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Jopi Nyman

Godfrey Greene and Sebastian Cabot: An English Lecturer and His Dog in Helsinki in the 1930s

Introduction

Halliday Sutherland's travelogue *Lapland Journey* (1938) tells about the Scottish novelist and medical doctor's spring and summer in Finland in 1937.[1] While the work is mainly a narrative report of touristic travel, providing observations on sights and life in Finland and describing exciting sledding adventures in Lapland,[2] it is also relevant from the perspective of human–animal relations as it portrays the close relationship between Godfrey George Roundell Greene, MA (Oxon), an English university lecturer teaching at the University of Helsinki from 1928 to 1946, and his exceptional Newfoundland dog, Sebastian Cabot (aka Harlingen Nero). Using Sutherland's work and other historical materials, this article argues that this little-known relationship is a remarkable example of what contemporary human–animal studies address under the rubric of "entangled lives".[3] In so doing, both participants are contextualized biographically to reveal the roles they play, separately and together, in cultural and university life in Helsinki in the 1930s and in the history of Newfoundland dogs in Finland. Further, the article claims that Cabot's performance in human and urban spaces reveals a form of animal agency that affects a large number of people, especially students, and occasionally challenges human expectations of canines.

Animal history as a research field developed during the 1980s and 1990s, and remains outside more mainstream historical research. Only in recent years has it gained increased interest, as shown in the new journal *Animal History* (2025–) and the publication of new handbooks.[4] Historical studies of animals often emphasize

1 Halliday Sutherland, *Lapland Journey*. Geoffrey Bles, London 1938.

2 Sutherland's representation of Lapland and the reindeer have been studied in Jopi Nyman, "Mapping the North with Reindeer in 1930s British Travel Writing: Olive Murray Chapman's *Across Lapland with Sledge and Reindeer* and Halliday Sutherland's *Lapland Journey*". *Emerging Voices for Animals in Tourism*. Edited by Jes Hooper and Carol Kline. CABI Books, Wallingford 2024, 141–152.

3 Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2008.

4 See, e.g., *The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History*. Edited by Hilda Kean and Philip Howell. Routledge, Abingdon 2019; *Handbook of Historical Animal Studies*. Edited by Mieke Roscher et al. De Gruyter Oldenburg, Berlin 2021.

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the difficulty in writing the stories of those who do not leave traces and whose voice remains unheard in human-centred histories, but they also recognize that relationships between humans and non-humans can be uncovered in many materials.[5] Although the number of historical sources dealing with Greene and Cabot is limited, I will analyse this multispecies relationship on the basis of the existing traces. The study uses a diverse array of sources, including Sutherland's travel book, university catalogues, newspapers, student magazines, dog show reports, and kennel club annuals that are contextualized and interpreted with relevant research literature.

Owing to the strong bond between the carer and the dog, this article addresses both actors to understand the interspecies relationship. Following a contextualizing discussion of human–animal relations, I will address biographical and historical materials related to Greene to clarify his activities as a university lecturer in the Helsinki of that period. While Greene remains unnamed in Sutherland's book and referred to as "the Oxford graduate", his identity is clear in the historical context and was also recognized by a contemporary reviewer of Sutherland's book.[6] Following this, I will contextualise Cabot and his role in the history of the breed internationally and nationally. The final section addresses the representation of Cabot in Sutherland's travelogue and other sources with reference to his agency. My approach is microhistorical: I focus on the man and the dog to open up new perspectives on the relational history of humans and animals and on the agency of non-human animals in the context of Helsinki in the 1930s.[7]

Histories of human–animal relationality

Generally, we have access to animal histories only through the humans who have interacted with them and left textual or other traces of the animals. I agree with Erica Fudge: "the animal can never be studied in isolation, it is always a record by and of the human".[8] What distinguishes Cabot from many other animals addressed in historical studies is his status as a pet, a category understood by Keith Thomas as one where the animal has a human name, lives with humans in their home, and is

5 Otto Latva and Heta Lähdesmäki, "Eläimet, kasvit ja kulttuurihistoria". *Kulttuurihistorian tutkimus. Lähteistä menetelmiin ja tulkintaan*. Edited by Rami Mähkä et al. K&h, Turku 2022, 474–475.

6 z, "En skottes odyssé i Lappland". *Hufvudstadsbladet* 30.10.1938, 24.

7 See Pilvikki Lantela, "Yksityiskohdista yleiseen: Mikrohistorian historia, luonne ja mahdollisuudet kulttuurihistorian kentällä". *Kulttuurihistorian tutkimus. Lähteistä menetelmiin ja tulkintaan*. Edited by Rami Mähkä et al. K&h, Turku 2022, 69–83.

8 Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals. Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press 2002, 3.

not eaten.[9] Naming is a way of individualizing the non-human and providing it with a distinct identity.

The human–pet relationship is at the core of this article. The phenomenon is not new, but research has shown how modern pet-keeping is different from human–animal relationships in the Middle Ages. Thomas's analysis of historical changes in ways of relating to animals suggests that earlier anthropocentric views transformed into a more sentimental understanding during the 18th and 19th centuries owing to the influence of the Enlightenment and increased urbanization.[10] In 19th-century Britain, sentimentality and animal protection emerge as cruelty towards animals is challenged by the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty against Animals (1821) and the publication of texts such as Anna Sewell's sentimentalist novel *Black Beauty* (1877), which argues for compassion towards animals, using emotional discourse and powerful images.[11]

The development of pet culture at large has been seen as an expression of the new attitude towards animals. In her study of 19th-century British dog culture, Harriet Ritvo writes that the Victorian period displays what she calls "a cult of pets".[12] Middle-class dog owners were ready to spend large sums of money on purebred dogs that, in addition to being objects of affection and love, were also valuable investments that served as status symbols for many owners.[13] The period is central to the development of many currently known dog breeds by developing ideal types and categories, leading to recognizable standard breeds to be admired at dog shows organized by specialist clubs such as the Kennel Club keeping track of pedigrees and awarding prizes to particularly notable individuals.[14] In the view of Susan McHugh, breed dogs provide "elite status" both at dog shows as well as at home.[15] McHugh also pays attention to the 19th-century emergence of new practices such as pet photography and the related form of dog mourner painting.[16] While the former served as decorations in late Victorian homes, the latter offered images where "a breed dog reclines melancholically by a coffin, corpse or even a mourning wreath, faithful to the human even beyond death".[17] Such sentimentalist representations indicate the

9 Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World. Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800*. Pantheon Books, New York 1983, 112–116.

10 Thomas 1983, 143–191.

11 Jopi Nyman, "Re-Reading Sentimentalism in Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*: Affect, Performativity, and Hybrid Spaces". *Affect, Space and Animals*. Edited by Jopi Nyman and Nora Schuurman. Routledge, Abingdon 2016, 65–79.

12 Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate. The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1987, 86.

