they have heard of Paavo Nurmi, Sibelius and sauna if they have heard anything about Finland in the first place. The gravest misconceptions concerned cold climate and that Finland was on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain. Watanen criticised writer and columnist Walter Lippman for spreading false information about Finland.<sup>88</sup>

Regarding his misconceptions about Finland's economic relationship with Russia, Casey wrote that, during the year, he had come to understand that there are reasons for economic ties to the U.S.S.R. and how welfare services are rendered. Overall, he wrote that there are more similarities than differences between Finland and the United States.<sup>89</sup> Development of a social welfare state in Finland was bound to its relationship with the Soviet Union, but not in terms of aiming at a socialist political system. The objective of the enduring social welfare was that, in practice, it gave stability and stimulation to capitalism by increasing the purchasing power of the poorest. The welfare policy in Finland "was driven by a suppressed fear that social antagonism might lead to open social conflict, or in the worst-case scenario, degenerate into revolution and Soviet-backed Communism".<sup>90</sup> Casey met a lot of Finnish people and was probably well connected to different parts of Finnish society. USEF was content with Casey's work because it offered a Fulbright renewal for the University of Helsinki.<sup>91</sup>

Dr Ronald A. Wells lectured American literature and English language at the University of Oulu in 1968–1969. He was a commissioned professor at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy in New London, Connecticut and a chair of the Department of Humanities in his home institution. He came to Oulu in his thirties with his wife and their three daughters.<sup>92</sup> The Fulbright Program supported only his travel costs, while his maintenance award was provided by his host institution, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.<sup>93</sup> The U.S. Coast Guard is the coastal defence and maritime law enforcement branch of the United States Department of Homeland Security. Wells reported that several of his acquaintances had the misconception that he was going behind the Iron Curtain prior to his departure. He expected to speak about his experience in Finland after returning.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Final Report of John Watanen, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA. Lippman was a very well-known American writer and political commentator; he was also praised as the most influential journalist of his time. The Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* published his columns.

<sup>89</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1967–1968, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>90</sup> Henrik Meinander, *A History of Finland*. Translation Tom Geddes. Hurst & Company, London 2011, 172.

<sup>91</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey 1967–1968, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>92</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>93</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland covering the exchange for the academic year 1968–1969, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>94</sup> Final Report of Ronald A. Wells, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

When Wells arrived in Oulu, the first group of English philology majors began their fourth year studies. Ilkka Marjomaa remembered Wells as a modest man compared to his high academic accomplishments.<sup>95</sup> Wells had a doctor's degree and he was chairing the Department of Humanities at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. Wells taught both master's-level (*laudatur*) and bachelor's-level (*cum laude*) courses. He lectured a survey course of American literature and modern American literature and contemporary American literature courses. He praised the students: "their preparation was also good: in the case of *laudatur* students, it was sometimes outstanding." A significant number of *cum laude* and *laudatur* students "have expressed interest in writing extended *laudatur* studies in American literature. This demonstrates, it seems to me, a continuing need for selection of Fulbright lecturers for the University of Oulu".<sup>96</sup> Wells added that he had attempted "to place American literature within the context of American studies."<sup>97</sup> His emphasis and understanding of American Studies was, the relationship of American literature to American culture. American language and literature were bound to American culture, customs and values that Americans wanted to promote.

The English Department's library acquired a total of 2 315 books in 1968–1969; 93 were donations.<sup>98</sup> It was a lot compared to 1965–1966, when 477 books were acquired; 55 were donations<sup>99</sup> or 1966–1967, when 156 books were added to the library; 72 were donations<sup>100</sup> or 1967–1968, when 794 books were added to the library; 160 were donations.<sup>101</sup> Associate Professor Dove was appointed to the permanent post in August 1969<sup>102</sup>. Due to space constraints, English fiction was relocated from the library to Associate Professor Dove's room.<sup>103</sup> It looks like he wanted to secure the literature lectures for himself. Wells reported that the Department of English Philology at Oulu was still in the developmental stage regarding curriculum, staff and facilities. However, "the department library, intended to supplement the primarily

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 10, 2019.

<sup>96</sup> Final Report of Ronald A. Wells, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1968–31.8.1969, Oulu 1970, 62.

<sup>99</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

<sup>100</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1966–31.8.1967, Oulu 1969, 52.

<sup>101</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1967–31.8.1968, Oulu 1969, 57.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1968–31.8.1969, Oulu 1970, 62.

scientific and technical collection, has made significant improvement over the year, but is still not equipped for literature research.”<sup>104</sup>

Wells was very active in Oulu. He organised an evening and lecture series on English and American language and culture. He utilised material from the U.S. Information Service, the British Information Service and his home institution. He lectured at the English Club of Oulu and at the American Center in Helsinki. He met a lot of local people and participated in numerous social evenings in private homes. “These individuals were almost without exception well educated, sensitive persons, very aware of international political problems. Several has spent a year or more in the United States themselves.”<sup>105</sup>

Finnish people were interested in race relations in the US and racial relations were a much-debated issue. This related to general youth and student movements in the 1960s. The United States wanted to manage its external image and sell an idea of harmonious race relations to the world while the Soviet Union highlighted that Americans tried to hide problems of criminality and racial repression.<sup>106</sup> Also Casey lamented that Finnish mass media painted a distorted picture of the United States depicting mainly crime, violence and racial unrest.<sup>107</sup> Wells published an article in *Pohjoinen*-magazine in May 1969 titled, “Identiteetin etsintä: neekeri ja juutalainen nyky-Amerikan kirjallisuudessa” (Quest for identity: Negro and Jew in the Contemporary American Novel). In the article, he discussed novels by James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison, Bernard Malamud, Saul Bellow and William Styron. His conclusion was that quest for identity is essential in the society which is dedicated to cherish individualistic freedom.<sup>108</sup> Marden J. Clark also reported, he had lectured about “Negro Literature and White response” in Finnish-American Association in Kemijärvi.<sup>109</sup> He probably lectured about it also at the university during his stay in Oulu in 1970–1971.

