Introduction

Press histories, as with history writing in general, tend to be linked to the framework of the nation state. However, borders between states have changed many times. Many European nation states have fairly short histories and some of the first periodicals emerged in multiethnic empires, such as the Holy Roman Empire, the Russian Empire or the 17th century Swedish conglomerate empire. Press histories also tend to be written in chronological order, following the political and social history of the country. For example, Salokangas (1997) says that the context should come first, but that the research should not stop there. In his view putting the context first is a strategic move, meaning that by first focusing on the background it is easier to study the actual object, the media. Bastiansen’s (2008) discussion of the nature of media history and the relationship between media history and media systems concludes that the main dividing line between different ways of understanding media systems lies between approaches in social sciences and history. While social scientists seek all-inclusive general mechanisms, historians study unique, singular cases.

Danish scholar Ib Bondebjerg’s paper at the 15th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research called on media historians to have a more ‘global’ view of media histories. He urged them to move on from nationally focussed practices to “a more integrated and interdisciplinary writing of media history” (Bondebjerg 2002:62). Along with national media histories that mostly emphasize the uniqueness of the country’s media development, a broader knowledge of mutual impacts, similarities and parallel developments is necessary to better understand global trends of media development. There is thus a need for longitudinal, cross-national comparative approach. It is difficult not to agree with Bondebjerg’s statement that: “... globalization is in fact as old as the Bible. From the beginning of time, all cultural processes have involved a generic mix of ‘us’ and ‘them’, whereby things once belonging solely to the Other become genuinely ours over the span of a few centuries” (Ibid.).

This is a good starting point for an attempt to compare and interpret the development of the press in Estonia and Finland, and their historical masters, Germany, Sweden and Russia.
We will begin with the foundation of the first periodicals and end our discussion in the 1920s-1930s. Of primary interest is the early press history, due to the countries somewhat similar starting point. All five countries experienced autocratic rule and censorship and the press participated in modernization and democratization of the societies. By 1920s four of these five countries had become democracies with fully commercial press markets. But, by the end of 1930s they were only two. Democracy collapsed in Germany in 1933 and in Estonia in 1934. The Soviet Union, the Third Reich and the Estonian authoritarian regime under Konstantin Päts’ leadership used varying degree of propaganda, censorship and control. Further, Estonia later became a Soviet republic and, as Germany was divided, Soviet style journalism was introduced in DDR as well. To include these later periods would thus require more extensive discussion than is possible in this article.

Fairly extensive research has been done on each country’s press history (see e.g. Gustafsson & Rydén 2010, Den svenska pressens historia 1-IV 2000, Tommila & Salokangas 2000, Suomen lehdistön historia 1988, Stöber 2005b, Koszyk 1966, Bösch 2011, Dussel 2011), but much less interest has been devoted to comparative studies (Chapman 2005 and Høyer et al 1993 may serve as an example). Comparison of the five countries is challenging, because Estonia was administrative divided into Estonia and Livonia until 1917 and both the Estonian provinces and Finland were ‘borderlands’, peripheries or ‘colonies’ of Sweden and Russia. Germany also went through several different transformations, encompassing changes in both borders and form of government. The Holy Roman Empire included Austria, whereas the unified Kaiserreich didn’t and the collapse of the Weimar Republic led to the Third Reich and the return of the authoritarian regime.

The correlation of forces between the great powers changed over time and so did the administrative borders. Background developments (wars, economic recessions, revolutions, national and cultural aspirations etc.) had differing impacts on these nations. As a result, the development toward more democratic governments or a freer press did not occur simultaneously. It is interesting to compare which phenomena in the press history developed faster in one nation than in another, and to ask for reasons. What were the results of the introduction of technological and journalistic innovations in one or another nation? What format did they take? In what ways did the development of the press in the ‘colonies’ differ from each other and their masters?

The press histories of these nations offer intriguing similarities as well as differences in the formation of newspapers and expansion of the press market, in introduction of technological innovations, in adoption and adaptation of elements of journalism etc. At the same time, the press histories reflect changes in political systems and in society as a whole, and the role the
press played both in portraying and contributing to the changes. Some changes coincide with changes in the press systems and this often leads researchers (especially those with a history background) to “the immanent or teleological view of media development which holds that the iron law of historical change drives media systems in a similar direction, irrespective of local conditions” (Høyer 1998: 4).

Our aim is to demonstrate potentialities of an approach that departs from the various dimensions of the development of the press in a cross-cultural comparison, rather than the sequence of historical changes in a society. Context is naturally important, but putting it first emphasizes the development of the society, not the development of the press. This makes cross-country comparisons difficult. We attempt to outline ideas for comparing the development of different aspects of the press in a various countries diachronically and horizontally, and then turn to the societal contexts to look for impacts and possible explanations. We look at this as an intellectual experiment and cannot yet promise any groundbreaking results.

**Searching for relevant comparative framework**

Bondebjerg (2002: 66-67) encourages media historians to see “media as part of the institutional infrastructure of society and culture” and as “part of an aesthetic, cultural, symbolic universe, a network of discursive structures that reflect and influence historical development” (author's italics). Bondebjerg outlines three media historical dimensions: 1) the social and institutional dimension, 2) the aesthetic, cultural-symbolic dimension and 3) the everyday culture dimension. The parameters Høyer (1998:4) suggests for the periodization of the press include: economy and technology (press market developments, diffusion of technological innovations etc.), institutional arrangements (power relations with the other institutions and society, professionalization and organization of journalism) and journalism (its types, forms of content and presentation). Hallin and Mancini (2004) suggest three dimensions: market, political parallelism and professionalization (journalism).

We depart from a somewhat different starting point, without ignoring or contradicting the above referred dimensions. We see the press as on open system allowing interaction between its internal elements and the environment. In the most general sense, "system" means a configuration of parts connected and joined together by a web of relationships (Bánáthy 1997). An "open system" is defined as a “system in exchange of matter with its environment, presenting import and export, building-up and breaking-down of its material components” (Bertalanffy 1988:4). From this viewpoint, the press as an open system consists of various elements that are interrelated and interact with their environment.
These elements are: technology, market and journalism. In addition, there is a specific bridging element – ‘audiences’ – which connects the press with its ‘environment’ – society. The ‘audiences’ are a part of society, but at the same time they form a distinctive group as readers of the press (from elites in the 17th-18th centuries to the masses in the 19th century).

These are common elements for the press irrespective of the place and time, and we can see them as a kind of ‘universal’ or global structural element. What makes them unique is ‘localization’ – the common elements appear, to a larger or smaller extent, differently according to national contexts.

Within the elements of the press system various categories can be determined that enable both diachronic (through time) and horizontal (within the same time span) comparisons.

A not complete list of examples includes:

1) Technology
- printing technology (printing press, paper, printing ink, typesetter)
- visualization technology (photography, layout, illustrations)
- information transmission technology (telephone, telegraph)
- technological processes (lithography, offset etc.)
- news agencies – a combination of technology and news business

2) Market:
- processes like emergence, saturation, competition, concentration.
- territorial expansion and socio-political expansion of audiences lead to diversification of journalism (see e.g. Høyer, Hadenius and Weibull 1975).

3) Journalism:
- emergence and diffusion of journalistic innovations – genres as discourses, news paradigm
- professionalization of journalism as an occupation (division of labour, journalists’ associations, professional norms and rules and ethical considerations)

The history of the elements of the press system can be viewed as a history of innovations. They emerged as something new, were first adopted and developed by someone, and then spread geographically and cross-culturally at different speeds. An innovation is defined “as an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption” (Rogers 1995: xvii). In this sense, an improvement in printing technology, or emergence of a new journalistic format or news gathering practice can be regarded as an
innovation. Innovations always embody information (of their nature, purpose and the ways of use). According to Everett R. Rogers (1997:10), diffusion is a "process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system". Communication of an innovation is a process involving 'technology transfer' – application of information into use (Rogers 2002: 323). The speed of diffusion and adoption of innovations depend on a range of social, economic, political and cultural background factors in individual countries. In the interaction with this background new combined developments emerge, for example diversification of the press along political lines. Also, organization and professionalization of journalism occurs in negotiation and interaction between the press and other political and social institutions.

Høyer, Hadenius and Weibull (1975) see the newspaper industry more as a collection of diverse local markets than an integrated industry operating on a national market. The market expansion usually goes from center to periphery, both in territorial and socio-political terms. The territorial expansion moves from urban centers to rural areas. Its is followed by social and political differentiation, meaning that the readership expands from upper and middle classes to lower social orders. They say that the rate and extent of expansion may vary and thus create phase-lags and that territorial differentiation usually starts earlier and lasts longer.

Bastiansen (2008: 104-105) points out that historian's primary task is to create order and that chronology is fundamental to historical studies. The studied periods of time also need to be divided into historical phases. Our exploration of the development of the press in Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Germany and Russia departs from the listed three elements and tries to identify different phases and possible phase lags.

