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Pioneers and Marketers of Sports The First Decades of the Finnish Ski Jump

Introduction

A ski jump is full of contradictions. As a sporting event, it requires explosive power and courage but also serenity and ability to control one's nerves. The lengths of the jumps are measured, yet their aesthetic character is also evaluated. Ski jumping thus combines old-fashioned, noble integrity and personal physical style with national competition. A century of history includes various changes that have resulted in regional and cultural changes in the sport.

Our initial interest in the ski jump came from the observation that it has been associated with a wide range of goals. Its general development and various goals have been described in an article in the previous annual of the Finnish Sports History Association¹. In this article, we focus more thoroughly on the early stages of the sport from the 1880s to Finland's independence in 1917. We have collected our material from newspapers in

which downhill skiing as well as ski jumping were a constant presence in the period under study.

We first present the Norwegian background of the sport and then its regional spread throughout Finland. We indicate how ski jumping became part of the sports landscape in different parts of Finland. In addition to its geographical spread, we aim at answering the question which goals have motivated the organization of ski jumping competitions since the late 19th century. At the same time, we illuminate the reasons why the sport became particularly interesting among the youth. We conclude with a summary and a consideration of future research topics.

A Norwegian export

The cultural-historical tracing of sports is based on three forms of mobility. The roots of physical activity lay in those activities that have been made to help the community to survive. First, the root of a sport may originate in the art of war. Fencing and shooting are two examples of elite sports that were once military exercises. Second, a sport can develop from a physical activity based on a particular occupation. These include rowing, canoeing and swimming. The third root can be found in the leisure activities of village communities, such as strongest man competitions, the precursor to competitive weightlifting².

The origin of specific sports can also be linked to changes in society. In this case, sports are seen as part of the more general modernization of societies. Many date back to the 18th and 19th centuries in England, driven by early industrialization, a rapid increase in the urban populations and the construction of railways³.

Different kinds of jumps on skiing have, of course, been done everywhere a human being has skied. Tricks with skis and competitions have long been part of the winter activities of boys as well as of some girls⁴. Yet the roots of the ski jump as it is currently practised can be traced to the province of Telemark in Norway, and the early style of jumping is known as Telemark. The Telemark landing of the ski jump reminds us of these roots. According to Sigmund Loland, the early ski jump was also practised in the Norwegian army⁵.

The first regular ski jump competitions have been dated to 1862 in Christiania (Oslo). The interest of the urban middle class assisted in the spread of the sport. The move to Holmenkollen to ski jump in 1892 increased the requirements of the sport. At the time, the competitions were put on by an official organization, Foreningen till Skiidraettens Fremme [Association of Skiing Board Promotion]⁶.

Norwegians soon began marketing the ski jump to other countries. They demonstrated it, for example, in Austria for Emperor Francis Joseph in 1896. There were about 4000 spectators, and they were described as admiring the skilful jumps and controlled turns of the 'Vikings'. Norwegians' general enthusiasm for skiing was promoted, for example, by Fridtjof Nansen's book *Paa ski över Gronland*, which has appeared in several editions and translations since 1888. The English edition, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, was published as early as 1890. An abridged version, titled 'Skiing across Greenland' was published in Finland in the newspaper *Turun Lehti* on November 24, 1888.

Norwegian students disseminated this form of skiing to Central Europe and Norwegian migrants exported it to America⁷. There immigrants from different Nordic countries started competitions, established ski clubs and remained in contact with their home countries. Christiania was the centre for the ski jump, and it influenced and defined the development of the sport. Pioneering ski jumpers from Christiania regulated not only the Norwegian ski jump but also the global form. One ski jumper from Trondheim used poles, which was not considered appropriate, and the jumper became an object of ridicule⁸.

The influence of Norwegians also became gradually visible in Sweden. With the help of soldiers, the sport spread to Stockholm, where the first ski jump competitions were held in 1886. The successful dissemination work reflected the fact that, by the end of the 19th century, ski jumping was practised in Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy and North America. At the beginning of the 20th century, the sport reached Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia⁹.