In USEF’s Annual Report in 1968, the program’s accomplishments were pondered. Impacts of the Fulbright Program were divided into academic and non-academic impacts. Academic benefits encompassed the host institutions’ and grantees’ benefits. The academic value of the lecturers’ or research scholars’ services depended not only

<sup>104</sup> Final Report of Ronald A. Wells, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>105</sup> Final Report of Ronald A. Wells, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA. At the time, for example, at the Faculty of Philosophy Professor of Astronomy K.A. Hämeen-Anttila, Professor of Plant Physiology Sirkka Kupila-Ahvenniemi, Professors of Physics Matti Karras and Alpo Kallio and Professor of Biochemistry Sakari Piha had studied in the United States.

<sup>106</sup> See Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling American Way – US Propaganda and the Cold War*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008 and Simo Mikkonen, “Neuvostoliiton kulttuurivaihto-ohjelmat – kulttuurista kylmää sotaa vai diplomatiaa?” (“Soviet cultural exchange programs – cultural Cold War or diplomacy?”). *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 4/2011, 393–412.

<sup>107</sup> Final Report of Daniel J. Casey, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>108</sup> *Pohjoinen* magazine, number 3, May 1969, 106–110.

<sup>109</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

on the number of students, the heaviness of the teaching load or the importance of the field; the number of scholarly articles published by the Fulbright grantee was also important. However, non-academic impacts of the program, increasing the mutual understanding and good will were as important. According to the text, there were several examples of where the number of students could have been smaller or the academic project rather limited, but a lasting impression of “goodwill ambassadors” had been made. The writer also pointed out that “the role of the grantee’s spouse, and in fact, the whole family must not be minimized.”<sup>110</sup> The Fulbright Programme sought to create political goodwill between the countries. Besides spreading the message of American freedom and democracy, it also enabled communication about racial relations and war in Vietnam. In Finland the reception of this message was good. For example, in Sweden, American freedom was perceived as a myth and violence and oppression viewed as endemic in American society.<sup>111</sup>

### **Augmenting the library collection of American studies -related humanities and misunderstanding library appropriation**

Since 1966, American Fulbright teachers had lectured a course called “A Survey of American Literature”. The basic assignment was to give a year-long survey of American literature in a series of 45-minutes lectures twice a week to students at the cum laude level (bachelor) of their English studies. The course was required of all English majors, and each class size was around 70 or more students. Course materials were provided by USIS. At the Department of English Philology, there were 25 copies of the text for the American literature survey and 10 copies each of books by major American authors. James W. Bowers, Fulbright teacher in Oulu during the academic year 1969–1970, reported that “the program is under the complete control of the Fulbright lecturer“, and in addition, “the Fulbright man” is usually asked to teach two seminars for cum laude.<sup>112</sup> The survey course was required at the cum laude level, and it was offered regularly, for example, at the University of Helsinki too.<sup>113</sup>

The greatest problem was the lack of adequate library facilities for students or faculty research. “The amount of literary criticism is very limited in the department library, and American poets, dramatists, and essayists are barely represented.”<sup>114</sup> The

<sup>110</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland covering the exchange for the academic year 1966–1967, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>111</sup> Dag Blanck, “Television, Education, and the Vietnam War: Sweden and the United States during the postwar era”. *The Americanization of Europe, Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*. Edited by Alexander Stephan. Berghen Books, New York 2006, 104.

<sup>112</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>113</sup> Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1964, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>114</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

English Department's library acquired a total of 1 634 books in 1969–1970. There were a record number of donations totalling 356.<sup>115</sup> Ilkka Marjomaa remembered that James 'Jim' Bowers was the best at getting multiple copies of new books to the library. For example, he acquired several copies of *Random House College Dictionaries*; there were so many that some of them could be distributed to students. Bowers gave one to Marjomaa with his dedication on it.<sup>116</sup> Bowers must have had a separate budget from the Embassy for the books.

Americans were interested in the number of American books at the University of Oulu libraries because it related to the possibility of developing American Studies. American literature mirrored the character and culture of the United States. Bowers verbalised this, saying, "I hope that I was able to give a clearer idea of the American character and way of thinking as revealed in our literature to the Finnish students."<sup>117</sup> However, Bowers assessed that the Department's library was still "certainly not adequate for more than superficial research."<sup>118</sup>

Americans, like Bowers, were annoyed by the fact that Finnish students were very reluctant to say anything in the class. "The unwillingness of students to participate in any kind of class discussion also creates problems in evaluating how successfully they have understood the material under discussion."<sup>119</sup> Many Americans also felt that students were passive because they did not talk.<sup>120</sup> Ilkka Marjomaa explained that, as an English major student in 1960s Oulu, young Finnish did not want to speak if they were not knowledgeable of the issue. Finns also thought they could not speak English properly. It was a wrong type of modesty in his opinion. While already working at the English department, Marjomaa once advised one foreign colleague who complained of the Finnish students' silence. Marjomaa recommended turning off the lights in the classroom and adding candlelight in the middle of the classroom and then start to talk with students. His colleague tried it and told Marjomaa afterwards, amazed that it had worked.<sup>121</sup>

Augmenting the library collection was an important part of the development of the Department. Ole Reuter was responsible for it. In September 1971 Reuter heard that allocation of money for the Department's library was reduced. He wrote to Markku Mannerkoski, Rector of the University of Oulu, and explained that there were still severe gaps, especially in terms of the research literature. He felt that he was not

<sup>115</sup> Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1969–31.8.1970, Oulu 1971, 56. In 1970–1971 the library of the English department received 733 books of which 50 were donations. Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1970–31.8.1971, Oulu 1972, 56.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>117</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>118</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>119</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>120</sup> Final Reports of David Hesla, File 157 and Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

able to address this himself because he was not present in Oulu.<sup>122</sup> Mannerkoski had discussed prior to this with Reuter of the positive development of English philology. Mannerkoski had also discussed with the head of the Humanities division, saying that the library of English philology was extensive enough for academic theses. Mannerkoski had not meant to say that there was no need for further acquisitions for the library, and he responded that he will talk to Kyösti Julku, Professor of History, about this. However, Mannerkoski pointed out that it was not always possible to allocate the same sum of money as before.<sup>123</sup> As Ole Reuter was not permanently in Oulu, it is plausible that Professor Kyösti Julku had discussed the division of funds for new books for Humanities division with Associate Professor John Dove. Dove could have understood that there is a possibility that acquisitions for the Department's library may decrease or even end. This may explain why Dove ordered books that contributed to the crisis at the Department in 1973. I will come back to this issue after the next chapter.