**Diffusion and adoption of printing technologies**

According to Mervola (1995) the outward appearance of a newspaper is linked to the volume of contents and the technological, economic and social prospects of the times. Economic and social change provide new contents and eventually the volume of the contents grows past the limits set by the outward appearance. This built-up pressure is released by adopting a new outward appearance, which may require investment in new technological innovations. Stronger competition between newspapers may also fuel such changes. Mervola (1995: 354, 417) describes this process as rotation of appearance spirals. According to Kurvits (2010) the Estonian, Finnish and Anglo-American press have gone through three such cycles. At first newspapers resembled books. During the second cycle the pages were larger and contained some segmentation devices. During the third cycle newspapers finally acquired their unique appearance with multicolumn pages and visual material. These changes were
made possible by new, better equipment. But, new technologies alone are not sufficient to trigger a change and the pace at which an appearance spiral rotates depends on the context. As Kurvits (2010: 410) points out the visual forms of newspapers were very similar, although the newspapers were created in different countries and in different times.

Table 1. Adoption of new technologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Finland</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paper (pulp)</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1850s</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1840s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand press</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>1483</td>
<td>1560s</td>
<td>1450s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder(Schnellpresse)</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>1823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation press</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>1870s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typesetter</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>after 1900</td>
<td>1890s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>1850s</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News agency</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manual paper production began in the late 14th century in Germany, in the early 16th century in Sweden and in Estonia and Russia during the 18th century. The weight of the paper, however, set limits to how large sheets could be made. German Weber Friedrich Gottlob Keller discovered in 1843 that pulp could be used to make paper. Industrial paper production broke through with the development of chemical pulping process in the 1880s. After that the price of paper dropped dramatically. The new technology also created a possibility to increase the size of a newspaper page. (Dussel 2011: 61, Mervola 1995, Stöber 2005b: 31)

Until the beginning of the 19th century printing presses had changed little since Gutenberg’s invention. Wooden parts had been largely replaced by iron, but the basic construction itself had changed very little. Rapid technological development began with the invention of cylinder press. Friedrich Gottlob Koenig patented his invention in 1810 or 1811 and three years later The Times was the first newspaper to adopt this new technology. Wooden engravings were used to print the first pictures. In 1881 German Georg Meisenbach invented the “autotypie” technique that made it possible to distinguish darker and lighter shades in illustrations. (Stöber 2005b: 119-120, Dussel 2011: 63-68)

The German newspaper Die Allegemeine Zeitung, followed by the Berlin paper Haude und Spencersche Zeitung, bought its first cylinder press in 1823. A few years later a cylinder press was imported to Örebro, Sweden. In Finland and Estonia cylinder presses were in use in the 1840s. The Russian Bible Society imported the first one in 1816 and steam powered presses
became more common during the 1860s. This new technology, however, soon proved inadequate. New kinds of rotation presses made it possible to enlarge the size of the page, create a more linear layout and produce larger editions. The more successful newspapers’ better economy, need for more space, increased advertising and cheap paper made new investments possible. First rotation presses appeared in Germany in the 1870s, Sweden and Russia in the 1880’s and Finland in the 1890’s. Estonia got its first rotation press in the early 20th century. The distribution of typesetter occurred at an even higher speed. German-American Ottmar Mergenthaler developed a typesetting machine in 1886 and this new innovation was imported to Finland, Sweden and Germany in the 1890s and to Estonia in 1909. In Russia typesetting was a hand-operation until the 20th century. Although the first offset machines were invented in the early 20th century, they became common first in the 1970s. (Dussel 2011: 62-63, Stöber 2005b: 119-121; Den svenska presseens historia I 2000: 306; Mervola 1995: 138-140, Ruud 1982: 191)

Finland, Estonia and Sweden imported their printing technologies primarily from Germany. The printers and the owners of the printing shops in Estonia were Germans until 1848, when the first printer of Estonian origin, Carl Gottlieb Mattiesen, was able to establish his own printing shop in Tartu. In the 1900s, the Estonian printers and newspaper publishers bought outdated equipment from Germany, and this practice continued through the end of the 1930s. Similarly, in Finland, printers and newspaper publishers represented the elite (mostly of Swedish origin). They published literature and periodical publications for both the Swedish and Finnish language readers. The first publisher and editor of Finnish origin was a priest Anders Lizelius who published the first Finnish language newspaper Suomenkieliset Tietosanomat in 1776 (Suomen lehdistön historia I 1988).

The German influence in Sweden, Finland and Estonia can be also seen in the use of Gothic. Germany had its own Antiqua-Gothic dispute, but it occurred much later than for example in Sweden, where Antiqua was commonly used in the 1820s. Swedish regional press, however, used Gothic until 1860s or 1870s. Finnish and Estonian newspapers used Gothic until the turn of the century. Close commercial ties to Germany definitely had a long-lasting impact on the printing culture, but readers’ conservatism is a more likely explanation for it. German companies produced typefaces for Antiqua as well and for example Finnish newspapers had the capacity to use it. Some newspapers tested Antiqua as early as the 1820s and again in the 1880s and 1890s, but the readers didn’t like it (Mervola 1995).

The expansion of the press market is also linked to improved infrastructure. In the 17th century better and more reliable postal services were important. During the 19th century new roads, canals, railroads and steam powered locomotives together with trade treaties,
agricultural reforms and other changes led to better economic conditions and growing populations. Electric telegraph was invented by Samuel Morse and the first telegraph line was built in 1844 between New York and Baltimore. In Prussia telegraph came into use 1849 and in 1850 a joint venture Deutsch-Österreichischen Telegraphenvereins was founded. The first telegraph cables in the other countries were also built in the 1850s and the Crimean War can be seen as the first "media war" thanks to the telegraph. The price of telegraph services, nevertheless, set its limits. (Stöber 2005b: 130, Lückemeier 2001: 236-237, Dussel 2011: 69-73, Hoyer et al 1993: 68, Andersson & Amuren 2006: 161, Brose 2008:189-190, Melin et al 2006: 255)

The first global news agencies were French Havas, founded in 1835, German das Wolffs Telegraphisches Bureau, founded in 1849, and British Reuters, founded in 1851. They formed a news cartel in 1859. Although American Associated Press, founded in 1848, was also part of the news cartel, it first managed to break the Big Three’s dominance in the 1930s. The news cartel let the German Wolff serve Scandinavia and Russia (including Finland and the Baltic region as a part of Russia). There were also other German news agencies, such as Louis Hirsch’s Telegraphisches Bureau and Telegrafen-Union. As the Nazis rose to power in 1933 Telegrafen-Union was closed and Wolff was incorporated in the new Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro. After the war the German news agency was again reorganized. The Soviet Union founded Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst (ADN) and the Western Allies founded Deutscher Presse Dienst (dpd). (Rantanen 2006, Koszyk 1966: 212-215, Dussel 2011: 71-73, 168, 197, 220; Lückemeier 2001: 238-239)

In Russia several more or less successful news agencies were founded. The first one was Russkoe telegrafnoe agentstvo (RTA), founded by publisher Trubnikov in 1866. Kraevski, the chief editor of Golos, was unhappy with RTA and founded his own agency few years later. Katkov, chief editor of Moskovskie vedomosti, obtained permission to start a news agency. Severnoe telegrafnoe agentstvo in 1882, which became one of the more successful operations. It was the first agency to receive government subsidies. Around the turn of the century new agencies were started in an attempt to break Wolff’s dominating position, but none of them had the resources to become independent from and compete with the global news cartel. (Rantanen 1990, McReynolds 1991)

Swedish Svenska telegrambyrå i Stockholm was founded in 1867 and it soon signed a contract with Wolff. Finland had two news agencies. Suomen sähkösanomatoimisto was founded in 1887 and banned by Russian authorities in 1901. It got its foreign news from Russian agencies and wasn’t allowed to deal directly with foreign agencies. Suomen uutistoimisto was founded in 1897, as the existing agency was thought to be “too Swedish”.

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Although Finland belonged to Wolff’s area of interest, Russian news agencies were used as well. In 1908 yet another news agency was founded and in 1915 the existing agencies were reorganized into Suomen tietotoimisto. Estonia got its own news agency, Ajakirjanduse Büroo, in 1918. The following year it was reorganized into Eesti Telegraafi Agentuur (ETA), with an agreement with the global news cartel. (Suomen lehdistön historia I 1988, Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Høyer et al 1993: 134)

Diversification and expansion of press markets

The technological innovations and improved infrastructure discussed previously naturally had an impact on the developing press markets. The structural features of the markets have several common features, but these features manifested themselves differently in different social and institutional contexts. We need to remember that the 17th century Swedish conglomerate empire, for example, was quite different from the 20th century Swedish nation state, and the word “Germany” encompasses various polities, such as the Holy Roman Empire, Kaiserreich, Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. Further, both Sweden and Russia in their time tried to harmonize their administrative systems and more firmly integrate all their territories into the state. Such attempts affected different social classes in different ways. As a result, the local ruling elites developed different survival strategies, which reflected their attitudes to the common people as well as to their colonial masters.