13 Ritvo 1987, 86–87.

14 Ritvo 1987, 91–115.

15 Susan McHugh, *Dog*. Reaktion Books, London 2004, 101.

16 McHugh 2004, 95–98.

17 McHugh 2004, 97.

extent of emotions embedded in human–animal relationships in the period. While the examples are mainly from the British context, pets, including dogs, were also a part of multi-species Finnish families in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and contributed to the making of urban communities.[18]

This new, more sentimental attitude towards animals sees them as individuals, a trend already evident in Lord Byron's words from 1809 describing his late Newfoundland dog Boatswain in an affectionate way, possessing "all the Virtues of Man without any of his vices".[19] In the early 19th century, stories of heroic or loyal dogs are widely circulated. Liv Emma Thorsen's analysis of the life-saving rescue dog Barry (d. 1814), the most famous representative of the Saint Bernard breed, once working at the Hospice du Saint-Bernard in Switzerland and now stuffed and displayed at Bern's Natural History Museum, pays attention to Barry's almost mythical deeds during his life and career as well as his narrative afterlife as an icon for the breed. Narrative representations of Barry, involving his reputation for having saved 40 human lives, show his transformation from a living dog into "a canine ideal" that in some versions of the story belongs to Saint Bernard himself.[20] Thorsen mentions that Saint Bernards and Newfoundland dogs in particular were seen as heroic breeds.[21] Regardless of Barry's nearly mythical status, Thorsen underlines his status as an individual: his singularity. Chris Pearson argues that the formation of the emotional response to dogs in the developing urban setting is closely linked with the values of the middle-class: encounters with dogs are emotionally loaded and occasionally contradictory, both loathed and loved in shared space.[22] Stray dogs, for instance, were seen as signs of danger and disorder – features that the middle class associated with the working class.[23]

In the case of modern pet dogs such as Cabot, the relationship between them and their carers becomes a close one involving cross-species emotions and shared activities. Such relationality has been addressed by many scholars. While Adrian Franklin writes that it is the task of non-human animals to provide "ontological

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18 Taina Syrjämaa, "Monilajinen kaupunkiyhteisö: Koiria, kissoja ja ihmisiä 1800-luvun ja 1900-luvun taitteen Uudessakaupungissa". *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, Volume 117, Number 2, 2019, 157–168.

19 Qtd in Ritvo 1987. See also Liv Emma Thorsen, "A Dog of Myth and Matter: Barry the Saint Bernard in Bern". *Animals on Display. The Creaturely in Museums, Zoos and Natural History*. Edited by Liv Emma Thorsen et al. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park 2013, 128–149.

20 Thorsen 2013, 136–139.

21 Thorsen 2013, 136.

22 Chris Pearson, *Dogopolis: How Dogs and Humans Made Modern New York, London, and Paris*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2021, 5–7.

23 Pearson 2021, 15.

security" amidst the turmoil and isolation characterizing life in modernity,[24] Jodey Castriciano underlines that the relationships between humans and non-humans are "based on empathy and connectedness" that make them "intersubjective".[25] This idea of intersubjective and joint, entangled development of the participants is evident in Donna Haraway's critique of "human exceptionalism" and her view of joint identity formation: "becoming is always becoming *with* – in a contact zone where outcome, where who is in the world, is at stake".[26] Modern human–non-human relations are characterized by a mutual process where the life of each participant is entangled with the other, transforming their identities towards a joint one as suggested by Haraway. As the following sections will show, the lives of the Englishman and his dog living in interwar Helsinki are similarly entangled and reveal a strong bond between the human and the non-human.

Sources and methods

Study of animal history and animal agency involves significant issues that make their study difficult. Schuurman and Syrjämaa refer to this "animal otherness" and point out that the sources to be studied have been created by humans and that earlier studies of animals and their actions have been interpreted from various human-made perspectives.[27] In the view of Fudge, the central role of humans does not make the historical study of animals impossible.[28] Fudge argues that representations of animals in the past are not limited to repeating established understandings of animals as mere "human tools" but may lead to new interpretations of formerly marginalized worlds where animals are active participants through their presence, deeds, and agency.[29] In other words, contemporary animal history concedes that it is possible to locate the animal as such in history, not only as a human representation but also by taking their agency into account.[30] The role of animal agency in constructing the past has been recognized in animal historical work, although their agency is different from

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24 Adrian Franklin, *Animals and Modern Cultures. A Sociology of Human–Animal Relations*. Sage, London 2000, 55–56.

25 Jodey Castriciano, "Introduction: Animal Subjects in a Posthuman World". *Animal Subjects. An Ethical Reader in a Posthuman World*. Edited by Jodey Castriciano. Wilfried Laurier University Press, Waterloo 2008, 5.

26 Haraway 2008, 244; emphasis original.

27 Nora Schuurman and Taina Syrjämaa, "Shared Spaces, Practices, and Mobilities: Pet-Human Life in Modern Finnish Homes". *Home Cultures: The Journal of Architecture, Design, and Domestic Spaces*, Volume 18, Number 2, 2021, 177.

28 Erica Fudge, "What Was It Like to Be a Cow? History and Animal Studies". *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*. Edited by Linda Kalof. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, 261.

29 Fudge 2014, 261–263.

30 Fudge 2014, 263; see also Schuurman and Syrjämaa 2021, 177–178.

intentional and rational human agency. For example, Pearson's study of military dogs in the First World War shows how they served the army in such tasks as messenger dogs and by using their strengths in order to locate mines and injured soldiers.[31] Training manuals "provide glimpses, however slight and imperfect, of how dogs were capable agents whose attributes dog trainers had to work with and engage to create army dogs".[32] Agency, in other words, is a way to see how animals interact with humans and the environment at large, also in ways that may resist and challenge human attempts to govern the contact zones of human–animal encounters.

This case study of one particular dog and his human carer in 1930s Helsinki uses a variety of different sources to understand this interspecies relationship and its forgotten participants not addressed in earlier research. My key source is Halliday Sutherland's travelogue *Lapland Journey* (1938) focusing on the Englishman and his dog. On the basis of this text, I have located further references to its events and hope to have contextualized them. This has involved sources such as digitized newspapers, university catalogues, yearbooks, and teaching programmes, student magazines, dog show reports, photographs, and kennel club annuals.[33] My analysis is based on a close reading of the materials referencing the theoretical and conceptual framework addressing human–animal relationships, and I use a variety of academic and other writings to contextualize the source materials.

Using travelogues as a source is not straightforward. In the context of life-writing, travel memoirs such as Sutherland's are understood to be referential in the sense proposed by Philippe Lejeune, by forming "a referential pact" with their reader to produce "resemblance to the truth".[34] Such texts provide new knowledge of the past by revealing encounters and images that are both personal and related to larger cultural patterns.[35] In this sense travel writing and memoirs cannot be equated with historical documents but they convey selected views and experiences of their authors in the manner of other personal writings. In the case of Sutherland's book, this means a critical awareness that some of the incidents it reports, including Cabot's restaurant dinners and taxi rides, may not have occurred in reality – or not in the way described. However, the materials convey a clear image of Cabot's agency that calls for closer scrutiny.

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31 Chris Pearson, "Dogs, History, and Agency". *History and Theory*, Volume 52, 2013, 139–143.