### Failure to root American studies at the Department of English Philology

The aim of the Fulbright Program was to foster mutual understanding among people. Teaching English and American literature was thought to be a key for Finnish people to understand the values, culture and thinking of American people. It strengthened the position of the US as a leader of the new world order. Cultural content shaped people's attitudes and emotions more favourable towards economic and political aims of the Americans. This American influence is sometimes called Americanisation and it includes Anti-Americanism.<sup>124</sup> Finnish people travelled to America on ASLA grants to learn how advanced the United States was, and Americans travelled to Finland on Fulbright grants to teach, inter alia, American studies to Finns. Finnish people were required to know English, but Americans were not required to know Finnish. Dr Marden J. Clark thought that "language is the core of much of my professional activity" and decided he wanted to speak and read Finnish. "At the beginning, I had

<sup>122</sup> Letter from Professor O. R. Reuter to Rector Markku Mannerkoski, September 29, 1971, Saapuneet kirjeet 1971–1973 (Received letters) Ea:3, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, AUO.

<sup>123</sup> Letter from Rector Markku Mannerkoski to Professor Ole Reuter, October 1, 1971, Lähetetyt kirjeet 1959–1974 (Sent letters) Da:1, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, AUO.

<sup>124</sup> Ulf Hannerz, "Networks of Americanization". *Networks of Americanization – Aspects of the American Influence in Sweden*. Edited by Rolf Lunden & Erik Åsard. Uppsala 1992, 10; Marja Alaketola-Tuominen, *Jokapojan amerikanperintö: yhdysvaltalaisia kulttuurivaikutteita Suomessa toisen maailmansodan jälkeen (Every man's American heritage – American cultural influences in Finland after World War II)*. Gaudeamus 1989, 7. Alaketola-Tuominen also writes about anti-American sentiment, which the Vietnam War in 1960s stimulated. Alaketola-Tuominen 1989, 76–94.

very much underestimated the difficulty, and at the end I was hooked by my own stubbornness – I just couldn't resist the challenge."<sup>125</sup>

Marden Clark was Professor of English and vice-chairman of the English graduate committee at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. He lectured American literature in 1970–1971 at the University of Oulu. He was 54, and his wife and sons Kevin, 17, and Harlow, 10, and daughter Krista, 8, came to Finland with him.<sup>126</sup> Coming from Utah, Clark and his family were Mormons. The children went to Finnish school and, despite the language problem, Clark felt, "I think it was a very valuable experience for them".<sup>127</sup> He and his wife made a trip to Moscow from Oulu. After this trip, he spoke about it at the Department. To his great surprise and worry, things in the Soviet Union were running smoothly, people were living like anywhere else, and it was not likely that the country would collapse as soon, as he had expected.<sup>128</sup>

When asked about his professional activities, Clark's Fulbright predecessor, James Bowers, reported that "the experience has certainly provided me a new perspective on the process of education and has suggested ways of improving our own colleges. Personally, the challenge of explaining the American way of life to Finns has deepened my own understanding of what it is to be an American".<sup>129</sup> Contrary to this, Clark learnt Finnish and, he became acquainted with at least the major works of Finnish literature. He assessed that his teaching experience "was a valuable exchange in values, ideas, culture, and experience on both sides".<sup>130</sup>

Perhaps, because Clark was able to communicate in Finnish, he was more serious about his task to help build an American studies program for the University of Oulu. While asked to report an overall critique and commentary on any aspects of the program, Clark did not hide his disappointment. "If the purpose of the program is still, as I understand it originally was, to provide help and guidance to the host universities until while they set up their own programs in American studies, for instance, then I would have to say that my experience and the program itself was a failure. I could see almost no evidence that the English Department or the University was trying to set up their own program, or even interested in doing so. Except for some basic guidelines that had been set up by previous Fulbright lecturers in consultation with the department, I was wholly responsible for the program in American literature, both its content and the teaching."<sup>131</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>126</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>127</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA. The Final Report form has been simplified and shortened and it was no longer divided into different parts.

<sup>128</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>129</sup> Final Report of James W. Bowers, File 154, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>130</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>131</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

In a comparative case study, Natalia Tsvetkova has researched American and Soviet cultural exchange programs after the Second World War in six West German and six East German universities.<sup>132</sup> In the 1950s, a divided Germany became the centre of the political and cultural confrontation between the two rival dissenting blocs. The superpowers' cultural activities "aimed at expanding their divergent values and the political culture rooted in either liberal democracy or Marxist socialism."<sup>133</sup> Despite differences in the political systems, they both pursue similar goals. They elaborated on a governmental educational policy in the form of revised academic programs, curricula, student body and administrative structures.<sup>134</sup> Americans introduced Germany to new disciplines like such as political science and American studies. Political science was viewed as an effective tool to change the political culture and promote the American model of democracy.<sup>135</sup> "Similar to political science, the introduction of American studies was considered an effective way to bring fresh knowledge about American civilization to Germany."<sup>136</sup> Tsvetkova found out that both American and Soviet policies were resisted by the university community, particularly by the conservative German professoriate, in both sides of Germany. She asked in her research why the failure of Americanisation or Sovietisation happened. Her work revealed evidence of the resistance from local academic communities. One reason was, that both American and Soviet powers undermined local academic traditions. New disciplines existed on paper, but were not delivered in practise.<sup>137</sup> Tsvetkova also pointed out that documents by government agencies showed their intentions, but about results or failures, or of the students' response, there are only a few studies.