Unlike Finland, Estonia was administratively divided into Estonia and half-Latvian Livonia until 1917. During the 17th century both Baltic provinces belonged to Sweden, but the ruling elite consisted of Baltic Germans, whose privileges dated back to the conquest by the Teutonic Knights. After the Russian takeover these same privileges were conferred by the Tsars. Unlike the Baltic provinces, Finland was fully integrated into the Swedish state, meaning there was no political or administrative difference between the Swedish and the Finnish parts of the kingdom. Also, for Finland the Russian takeover led to generous self-government and the birth of the Finnish nation. As a result, the relationship between the ethnic majority and the minority elite developed differently in Finland and Estonia.

Table 2. Development of press markets

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Finland</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First newspapers</td>
<td>1675/1766</td>
<td>1771/1776</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabilization</td>
<td>1860s-1870s</td>
<td>1850s-1860s</td>
<td>1750s</td>
<td>1860s</td>
<td>around 1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>1880s-1890s</td>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>1880s-1890s</td>
<td>1870s-1880s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although all the countries have important landmarks in form of epoch-making publications, it is difficult identify exact moments when one phase ends and another begins. Our periodization must therefore be considered a suggestion and open to discussion. We have listed the establishment of the first newspapers in each country, including the first elite and majority language publications in Finland and Estonia. We view the appearance of first successful majority language papers in Finland and Estonia as a sign of a stabilizing market, although we need to keep in mind that elite and majority language press developed at a different pace. While Germany and Sweden experienced increasing readership already in the 18th century, the conditions were still insecure and printing technology set limits to expansion. It was only with the invention of rotation presses and the chemical pulping process for paper that production of large editions became possible.

**Foundation of first periodicals**

According to Høyer, Hadenius, Weibull (1975) the introductory phase is characterized by limited capacity of production and consumption, insecure conditions and difficulty in making profits. This phase could be fairly long. Political instability and numerous wars contributed to the insecure conditions. Also, the pattern of territorial expansion was somewhat different. Due to fragmented construction of the Holy Roman Empire, newspaper publishing in the German states had a more regional character from the beginning, varying degree of control and greater cultural diversity than in other countries we have studied. In the borderlands the socio-political expansion of the press took on a slightly different flavor due to the colonial situation. In both Finland and Estonia the minority elites spoke one language, the majority population a second and the colonial master a third. Therefore we must take the differences between (elite) minority and majority language press into account.

In the Holy Roman Empire and the Swedish conglomerate empire, The Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648) contributed to the emergence of newspaper publishing. In the German states, however, the first periodicals had already emerged in the 1580s. *Die Messrelationen*, published in larger cities, were chronicals, containing news items from Europe and published twice a year. The first printed periodical *Relation aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien* was founded in 1609 in Strassburg. The Thirty Years’ War increased people’s hunger for news and new weeklies, often called *Avisen, Relationen* or *Postzeitungen*, were founded around the country. The first dailies appeared in the 1650s and the first political magazines in the 1670s. Although newspapers were expensive, they were ten times cheaper than hand written
newsletters. At the turn of the century there were sixty to eighty newspapers. (Stöber 2005a, Stöber 2005b, Lückemeier 2001, Bösch 2011). According to Dussel (2011: 14) the audience consisted of maximum two percent of the fifteen million inhabitants, meaning that 20 000-30 000 copies had 200 000-300 000 readers.

First papers in the Swedish Empire were founded in Stockholm, Riga, Stralsund and Tallinn/Reval. German language newspapers in Estonia and Livonia were a result of local Baltic German initiatives. In Tallinn/Reval the first newspapers, called Post-Zeitungen, appeared in 1670s and 1680s. Citizens of Riga founded their own Post-Zeitung (later called Rigische Novellen) as the distribution of German newspaper from Königsberg was prohibited. (Aru 2002: 90, Peegel et al 1994, Høyer et al 1993, Den svenska pressens historia I 2000: 56-58) Newspapers were also published in Swedish Pomerania during the 1680s and 1690’s (Önnerfors 2004: 31). While these papers were published within the Swedish empire, they are generally not seen as examples of Swedish press. In Finland the ruling elite and the literati were either Swedish or Swedified and had access to newspapers from Stockholm and German cities, for example Hamburg.

During the Thirty Years War the Swedish government needed to stop rumors, fight enemy propaganda and promote its own cause in a more systematic way. As a result Ordinari Post Tijdender (or Posttidningen) was founded in 1645 in Stockholm. Although it changed name a few times, it remained an official newspaper. There were also first attempts to start magazines inspired by German counterparts. Swedish Relationes Curiosae appeared a few times during 1700. Daedalus Hyperboreus, founded in 1716, was the first scholarly magazines and Acta literaria Sveciae, founded in 1720, the first literary magazine. Except for Posttidningen, they survived a couple of years at best. (Leth 1998, 82-84; Svenska pressens historia I 2000: 42-46)

Like the Swedish King fifty years earlier, Tsar Peter the Great needed a means to describe Russia’s success in the war and publish ukases, statutes and other official information during the Great Nordic War (1700-1721). Hence the first periodical, Vedomosti, was founded in 1702. It was closed and replaced by S.-Peterburgskie vedomosti in 1727. S.-Peterburgskie vedomosti was the only newspaper until 1756 when Moscow University started Moskovskie vedomosti. Their circulation was around 2 000 copies. These first periodicals initiated the Russian tradition of official periodicals. The first short-lived private journals appeared in the late 1750s and the early 1760s. During reign of Catherine the Great the first private printing presses were licensed and by the late 1780s there were twenty-six private printers, many of them German. One of the first Russian private printers N. I. Novikov founded several journals which were either were closed down or failed financially. (Ruud 1982, McReynolds 1991: 19-20, Rantanen 1990: 61-63)
The Swedish Empire began to crumble during the Great Nordic War. Estonia, Livonia, Ingria and the Viborg province at Lake Ladoga were lost to Russia. Baltic German newspapers disappeared and new ones were established during the 1760s and the 1780s. Die Vernünftige Einsamkeit, founded in 1739, was the first magazine. There were also a few medical or cultural magazines and Rigische Anzeigen had a magazine-like supplement. First attempt to start Estonian language paper was Lührike Õppetus, founded in 1766. It was also published in Latvian translation, but both versions were short-lived. The educated classes were still German or German speaking. Tarto maa rahwa Näddali-Leht, founded 1806, Marahwa Näddala-Leht, founded in 1821, were new attempts to start Estonian language periodicals. (Høyer et al 1993, Aru 2002, Annus 1993, Peegel 1994: 271-272)

The content of all these early newspapers was carefully monitored. In Germany the relationship between the Protestants and the Catholics was a delicate matter and neither the empire nor the individual states tolerated subversive opinions. The Swedish Posttidningen was edited by Stockholm’s postmaster, who made sure that only acceptable stories were printed. Censorship was officially introduced in the 1660s and codified twenty years later. Although both the Swedish and Russian publications were official newspapers, the Russian autocrats exercised more direct personal influence and control. For example Peter the Great and Catherine the Great wrote for Vedomosti. Also, the Russian printing presses were state owned and the first private enterprise was founded during the reign of Catherine the Great. (Stöber 2005b, Leth 1998, Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Høyer et al 1993, Ruud 1982, McReynolds 1991) The Russian press had to wait until the 19th century to find a more tolerant climate.

**Stabilization and first signs of expansion - Germany and Sweden**

According to Høyer, Hadenius and Weibull (1975) the consolidation phase is characterized by high capacity and consumption, and somewhat insecure conditions. In the expansion phase the rapidly increasing readership combined with limited printing technology improves the publications’ survival rate. In 18th century Germany and Sweden the capacity of production was still limited and the printing technology began to improve in the early 19th century. However, the first signs of territorial expansion, growing audiences and diversifying journalism can be seen in the 17th century. In Russia, this process was slower.