As the ski jump spread and awareness of it increased, it became a spectator sport. Its attractiveness was enhanced by the increasing size of the hills and the longer jumps, all of which enabled new records to be set. By the end of the 19th century, ski jump competitions became



Skiing guardsman on a steep slope. The Painting of Gunnar Berndtson 1891. Photo Daniel Nyblin. The Finnish National Gallery.

festivals, drawing large crowds in some villages¹⁰. It was included as part of the programme in the first Winter Olympics, in Chamonix in 1924, indicating its status as an international sport¹¹.

The regional expansion of ski jumping

In Finland, too, the roots of the ski jump can be traced to downhill skiing. Various competitions were reported in newspapers in Helsinki, Kuopio, Turku and in other towns around Finland in the 1880s. In the town of Sortavala, the first competition was held among the students of the teacher training college on the first day of April 1885. In this competition, every competitor had to go down a steep slope and jump five times without poles. Four students completed the test perfectly¹². The second teacher training college (founded in 1880) in Finland in Sortavala is one reason for the start of this activity.

A sort of ski jump was also reported in the city of Hämeenlinna. The city's highest hill apparently had a take-off ramp, and a competition was arranged

there in February–March 1888, during which the landings of the jumps went out onto the ice of the lake¹³. In March of the same year, 12 people, of whom five were sharpshooters, took part in competitions in Degerö¹⁴. In April 1889 Nurmes held hill racing competitions for pupils under the age of 15¹⁵.

During the 1880s, ski jump competitions were also held in, at least, Oulu and Leppävirta. In Oulu there were no hills, so the riverbanks of Oulu River were built higher and the ski jump was constructed on the ice of the river¹⁶. In Leppävirta the jumps were made from Kokkola hill onto Lake Lahnajärvi. All of the attempts were made without poles and the audience saw many funny somersaults¹⁷.

The press offered plenty of reports on competitions in the 1890s. Events were also held in Heinola, Orimattila, Sippola, Askola, Jyväskylä, Savonlinna, Vyborg, Vaasa, Vehkalahti, Enonkoski, Mikkeli, Jaakkima, Kaustinen, Kurkijoki, Uurainen and Paimio. Competitions had become widespread, especially in southern and central Finland¹⁸. Schools and youth clubs were the most common organizers of competitions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, competitions also started to be organized in the following locations: Valkeakoski, Lappeenranta, Sulka-va, Nilsjä, Lohja, Sakkola, Sortavala, Haapajärvi, Soanlahti, Värtsilä, Haukivuori, Kyrö (Aura) and Tohmajärvi¹⁹. In addition to the youth clubs and schools, fire brigades and sports clubs also acted as organizers of these competitions. Prizes added the attractiveness of the competitions. In addition to the money prizes, the best performances received, for example, a good pair of Norwegian skis and a medal. This was the case in Sortavala in March 1905. The winner was a pupil named J. Longa²⁰.

The spread of the ski jump in Finland can be viewed through the sport's social connections. The first impulse for the sport came via Norway. The second came from Helsinki. The third originated from the Finnish tradition of military sports. Fourth was a connection to the school system and its traditions. The following table shows the different factors that influenced the establishment of the ski jump in Finland.

Table 1. Factors influencing the establishment of the ski jump in Finnish towns

The Norwegian influence	Helsinki, Viipuri, Kotka
Helsinki influence	Tampere
Military sports and its tradition	Kuopio, Turku
School system and its traditions	Joensuu, Savonlinna, Mikkeli, Lahti, Kajaani

The roots of the ski jump in Helsinki are clearly in Norway. The first national ski jump competition was considered to be the one held in Helsinki on 9 March 1886 by Helsinki Sporttiklubi [Helsinki Sport Club]. A considerable number of people came to watch this rarely seen activity, and the event was won by the Norwegian engineer and ski-jump pioneer, Christian Nielsen²¹. Before this international competition, however, there had been dozens of local competitions around Finland. The Helsinki competition is considered the first one because it was in Helsinki, the capital of Finland and both the rules and the descriptions of the competitions have survived. In the competition, everyone jumped three times, while the jumper's posture and skill in jumping without poles were evaluated.