32 Pearson 2013, 142.

33 Many of the newspapers and other printed publications used in my search for information about Greene and Cabot are available in the digitized collections of the Finnish National Library. I have also conducted research in the library of the Finnish Canine Museum in Espoo, Finland and in the archives of the Finnish–British Society in Helsinki.

34 Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*. Trans. Katherine Leary. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1989, 22.

35 See, e.g., Leila Koivunen's historical work on travel writing on Africa in *Visualizing the "Dark Continent": The Process of Illustrating Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts of Africa*. University of Turku, Turku 2006.

The first two analytical sections of the article are based on archival sources. I will start with a presentation of Greene's life and career, followed with Cabot's story in the context of the breed. In the third section I will use Sutherland's travelogue to address the close human–animal relationship and the representation of Cabot's agency in the urban space.

Godfrey Greene and English in Helsinki in the 1930s

Basic biographical information on Greene is documented in the catalogue of teachers and officials at the University of Helsinki. Greene was born in Kensington, London in 1888 and died in 1956.[36] The family consisted of his parents George A. Greene and Mary D. Greene and an older brother, Henry.[37] Greene was educated at prestigious institutions: Westminster School in London and Magdalen College at Oxford, graduating with a BA degree in 1912.[38] His early employment history includes a short-term position (1913–1914) as an assistant for James Murray, the first editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which explains his keen interest in language and literature. Peter Gilliver (2016) writes that Greene worked as one of the lexicographers for the first edition of the *OED* but left in 1914 for the army, serving initially in the Royal Army Medical corps.[39] After the war, Greene was awarded an MA at Oxford (1920) and was employed as Lecturer of English at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, teaching English language, literature, and culture for several years (1920–1926).[40] Following this, he moved to the Jagellonian University of Cracow in Poland (1928). Contrary to some earlier information about Greene's stay in Poland, Podhajecka mentions that he worked there only for 3 months (April–June 1928), not a full year as suggested in the catalogues of the University of Helsinki, teaching 6 hours per week as an hourly-paid instructor, as approved by the Ministry in June 1928.[41]

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36 Helsingin yliopisto, *Opettajat ja virkamiehet. Lärare och Tjänsteman*. WSOY, Porvoo 1977, 68.

37 Miroslawa Podhajecka, *Lektorzy języka angielskogo w międzywojniu*. Universitas, Krakow 2021, 273.

38 Helsingin yliopisto 1977, 68.

39 Peter Gilliver, *The Making of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, 321–325. As Podhajecka (2021, 273) remarks, Greene was awarded three war decorations for his service.

40 See e.g. Göteborgs högskolas årskrift 1924, 24.

41 Podhajecka 2021, 274–275. See also Miroslawa Podhajecka, "Lektorzy języka angielskiego w Wilnie i Krakowie w okresie międzywojennym. Próba biograficzna". *Prace Historyczne*, Volume 145, Number 2, 2018, 271–301. Podhajecka (2021, 275) notes that Greene did not receive his salary until June 1928, which may have led to a decision to leave Cracow.

On 9 August 1928, Greene was appointed by the Chancellor of the University of Helsinki to a lecturer's position.[42] At that time English was not widely spoken in Finland, and German was the dominant foreign language. English had been taught at the university since 1830, but before the founding of a second lectureship in 1929 there were very few teaching staff.[43] The university had the country's only professorship in English, held by the philologist Uno Lindelöf (1868–1944) from 1907 until his retirement.[44] The 1930s reveal an increase in student numbers, and Greene's colleague Jean-Louis Perret, a lecturer in French, reports that Greene had more than 300 students – most of them female – in comparison to his own 200.[45]

Päivi Pahta has pointed out that the traditional tasks of native-speaker lecturers at Finnish universities focused on language skills and the teaching of literature and culture.[46] This is also the case with Greene. The courses he taught during the academic year 1929–1930 are typical, including language skills ("Samatalsövningar för mindre långt hunna elever [Spoken communication for less advanced students]") on Tuesdays and Saturdays, translation exercises into English for advanced and less advanced students, two literature courses, and also a proseminar course where students presented their work on agreed topics.[47] The teaching in the later years follows the same syllabus, including courses on Shakespeare and Contemporary English Writers,[48] as well as the reading of playtexts.[49] The courses were quite similar to those Greene had offered in Gothenburg, where he had taught translation exercises and literature.[50]

In 1937, Sutherland visited Helsinki and spent some time with Greene, as well as with other Anglophiles such as the renowned literature scholar Yrjö Hirn. In one of the few available descriptions of Greene, who was approaching 50 years of age at the time, Sutherland saw him as "tall, slender, clean-shaven, of middle age, with strong features and large blue eye. His thick black hair was tinged with grey, and on his face was at times the look that lingers on the face of those who have seen the worst of war".[51] The image is of an experienced man with deep knowledge of the world.

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42 E.g., *Hufvudstadsbladet* 10.8.1928, 4.

43 Päivi Pahta, "The History of English Studies in Finland". *European English Studies: Contributions towards the History of the Discipline*. Vol. II. Edited by Renate Haas and Balz Engler. The English Association, Leicester 2008, 25.

44 Nils Erik Enkvist, "The Era of Uno Lindelöf". *Language, Learning, Literature. Studies Presented to Håkan Ringbom*. Edited by Martin Gill et al. Åbo Akademi University, Åbo 2001, 1–14.

45 Elina Seppälä, *Ranskalainen Eurooppa ja suomalainen Suomi. Jean-Louis Perret kulttuurinvälittäjänä ja verkostoitujana 1919–1945*. Helsingin yliopisto, Helsinki 2014, 80.

46 Pahta 2008, 26.

47 *Helsingfors Universitet. Program för läsåret 1929–1930*, 30.

48 *Helsingin yliopisto. Ohjelma lukuvuodeksi 1935–1936*, 29.

49 *Helsingin yliopisto. Ohjelma lukuvuodeksi 1937–1938*, 30.

50 See *Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift* 1926, 25.

51 Sutherland 1938, 53.

Sutherland also claims that Greene had some peculiarities, such as never wearing a hat or an overcoat "to convince the Finns that the winter climate in Helsinki is less severe than its reputation".[52]

Greene was approachable and appreciated by his students as a knowledgeable and skilful lecturer with a cultivated understanding of style and the correct use of English, shown in the way he communicated actively with students, participating in and organizing extracurricular activities, and assisting them in locating opportunities for language learning abroad.[53] "Miten nykyään kieliä opiskellaan? [How do they study languages today?]", an article published in *Hopeapeili* in 1937, a magazine targeting women, interviews a recent female graduate in whose view the degree is mainly theoretical. To learn to use the foreign language in practice is dependent on each student's own activity and financial resources: while "younger teachers" use oral exercises, such are limited, and wealthier students may rely on a native-speaker governess, listen to radio, or travel abroad.[54] The article also mentions language clubs organized by various student organizations; at the Students' English Society (henceforth the SES) a small fine was to be paid should one use Finnish.[55] Greene's support for his students is emphasized in an article published in the Swedish-speaking student magazine *Studentbladet* upon his 50th birthday in 1938. It mentions that Greene had not confined himself to mere lecturing and examining but had "shown a warm interest in his students in various ways [ett varmt intresse för sina elever på en mångfald olika sätt]".[56] These included participation in various voluntary student activities with "his reliable friend and follower Mr. Sebastian Cabot [hans trogna vän och följeslagare Mr. Sebastian Cabot]" and support in organizing study trips to Britain.[57]