In Germany the population almost doubled, contributing to a “reading revolution”. So-called Lesegesellschaften, readers’ associations, played an important role in this process. They were popular particularly in the middle of the 18th century. There was also a habit of reading magazines out loud. While the German states remained wary of the press, the number of
publications rose from 60-80 to 250, the circulation from 300 copies up to 1 500 copies and now there were about ten readers per copy. Since most absolute regimes didn’t tolerate opinion, political newspapers consisted mainly of foreign news and neither comments nor editor notes were used. Importance of political dailies was thus limited. Yet, the very first large circulation newspapers emerged. For example, *Hamburgische unpartheyische Zeitung* sold over 20 000 copies. (Dussel 2011: 15-16, Stöber 2005a: 149-150, Lückemeier 2001: 26-41)

First German magazines emerged in the 1670s. The first educative and entertaining journals were *Götter-Both Mercurius* and *Erbahlliche Ruh-stunden*, which still had very limited audiences. Moral weeklies, first one founded in 1682 in Leipzig, had a dominating position in the early 18th century. Moral journalism was influenced by the British counterpart. Moral papers reached larger audiences and had great social and political importance due to their active participation in creating bourgeois identity, society and public sphere. There were also scientific, medical, philosophical, pedagogical, cultural, literary, etc magazines. The so-called intelligence papers and individual papers were also popular. The intelligence papers contained advertisements and private, official, non-political and educational articles. The King of Prussia ordered university professors to write for these papers and introduced governmental advertising monopoly and obligatory subscriptions. This meant that advertising was allowed only in intelligence papers, to which authorities, doctors, literati, etc. had to subscribe. (Lückemeier 2001: 29-30) Individual papers emerged in the 1770s and they were primarily one-man enterprises. Unlike the moral weeklies that represented certain parts of the bourgeoisie, these journals claimed to speak for the whole mankind. Journalism thus turned into a more independent profession and the authors thought they represented the public. The term “public opinion” was used first time in 1794 by Georg Forster. (Lückemeier 2001, Stöber 2005b: 86-88)

In Sweden the loss of the war (1700-1721) and the death of Charles XII weakened autocratic rule. A weaker royal house and stronger parliament opened a debate climate and the Age of Liberty began. The 1766 Freedom of the Press Act abolished pre-publishing censorship, restricted post-publishing control and granted the general public access to government documents. This free climate, however, soon evaporated, the press market stagnated and government control remained strict until the turn of the century. However, for a while the press flourished. The first Swedish moral paper was *Then Swänska Argus*, founded in 1732, about twenty years later than in Germany. New moral journals were founded around the country and even in Finland. Moral, essayist journalism regained popularity again in the 1770s and 1780s. *Posttidningen’s* news monopoly was broken when *Dagligt Allehanda* and *Inrikesidningar*. Political journalism emerged as the parties Hats and Caps founded their own
publications. There were also many cultural, literary, historical and educative magazines, as well as the very first magazines published by women. (Leth 1998, Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Gustafsson & Rydén 2010)

Emergence of Swedish regional press in the 1750s was the first sign of territorial expansion. Newspapers were published in the central and southern Sweden, mainly in cities that were administrative centers. The local printers were looking for new business opportunities. As the regional press grew, the first Swedish language publication, Åbo Tidningar, was founded in Finland in 1771. The first attempt to start a Finnish-language paper a few years later failed. There was also a moral paper, founded fifty years later than Then Swänska Argus. About eighty Swedish periodicals were published between 1770-1779, but due to Gustav III’s coup d’eta, return of autocratic rule and harsher censorship the development of the press stagnated. Only fifty-seven periodicals appeared between 1790-1799 and twenty-three between 1800-1809. Most of the publications were fairly short-lived and had low circulation. (Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Tommila & Salokangas 2000, Suomen sanomalehdistön historia I 1988)

The turn of the century was difficult time for both Sweden and Germany. The Napoleonic era and the 1815 restoration hampered the development of the German press. In 1819 the German Confederation (Deutscher Bund) adopted strict pre- and post-publishing censorship. Nevertheless, Johann Cotta’s Allgemeine Zeitung had the largest circulation throughout the German Confederation during the first half of the 19th century and censors gave it more leeway than other newspapers. It was the first successful commercial newspaper. Napoleonic wars and conflicts with France also gave rise to German nationalism and new titles, such as Teutsche Mercur and Pomona für Teutschlands Töchter, were founded. (Dussel 2011: 87-88, Bösch 2011: 95-96, Lückemeier 2001: 140-143)

The 1830 revolution in France invigorated and politicized the German national movement. The 1832 Hambacher Fest and its demands for unity and freedom got lot of attention in the press. As a result, many leading journalists were either arrested or forced to go in exile. (Bösch 2011: 100-101) In the 1830s Charles Knight successfully exported the British idea of “Penny-Magazine” to Germany. Similar cheap magazines appeared in Sweden as well in the 1830s. The 1848 revolution had positive effect on German press market. The number of titles grew, official papers disappeared and new political and party papers were founded. Magazines became business enterprises in 1850s and 1860s. For example, the Pfennig-Magazin’s impressive circulation of sixty-thousand copies was bested by Gartenlaube, which was a new type of entertaining and educative family magazine and very popular among the upper and middle classes. Its circulation rose from one hundred thousand copies in the 1860s to four

In Sweden the 1809 loss of Finland led to new constitution, election of a new king and a new more nationalist view of Swedishness. A new press law was published but it didn’t grant full press freedom. The state’s right to confiscate publications after publishing was abolished in the 1840s. Unlike Germany, Sweden wasn’t directly affected by the revolutions in 1830 and 1848. In Sweden the longing for looser reigns was demonstrated by the dominance of liberal papers and the struggle over the role of the press and public opinion in the society.

Anmärkaren and Argus, founded in 1816 and 1820, were the forerunners. Aftonbladet, founded in 1830, was the most influential liberal paper and a tireless critic of the conservatives. As the country’s first omnibus paper, it was also a prototype of a modern newspaper. It was also the first commercially successful daily. Circulation was generally around a few thousand copies and most of the readers came from the middle and upper classes. New topics and genres, such as crime stories and feuilletons, were introduced. Regional press continued its territorial expansion and newspapers appeared even in the north. In the mid 1840s various entertaining and agitator papers were founded for working class as well. (Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Gustafsson & Ryden 2010) Satirical and illustrated magazines, as well as women's magazines appeared in both Sweden and Germany in the 1840s.

The Swedish market became more stable during the second of half of the century. The better economic conditions in the country led to increasing number of publications, periodicity, print size and new audience groups. This boom reached its peak in the 1870s. Journalism became a profession and we begin to see newspapers for both the elite and the masses. More cities had dailies and two or more competing newspapers and new papers were founded in more locations. A new, less demanding style with clearer layout, larger headlines and more entertaining topics was introduced by Dagens Nyheter, founded in 1864. Its circulation surpassed the previously very popular Aftonbladet. Magazine market became more niched as new popular satirical, cultural, family, music, religious, pedagogical, medical, children's, women's and other special interest magazines were founded. Weeklies, combining popularized educational material with illustrations and news, were popular among the lower classes. There were now publications for the educated elite, middle-class and common people. (Leth 1998, Den svenska pressens historia I 2000, Gustafsson & Rydén 2010)
Slow start and stabilization - Russia, Finland and Estonia

In Russia, Napoleon’s invasion lead to harsher censorship. During the reign of Alexander I the state’s attitude to the press had been fairly benevolent. As an enlightened autocrat the tsar saw the press and the censorship as means of advancing knowledge. New private entrepreneurs and new periodicals appeared. Forerunners of the commercial press were so-called thick journals, founded in the late 18th century and the early 19th century. Some of them were fairly popular. For example, the prestigious Vestnik Evropy had roughly 1200 subscribers and both Biblioteka dlja chteniya and Otechestvennye zapiski around 4000 each. Despite strictly enforced censorship, the leading thick journals managed to develop a recognizable aesthetic and ideological profile. For example, Sovremennik, founded by Alexander Pushkin, had a more liberal profile than the Slavophile Russkaia beseda. Future newspaper publisher Kraevski, whom McReynolds describes as better editor than writer, assisted Pushkin with some organizational problems at the journal Sovremennik. (McReynolds 1991: 22-32, Rantanen 1990: 64) According to Ruud (1982: 253) only ten periodicals were published in 1801, but in 1825 the number had grown to forty-two.

Tsar Nicolas I was crowned in 1825. The Decembrist revolt in the same year and the Polish-Lithuanian uprising a few years later made him nervous. The turbulent year 1848 in Europe added to the concern. His reign was characterized by tight censorship and surveillance. According to Ruud (1982) the censorship rules banned whatever endangered the faith, the throne, or good morals and personal honor. Universities were again to provide censors, but they were no longer allowed to have any other employment. A separate Foreign Censorship Committee was founded to screen imported books, while the Post Office Department controlled periodicals arriving by mail. The political police provided surveillance and contingency control. Unauthorized remarks on politics and public interference in governmental questions were generally seen as objectionable. The first privately owned, commercial newspaper was Severnaia pchela, founded in 1825. It had around 2000 subscribers. Another six newspapers were official. Due to the harsh censorship the number of Russian periodicals began to grow in the 1850s. (Rantanen 1990: 64, Ruud 1982, Balmuth 1960, Choldin 1985)

As Russians took over in 1809 Åbo Tidningar was the country’s only newspaper. New titles were founded during the 1820s. For example Turun Wiikko-Sanomat was an attempt to start a new Finnish language paper. There were also a few German language papers in Vyborg and
new Swedish language papers were founded in Turku/Åbo. However, after the 1827 fire the university and the capitol was moved to Helsinki which became the new publishing center. In 1830 there were only eight periodicals, by 1850 their number had risen to fourteen and in 1860 to twenty-six, most of them in Swedish. (Suomen lehdistön historia I 1988, Tommila & Salokangas 2000)