Finnish mass higher education system was founded in the 1960s. It led to the widening participation to higher education and thus it changed the nature of university studying. University students in Finland began to campaign for great reform in the university administration since the end of the 1960s. It was backed by the centre-left government. The culmination with a request to democratise the administration based on so-called one man, one vote principle, putting students and faculty members on equal footing with regarding to administrative issues.<sup>138</sup> Conservative professors opposed this and it finally led to the founding of the Union of University Professors

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<sup>132</sup> Natalia Tsvetkova, *Making a New and Pliable Professor: American and Soviet Transformations in German Universities, 1945–1990*. Minerva 2014, 52:161–185. Article is based on Natalia Tsvetkova's Ph.D. dissertation titled *Transforming German Universities during the Cold War: The Failure of American and Soviet Cultural Imperialism* defended in Groningen University in 2011.

<sup>133</sup> Tsvetkova 2014, 162.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Tsvetkova 2014, 168.

<sup>136</sup> Tsvetkova 2014, 170.

<sup>137</sup> Tsvetkova 2014, 178.

<sup>138</sup> Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993, 82–99.

in 1969.<sup>139</sup> For example, in 1971 when Rector Markku Mannerkoski was elected for his second term in office, the student union in Oulu insisted that they be given more power in rector election.<sup>140</sup>

Contrary to the Americans, the Soviets did not introduce any field of Soviet studies in East Germany. They promoted Russian language and literature. German universities had a tradition of Slavic studies, which was also re-established.<sup>141</sup> Slavic philology was also planned for Oulu too. In the plans for the future of the University of Oulu in 1965, Slavic philology was listed.<sup>142</sup> These plans never realised. Compared to that, chair of Nordic philology was established in Oulu in 1965. It was justified by the great school reform in Finland, through which Swedish language was to become a new compulsory foreign language for Finnish pupils.<sup>143</sup> Finally, the government of Finland decided to make Swedish a mandatory subject in Finnish comprehensive school in 1968 after extensive debate. Janne Väistö concluded that which foreign languages were taught in Finnish comprehensive school was a matter of foreign policy orientation. However, this was an issue that nobody expressed in public in parliamentary discussions. Cultural and foreign policy matters resolved the case; the decision was part of the discussion concerning Finland's position in the Cold War world order.<sup>144</sup>

Introducing English was important in displacing German in Finland after the war. But Finns did not have the strong emotional and intellectual attachment to American objectives. In Clark's view American Studies did not develop as they should have been at the University of Oulu. However, he was positive in his overall critique and commentary as part of his final report. His assessment in terms of gaining new perspectives and mutual appreciation was very positive. "I see no reason why the program cannot be more than justified in those terms."<sup>145</sup> However, Clark made it clear that the emperor had no clothes, when he stated that the program itself was a failure. Bowers noted that the program was under the complete control of the

<sup>139</sup> Seikko Eskola, "Professorit Suomen historiassa ja yhteiskunnassa". *Suomen Professorit 1640–2007*. Ed. Leena Ellonen. Professoriliitto 2008, 29; Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993, 78.

<sup>140</sup> Matti Salo, "Yliopiston hallinto". *Oulun yliopiston historia (1958–1993)*. Ed. Matti Salo. University of Oulu, Oulu 1998, 60.

<sup>141</sup> Tsvetkova 2014, 173–174.

<sup>142</sup> Salo 1998, 346. On December 22, 1966 the advisory board for the construction of the University of Oulu discussed how different disciplines should be related to each other in terms of educational co-operation. In the attachment, Slavic philology is listed as one of the future philology departments. Neuvottelukunnan pöytäkirjat 1966, File Ca:1, Oulun yliopiston rakentamisen neuvottelukunnan arkisto, AUO.

<sup>143</sup> Oulun yliopiston Filosofisen tiedekunnan kokouspöytäkirja (Minutes of the Faculty of Philosophy) March 3, 1964, AUO. Attachment "Perustelut Pohjoismaisen filologian professorin virka" (P.M. for professorship in Nordic Philology).

<sup>144</sup> Janne Väistö, *Toinen kotimainen toisen tasavallan Suomessa: Ruotsin kieli pakolliseksi aineeksi peruskouluun vuonna 1968*. Åbo Akademi University Press 2017, 259–262.

<sup>145</sup> Final Report of Marden J. Clark, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

Fulbright lecturer, but the Fulbright lecturer changed every year. That may have been one reason the subject failed to root in the curriculum in Oulu. Americans invested more money in the educational exchange than British did, but Finnish–British tradition in English philology was difficult to break.<sup>146</sup>

### The end of the age of innocence in American studies

The institutional history of the University of Oulu included a brief description of the battle at the Department of English Philology in the early 1970s. Rolf Lindholm oversaw the Department at the time. Marjomaa assessed that Lindholm was a very inspiring lecturer, but administrative tasks were probably not his strongest suit.<sup>147</sup> The battle was a profound disagreement concerning the content of the curriculum between some of the Department’s native English-speaking lecturers and the rest of the teaching staff. In line with the British university tradition, the lecturers strived to place a strong emphasis on fiction and poetry at the expense of practical language skills and linguistics. The dispute resulted in a partial change of lecturers.<sup>148</sup> The disagreement included political aspects, but it also revealed the discontent with the division of lecturing responsibilities at the Department. It also had a connection to the acquisitions for the library, and especially books concerning Zen Buddhism and occultism. The crisis developed over a few years.