Greene, together with his dog, played a key role in the activities of the SES, a student club founded on 18 November 1936 with the aim of gathering together the students of English at the University of Helsinki to provide more opportunities for the use of the English language. Greene was appointed as the Chair of the organization. The other officials included Greene's colleague Henry Harvey (Vice Chair) and the students R. Helling (Treasurer) and Teuvo Tiitinen (Secretary).[58] As its membership included both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students,[59] it clearly opposed the strong language barrier within the university and Finland at large. Through its focus on the more neutral medium of English, the SES may have challenged the existing

52 Sutherland 1938, 54.
53 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.
54 *Hopeapeili* 1.3.1937, 16–17.
55 *Hopeapeili* 1.3.1937, 16.
56 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.
57 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.
58 *Uusi Suomi* 29.11.1936, 17.
59 *Studentbladet* 16.04.1938, Number 6, 127.

polarization between the two national languages and their speakers in the context of nationalism and the language question in post-Civil War Finland. As Pirkko Nuolijärvi points out, the *aitosuomalainen* (genuine Finnish) movement aimed at a monolingual and white Finland, selecting Swedish and the alleged privileges of its speakers as their object of hatred.[60]

The first meeting of the SES included a discussion concerning life in England, where students presented their views; the second meeting was planned to include a musical introduction to modern British music by a visiting composer, Will Reed.[61] The inaugural event was reported in both Finnish and Swedish-language newspapers. According to *Helsingin Sanomat*, the SES sought to promote interaction between its members and improve their language skills as well as to contribute to their awareness of English culture.[62] This is seen as "a delightful addition [ilahduttava lisä]" that would balance the direction of Finland towards leading European countries.[63] This comment reflects Greene's view of the need to promote English in Finland, as was reported in a newspaper interview.[64] In *Suomenmaa* in 1933, Greene makes two points: English should be studied more in Finland because of its increasing status as an international language, and its role in Finnish schools should be similar to that of German to provide a solid basis for its study as a university subject.[65] The report on the founding meeting published in the Swedish-speaking newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* provides further interesting information. Held at the restaurant La Rotonde,[66] located in the building of the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki, the meeting was attended by approximately 60 participants, amongst them Cabot, the "mascot" of the club.[67] The programme also included a presentation by Mrs. B. Seidenschnur on her positive experiences of England and its atmosphere, characterized especially by politeness, as well as party games where the participants were able to use their English orally and in writing.[68]

The SES played a key role in the festivities organized in March 1938 to honour the retirement of Professor Uno Lindelöf from his chair of English Philology after 46 years of teaching. Lindelöf, who had studied under leading philologists including Julius Zupitza in Berlin and Gaston Paris in Paris, had been the sole professor of English since 1907, first temporarily and then appointed permanently in 1921.[69] The

60 Pirkko Nuolijärvi, "Nationalismi ja suomen kielen asema monikielisen Suomen vaiheissa". *Nationalismi ja kieli*. Edited by Mikko Autere and Riikka Länsisalmi. SKS, Helsinki 2024, 89.
61 *Uusi Suomi* 29.11.1936, 17.
62 *Helsingin Sanomat* 20.11.1936, 6.
63 *Helsingin Sanomat* 20.11.1936, 6.
64 *Suomenmaa* 31.1.1933, 1.
65 *Suomenmaa* 31.1.1933, 1.
66 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 21.11.1936, 6.
67 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 21.11.1936, 6.
68 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 21.11.1936, 6.
69 Enkvist 2001, 2–6.

official ceremony, which included his farewell lecture on the Old English religious work *Ormulum*, was attended by former and current students and staff from the English department.[70] As Lindelöf was the patron of the SES, an evening party in his honour was held at the Hotel Torni,[71] a modern hotel and restaurant in the centre of Helsinki, opened in 1931 and frequented by Finnish high society and also foreign celebrities.[72] The programme included opening words by the SES secretary Teuvo Tiitinen, music, and speeches by Greene, Harvey, Reuter, and C.E. Tallqvist.[73] The speeches were poetic and written with Lindelöf's philological interests in mind: Harvey's speech was presented in archaistic and euphemistic style, Reuter presented his own poem, which followed the linguistic and rhythmical features of *Ormulum*, while Tallqvist's was composed in the style of Caedmon.[74] While Lindelöf's retirement was a remarkable event in university life, the fact that the evening party is reported in the newspapers tells of the significance of the organization's role in promoting Anglo-Finnish cultural relations for a new generation expected to play significant roles in Finnish social and business life. The student magazine also mentions Cabot, the club mascot, as contributing to the students' congratulations.[75]

Greene was active in promoting English culture in Finland through various organizations and especially the Finnish–British Society, founded in Helsinki in 1926 to boost cultural and other interaction between the nations.[76] In 1929, he was one of the members in the English amateur theatre group associated with the Society who had organized a sold-out special evening at the National Theatre in Helsinki, staging two modern plays.[77] Greene is listed as a member of the society,[78] and he was also an active user of its library in Helsinki, making suggestions for books that might be purchased in 1937–1938.[79] By 1939, he was a member of the library's committee tasked with selecting books.[80] As an available expert on English culture

70 *Svenska Pressen* 29.3.1938, 1.

71 *Helsingin Sanomat* 7.4.1938, 7.

72 Jussi Talvi, *Torni: 50 vuotta hotellin ja gastronomian vaiheita*. Otava, Helsinki 1981, 23, 39–40.

73 *Helsingin Sanomat* 7.4.1938, 7.

74 *Helsingin Sanomat* 7.4.1938, 7.

75 *Studentbladet* 16.4.1938, Number 6, 127.

76 Lyhennysote pöytäkirjasta, Anglo–Finnish Societyn – Suomalais–Englantilaisen yhdistyksen perustava kokous, 15.4.1926. https://finnbrit.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Finnish-British-Society-r.y.-perustamisasiakirjat.pdf. Accessed 23.9.2025.

77 *Uusi Suomi* 17.4.1929, 11. A letter to the members of the Finnish–British society, dated 23.4.1929, includes an invitation to Greene's lecture on John Galsworthy postponed to 3.5.1929 as well as a mention of the performance of Galsworthy's *The Pigeon* and Sutro's *The Man in the Stalls* by "the English Amateurs" staged at the National Theatre in Helsinki on 29.4.1929.