The Baltic region remained a traditional, hierarchical agrarian society with German noble, cleric and merchant elites. Although serfdom in Estonia and Livonia was abolished in 1816, the native peasants' life didn’t improve significantly until the passport laws were changed in the 1860s. In the middle of the century, however, the provinces went through many socio-economic changes. School system expanded. The 1863 passport law promoted urbanization and by the 1870s Estonians were a majority in many urban centers and Estonian middle-class began to form. Estonian intelligentsia began to emerge during the second half of the century contributing to the birth of the national movement. For example, the first National Song Festivals were held and the national epos Kalevipoeg, inspired by Finnish Kalevala, was published in 1857-1861. (Raun 2001: 37-39, Zetterberg 2007)

Although the Baltic German press continued to develop, we can’t speak of the high consumption or capacity. The German speaking audience in the Baltic was very limited. During the first half of the 19th century the tsarist censorship practices and agrarian crisis also caused problems. Although new titles were founded, conditions remained fairly insecure. Revalische Wöchentliche Nachrichten and Dörptsche Zeitung, both founded in the middle of the 18th century, managed to survived. There were also cultural, literary, academic and historical magazines; although circulations were only couple of hundred copies. The first Russian language newspaper appeared in 1816 and the first magazines in the 1830s. Later new publications were founded for example in Narva, Riga and Tallinn/Reval. (Annus 1993: 17, Peegel et al 1994, Høyer et al 1993)

Tsar Alexander II was crowned in 1855. He introduced a number of reforms, including liberation of the serfs and censorship relief. The years of great reform had an impact on the press. During the 1870s the number of publications rose to over three hundred and at the turn of the century to slightly over one thousand, non-Russian language publications included. Russian press became more commercial and independent during and after the 1860s. Hundreds of new thick journals emerged, providing a multifaceted forum for Russian public discourse. Most influential were Russkii vestnik, in which Ivan Turgenev, Leo Tolstoy, and Fyodor Dostoyevsky published major works, and Russkaia mysl', to which for example Nikolai Leskov, and Anton Chekhov contributed. Even in the regions there was a shift from journals to newspapers, which in the late 1870s became dailies. By 1871 newspapers outnumbered
journals. Several newspapers, such as Moskovskie vedomosti, Golos and Birzhevye vedomosti, also became dailies. Large newspapers had readership approaching 20,000. By the end of the nineteenth century, illustrated weekly journals outnumbered the thick monthlies. The first independent, commercial, nationwide daily was Kraevski’s Golos, founded in 1863. It attracted educated and reform-oriented gentry and played a part in the formation of the Russian national consciousness. It covered the country’s shifting expansion in Central Asia and portrayed Russia as a bearer of Enlightenment. (Ruud 1990, Rantanen 1990: 65, McReynolds 1992 and 1991)

In Finland and Estonia the stabilization and expansion of the press market were closely related to the rise of national movements, beginning in Finland in the 1840s and in Estonia in the 1860s. In both cases the step from the first successful majority language newspaper to the point where majority language periodicals outnumbered the elite language papers was rather short. It took about thirty years. Since the elite and majority language papers developed at a different pace, it is difficult to distinguish the different phases. Also, since the elite language papers were written in a minority language, they reached the limits of their markets much faster. For example, as the Baltic German press reached its peak, Estonian language press began its expansion.

Russian authorities favored national movements at first, because they were believed to weaken the old elite’s domination and therefore serve Russian interests. As these movements became more militant the attitude changed and a two front struggle began – a struggle against the local elites and the Russian authorities. According to Høy er et al (1993: 70) the Tartu Censorship Board was replaced in 1851 by a single censor with an assistant and a year earlier Riga got its censorship board. However, due to lack of language skills the actual censoring was done by university lecturers. A new press law was issued in 1865 and few years later the Minister of Interior put all Estonian and Latvian language publications under the control of Riga Censorship Board. This probably resulted from the struggle between Tsarist policies and Baltic German separatism. Estonians, however, managed to persuade the Tsarist authorities to move censorship to Tartu and in the process got a fairly understanding and mild censor.

In Finland a new censorship statute was issued in 1891. It increased the power and the authority of the General Governor and in reality made the Finnish censors obsolete (Leino-Kaukiainen 1984). According to Tommila & Salokangas (2000: 34-36) censorship in Finland was fairly mild and benevolent.

The national movement emerged first in Finland and was a source of inspiration to Estonian nationalists. Unlike the Baltic German elite in Estonia, the Swedish elite began early to identify itself with Finland, i.e. Finland as a concept, a homeland. Tsar Alexander I had
granted Finland a fairly generous self-government, which led to formation of political rivals in
the 1840s. The Fennomans, many of them Swedish speaking, aimed to protect the self-
government by forming an alliance with the ethnic majority and, in the process, willing to
improve the status of the Finns and the Finnish language. The Svekomans, on the other hand,
sought to maintain the Swedish dominance. Both groups had their own newspapers, which
were the first political papers. The Fennoman flagship Suometar, founded in 1844, was the
first successful Finnish language paper. (Suomen lehdistön historia 1 1988, Tommila &
Salokangas 2000, Mervola 1995) Formation of these kinds of pre-modern parties was not
possible in Estonia or Russia. The first liberal papers, strongly influenced by British liberalism,
emerged in the 1850s, but due to censorship they didn’t dominate the market as liberal papers
did in Sweden.

The Baltic German press began to expand particularly during the 1860s and the 1870s.
New papers were founded in smaller cities, such as Narva, Kuressaari, Haapsalu and Valga.
Revalshe Zeitung, founded in 1860, was the first daily newspaper. One of its first editor was
Friedrich Nikolai Russow, who was of Estonian descent. The magazine Baltische Monatschrift,
founded in 1859, was an important voice for liberals. Politization of the press, which began in
the 1820s, also accelerated. Heated public debates about the peasant question and other
socio-political problems raged on the newspaper pages between liberals, conservatives and
democratic radicals. Baltic Germans were challenged by the rise of the Estonian national
movement, growing Russian nationalism and demands of administrative harmonization. For
example, in the 1860s Katkov, editor of Moskovskie Vedomosti, launched an attack against the
Baltic Barons, accusing them of separatism. The Russian press, except for the liberal Novoe
vremia and conservative Viest, jumped on the bandwagon and joined the outcry. Liberal
papers, such as Golos, were upset by the Baltic Barons’ medieval oppressive privileges. Baltic
Germans tried to answer these accusations. For example, professor Carl Schirren from Tartu/
Dorpat University wrote a book in which he defended the Ritterschaften’s old privileges. He
was fired and his book was banned. Revalshe Zeitung and Neue Dörptshe Zeitung struggled
to both criticize the German elite’s conservatism and defend its rights against Russian
the emerging majority language press.

At the end of the 1850s Perno Postimees was the only Estonian language paper. Its
publisher, Johann Woldemar Jannsen, started another newspaper in 1864. Eesti Postimees was
located in Tartu/Dorpat and soon became the voice of the national movement. Jannsen was
also the first professional journalist and the first person to call Estonian people "Estonians",
rather than "countryfolks" (maarahwa). Although Eesti Postimees was the first commercially
successful newspaper, Jannsen’s primary motive was not to make money. Carl Robert Jakobson began his career in *Eesti Postimees*, where he energetically defended Estonian language, criticized Germanization and wrote about schools and poverty of Estonian peasants. His articles created journalistic debate between his paper and Baltic German newspapers. Eventually Jannsen’s paper became viewed as too cautious and it lost popularity. In 1878 Jakobson started his own newspaper, *Sakala*. It was the first paper with a clear political profile and the first to be used as a political weapon. Its aim was lead the struggle against German privileges and influence the public opinion. *Revalische Zeitung* engaged in debates with Sakala as well. In the 1870s and 1880s Baltic Germans tried to influence public opinion by founding their own Estonian language periodicals. From the early 1860s to 1878 five Estonian language weeklies existed and their circulation was roughly 2 000-4 000 copies. In comparison, in the 1860s 31-32 German language weeklies and dailies were published. (Høyer et al 1993, Peegel et al 1994, Aru 2002: 94-96, Zetterberg 2007: 420-423)

In the middle of the 19th century Estonian language periodicals were published only in three cities. By the early 20th century newspaper publishing had expanded to nine more cities. In the 1870s circulation of the main Estonian newspapers was 2 000-2 500 copies per issue. By the 1880s the most popular ones sold up to 6 000 copies. The first signs of competition also appeared in the 1880s. Jakob Korb was the first publisher, who sought to make his newspaper *Valgus* more profitable by publishing translated feuilletons. As a result, the newspaper’s circulation rose to 10 000 copies. There were still many collective subscriptions and at least three readers per issue. (Høyer et al 1993, Lauk 1996)

**Rapid expansion and mass circulation press**

German mass circulation press and the first media baronies began to emerge in the middle of the 19th century. The liberalization of the advertising market in 1850s was an important turning point. Rudolf Mosse was the first one to turn newspaper publishing into big business. His aggressive marketing promoting his daily *Berliner Tageblatt* managed to raise circulation to over one hundred thousand copies. In the 1870’s and 1880’s more newspaper groups and successful dailies were established. For example, the circulation of Ullstein’s *Berliner Morgenpost* reached two to four hundred thousand copies around the turn of the century and six hundred thousand copies by the 1920s. Yet, the German press market remained fragmented and regionalized. Most newspapers had limited geographical reach and sold only a few thousand copies. Only twenty-five newspapers, thirteen of the published in Berlin, sold more than 35 000 copies. The first German boulevard paper, *BZ am Mittag*, was founded in 1904. Boulevard papers were sold on street corners and consequently had more popular and
sensational content. Party or partisan newspapers also emerged during the second half of the 19th century. The united Germany, Kaiserreich, got a new press law in 1874. Censorship, licensing and other administrative restrictions were abolished, but certain topics, such as insulting the Royal family, were punishable by the law. (Dussel 2011, Lückemeier 2001: 264-315).