A 1.2-metre-high jump was built at Katajanokka in Helsinki. Nielsen jumped without poles, inspiring some Finns to try the same. Though Guardsman P. Huttunen from Kuopio and Antti Haataja from Kajaani used a single pole, they showed their skill in other ways. In Helsinki, there were other competitions, such as in Mustikkamaa, which held a competition on the 9th of March two years after Katajanokka²². Another place to jump was close to Pitkäsilta in Siltavuori, which allowed flights of over 4.3 metres onto the ice of the sea. The connection to the Norwegian ski jump can be seen in how Nielsen was often a judge in the competitions²³.

The Helsinki neighbourhood Alppila gradually became the centre of the ski jump in the city. Even before the first real jump hill was completed, the Norwegians J. Höigaard and P. Friedheim jumped 12 metres there. In the autumn of 1902 Helsingin Hiihtoklubi [Helsinki Ski Club] and Mauritz Mexmontan asked for land for the jump hill from an area in Alppila called Eläintarha. The City of Helsinki awarded 1,900 Finnish marks for construction of the hill, which began in 1904. The average worker earned less than one mark a day. The hill was situated so that during competitions, which were generally held in the morning, the sun did not shine in the jumper's eyes. The hill was 80 metres long, 27 metres high and the take-off ramp was 1.5 metres high²⁴. The hill was inaugurated on 19 February 1905.

In the competitions arranged in Alppila, the superiority of the Norwegian participants was clear. They did not wave their arms in the air as the



Sport and spectacle. Hugo Simberg, a famous Finnish painter took the photo of Alppila jumping hill in Helsinki 1913. The Finnish National Gallery.

Finns did. The Norwegians were described as happy, and two of them, Robert Pehrson and Aarne Halsten, displayed their skills with a tandem jump in which they held hands²⁵. The Helsinki Ski Club organized international annual ski jump competitions in Alppila, which attracted participants from Norway as well as from Sweden. The ski jump drew interested crowds, and the competitions were seen by an estimated thousand people.²⁶. At the beginning of the 20th century, the competitors competed for the Finnish–Swedish–Norwegian cup. The venue changed every year, with Helsinki hosting in 1912, Stockholm in 1913, and Christiania in 1914. These competitions were arranged at least until 1919²⁷.

Ski jumping in Vyborg was also influenced by Norway. In 1906 the first competition was organized in Pappilanniemi, which got its first jumping venue, Papula hill, in 1909. It soon became known among jumpers as a dangerous hill. The Norwegian connection of Vyborg's ski jump came via its chairman, woodcutter Hackman, who had trade relations with Norwegians. The year the hill was completed, a huge international competition was arranged, gathering participants from Sweden, Norway, Russia and Finland²⁸. Vyborg became an important factor in the spread of the ski jump to St Petersburg, where Finns won the competition in Levashovo in 1912 and 1914²⁹.

The Norwegian influence was also a starting point for the ski jump in Kotka. The city's first competition was held in Kaakinmäki in the winter of

1892. There were 38 competitors, who had to jump three times on a hill with a 1.4 metres take-off ramp.³⁰ For over a decade, consul Alex Gullichsen, who had a Norwegian background, requested permission to build and maintain a jump in the Sapokanlahti area of Kotka in collaboration with the Finns E. Heliö and Chr. Saxlund³¹. Finally, the Norwegian engineer Pehrson designed a ski jump hill for Pookinmäki in 1911³².

The development of the sport in Tampere was aided by close connections with those who were actively involved in the ski jump in Helsinki. The hill was built in the Pispala neighbourhood next to the first road for transporting timber. The first competition was held on Friday 9 March 1888, and none of the competitors were able to avoid falling down. There was a competition for young people, but it had no take-off ramp³³. By the turn of the century, however, the hill was no longer in use³⁴. A new hill was built in Ratina, where the Tampere Skiing Association organized a competition in the spring of 1904³⁵. There was also a hill on the location of what is nowadays Kaleva Church.

Sports clubs proposed a ski jump hill to be constructed in Pyynikki close to the border between the city of Tampere and the municipality of Pirkkala near Tahmelanharju. That location featured a good slope to Lake Pyhäjärvi³⁶. This new hill, however, was steep and dangerous. It was inaugurated by two Norwegians from Helsinki, the engineer Pehrson and a student, C.G. Tigerstedt. Pehrson's first jump was 16.5 metres, and after the competition he jumped one metre further. Later, the two men also executed a tandem jump³⁷.