Dr W. Coburn Freer worked as an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Montana before his Fulbright scholarship in Oulu. He lectured American literature at the University of Oulu in 1971–1972. Like his predecessors, Bowers and Wells, he was in his thirties and came to Oulu with his wife and their two daughters.<sup>149</sup> From a professional standpoint, Freer felt that his Fulbright year in Oulu was “an extremely valuable year”. His expectations for Finland and the remote town of Oulu were not very high because he wrote that “the quality of the faculty in Oulu is much higher than one would expect giving the location.” Freer embedded his critiques between the lines. He was not satisfied with the Department’s commitment to American Studies, reporting that “however, many attitudes are different from those to U.S., especially the respect to the end and purpose of scholarship, and the relation between student and teacher.”<sup>150</sup> Freer also referred to the differences between Finnish, American

<sup>146</sup> “The conditions for all kind of British Council activity certainly remained favourable in Finland. – In this area (learning of language) the British, rather arrogantly, continued to claim that they almost had a monopoly in Finland. In spite of all of the newly emerged American effort, it was not until 1968 that US officials were reported to have made a serious effort to influence English language training by appointing teachers to schools.” Fields 2015, 297.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>148</sup> Salo 1998, 354.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> The Final Report of Coburn Freer, File 156, FUSEEC, FNA.

and European university traditions. “In our exchange of views, I think my Finnish colleagues understand better the shifts occurring in the American university life: I know I understand better the live traditions of European scholarships.”<sup>151</sup>

Freer felt that the Department was understaffed, and the workload of Fulbright grantees was proportionally too high. He had compared the number of courses assigned to the grantee in Oulu and those of other grantees teaching elsewhere in Finland. He urged USEF to set a cap on the number of courses a grantee needed to teach.<sup>152</sup> Freer made an interesting notion regarding a Fulbrighter’s academic assignments. In the orientation, Fulbrighters were advised to “do things your way and not adapt too much to the Finnish system”. He thought this was good advice, but “still it be good to know more about usual way of doing things in the system.”<sup>153</sup> Aim of the Fulbright lecturers was not only to reform the content of the curriculum with American Studies, but also to renew the pedagogy and methodology of teaching. Changing lectures to more interactive and verbal discussions seems to be something they strived for.

The 1972–1973 academic year was the second year the University of Oulu received two Fulbright grantees. It showed the Fulbright program and the USEF were ready to invest in Oulu. As usual, one was a lecturer of English language and American literature, and the other lectured theoretical physics.<sup>154</sup> Dr David H. Hesla came to Oulu to lecture American literature. He was 42 years old, and his wife Mary and two children Maren, 12, and Thor, 10, came to Finland with him.<sup>155</sup> His family roots originated in Norway.<sup>156</sup> Prior to his Fulbright exchange, Hesla was an Associate Professor at the Institute of Liberal Arts at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.<sup>157</sup> He had written *The Shape of Chaos: An Interpretation of the Art of Samuel Beckett*, published by The University of Minnesota Press in 1971. He had also published two articles, “The Two Roles of Norman Mailer”<sup>158</sup> and “Theological Ambiguity in the Catholic Novels”<sup>159</sup>. Presumably, his lectures in American literature included Norman Mailer but also European writers such as Samuel Beckett and Graham Greene.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> The Final Report of Coburn Freer, File 156, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>154</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA. In 1969–1970 was the first year of two Fulbright grantees.

<sup>155</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>156</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>157</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>158</sup> In *Adversity and Grace: Studies in Recent American Literature*. Edited by Nathan A. Scott Jr. The University of Chicago Press, 1968. The book is Vol. IV of the series *Essays in Divinity*, edited by Jerald C. Brauer.

<sup>159</sup> In *Graham Greene: Some Critical Considerations*. Edited by Robert O. Evans. University Press of Kentucky, 1963; File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>160</sup> File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

Ilkka Marjomaa remembered Hesla as a person who was highly intellectual and had little sense of humour.<sup>161</sup>

American literature was not Hesla's speciality, and he had to read many American novels and other works to be able to fulfil his duties. He was glad for this opportunity and felt he had learnt a great deal over the year. Hesla held a *laudatur* (master's) seminar fortnightly in his special field, the religious and philosophical dimensions of literature. His assessment was that the "subject was too abstruse" for the students. He also considered that the students did not have adequate training in writing papers. Hesla served as visiting lecturer in Turku, Jyväskylä and Helsinki. He felt these extracurricular activities were important because he gained some assurance "that the situation at the University of Oulu did not prevail throughout Finland." Despite his criticism, Hesla thought there might be a Fulbright lecturer in Oulu next year. "My wife and I will leave a sizable document for the next Fulbrighter in Oulu reporting on schools, medical facilities, shopping, etc."<sup>162</sup>

### **The deep crisis at the Department of English ends the Fulbright Program**

The Department of English faced a deep crisis in 1973 which resulted the end of American Fulbright lecturers. David Hesla had a role in it. His mission was to develop the curriculum and modes of learning at the University of Oulu, but these plans came to nothing. He described in disappointment the professional aspects of his grant experience in his final report.

"The library is not as good as an ordinary American high school's, and it is organized according to no known system. The Department is without a Professor, has no sense of mission or goals, and is hopelessly divided between an older, stodgy group and a younger, critical group. This division may be overcome, as one of the younger was not rehired and a second has quit. One of the senior men has spent an appreciable part of the small library budget on books in the field of black magic, alchemy and witchcraft. Changing the system of lecturers, examinations, etc. is all but impossible. Trained in school never to ask questions or doubt the authority of the teacher, the Finnish student is passive, polite, interested in passing his examinations. There are some exceptions. The 'Marxist' students are uninformed sloganizers."<sup>163</sup>

The sentence beginning with a phrase "One of the senior men has spent an appreciable part of the small library ..." has been covered with black marker pen. Typewritten letters can be read from the original final report because they were punched on paper very hard.