78 F.B.S:n jäsenluettelo 1931, Finnish–British Society.

79 Library Suggestion Book, Finnish–British Society, n.p.

80 Letter from the Council of the Finnish British–Society to (Henry) Stanley Harvey, 25.11.1939, Finnish–British Society. The letter invites Harvey to the committee and mentions that Greene will also serve on it if he returns to Finland.

and literature, Greene was a regular speaker at the Finnish–British society's Club Evenings and Monthly Meetings, which were advertised in newspapers and letters to members. He had given public lectures also in Gothenburg on English language and culture,[81] and in Cracow a talk about his war experiences entitled "With the British Army in Palestine".[82] His talks focused on modern authors such as J.M. Synge, Norman Douglas, Lytton Strachey, George Moore, and W. Somerset Maugham,[83] and he is described as a skilful lecturer and a specialist on literature.[84] The society's meetings, often in reputed restaurants in Helsinki, were not only literary but usually involved both a lecture and some light entertainment, possibly a film but more regularly dancing, at least once to George de Godzinsky's well-known orchestra.[85] The programme note of a typical meeting tells that it consisted of Greene's lecture on H.G. Wells, a musical performance, and the playing of gramophone records, including Forbes Robinson's recitals from *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.[86] The society also organized talks by visiting English artists, writers, and public figures. These meetings offered opportunities especially for younger Anglophiles to socialize and meet new like-minded people. Greene travelled to Turku at least twice to talk at the events organized by the town's Finnish-British Association, founded in 1937. His public lecture on George Moore in February 1938 received a lot of attention in the local newspapers, as the event was to be attended by the British Minister to Finland[87]. In March 1939, he gave another talk at the University of Turku.[88] In addition to the Finnish–British Society, Greene was a member of the Modern Language Society in Finland and, on the occasion when he was awarded membership, gave a lecture entitled "J. M. Synge and the Irish Theatre".[89]

Greene also contributed to the perception of English literature in Finland. With his lecturer colleague Roy Morrell, Greene co-authored a critical review of Eino Railo's first anthology of English literature in Finnish translation, *Englannin kirjallisuuden kultainen kirja* (1933). The review was published in Finnish translation in *Tulenkantajat,* the key publication of the Finnish modernist movement at the time.

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81 Podhajecka 2021, 274.

82 *Glos Narodu* 21.6.1928.

83 These talks include "Norman Douglas", 19.4.1934 (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 18.4.1934, 1); "Lytton Strachey", 14.3.1935 (*Uusi Suomi* 10.3.1935, 2); "The English Traveller" (*Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* 8.11.1936, 2); "George Moore", 21.10.1937 (*Helsingin Sanomat* 17.10.1937); "W. Somerset Maugham", 9.11.1938 (*Helsingin Sanomat* 6.11.1938, 3).

84 *Turun Sanomat* 8.2.1938, 6.

85 *Helsingin Sanomat* 17.10.1937, 3.

86 Programme note of a meeting held on 23.11.1928, Ostrobotnia, Finnish–British Society, 16.11.1928.

87 *Uusi Aura* 21.01.1938, 8.

88 *Åbo Underrättelser* 21.3.1939, 2.

89 Åke Furuhjelm and Bertil Lindgren, "Protokolle des Neuphilologischen Vereins". *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Volume 34, Number 1, 1933, 80–81.

Greene and Morrell wrote that the anthology was hardly representative of English literature. In their view, Railo overemphasized the significance of Romanticism, underrated the metaphysical poets, and presented an ahistorical selection of writers, revealing no understanding of literature "as an organic whole, a living and logical tradition, an expression of culture [orgaanisena kokonaisuutena, elävänä ja loogillisena traditiona, kulttuurin ilmaisumuotona]".[90]

Before the outbreak of the Finnish Winter War in 1939, Greene left Helsinki for Britain. The exact date is not known, but already in September and early October Ambassador Maitland Snow had started instructing the British to leave Finland.[91] The university was closed before the Soviet air raids on Helsinki that started on 30 November 1939.[92] At the beginning of the autumn term 1940, the minutes of the Board of the Historical-Philological Section of the Philosophical Faculty mention that Greene had left the country and had privately informed the university that he had no intention of returning to his position under the then current circumstances.[93] Greene's stay abroad continued for several years until he informed the Faculty in May 1946 of his resignation.[94] In September, the Faculty Board learnt that his resignation had been accepted.[95] As Greene had at that time already left his teaching position in Britain, it can be assumed that he may have considered returning to Finland at some point but eventually decided otherwise.

After his return to Britain in 1940, Greene took up a teaching position at Worksop College near Nottingham, where he remained until 1945, first as a teacher and later as the House Master of the Preparatory School.[96] The history of Worksop College refers to him as "a sympathetic and kind figure with a happy wit"[97] and illustrates his kindness with an anecdote: Greene was "reputed to have conceived the idea of administering local anaesthetic to a timorous youth who, about to receive his first caning, enquired anxiously 'Will it hurt much, Sir?'"[98]

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90 Godfrey Greene and Roy Morrell, rev. *of Englantilaisen kirjallisuuden kultainen kirja*, ed. Eino Railo. *Tulenkantajat* 19, 13.5.1933. See also Urpo Kovala, *Väliin lankeaa varjo. Angloamerikkalaisen kaunokirjallisuuden välittyminen Suomeen 1890–1939*. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä 1992, 61.

91 Jukka Nevakivi, *Apu jota ei pyydetty. Liittoutuneet ja Suomen Talvisota 1939–1940*. Tammi, Helsinki 1972, 47.

92 See https://www.helsinki.fi/fi/uutiset/yliopisto/sodat-ja-tulipalot-eivat-ole-lannistaneet-helsingin-yliopistoa-kriiseista-versonut-myos-uutta-hyvaa. Accessed 23.9.2025.

93 Historiallis-kielitieteellisen osaston pöytäkirjat 7.9.1940, 21.

94 Historiallis-kielitieteellisen osaston pöytäkirjat 25.5.1946, 66.

95 Historiallis-kielitieteellisen osaston pöytäkirjat 12.9.1946, 2.

96 Arthur de Millichap Beanland, *Worksop College, 1895–1955*. Privately Published [Worksop?] 1955, 132.

97 de Beanland 1955, 30.

98 de Beanland 1955, 31.

In 1940 he made a significant contribution to the Finnish Ministry of Public Affairs in support of women and children war evacuees, donating a sum of 12,657 FIM.[99] What is known about his activities after 1945 comes from Britain. In the 1950s, Greene was mentioned as a contributor to the annual publication of the Society for Theatre Research (1953) and he also published two brief articles in the *Theatre Notebook* that demonstrated his expert knowledge of theatre history.[100] In 1955, he donated to Westminster School his "outstanding collection of first editions of works by Old Westminsters", which was followed in 1956 with and instruction to his executor to provide £600 for the construction of the necessary bookshelves.[101] In June 1956, at the age of 68, Greene died in Beckley, Oxfordshire.[102]

As Greene did not apparently leave any personal documentation behind when leaving Finland, and inquiries to various institutions have not uncovered any personal papers, discussion of his personal views remains limited. He may have destroyed some personal documents before leaving Finland in the manner of his colleague Henry Harvey, burning them in fear of a Russian invasion of Finland.[103] The legacy of Greene in Finland is perhaps seen in his students and the assistance he provided to several colleagues. At Gothenburg, he had proofread several doctoral theses in English, as is indicated in the prefaces of the works.[104] In Helsinki, he revised the language of Ole Reuter's doctoral dissertation on English verb development and is thanked by the author for "many emendations" in the Preface.[105] Reuter was later appointed a full professor in Helsinki.