The influence of Finnish traditions and military sports played a central role when the ski jump began in Kuopio and in Turku. In Kuopio ski jumping was influenced by the sporting activities of the sharpshooter battalion located in the town and the strong skiing tradition of Northern Savo. In the first events in April 1886, four jumps were needed. The best one was sharpshooter Miettinen³⁸. Erik Kuosmanen from Kuopio was also reported to be a good jumper³⁹. The first ski jump in Kuopio to meet international requirements was constructed in 1911 on the eastern side of the Puijo area. This jump was also designed by the Norwegian engineer Robert Pehrson⁴⁰, which provided a narrow link to the Norwegian ski jump.

Turku's first jump hill was located on what is today the university campus, formerly known as Ryssänmäki. In the spring of 1889 this ski jump hill was

used for a competition among the troops of the battalion stationed in Turku⁴¹. The next jump was built at Sports Park, where the first open competition was organised in 1893 under the name 'open skiing over the ski jump'⁴². A second jump was later built in the same park⁴³.

In Joensuu, Savonlinna, Mikkeli, Lahti and Kajaani, the schooling system was crucial for development of the ski jump. Joensuu's first competition was held in the spring of 1890. The announcement in the newspaper⁴⁴ called skiing enthusiasts to a meeting to consider how to organize skiing and ski jump competitions at the same time. As a result of the meeting, a ski jump competition was arranged two weeks later in Tikkamäki⁴⁵.

In the town of Savonlinna, the ski jump was first introduced, as far as it is known, in 1889. The long ski jump started from the peak of Vääränsaari and continued onto the lake Haukivesi. This ski jump made jumps as long as 10 metres possible⁴⁶. Competitions were arranged annually, with hundreds of spectators cheering for successful performances.⁴⁷

Mikkelin Urheiluseura [The Sports Club of Mikkeli] arranged ski jump competitions in Linnanmäki early in the 20th century. The boys built a ski jump every week⁴⁸. The ski jump competitions started in Lahti in 1908 with a one-metre-high mound behind the church. This jump made it possible to fly as far as 8.5 metres. The competition organized by the Gymnastics and Sports Association Ahkera attracted hundreds of spectators⁴⁹.

In the same spring, a frightening, 2.5-metre-high jump was built on the property of Pyhäniemi Manor. After seeing the hill one of the skiers said that he would not jump from the take-off ramp even if he were paid a hundred marks and had a metre-thick bale of hay on both sides of his body⁵⁰. This ski jump, however, remained in use for several winters. One specialty of this area was a movable ski jump for young boys⁵¹. In the winter of 1909 the Ahkera sports club arranged competitions at the slope of the Konoff bakery in Salpausselkä. A further attraction for the spectators was the decorated hill⁵².

In 1905 Kajaanin Hiihtoseura [Kajaani Ski Association] organized a ski jump competition on a hill next to Kynänpäänniemi⁵³. The following year, it hoped to attract competitors from Paltaniemi because they were used to steep slopes⁵⁴. In 1907 the competitions were organized by Kajaanin Urheiluseura [Kajaani Sports Club]⁵⁵. In the winter of 1907, the pupils of the co-educational school participated in this 'beautiful

and funny sport' in the Hoikanlampi area of Kajaani as well⁵⁶.

As the Finnish ski jump developed, how Finnish jumpers performed in international competitions become increasingly important. Success and victories in Holmenkollen, 'the sanctuary of ski jumping', were especially significant for Finns. The old saying 'the conquest of Kollen' (referring to Homenkollen), attributed to Lauri 'Tahko' Pihkala in 1915, had actually been coined earlier. In Kuopio in 1888, the newspaper *Tappio*⁵⁷ wrote that the Finns were not yet as good as the Norwegians. The newspaper *Uusi Auru*⁵⁸ stated that in the future Finns might be able to compete with the Norwegians in the ski jump, as they already had in long-distance cross-country skiing and skating. For example, a newspaper in Hamina encouraged young boys in Vironlahti to train hard so that in the future they could compete with the Norwegians⁵⁹.