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>162</sup> Final Report of David Hesla, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>163</sup> Final Report of David Hesla, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA.

The University of Oulu's student union's paper, *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, published Australian lecturer Peter Robb's letter translated to Finnish in September 1973.<sup>164</sup> Robb had resigned, and before that, he had sent a long letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and "to the ancient aristocrat, the Rector and the Minister, none of whom replied."<sup>165</sup> Robb, Martin Watkins and Gerald Porter seemed to be the main actors in the "younger critical group" mentioned by Hesla. Watkins had a temporary contract, which was not continued.<sup>166</sup> Historically, *Oulun ylioppilaslehti* was clearly leftist in its tone in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>167</sup> The article's introduction was written in a populist tone. The Finnish title of Robb's text claimed that the management at the Department of English Philology was more interested in their own comfort and black magic than in the development of the Department. According to the lead of the article, over 100 students had signed a plea opposing "subjective examination arrangements." This reform was rejected. Junior lecturers supported this reform, and according to *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, they were pressured into silence or expelled.<sup>168</sup>

Peter Robb accused Professors Ole Reuter, John Dove and Rolf Lindholm that they had not performed their duties in the last two years and that the Department had collapsed. It seems that Reuter, Dove and Lindholm were key persons in "an older, stodgy group", a description Hesla used in his report. Robb's example of bad management was that, during the last two years, there had not been any properly convened Department committee meetings: there had only been ad hoc meetings, emergency meetings, secret meetings and meetings in hotel bars. "I am afraid that the student representatives are intimidated by the presence at their meetings of both

<sup>164</sup> *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, paper no 18, September 21, 1973. On the cover was "Englantilaisen filologian laitoksella kuohuu: Opettaja erotettiin – toinen erosi omasta pyynnöstä" ("Turbulence at the Department of English Philology: The teacher was dismissed – another resigned at his own request"). Robb, later a well-known writer and novelist, has briefly commented on his conflictual time in Oulu. Peter Robb, "The Life not lived", *The Monthly Magazine*. December 2011–January 2012. Read April 10, 2020 (<https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2011/december/1347939203/peter-robb/life-not-lived>).

<sup>165</sup> Robb 2011. The Faculty of Philosophy was divided into the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Natural Science in 1972. The first Dean of the Faculty of Humanities was Professor of Finnish Pauli Saukkonen in 1972–1974. Matti Salo, "Yliopiston kokonaisuus". *Oulun yliopiston historia (1958–1993)*. Ed. Matti Salo. University of Oulu, Oulu 1998, 145–146.

<sup>166</sup> Martin Watkins was appointed to a senior lectureship in 1972 for the duration of the Jeremy Lavin's year-long leave of absence. Lavin's leave was extended, but Watkin's appointment was not.

<sup>167</sup> *Uunosta Välikyksi. Oulun yliopiston ylioppilaskunta vuosina 1959–2009*. Edited by Anna Nieminen. WS Bookwell Oy, Porvoo 2010, 114–116.

<sup>168</sup> "Englantilaisen filologian laitos kriisin kourissa: Professorijohto kiinnostuneempi mustasta magiasta ja omasta mukavuudestaan kuin laitoksen kehittämisestä". *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, paper no 18, September 21, 1973.

Professors Lindholm and Dove: How can the Committee then perform its function of representing staff-student opinion to the professors?"<sup>169</sup>

A core issue was that there had been reforms in the curriculum and a discussion concerning the division of work at the Department, referring to which courses lecturers and professors lecture and how they do so. Lectures on English or American literature had been taken away from younger lecturers. Robb accused these reforms of underestimating students' capabilities. He did not understand the criticism towards his own teaching, but instead he noted that there was also a useful critique of the syllabus, which he and other likeminded individuals had proposed with the students. This was connected to the politically heated committee work on qualifications concerning university degrees in the philosophical and the social sciences i.e., leftist FYTT reform. The number of literature courses was under scrutiny because the FYTT reform aimed at profession orientation instead of academic orientation in university studies. Finnish students studying to become schoolteachers needed skills in pronunciation and conversation classes. These courses were not interesting from the native English speakers' point of view.

In 1968, university students had begun to debate the reform of university administration as well. Students demanded more influence at the university, and the radical one man, one vote principle meant that all students and faculty members would vote equally to have representatives in administrative bodies at the university at all levels (department, faculty, board). The University of Oulu's student union decided to join the National Union of Finnish University Students' pleas to demand a general and equal vote for students.<sup>170</sup> Peter Robb took the students' side in this matter. Robb also accused John Dove of having misconceptions about university education and funny personal attractions to spiritualism, occultism and black magic. Robb accused Dove of having spent the complete library appropriation in 1972–1973 on such books. The picture on *Oulun Ylioppilaslehti*'s cover page shows examples of book covers such as Geoffrey Parrinder's *European and African Witchcraft* and another titled, *The Holy Kabbalah*.<sup>171</sup>

Ilkka Marjomaa saw some motivation for the purchase of these debatable books. At certain points, English literature and culture has been influenced by esotericism. For example, the British occultist Aleister Crowley had a wide influence in 20<sup>th</sup>-century British popular culture. Eastern religions and spiritual quests were the inspiration and influence behind the American hippie movement's poets too. Dove purchased a quite wide collection of literature concerning Zen Buddhism. Marjomaa thought it was justified based on the cultural influence of such thinking had but having a large number of these expensive books on the Department's bookshelf

<sup>169</sup> *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, paper no 18, September 21, 1973. This quote is from the original letter and printed in the paper in English.

<sup>170</sup> *Uunosta Välkyksi. Oulun yliopiston ylioppilaskunta vuosina 1959–2009*, 2010, 101–103.