Greene's interest in English language and literature may have encouraged several of his students to continue their studies. Amongst them was Esko Pennanen, later Professor of English at the University of Tampere, who expresses in the preface to his doctoral dissertation his gratitude to his former teacher for the provision of

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99 *Hufvudstadsbladet* 6.4.1940, 4.

100 Godfrey Greene, "Notes on an Unpublished Garrick Letter and on Messink". *Theatre Notebook*, Volume 8, Number 1, 4–6; Godfrey Greene, "Mrs. Sarah Gardner: A Further Note". *Theatre Notebook*, Volume 8, Number 1, 6–10. The Annual Publication by the Society of Theatre Research (1970, 171) mentions Greene's donation to the Society, including abstracts of theatre criticism published in periodicals and newspapers.

101 "Greene, Godfrey George Roundell, 1888–1956". https://collections.westminster.org.uk/index.php/greene-godfrey-george-roundell-1888-1956. Accessed 7.2.2025.

102 *The Elizabethan*, Volume XXVI, Number 19, November 1956, 255.

103 Paula Byrne, *The Adventures of Miss Barbara Pym*. William Collins, London 2021. The lecturer Henry Harvey (1911–1995) was the writer Barbara Pym's longtime love interest.

104 Gustaf Stern, *Swift, Swiftly, and Their Synonyms: A Contribution to Semantic Analysis and Theory*. Eläders Boktryckeri, Göteborg 1921; Nils Wahlén, *The Old English Impersonalia. Part I: Impersonal Expressions Containing Verbs of Material Import in the Active Voice*. Eläders Boktryckeri, Göteborg 1925.

105 Ole Reuter, *On the Development of English Verbs for Latin and French Past Participles*. Centraltryckeriet, Helsingfors 1934, Preface.

"invaluable books of reference".[106] The later careers of some of the key members of the SES indicate their academic aspirations in the field. Its secretary, Teuvo Tiitinen, died in the Finnish Winter War but had already published an article on the Finnish translations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.[107] The treasurer, Rafael Helling, became a pioneer in developing sign language education in Finland but also went on to write a doctoral thesis on Anthony Trollope.[108] Two of the students mentioned embarked on careers related to writing. Brita Seidenschnur (née Gustafson, later Innhausen und Knyphausen), was a writer and poet.[109] Hertta Tirranen, who is reported as having sung at the 1937 student party, became a publisher's editor and translator and contributed to the history of the University of Helsinki by conducting many interviews with its former teachers and officials.[110]

Tracing Cabot

Sebastian Cabot, renamed as such by his owner after the famous English explorer and discoverer of Newfoundland, was born as Harlingen Nero at the Harlingen kennel in Barnet, United Kingdom, a well-known and influential breeder of Newfoundland dogs, on 27 April 1929.[111] Cabot's sire was Black And White and his dam Queen of Hearts. Cabot had also four brothers (Ace, Black, Domino, Black Pete) and two sisters (Floss and Peg). The Newfoundland dog had gained popularity through its reputation for loyalty, as shown by Lord Byron's dog. The famous and widely exhibited 19th-century paintings of Newfoundland dogs by Edwin Landseer, providing dogs with personalities and stories, also contributed to the popularity of the breed.[112]

Harlingen, an influential kennel run by May van Oppen and her husband Charles Roberts, following the work of van Oppen's father before World War One, produced its first litter in 1923 and its last in 1973.[113] They bred both black-and-white Landseers and black Newfoundlands. May Roberts became a respected member of

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106 Esko V. Pennanen, *Chapters on the Language in Ben Jonson's Dramatic Works*. University of Turku, Turku 1951, v.

107 Teuvo Tiitinen, "Kaksi viimeistä Shakespearen Macbethin suomennosta". *Virittäjä*, Volume 40, 1936, 450–458, 502.

108 Rafael Helling, *A Century of Trollope Criticism*. Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsingfors 1956.

109 *Svensk författarlexikon, 1. 1900-1940*. Edited by Bengt Åhlen et al. Rabén & Sjögren, Stockholm 1942, 265.

110 See Hertta Tirranen (Opettaja- ja virkamieshaastattelut). Helsingin yliopisto. https://yksa.disec.fi/Yksa4/id/151092261367300?ref=browse&rd=0.

111 https://www.newfoundlanddog-database.net/en/hund/0000198175/Harlingen-Nero. Accessed 18.9.2025.

112 See https://www.thenewfoundland.org/landseerpaint.html. Accessed 13.2.2025.

113 https://www.newfoundlanddog-database.net/en/zwinger/Harlingen%20%28GB%29. Accessed 18.9.2025.

the Newfoundland dog breeder community, serving the British Newfoundland Club in many positions, including as president and secretary.[114] To honour her, the Club has named a particular trophy the May Roberts Memorial Salver, which is awarded to the best Newfoundlander of the year.[115] Her daughter, Alice Kempster, served as a judge for Newfoundlands at significant dog shows, such as at Crufts in 1985.[116]

The importance of the Harlingen dogs for the development of the breed in the United States since the 1920s is mentioned in histories of the breed. Emmy Bruno writes that Elizabeth Loring (later Power), a well-known breeder and owner of the Waseeka kennel, visited Harlingen and the United Kingdom and started spreading English bloodlines to the United States by importing Harlingen dogs.[117] Arthur Frederick Jones dates the visit in 1927: the first imported dog was Harlingen Jess of Waseeka (b. 1.6.1925), and she was followed with several others.[118] Among these was Harlingen Neptune of Waseeka (b. 6.6.1926), whose dam was Queen of Hearts, i.e., the same as Cabot's.[119] Jones's article includes a photograph of Neptune's son Waseeka's Sea King.[120] Over the years, Waseeka built up a reputation as the leading kennel that rescued the breed in the United States, with the result that most of today's US Newfoundlands stem from Waseeka and Harlingen dogs.[121] Already in the late 1930s, Arthur Frederick Jones describes Waseeka as "the world's greatest kennels of Newfoundlands".[122]

Cabot, then, came from a leading breeder of Newfoundland dogs in Britain and was closely related to classic specimens of the breed in the United States. In Finland in the 1930s, Newfoundland dogs were very rare. Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo's history of the Finnish Kennel Club mentions that the number of Newfoundlands listed in the Club's stud book in the years 1935–39 was 1–3 per year, and of these

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114 https://stamboomvanderheide.nl/getperson.php?personID=I2092&tree=VanderHeide. Accessed 13.2.2025.

115 https://www.thenewfoundlandclub.co.uk/trophy_points.html. Accessed 13.2.2025.

116 https://stamboomvanderheide.nl/getperson.php?personID=I2092&tree=VanderHeide. Accessed 13.2.2025.

117 Emmy Bruno, *The Newfoundland*. Doral Publishing, Wilsonville, Oregon 1997, 14–17.

118 Arthur Frederick Jones, "A New Halo for Newfoundland: Miss Elizabeth B. Loring's Waseeka Kennels Glorify Anew This Grand Old Breed". *The American Kennel Gazette*, Volume 49, Number 3, 1 March, 1932, 11.