The competitors who travelled to compete in Norway were mostly Finns. Especially the competitions in Holmenkollen were an event to display national power and glory. In March 1914 the competition was followed by nearly all the inhabitants of Christiania. Alongside 50,000 other Norwegians, even the royal family and foreign diplomats watched these competitions. Two Finns, August Jansson and Aarne Lahdelmisto, jumped 31 metres and the brass band played the march of Pori (a Finnish honorary march) in their honour⁶⁰. This was also viewed as a way for Norwegians to support Finland in their attempt to escape Russian imperial power.

The media also played an important role in disseminating the ski jump. Newspapers began to include reports of ski jumping competitions and its records. Along with newspapers and periodicals, however, the cinema helped spread ski-jumping culture in the early 20th century. Films were shown that featured ski jump competitions from Christiania, Stockholm and other national competitions.

The Nordic ski jump tradition also emerged among the spectators, who learned from the behaviour of the spectators in Holmenkollen. Successful jumps were cheered and kind laughs greeted those who fell whereas those who used poles were mocked. The joyful presence of Norwegian ski jumpers who arrived to compete in Finland attracted attention. As in Norway, the elites in Finland found their way to the events. At Alppila hill in 1905, the head of state Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim and the Swedish-speaking gentlemen with their top hats and

their wives and daughters dressed in furs came to cheer the 'brave heroes of the air' and admire the Norwegian idols.

The interests of organizing ski jump

The early organizers of the Finnish ski jump started building sites for competition without formal organizations. Gradually, various groups started to be interested in organizing the ski jump, with the sport attracting the interest of young people, in particular, who considered it to be a noble undertaking. At the same time, the sport also diversified the activities of organizations. Ski jump competitions were organized by, for example, temperance, youth and hunting clubs as well as fire brigades, local trade unions and work communities. These competitions were such a significant and modern event that they were covered by magazines and newspapers already in the 19th century. The media interest also enabled organizations to make their activities known to the public. The novelty of the ski jump was another reason competitors were tempted to try their skills. These competitors included, among others, crofters, hunters and fishermen. Participants were further attracted by the cash prizes, which were awarded in the same way as in Finland's first skiing competitions.

Youth associations, for example, started ski jumping in central and south-eastern Finland. In March 1897 a youth association organized a competition on Harju, the hill in the city centre of Jyväskylä⁶¹. At the turn of the century, the youth associations of Uurainen and Muurame also organized competitions⁶². Other competition organizers included temperance societies in Tornio in 1889 and in Orimattila in 1907, the Sport Club Länsipään Humu in Punkalaidun in 1920, a farming school in Harju in 1895, the Hunting Association in Valkeakoski in 1900 and the gymnastics and sports department of the fire brigade in Linnanmäki in 1906⁶³.

The ski jump competitions did more than just encourage young people to test their skills; the aim was also to attract spectators. In the early days of the ski jump, spectators did not expect to see elegant and record-breaking jumps. They wanted to have fun and laugh at unsuccessful jumps, strange flights and somersaults. The competitions were op-

portunities to have fun together. Of course, successful and spectacular performances were applauded and cheered as they were by Norwegians in Holmenkollen.

The press reported broadly on ski jumping competitions. For the events in Oulu, the newspaper wrote about how the grown men made entertaining somersaults, much to the amusement of the large audience⁶⁴. In Tornio, which is located on the border between Finland and Sweden, the spectators travelled from Haaparanta on the Swedish side to watch the competitions. The audience was pleased to watch the brave competitors as well as their somersaults. In addition, refreshments in the form of sugar water, tobacco and coffee were available for 'a small payment'⁶⁵. Successful jumps were rewarded with boisterous cheering and music. Those who fell, however, were viciously laughed at⁶⁶. At Tikkamäki, in the city of Joensuu, spectators were treated to a separate series for beginners, which was intended simply for fun⁶⁷.

Young people's willingness to test their limits was one of the incentives to organize ski jump competitions. Understandably, the best ski jumpers were valued as successful heroes. Yet the ski jump also included a certain degree of danger. Alongside descriptions of the winning jumps, accidents and unexpected situations were also written about. Boys and their parents were warned about the dangers of the ski jump, but they were also encouraged to continue their hobby.