<sup>171</sup> *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, paper no 18, September 21, 1973.

without using them for research was questionable. Finally, to resolve the case, the university's administration decided to transfer these books from the Department's library to the university library.<sup>172</sup> One can wonder whether Dove purchased these books using a remarkable share of the 1972–1973 library allocation because he feared that the English Department's library funds would be cut off. Peter Robb and the student union's paper *Oulun ylioppilaslehti* viewed these books negatively; they did not see them as sources of cultural analysis and understanding regarding the impact of religions on English and American literature. The protest was also aimed at the professor's decision-making power in library acquisitions.

Peter Robb threatened to write to educational journals in the United Kingdom to warn British applicants against applying to work at the University of Oulu. He concluded by stating that the American Fulbright Office had also abandoned its recurrent habit of sending a lecturer in American literature to the Department because of the current situation. Mentioning Fulbright connected the young critical group with Hesla, who had discussed these issues and supported the group in the beginning. However, Hesla had changed his mind and sent a letter to the Faculty of Humanities on May 21, 1973, stating that supporting Robb's demands "might well seriously harm the development of the University of Oulu."<sup>173</sup>

Rolf Lindholm replied to Peter Robb's accusation in the following issue of *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*. Lindholm acknowledged Robb's accusations of the Department's committee meetings as a nonsense and stated Robb's comments concerning Fulbright lecturers were completely wrong. He referred to the committee work on the qualifications of university degrees in the philosophical and the social sciences, i.e., FYTT reform, noting that Robb wanted to increase the amount of literature and poetry in the curriculum, which was against the development ideas of FYTT.<sup>174</sup> Also, linguistics emerged at the time as a modern approach to language studies. Finnish language departments increasingly cut their former emphasis on philology and introduced linguistics, especially applied linguistics. However, as the theoretical focus reoriented to the applied linguistics, it was a field dominated by Anglo-Saxon scientists and the United States.<sup>175</sup> Hiring the American linguist James 'Jim' Haines, who took the responsibility of American literary course, to the Department in Oulu in 1974 was an example of this.

<sup>172</sup> Interview with Ilkka Marjomaa, September 20, 2019.

<sup>173</sup> "Repliikki FK Pekka Raudasvirralle" by Rolf Lindholm. *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, no 23, October 26, 1973.

<sup>174</sup> "Lehtori Robbin väitteiden johdosta" by Rolf Lindholm. *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, no 19, September 28, 1973.

<sup>175</sup> Even Hovdhaugen, Fred Karlsson, Carol Henriksen & Benght Sigurd, *The History of Linguistics in the Nordic Countries*. Gummerus, Jyväskylä, Societas Scientiarum Fennica 2000, 304–306, 479–486.

The debate continued in *Oulun ylioppilaslehti* in October. In his reply to Pekka Raudasvirta, Lindholm wrote that Robb lectured Western literary tradition through a dialectical view, referring to that Robb supported leftist world view. Lindholm justified the acquisition of a few occultist books because Associate Professor John Dove lectured and had a seminar on poet W.B. Yeats. Lindholm pointed out that Robb himself ordered the complete works of Leo Tolstoy in English for the department's library, which could also be questioned.<sup>176</sup> Hesla saw the old group of professors "stodgy". He did not appreciate the passive Finnish students or uncritical Marxists students, who were only repeating preconceived ideas. His special field was religious and philosophical dimensions of literature which contradicted Associate Professor Dove's interests. Instead, Hesla evaluated himself and his family's experience by mirroring how he perceived Finland: "We are different, perhaps in important ways, from what we were when we came here: less frantic, less compulsive, better able (I believe) to distinguish the less from the more important. And I have a greater appreciation for some American values – freedom, variety, competition, individuality."<sup>177</sup>

Over 100 students had signed a plea to oppose the subjective examination arrangements. This meant oral examinations, which were the tradition of the University of Helsinki and which Professor Ole Reuter took the responsibility for. Ilkka Marjomaa quoted the standing joke that Raoul Palmgren, Professor of Literature, hated oral questioning because he had had enough of it during the Finnish continuation war when he was a political prisoner of war in 1942–1944.<sup>178</sup> The politicisation of university students probably influenced the Fulbright Program to stop sending lecturers of American literature to Oulu. There was tension in Finland and at the University of Oulu too between conservative, right-wing traditions and subversive leftist reforms. Opposing the oral examinations and demanding for university democracy and reforms of university curricula encapsulated this. The post-war Americanization of Europe through educational and cultural projects also led to the anti-American sentiments. In Sweden, diplomatic tensions following the bombings of Hanoi in late 1972 led to severe crisis between Sweden and The United States.<sup>179</sup> In Finland reactions to Vietnam War were not uniform. As Alaketola-Tuominen formulated, it was "system-friendly radicalism."<sup>180</sup>

Hesla's critique is reminiscent to Kirsti Simonsuuri, who came to Oulu in 1978 for an associate professorship in literature from Cambridge, where she had obtained her Ph. D. in 1977. She was angry when she left Oulu, and she published a

<sup>176</sup> "Repliikki FK Pekka Raudasvirkalle" by Rolf Lindholm. *Oulun ylioppilaslehti*, no 23, October 26, 1973. Robb.

<sup>177</sup> Final Report of David Hesla, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA.

<sup>178</sup> Kalemaa 1984, 131–136.

<sup>179</sup> Blanck 2006, 105–106.

<sup>180</sup> Alaketola-Tuominen 1989, 87–94.

critical book called *Pohjoinen yökirja* (The Northern Night Book) in 1981 about the Literary Department's narrow-minded Marxist mentality, which did not align with her European leftist highbrow worldview. Simonsuuri had studied the mythology of the ancient Greece, and she compared Northern Finland to dark Ultima Thule and Dante's Hell.<sup>181</sup> Also Peter Robb described later his journey to north as a flight into a darkness.<sup>182</sup>

## Conclusion

The University of Oulu began the education of humanities in 1965 by founding chairs in English and Nordic philology and Literature. The aim was to train English and Swedish teachers for schools. Internationalisation was prioritised, and the English and Swedish languages connected Finland to the West. The situation was very promising in terms of introducing a new subject, American studies, as part of the curriculum. Hiring the well-known leftist Raoul Palmgren as a Professor of Literature seemed to balance invisible weights between the East and the West. His support probably backed the politicised student movement in Oulu, which demanded the democratisation of the university administration using the by one man, one vote principle and committee work on the qualifications of university degrees in the philosophical and social sciences, known as the FYTT reform. FYTT reform also decreased the power of the University of Helsinki in Finnish university degree system. Validity and content of degrees were not anymore determined in comparison with the standards of the University of Helsinki.