The rise of first Russian boulevard papers was linked to the great reforms, industrialization and the evolution of the modern city. Peterburgskii listok was founded in 1864 and Peterburgskai gazeta three years later. Boulevard papers targeted a bourgeois urban audience. By writing about city life, new modes of conduct in business and private life these papers played an active role in transforming the city. They had their muckrakers, offered a mixture of fact and fiction, high and middle-brow culture, and introduced a more fact oriented news report. Their low price, tabloid size, feuilletons and more entertaining content lead to higher circulation numbers. In the 1880s new sensationalist papers were founded. One of the most notorious ones was Moskovskii listok, with circulation of up to 30 000 copies. The first Russian style penny-paper, "kopeck paper", was founded in 1908. The most significant of them was Gazeta kopeika, published in St. Petersburg. The late arrival of these "kopeck papers" can be explained by censors’ worries about the lower classes reading habits and advertisers reluctance to invest in poorer segments of the society. (McReynolds 1992 and 1991, Dianina 2003)

Suvorin, publisher of the most influential newspaper Novoe vremia, was the first to build a publishing empire. His publishing house printed not only his newspaper and a nationalistic thick journal but also books, which were sold in his own bookstores. A competitor Ivan Sytin also published calendars, books and periodicals. He bought his magazine in 1891 and within a couple of years invested in new high-speed printing machines. In 1894 he took over the daily Russkoe slovo that soon led Russian newspapers in advertising and revenues. Sytin also published an illustrated weekly and a literary journal. In 1910’s he acquired a democratic daily Den for a short period or time. Circulation over hundred thousand copies was first reached after 1900. For example, the sensational boulevard paper Niva sold 200 000 copies and Novoe vremia, an influential newspaper, about 50 000 copies. Russkoe slovo had the largest circulation (600 000 copies). (Ruud 1990, McReynolds 1992, Rantanen 1990: 66)

The first Swedish mass circulation paper was Stockholms-Tidningen, founded in 1889. Its main competitor was Dagens Nyheter. Since most regional cities already had a newspaper, competition increased as new papers appeared and more papers became dailies. Many regional and local papers were allied with popular movements and associations. The first Swedish attempt to build a newspaper trust was Skandinaviska Tryckeriaktiebolaget, founded 21
in 1895. It survived only couple of years. The trust had interests in *Dagens Nyheter, Malmö Tidningen, Skånska Aftonbladet* and *Göteborgs-Posten.* (Leth 1998; *Den svenska pressens historia I* 2000, Gustafsson & Rydén 2010)

The 1880s marked the emergence of Swedish party press. Conservative *Svenska Dagbladet* was founded in 1884, *Social-Demokraten* in 1885 and *Arbetet* in 1887. Finnish and Russian social democratic newspapers, such as *Zhizn* in Russia, *Suupohjan Työmies* and *Työmies* in Finland, were also founded in the 1880s and 1890s. The first German social democratic paper, *Social Democrat*, had already appeared in 1864 and Estonian *Uudised* was founded in 1903.

Finnish papers were often a result of local initiatives, which to the party’s great irritation could create competition between them. Swedish social democratic papers were more of a party affair. Many editors and reporters were leading figures in the movement and newsrooms could at times resemble party headquarters. (Tommila & Salokangas 2000: 57-63, *Den svenska pressens historia II* 2000: 277-281, Höyer & Lauk & Vihalemm 1993: 106-108)

Although the 1905 revolution didn’t abolish Russian censorship, warnings, administrative punishments, and the like vanished and journalists were held responsible only before a court of law. As a result, newspapers were closed down for breaking the criminal law. (Ruud 1982)

According to McReynolds (1991: 227) Russian newspapers played a crucial role in the 1905 revolution. They disseminated information and helped readers to understand that they too could do something to effect change. Newspapers helped to undermine the autocracy, the government and the Duma. They offered an alternative source of political authority and a platform for the intelligentsia. The revolution brought universal suffrage only to Finland. The establishment of the state Duma, nevertheless, gave birth to political parties even in Estonia and Russia. As the society politicized, the press politicized with it. Some parties sought alliances with existing papers, some tried to found their own publications. For example, the Kadets turned to Ivan Sytin and *Russkoe slovo*, but nothing came of the affair. In 1906 the Kadets founded their own paper *Rech*’. Other liberal papers were for example *Birzhevye vedomosti* that was somewhat more entertaining than Sytin’s paper, and *Peterburgskaia gazeta* that paid more attention to persons than politics and targeted a wealthier audience. Among conservative papers we have for example *Novoe vremia* and the more sensationalist *Moskovskii listok*. In the beginning, the commercial newspapers had faith in the Duma and wrote about campaigns, candidates, etc. Just as in Germany, journalism was partisan. For example some Kadets wrote feuilletons for *Russkoe Solovo* and Octobrists’ leaders owned shares in *Novoe Vremia*. (McReynolds 1991: 199-215)

Estonian nationalism radicalized in the 1890’s. Administrative russification started in earnest in 1885 after the coronation of Alexander III, who chose not to confirm the Baltic
Germans’ old privileges. It was an attempt to harmonize the administrative, legal and educational systems and integrate provinces into the state. National movements in Estonia and Latvia had initially sworn loyalty to the Tsar. Russians had not considered them as very dangerous and had therefore tolerated them. Estonian and Latvian nationalists saw Russians more as allies, because the new reforms undermined the Baltic German elite’s privileges and thus improved the life of native inhabitants. But, as the movements radicalized and could no longer be seen as merely an anti-German opposition, the Russians lost their patience. Jaan Tönisson took over Postimees in 1896 and turned it into the country’s leading newspaper. Postimees, which became a six day newspaper in 1891, was the country’s only daily until 1901. By 1907 there were twelve dailies. Many of them were short-lived. Konstantin Päts’ Teataja, founded in 1901, was another influential daily. These two men were also active in politics and among the founders of first political parties. During the 1905 revolution newspapers became an important political force and the very first political parties were founded around newspapers and newspaper publishers such as Tönisson and Päts. (Høyer et al 1993)

The development of magazines in Estonia is closely connected with the tradition of publishing newspapers together with supplements. Throughout the 19th century, newspapers were accompanied by supplements of various types (literary, music, satirical, educational, popular scientific or scientific, children’s etc.). By issuing supplements the newspapers responded to the need for a publication of a new type. In function (but often also in form) the supplements were essentially magazines. They appeared once or twice a month, a complete set for a year could be bound together, and the result was as good as a magazine. The tradition of supplements continued more or less unchanged until well into the 20th century. Between 1900 and 1914, a total of 115 supplements appeared, published by 47 newspapers. Since the supplements were easier and cheaper to launch and to publish, independent journals were slow to appear. They did not get enough subscribers, since newspaper subscribers could read about the same things in the supplements of their papers as were published in magazines. Thus, in 1900, only five magazines appeared compared to ten newspaper supplements. In 1907 the numbers were 18 and 41, respectively. The number of magazines exceeded that of the supplements as late as 1911 (Lauk 1990). The population was less than one million people.

Russification policies in Finland were introduced in the 1890’s, about ten years later than in Estonia. Russification created new dividing lines and united the people in a common struggle against the Russian authorities. Russification led to increased politization of the Finnish society. The old political groupings broke up as the struggle against the Russian overlords became more important than the language question. The Fennoman party split in
two as part of them joined the constitutional grouping. The so-called Old Fennomans believed in appeasement politics, whereas the Constitutionals referred to the Finnish constitution and saw tsarist policies as plainly illegal. The struggle created a growing hunger for news, leading to a sharp rise in newspaper readership. New newspapers were founded and particularly the political press expanded as new political parties emerged. In the aftermath of the 1905 revolution Finland got universal suffrage and the first elections were held in 1906. The period between 1905 and 1930s was the golden age of Finnish party press. (Suomen lehdistön historia I-11 1988, Tommila & Salokangas 2000)

Finnish language publications outnumbered the Swedish ones by the late 1870s and the early 1880s. The Swedish language press had already reached its peak in 1898 and remained stable until the 1970s. The number of publications and the circulation continued to grow into 1920s. In the 1920s there were about four hundred magazines, in the 1930s their numbers had doubled and in the 1950s there were more than one thousand. (Suomen lehdistön historia I 1988, Tommila & Salokangas 2000) Tommila and Salokangas (2000: 195) list four types of magazines: 1) popular general interest magazines, such as women’s, family, children’s and youth, hobby magazines, 2) branch- and organization magazines, 3) customer and business magazines, 4) opinion magazines. Suomen lehdistön historia 10 (1988) lists five main categories: general, business, professional, entertainment and hobby/special interest magazines.