119 https://www.newfoundlanddog-database.net/en/hund/0000068968/Harlingen-Neptune-of-Waseeka. Accessed 18.9.2025.

120 Jones 1932, 12.

121 American Kennel Club, "Newfoundland Club of American Collection". 2016, https://www.akc.org/about/archive/guide-collections/nca-collection/. Accessed 13.2.2025.

122 Arthur Frederick Jones, "Great Kennels of the Past: Waseeka Mrs. Elizabeth Loring Powers" (1939). Rpt. available online: https://www.newfoundlandbreeder.org/waseeka.html. Accessed 23.9.2025.

1-2 were new registrations.[123] The first Newfoundland dog in the country mentioned in Finnish sources is Tello (b. 1883), originating from Denmark.[124] The following Newfoundland dog was mentioned in 1903.[125] In total, the number of Newfoundlands mentioned in the stud book in the period 1903–1927 is 12, which shows how rare the breed was in Finland.[126] Some of the dogs came from Germany, including Ulla-Gudny v.d. Dürerburg (b. 21 March 1927), hailing from Königsberg, together with her brother Loki, and appearing in the register in 1928.[127] Cabot, however, is not mentioned in the stud book as Greene was not a member of the Club. Neither are there any other Harlingen dogs mentioned in Finnish sources, but the magazine of the Finnish Kennel Club includes an advertisement for Newfoundland puppies raised by a Swedish breeder in which Cabot's brother Harlingen Black Pete is mentioned as the dam's (Grand Acharia of Helluland) father.[128] The two Harlingen dogs may have been sold to the Nordic countries at the same time.

Cabot participated in dog shows in Finland on at least two occasions, with good results, which shows that Greene was prepared to participate in joint public activities with his dog. The results of the 23rd Championship dog show organized by the Finnish Kennel Club in Helsinki on 10–11 May 1930 is a case in point: Cabot, about one year old at the time, was awarded 1st prize in open class and 1st prize in winner's class. The Judge's report is extremely favourable: Cabot was "almost surely the most beautiful dog of this breed we have ever seen in the country; practically faultless [var säkerligen den vackraste hund av denna ras vi någonsin sett i landet; så gott som felfri]".[129] The results of the dog show organized by the Finnish Kennel Club's Union Section at the Hippodrome in Helsinki on 17–18 October 1931 support the view. This well-attended show was reported in *Helsingin Sanomat*, where it is also mentioned that the judges, who came from England and Germany, had in the case of some breeds different views regarding the ideal figure of service dogs than in the previous year, preferring lighter to heavier dogs.[130] Cabot, however, performed extremely well, and received the 1st prize in open class, the 1st prize in winner's class, and a special prize donated by Stockmann's Department Store in Helsinki.[131] Upon his first meeting with Cabot, which occurred outside Greene's apartment after their dinner at the Royal, Sutherland describes the dog as follows, admiring his physical

123 Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, *Pennusta pitäen. Suomalaisen kennelhistorian ensimmäiset sukupolvet*. SHS, Helsinki 1998, 93.

124 *Suomen kennelklubin kalenteri ja rotukirja* I. Helsinki 1894, 43.

125 *Suomen kennelklubin kalenteri ja rotukirja* V. Helsingfors 1905, 272.

126 The figure is based on the numbers in *Suomen kennelklubin kalenteri ja rotukirja*, vols. V–XV.

127 *Suomen kennelklubin kalenteri ja rotukirja* XV. Helsinki 1928–29, 199.

128 *Suomen kennelklubin aikakauskirja* 1.12.1937, 325.

129 *Finska kennelklubbens tidskrift* 1.5.1930, 91.

130 *Helsingin Sanomat* 19.10.1931, 4.

131 *Suomen kennelklubin aikakauskirja* 1.10.1931, 140.

appearance and strength but also indicating his intelligence and good nature, features frequently associated with Newfoundland dogs:

> *Came the sound of large, soft, round paws padding downstairs, and then a massive black bundle of strength and activity rushed through a garden into the road. It was Christopher [Sebastian] Cabot. His head and chest were broad, his legs straight. He had no neck, and the thick tail, intended for a rudder, was never raised about the level of his back. He pranced around the droshky and myself with friendly "woofs", not loud enough to disturb the lightest sleeper. […] and in his expression was dignity, intelligence, kindness. Assuredly he was good-natured.*[132]

While there is no indication that Cabot participated in any further dog shows in Finland, he played a role in the history of Finnish Newfoundland dogs. On 9 April 1934, Cabot was mated with the above-mentioned Ulla-Gudny, owned by the pharmacist Väinö Mäkinen, a member of the Kennel Club from Raahe, a city on the west coast of Finland.[133] Ulla-Gudny participated in a dog show held at the Hippodrome in Helsinki on 13-14 May 1931, receiving 1st prize in open class and 1st class in winner's class. Mäkinen and Greene may have met during one of the dog shows or learnt about each other's dogs through the club publications or networks. Two months later, on 10 June 1934, three male and four female puppies were born.[134] Some of these dogs are mentioned later in dog show results and stud books. Mikonkarin Jukka, owned by Onni Sairanen in Lapua, Ostrobothnia, participated in the autumn dog show in Helsinki in 1938.[135] Mikonkarin Bella is mentioned in the stud book in 1936, having been mated with her brother Mikonkarin Musse and given birth to two puppies, Häxe, reported as living in Åbo,[136] and Bingo.[137] Whether inbreeding was intentional is difficult to know, but the number of Newfoundland males in Finland was very limited at the time. There is also a mention of another mating between Cabot and Ulla-Gudny in May 1937, but it was apparently unsuccessful.[138] The date of Cabot's death is, unfortunately, not known, nor do we know whether he returned to Britain with Greene.

Following the Second War the Harlingen line apparently disappeared from Finland and memories of its presence have been lost. The post-war Newfoundlands

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132 Sutherland 1938, 57.
133 *Suomen kennelklubin aikakauskirja* 1.4.1934, 85.
134 *Suomen kennelklubin aikakauskirja* 1.6.1934, 66.
135 *Suomen Kennel-Liiton rotukirja* IV, 1938–39, 247.
136 *Suomen Kennelklubin rotukirja* XXII, 1936, 212.
137 *Suomen Kennel-Liiton rotukirja* V, 1939–41, 206.
138 *Finska kennelklubbens tidskrift* 01.01.1937, 71.

in Finland represent a different lineage, and the breed's development is associated with dogs entering Finland in the 1950s.[139]