The Department of English Philology at Oulu was a clone of the Department of English Philology at the University of Helsinki. Under the leadership of Ole Reuter, the Department adopted the conservative British academic traditions of the University of Helsinki in teaching and examination. The relationship between the centre, Helsinki, and the periphery, Oulu, included features of a kind of colonial arrangement. Academically, the Department in Oulu was for a long time a kind of a branch of the University of Helsinki. Before Professor Heikki Nyysönen in 1981, Department did not develop scientifically independently.

Reuter visited Oulu four times a year, while he executed oral examinations. As time passed, his visits to Oulu became less frequent. Acting heads changed frequently

<sup>181</sup> Salo 1998, 360. See also Taru Väyrynen, *Odysssea Ouluun: Kirsti Simonsuuren Pohjoisen yökirjan viesti ja vastaanotto* (Odyssey to Oulu: the message and the reception of Kirsti Simonsuuri's *Pohjoinen yökirja*). Dissertation. SKS, Helsinki 1999, 25, 42–43, 59–61.

<sup>182</sup> "Oulu (sic!) had once belonged to Russia and its railway station looked like the one Tolstoy died in. Nazi trenches were still cut into the surrounding countryside." *The Monthly* magazine December 2011–January 2012. Read on April 10, 2020 (<https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2011/december/1347939203/peter-robb/life-not-lived#mtr>).

until Rolf Lindholm took the post in 1974. Before Lindholm, the acting head did not always live in Oulu. The curriculum and examination were difficult to reform without a clear ownership or a single person in charge in Oulu. It is difficult to think that an organisation's management could efficiently work in this way. Lindholm took the responsibility of the Department in difficult time. He was committed to the development of the Department, but his administrative capabilities left a question mark. Some of Peter Robb's accusations are probably justified, simply because it is not possible that he fabricated them all.

Americans tried to root American studies to the Department of English by Fulbright lecturers, who were a kind of outsourced service providers for the government of the United States. They were regularly sent to Oulu and they usually left giving criticism to the University. Outdated teaching and examination methods were regularly mentioned in reports. Passive students expected straight lecturing, and insufficient library facilities hindered research work. It seems, that Department's interest was to receive resources for teaching. As W Coburn Freer complained, the Department was understaffed, and the workload of Fulbright grantees was proportionally too high. David Hesla had to read many American novels and other works to be able to fulfil his duties, because American literature was not his speciality. A reason for Hesla's discontent could partly be due to his workload. However, Fulbright grantees always recommended continuation of the program. Perhaps they understood that their work was according to American interest. Their work supported the US politically by explaining reasons for the War in Vietnam and American racial relations.

As the Fulbright Program celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1966, the US Department of State wanted to evaluate and develop it in Finland. A special long-range planning team representing American higher education visited Finland and also the University of Oulu. Nothing specific was visibly changed, so the Department of State was basically satisfied with the actions and results. This was essentially what they wanted from Finland, the promotion of goodwill and understanding of contemporary American culture. In Charles Frankel's view educational exchange should be based on institutional rather than individual terms. His idea of practically interlacing of American and foreign educational systems, like Finland's, was very ambitious. Finnish education system should in that case had been subjected to the greater changes. When cultural practices did not change, the practical interlacing of the educational systems also never happened. The students' unrest combined with politically motivated demands for greater participation in the Department's administration led the situation to explode at the hands of the Department in 1973.

Vulnerabilities in the Department's integrity opened possibilities for Americans to intervene. The United States Information Service provided books by major American authors and copies of texts for the survey course. However, the institutional relationship did not develop because the institutional structures at the Department in Oulu were tenuous. However, promoting American-related humanities courses

through a continuous flow of American lecturers in English language and American Literature did have an impact. This was done by placing American literature within the context of American studies and emphasising the relationship of American literature and American culture. Fulbright lecturers promoted American ideas and culture and maintained their country's presence abroad. They sometimes found that the exchange period had strengthened their own perception and appreciation of American values. The American (mis-)perception that Finland was behind the Iron Curtain is repeated in the final reports. As the Fulbright grantees felt so, they certainly wanted to spread the American model of democracy and freedom in the Northern Finland. In Finland, cultural content shaped the reception of American political and economic views and justified it by presenting positive ideas of opportunities for all and land of plenty.

This was the case until the arrival of David Hesla, who lectured in Oulu in 1972–1973. It happened to be the second year when the University of Oulu received two Fulbright grantees per year. Although Hesla condemned the Department of English Philology completely, he and his wife wrote a sizable document for the next Fulbrighter in Oulu. Hesla criticised the Department and supported a partly the politically motivated attack against the management of the Department. It is confusing, because the “young critical group” certainly did not promote the interests of the United States.

After Hesla's negative feedback, the flow of Fulbright lecturers to American Studies -related humanities courses in Oulu ended. All collaboration with Fulbright Program in American Studies ended when Ole Reuter left his position as the responsible professor at the University of Oulu. Neither the Department of English nor the University of Oulu tried to set up their own American studies programs. The FYTT reform aimed to increase practical skills and reduce emphasis on academic skills. In English philology it also led to a decrease of literature in the curriculum. Simultaneously, the linguists emerged as a distinct academic discipline in Finland and American linguist James Haines started to work at the Department in Oulu. American studies as an independent discipline were a loan, like Ole Reuter.