Accidents in these competitions were, of course, unavoidable. In the municipality of Ii, one boy's ski hit the eye of another boy who had just jumped and was turning to watch the next jumper. After four days this injured boy died⁶⁸. In Ylikannus a 13-year-old boy fell in such a way that he was impaled on his own ski pole. The boy pulled out the pole himself, fainted and, after an hour and a half, died⁶⁹. Broken limbs and ribs were common and these injuries, too, were reported in the press. It was also common to write about post-accident measures. In Sonkaja a young man broke his foot. After the injury, he went home and said nothing about the event for many hours. He was eventually found in great pain and stiff from the cold. The boy was then taken to the local doctor for treatment.⁷⁰

Yet as jumpers' skills improved, the best ones began to stand out from the others. Only the bravest dared to climb the hills, which seemed to

become higher and higher all the time. The ski jump in Pyynikki in Tampere, for instance, was not for the faint-hearted. Those who did dare were described in the newspaper as the toughest of the jumpers. They were described as 'daredevils, but wonderful to gaze at when they spread their arms and rise from the take-off ramp, as if they were a swan in flight'⁷¹.

Along with the development of their skills, some jumpers gained opportunities for financial reward. Cash prizes encouraged many, such as crofters and hunters, to compete. Travelling salesmen, on the road for their work, also participated in these competitions. Although the winnings were not as large as the cash prizes in cross-country skiing, they were still attractive. Many ski jumpers circulated from one competition to another like semi-professionals. In the town of Kuopio in 1886, the winner of the competition received 20 Finnish marks, the second 10 and the third 6⁷². In the competition arranged by Kajaani Sports Club in 1907, the total amount of the cash prizes was 50 Finnish marks while one hundred Finnish marks were reserved for the cross-country skiing competition⁷³. One of the active semi-professional ski jumper who took part in numerous competitions in the 1880s and 1890s was the artist Antti Haataja born in 1867. At the Katajanokka competition in 1886 he came third. The winner was engineer Kristian Nielsen and the second was sharpshooter Petter Huttunen. At the time, Haataja was a student at the Helsinki drawing school and the cash prize of 10 Finnish marks was big money for him⁷⁴.

Conclusions

The proximity of Norway, the birthplace of ski jumping, helped establish the sport in Finland. The economic relationship between Norway and Finland was particularly important in enabling the influence of Norwegian pioneers to spread the new sport to Finland. The first successful ski jumpers in Finnish competitions were Norwegians, who trained other jumpers and provided guidance to judges. The already existing Finnish ski culture, which included downhill skiing, was another important fact. The first downhill skiers can also be considered the first ski jumpers because they built the first jumps around Finland.

The spread of the ski jump to Finland was realized with varying



Advertising winter sports in *Fyren* Magazine 1917. A poster by Signe Hammarsten-Jansson, a Swedish born Finnish artist who is famous for her stamps and daughter Tove Jansson, the Mother of Moomin characters.

emphases. The Norwegian influence was the greatest in Helsinki and elsewhere in southern Finland. Tampere can be considered as being influenced by Helsinki. The impact of national skiing culture and military sports was significant for how ski jumping emerged in Kuopio and Turku. Meanwhile, in Joensuu, Savonlinna, Mikkeli, Lahti and Kajaani, the schooling system proved essential for the spread of the sport.

The regional expansion of the ski jump to southern and central Finland was relatively rapid. The newspapers disseminated information about successful ski jumpers as well as about the fun and dangerous nature of the sport. The most talented jumpers travelled to compete in those localities where competitions were arranged. The best jumpers were able to display their skills abroad. The cash prizes awarded in the early phase of the ski jump encouraged travel to different competitions around Finland.

The spread of the ski jump was largely influenced by the fact that various organizations, in addition to the enthusiastic pioneers of the sport, adopted it as one of their activities. By organizing competitions,

people interested in the ski jump were attracted to the activities of these organizations. The ski jumpers also made it possible to attract a 'paying audience' to the hills. At first, the skilful jumps as well as the somersaults and falls that amused the public were emphasized equally. Yet as the jumpers became more skilful, the spectators' attention was increasingly focused on the elegance of the flights and the length of the jumps.