Saturation and competition - Germany, Sweden, Finland and Estonia

According to Høyer, Hadenius and Weibull (1975) market concentration creates local monopolies and chain ownership, newspaper groups and media baronies.

The turbulence caused by the First World War and the following revolution dismantled the commercial press market in Russia. In the Soviet media system the state and the Communist Party had the monopoly of media ownership, publishing, printing and distribution. Although the Soviet press market contained a plethora of publications, it wasn’t a commercial press market. Finland became independent in 1917. Estonia, encompassing the former gouvernement Estonia and the Estonian speaking part of Livonia, declared independence in 1918. These declarations of independence brought press freedom to both countries and their press market became fully commercial during the 1920s. While both countries had a rough start, despite political turbulence, democracy survived in Finland, but not in Estonia.

Both countries fought a war and experienced political troubles caused by the extreme left and right. The Finnish 1918 Civil War was mainly an internal Finnish affair, whereas the Estonian Liberation War (1918-1920) was fought against Soviet and German/Baltic German
troops. Due to the Civil War the relationship between leftists and bourgeois Finland remained tense. The Social Democratic Party and trade unions were allowed to exist, whereas Finnish Communist Party was founded in exile in Moscow. Finland outlawed all communist activities in 1930. Estonian communists attempted coup d’etat in 1924 and the next year party leadership moved to Moscow. Extreme right wing movements with roots in the previous wars appeared in 1929 in both countries. The Finnish Lapua Movement was reorganized into a fascist-like party *Isänmaallinen kansanliitto* (IKL) in 1932 after the failed rebellion. After the rebellion the government took a firmer grip of the situation and the political turmoil subsided. The press market, particularly the magazine market, continued to grow and diversify. Most newspapers, even regional papers, were affiliated with political parties. New illustrated magazines were founded, as well as new types of family magazines for women. *Kotiliesi*, founded in 1922, was the most successful one. The most popular entertaining weeklies, targeting families, were *Apu* and *Seura*.

In Estonia the global economic crisis also led to political crisis. The so-called Vapsid (*Eesti Vabadussõjalaste keskliit, Vapsid*) originally aimed to speak for the war veterans, but the movement soon politicized and radicalized. Vapsid had contacts with their Finnish counterparts. The organizations in both countries organized demonstrations, mass gatherings and meetings that contributed to worsening of the already infected political climate. In 1933 in relation to referendum on Vapsid's proposal for a new constitution Prime Minister Jaan Tõnisson forbade Vapsid and declared a state of emergency and pre-publishing censorship. Tõnisson's government resigned after the referendum and the state of emergency and censorship were abolished. The forbidden Vapsid was reorganized into *Vabadussõjalaste Rahvusliikumine*, the party with the largest number of members. The new constitution came into force in January 1934, Konstantin Päts was nominated as acting Prime Minister, while new elections were organized. The following political campaigning turned ugly. In March Päts declared a state of emergency and the next year all political parties were forbidden. In this new Estonia freedom of expression was suppressed and although the parliament was allowed to function, we can hardly speak of democratic rule. From 1925-1935 newspapers’ total circulation had increased from 42 million to 56 million copies and new publications had been founded, also for ethnic minorities. (Zetterberg 2007) Return to an authoritarian regime hampered this development. The last remnants of Estonian democracy were wiped out with the Soviet occupation in 1940.

In Germany the number of new entrants grew steadily until the 1930s. According to Dussel (2011: 125) the Weimar Republic had an ambivalent view of press freedom. On one hand, it was fairly tolerant against politically, morally or religiously motivated opinions, but on the
other hand there was widespread surveillance, suppression and persecution of public expressions. Weimar Republic had a very fragmented political party system and agitation and influencing the opinion were thus important. Many new gazettes, party papers and quality papers were quickly founded and dismantled. (Stöber 2005a: 150, Blöbaum 2005: 160) The number of newspapers and magazines declined after 1933. This didn’t result from the market forces but from Adolf Hitler’s rise to power. The Nazi regime closed all Leftist and Jewish publications, abolished press freedom, regulated media content and used propaganda. Jewish and leftist journalists were also banned from working. (Stöber 2005a: 150, Blöbaum 2005: 160)

Professionalization of journalism

Along with the emergence of new industries and creative spheres in the 19th century’s modernizing Europe, a number of new occupations also emerged. An enlarging and diversifying press markets, industrialization of production processes and the spread of literacy among populations speeded up communication, and the role of the press in society increased. It was during the 19th century, that journalism in Europe developed towards an independent occupation with an increasing speed. Professionalization is a way to socially legitimize a developing occupation. In the process of formation and self-definition, an occupational group needs to construct and maintain occupational boundaries, “which are social or cultural divisions that help signify a group’s work, societal roles and legitimacy” (Dooley 1997: 7). The process of establishing and maintaining boundaries is central to an occupational group’s acquiring of social legitimacy, and involves definition of certain work tasks and normative occupational values, establishing professional standards (a Code of Conduct) and an organization, and seeking of control over education and recruitment of newcomers (Juraite et al. 2009). Journalism as an occupation developed internationally along these general lines, but with differing speeds and unique combinations of various national elements.

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The change from part time work to full time employment occurred in Germany, Sweden, Russia and Finland during the first half, and in Estonia during the second half of the 19th century. The first journalists in Estonia and Finland were not majority language speakers but came from the societal elites – Baltic Germans in Estonia and Swedes in Finland. With the emergence and development of national intelligentsia, by the last decades of the 19th century, more and more journalists came from among Estonians and Finns. For example, in 1890, in Finland 67% of journalists were Finnish speakers. By 1905 their proportion was 73% (Leino-Kaukiainen 1988: 570).

Professionalization of editors was a slow process and the relationship between the publisher and the editor had paternalistic tones. Until the 19th century the publisher was generally also the editor. During the 18th and 19th century most journalists still worked part-time and for many journalism was a temporary job, accepted when no jobs were available, for example, in the academic world. As the mass circulation press emerged, competition for readers increased, leading to bigger newsrooms and more job opportunities. By the 1850s, about half of the journalists worked fulltime and after 1890 their numbers had increased to seventy percent. However, only the quality press made some differentiation within the profession, as their somewhat larger editorial staff allowed more journalists to specialize in politics, economy, culture or sports. Journalism became an independent trade during the early 20th century. During the Weimar Republic large newspapers had a more advanced division of labor than smaller regional papers. (Stöber 2005a: 153-154, Blöbaum 2005: 160)

The process of German professional organization began with "Journalists' Days" (Journalistentage). The first one was arranged in 1864 in Eisenach. Journalists still saw themselves primarily as authors, which is demonstrated by the “Journalists’ and Authors’ Day” held in 1893 and the common union founded two years later in Heidelberg. Journalists formed their own union in 1910. The first professional organization for newspaper publishers, founded in 1869, was actually an interest organization for book printers and an association solely for newspaper publishers was not founded until 1894. The Association of German Editors (Verein deutscher Redakteure) was founded in 1902. The editors’ and journalists/authors unions were united in 1910 under the name Reichsverband der deutschen Presse. (Stöber 2005, Koszyk 1966: 221-224).