The stages of the ski jump after the independence of Finland show that the field of the actors and the goal orientation have both constantly changed. After the Finnish Civil War in 1918, the organization of the sport was, above all, the responsibility of the local White Guards, which were interested in building jumps and practising the sport while promoting the objectives of national defence. The eagerness of the White Guards to build jumps is explained by the fact that in 1919 there were only six jumps in Finland, with only three of them being decent. Stockholm alone featured 12, and in Christiania there were as many as 80⁷⁵.

As the White Guards began to organize the ski jump, the cooperation of the Scandinavian ski jump pioneers became more nationalistic, and the military tradition of the ski jump emerged strongly. This in turn laid the foundation for the later pursuit of patriotic success. Along with these shifts in emphasis, jumping styles, competition organizers, goal orientation and the popularity of the ski jump have undergone significant changes as the sport has developed.

The regional variations in the ski jump, the birth and decline of its centres of activity as well as the changes in goal orientation provide fruitful areas for potential research on the sport. It would also be necessary to compare how the spread of ski jumping and the goals of its organizers differ from those of other sports. A further task could include examining the backgrounds of early ski jumpers and organizers. The divergent and shifting interests of the actors involved in the ski jump are, overall, a fascinating area for research.

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- 37 *Aamulehti* 19.1.1907, 26.2.1907; *Tampereen Sanomat* 15.3.1907.
- 38 *Savo* 6.4.1886.
- 39 *Uusi Suometar* 6.3.1888.
- 40 *Savon Sanomat* 7.12.1910.
- 41 *Aura* 4.4.1889.
- 42 *Aura* 26.2.1893.
- 43 *Sanomia Turusta* 27.2.1895.
- 44 *Karjalatar* 4.3.1890.
- 45 *Karjalatar* 11.3.1890.
- 46 *Savonlinna* 19.2.1891.
- 47 *Savonlinna* 25.2.1896, 26.2.1897, 1.3.1898; *Keski-Savo* 18.2.1908.
- 48 *Mikkeli* 10.3.1902, 16.3.1903, 1.3.1905; *Mikkelin Sanomat* 9.3.1907.
- 49 *Lahden Lehti* 23.3.1908; *Lahden Sanomat* 21.2.1911.
- 50 *Lahden Lehti* 8.4.1908.
- 51 *Lahden Sanomat* 2.4.1910.
- 52 *Lahti* 20.3.1909.
- 53 *Kajaani Lehti* 4.3.1905.
- 54 *Kaikuja Kajaanista* 24.2.1906.
- 55 *Kajaanin Lehti* 11.2.1907.
- 56 *Kajaanin Lehti* 16.2.1907.
- 57 *Tapio* 7.4.1888.
- 58 *Uusi Aura* 11.3.1905.
- 59 *Hamina* 22.2.1908.
- 60 *Aamulehti* 6.3.1914.
- 61 *Suomalainen* 15.3.1897.
- 62 *Suomalainen* 17.2.1899; 6.3.1901.

- 63 *Kaiku* 1.1.1889; *Uusimaa* 15.3.1907, *Punkalaitumen Sanomat* 5.3.1920; *Uusi Suometar* 27.2.1895, *Aamulehti* 22.3.1900, *Suur-Savo* 31.3.1906.
- 64 *Oulun Ilmoituslehti* 27.3.1889.
- 65 *Oulun Ilmoituslehti* 17.4.1889.
- 66 *Louhi* 19.2.1893.
- 67 *Karjalatar* 20.3.1915.
- 68 *Hämäläinen* 19.2.1877.
- 69 *Savo* 31.12.1884.
- 70 *Rajavahti* 11.12.1913.
- 71 *Aamulehti* 26.2.1907.
- 72 *Savo* 23.3.1886.
- 73 *Kajaanin Lehti* 11.2.1907.
- 74 *Laatokka* 10.3.1888; *Uusi Suometar* 12.3.1889; *Louhi* 10.3.1892.
- 75 *Uusi Suomi* 23.2.1919.