The first All-Russian (all-Empire) meeting of journalists and literati took place in St.Petersburg in April 1905. A decision was made to establish an organization and a chairman was elected (Lauk 1995)
The first newspaper editors in Estonia were Baltic German printers and aristocrats (landowners, clergymen, physicians, schoolmasters etc). They published both German and Estonian language newspapers and magazines. Although a potential Estonian language readership existed as early as the 18th century (the literacy rate among Estonian adult peasants by the end of the 18th century was close to 50%, and by the end of the 19th century 78%), national intelligentsia was missing until the last quarter of the 19th century. The publisher of the very first periodical publication in Estonian (Lühkõ öppetus 1766-1767) was a Baltic German doctor who owned a small printing shop. The first newspaper for Estonian readers, Tarto Ma-rahwa Näädali-Leht (1806) was actually a side product of book printing in Tartu and was edited (mainly translated from the local German language newspaper) by two local Lutheran priests. Until the 1860s, the editors of occasionally published Estonian periodicals were mostly non-Estonian educated men. The appearance of Estonian journalists was clearly connected with the development of national intelligentsia. From the 1870s onwards, more and more educated Estonians, coming mainly from professions like clergymen, lawyers, school-teachers, became the editors of Estonian newspapers and magazines. In the early 1860s, the first full-time editor of an Estonian newspaper appeared (Johann Voldemar Jannsen, Eesti Postimees). However, it took two more decades before journalism became a full-time job of some magnitude. The first signs of an emerging professional consciousness among Estonian journalists appeared at the end of the 1890s, when the expansion of the newspaper market offered new jobs for journalists. The editorial staffs of newspapers gradually grew in numbers and the division of labour developed further (in 1884, there were 20 titles of periodical publication in Estonian and 16 full time journalists; in 1904, 38 publications employed 48 journalists (Lauk 1999: 238-239). The first meeting of editors (in 1896 and 1897) gave evidence of the emergence of a new occupational group, although a very small one. The beginning of the 20th century was a time of both ideological and structural diversification and of a rapid expansion of the Estonian press despite continuing censorship. The increasing number of editorial staffs (the editorial staff of the largest Estonian daily Postimees grew from 5 journalists in 1900 to 12 in 1909) gives evidence of a gradual division of editorial labour and appearance of journalists with specific tasks (Lauk 1997:25). The Estonian journalists also participated in the first All-Russian Congress of journalists and literati in April 1905 in St Petersburg. The first congress of Estonian journalists was held in 1909. The Estonian Journalists’ Association was founded in 1919, when the number of Estonian journalists was still under a hundred. We have no similar data about Baltic German journalists in Estonia.
Until the 1850s, half of the 114 newspaper editors in Finland were University teachers or schoolmasters. In 1890, there were 79 journalists in Finnish language newspapers, 45 in Swedish language newspapers and 124 in Finnish and Swedish language newspapers. The average number of staff per newspaper was 2.1 in 1890, but grew to 2.8 by 1905 (Leino-Kaukiainen 1988: 570-571), and in 1910 it was 3.9 (Nygård 1987). Most of the newspaper men of the 19th century practiced journalism as a sideline to their main profession (usually schoolteachers, University teachers, but also students). In 1890, more than one third and in 1905 a quarter of journalists had accomplished academic studies (Leino-Kaukiainen 1988: 571). In 1899, the Higher Authority of Publishing Issues of Russian Empire gathered information about the Finnish newspapers and their editorial staffs. It appeared that 40% of newspapers were so-called ‘one-man-papers’, where the chief editor alone took care of the whole content having only occasionally an assistant. Another 43% of newspapers had two to three journalists in their staffs. More than three journalists were employed by 16% of newspapers (Leino-Kaukiainen 1988: 572).

Finnish journalists began to arrange ‘newspaper men’s days’ – journalists’ conferences – in the 1880s, which continued into the 1890s. In 1889, at one of the conferences the decision was made to establish a journalists’ association. In 1890 the Finnish Senate (the highest administrative and judicial authority in Finland during Russian rule) approved its statutes but the tsar Nicholas II refused. In 1896, the organization was unofficially established, but since it failed to get official approval, journalists’ professional cooperation declined. During the 1905 political upheaval the meetings of journalists revived, but the activities had more political than professional character. The first Finnish journalists’ association, Suomalainen Sanomalehtimesliitto, came into life in 1905 as a political organization (mainly under Old Fennoman influence). After that, other party political journalists’ association were established (Leino-Kaukiainen 1988: 576). A national union Suomen Sanomalehtimiesten Liitto was founded in 1921. Newspaper publishers’ association, Sanomalehtien liitto, was founded in 1908.

SWEDEN....

Women as journalists

The very first Swedish women in the profession were printers’ widows. For example regional newspaper Carlskrona Wekoblad was published by a woman in the 1750’s and literary newspaper Hvad Nytt? in the 1770’s. Margareta Momma, founder of the first short-lived women’s magazine in 1738, learned the trade by publishing Stockholms Gazette with her
husband. There were also other attempts to start women’s magazines, for example, by Catharina Ahlgren, whose magazines were influenced by British moral papers. A few women contributed to newspapers on both Swedish and Finnish sides of the kingdom. There were printers’ widows in the Finnish part of the kingdom as well, but they don’t seem to have founded their own publications. (Lundgren & Ney 2000, Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2005, Berger 1977, Den svenska pressens historia I-II 2000)

During 1770’s-1790’s twelve women’s magazines were founded in Germany as well. The publishers of Für Hamburgs Töchter and Wochenblatt für’s Schöne Geschlecht were still reluctant to reveal their gender to the readers. In the 1780’s, however, women began to publish magazines in their own name. Pomona für Teutschlands Töchter, founded in 1783 by Sophie von La Roche, was the first successful women’s magazine. (Neumann 1999) During the 19th century more women entered the profession, although many still used male pseudonyms. During the 1848-1849 revolution women’s magazines, such as Soziale Reform and Die Frauen-Zeitung, emerged. Die Frauen-Zeitung, founded by Louise Otto, was a political magazine and commented on social and political issues, such as women’s working conditions. Women were thus part of the construction of the political sphere and the democracy movement. The political backlash, however, led to severe restrictions. Women were forbidden to join political parties or organizations, or to start their own publications. The political climate became more liberal again during the late 1860’s (Wischermann 2003).

The first Swedish female professional journalist was Wendele Hebbe. She was hired by the liberal newspaper Aftonbladet in 1841. Female reporters were still rare. A few women worked for Stockholm dailies. Some also wrote for magazines. New cultural, family and illustrated magazines, as well as women’s magazines, such as Idun and Dagny, were founded. (Lundgren & Ney 2000, Leth 1998, Den svenska pressens historia I-II 2000)

Fredrika Runeberg is often said to be Finland’s first female reporter. Her husband author Johan Ludvig Runeberg edited Helsingfors Morgenblad. However, Adelaide Ehrnrooth in the 1860’s was the first to use her own name. Although more women entered the profession, their numbers remained small. The first female editor in chief was hired in 1889. During the 1820’s roughly fifteen persons could live on their writing. Tekla Hultin, who was hired in 1893 by the newspaper Päivälehti, was the first professional reporter. Some female reporters were also active in the women’s movement or the Fennoman party. For example Alexandra Grippenberg, editor in chief of Koti ja yhteiskunta (Home and Society) was active in both movements. Although her first language was Swedish, she worked on a Finnish language publication. (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2005)
The first female journalist in Estonia was hired in 1861 (Lydia Jannsen). The first Estonian female editor was Lilly (Caroline) Suburg, who also founded the first Estonian women's magazine Linda in 1887. By the turn of the 19th-20th centuries ten women were fully employed and around thirty published texts in various papers. The first Estonian full-time female journalist and the first woman working in the field of political journalism was Marie Koppel, employed at Olevik in 1903. Olevik was shut down in 1906 and was restarted four years later. (Lauk 1996, Lauk & Pallas 2008, Mälk 2000)

In Russia, educated upper class women contributed to the literary magazines and to several newspapers mostly as translators and authors, but in some cases also as foreign contributors, especially from the end of 1850s onwards. During the 1860s, about 50 women contributed to newspapers and magazines, some as translators, some as editorial assistants, but also as publishers (e.g. V.I. Sakharova, S.M. Makarova), editors (S.G. Rekhievskaya, E.I. Esaulova) and correspondents (A.M. Galperson, A.K. Europeus). Among the contributors, some extraordinary women appear, like Nadezhda Suslova, the first practicing female medical doctor in Russia, Sofia Kovalevskaya, a well known mathematician, Anna Evreinova, the first woman in Russia with a doctoral degree in law (Esin 1983: 60-61). Penny paper Kopeika had a female feuilletonist Olga Gridina, who was among the first to pay attention to the poor female audience. According to McReynolds (1991: 231) she introduced working class women to a bourgeois worldview that separated gender from class and emphasized individual efforts and responsibility.

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http://www.newciv.org/ISSS_Primer/asm04bb.html


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**Leino-Kaukiainen 1988**


In this case, country B has the absolute advantage in producing both products, but it has a comparative advantage in trucks because it is relatively better at producing them. Country B is 3.5 times better at trucks, and only 1.17 times better at cars. Economic theory suggests that, if countries apply the principle of comparative advantage, combined output will be increased in comparison with the output that would be produced if the two countries tried to become self-sufficient and allocate resources towards production of both goods. Taking this example, if countries A and B allocate resources evenly to both goods combined output is: Cars = 15 + 15 = 30; Trucks = 12 + 3 = 15, therefore world output is 45 m units. Opportunity cost ratios. the study and comparison of domestic politics across countries; a subfield that compares the struggle for power across countries. Term. three basic concept categories for political science and comparative politics. mastery of a limited number of cases through the detailed study of their history, language, and culture; depth over breadth. Term. rationality debate. what challenges of the current era stand at the center of today's research? Definition. domestic conflict, state-building, the political bases of economic growth, and democratization. Start by marking Case Studies in Comparative Politics as Want to Read: Want to Read saving...