Cabot's canine agency

Cabot was an individual and memorable dog, features that characterize many fictional and non-fictional narratives of named dogs. In addition to Saint Bernhard Barry's heroic deeds, other famous canine individuals include Flush, Elizabeth Barrett Browing's cocker spaniel addressed in Virginia Woolf's *Flush: A Biography* (1933), and the heroic and loyal collie Lassie, first imagined in Eric Knight's novel *Lassie Come-Home* (1938) and later in many television and film adaptations. The entanglement of Cabot's story with that of Greene indicates a deep and relational bond between the human and the non-human, as both partners actively contributed to it. Their relationship is one where both humans and animals shape the world "conjointly" and relationally, to use the terms of Birke et al.[140] As a sign of this, Cabot was an active and constant non-human companion who participated in their everyday urban mobility, accompanying Greene to the railway station to meet visitors as well as to public events.[141] For the students, the two form a human–dog dyad who are inseparable and characterized by their togetherness, exemplifying what the posthumanist philosopher Timothy Morton understands as a "mesh", where "things are only what they are in relation to other things".[142] This is seen in the congratulatory article published in *Studentbladet* on Greene's 50th birthday, where it is mentioned that for several years "they have been known and popular all over Helsinki [äro sedan manga år tillbaka kända och populära i hela Helsingfors]".[143]

The congratulatory poem, written using the rhymes of "God Save the King" to underscore the Englishness of the birthday subject, devotes the first stanza to the man and the second to the dog:

> *God save the gentle man!*
> *Send him so gracious,*
> *Happy, sagacious,*
> *Long to remain with us!*

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139 See https://newfoundland.fi/newfoundlandinkoira/ and https://newfoundland.fi/yhdistys/. Accessed 18.9.2025.

140 Lynda Birke et al., "Animal Performances: An Exploration of Intersections between Feminist Science Studies and Studies of Human/Animal Relationships". *Feminist Theory*, Volume 5, Number 2, 2004, 167.

141 See Sutherland 1938, 60–61, 63.

142 Timothy Morton, "The Mesh". *Environmental Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*. Edited by Stephanie LeMenager. Routledge, London 2011, 22.

143 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.

God save the man!

God save his Dog also
*Mr. Ferd'nand * Cabot!*
Mild be our clime to both
Master and dog, their growth:
Long may they live![144]

While the poem changes the name of the dog from Sebastian to Ferdinand, the note, marked with an asterisk in the text, mentions that this has been done to maintain the poetic meter and that to do so has been possible because both names can be found in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and "have much the same emotional and literary value".[145] In addressing the two actors together, the poem emphasizes their entanglement, Despret's "with-ness", where different species play a role in each other's development, crossing the boundary separating the species and generating "new ways of being".[146] Their relationality can also be understood in the context of Haraway's "becoming with", that is, joint identity formation where the human and animal shape each other, which is explicitly mentioned by seeing "their growth" as a shared process.[147] Writing of what she calls "companion species," Haraway describes the closeness between the human and the canine: "dogs are about the inescapable, contradictory story of relationships, co-constitutive relationships in which none of the partners pre-exist the relating, and the relating is never done once and for all".[148] To further indicate human–animal relationality, the photograph accompanying the *Studentbladet* article – apparently the only existing one of Cabot – shows Greene and Cabot sitting on a couch, probably in the former's apartment, and facing each other. In a dyad, the partners are interchangeable and stand for each other. Sutherland's travelogue presents this through a story where Greene's arm is in a sling as he "was knocked down by an Alsatian dog" rather than by Cabot, whose presence had frightened the dog so "that he sprang without looking where he was going, knocked me down, and bolted", suggesting that the partner of the dyad might take the punches instead of the other one.[149]

Animals can also be discussed in terms of the spaces that they occupy and construct, sometimes sharing them with humans in the manner of the home, as

144 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.
145 *Studentbladet* 26.3.1938, Number 4, 89.
146 Vinciane Despret, "The Body We Care For: Figures of Anthropo-zoo-genesis". *Body and Society*, Volume 10, Number 2-3, 2004, 111–113.
147 Haraway 2008, 244.
148 Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto. Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. Prickly Paradigm Press, Chicago 2003, 12.
149 Sutherland 1938, 55.

discussed by Schuurman and Syrjämaa,[150] but also resisting and constructing alternative spaces. In addressing animal agency, the geographers Philo and Wilbert suggest that it is associated with questions of space: "animals destabilise, transgress or even resist our human orderings, including spatial ones".[151] The case of Cabot reveals that animals construct their own spaces in the multi-species context of the urban city as well as manage them. These incidents reveal the agency of the animal, both accommodating to the requirements of the humans but also appropriating and resisting human orderings. An example of Cabot's agency is evident in Sutherland's work, where Greene tells the traveller of Cabot's habits: "He usually waits on the pavement opposite the place where I'm dining and so avoids the people coming in and out. When he gets bored, he walks home, or if tired takes a taxi".[152] For Cabot, the streets of Helsinki are his "territory",[153] constructed through shared human–dog mobility. Here, dogs and humans live in what can be called "parallel realities".[154]

Schuurman and Syrjämaa distinguish between the significance of safe and troubled spaces for pets, the latter often including outdoors and urban spaces.[155] Cabot appears to be familiar with the urban space, where he moves about freely – until 1945 dogs were allowed to move about unleashed in Helsinki[156] – but from the human perspective his presence may appear transgressive and dangerous, which is in line with Pearson's understanding of the stray dog as a problem to be controlled.[157] For Cabot, this is a way to transform human space into an animal – or multispecies –space, as suggested by Philo and Wilbert.[158] As also Syrjämaa has suggested, pets make urban spaces their own.[159] This is shown when Sutherland sees Cabot walking alone in the centre of Helsinki and crossing the street:

> *A few days later, when walking towards the police-controlled crossing on the north side of the Aleksanterinkatu, a main thoroughfare, I saw Mr. Cabot on the pavement ahead. I say Mr. Cabot, because he deserves the brevet rank of human dignity. […] Suddenly to my astonishment and apprehension he decided to cross the street. There was no need for anxiety. As soon as the dog*

150 Schuurman and Syrjämaa 2021.

151 Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, "Animal Spaces, Beastly Spaces: An Introduction". *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*. Edited by Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert. Routledge, London 2005, 1–34.

152 Sutherland 1938, 55.

153 Philo and Wilbert 2000, 14.

154 Nance qtd. in Syrjämaa 2019, 166–167.

155 Schuurman and Syrjämaa 2021, 186–187.

156 https://historia.hel.fi/fi/ilmiot/arjen-muuttuvat-kasvot/lemmikkeja-ja-loisia. Accessed 23.9.2025.

157 Pearson 2021, 179.

158 Philo and Wilbert 2000, 1–34.

159 Syrjämaa 2019, 158.

> *left the pavement all traffic – trams, buses, taxis, and cars – stopped, and he walked across, looking neither left nor right.*[160]

In addition to knowing his way around the city and navigating its traffic alone, without human help, Cabot's agency is revealed in his other spatial routines involving not only the ability of taking a taxi home but also the habit of visiting Helsinki restaurants alone. Sutherland, who stayed at Hotel Torni, spotted the dog there without Greene: "From the lounge of the Torni one evening I saw Cabot, followed by a waiter, walk along the corridor. The waiter then opened a door that gave entrance to the kitchens and the dog went in".[161] Sutherland asks the porter whether Greene was at the restaurant:

> *"No, sir, he's not here to-night. But for the dog coming in you might have gone round to the Royal, the Kämp, or the Societetshuset. If you'd seen the dog outside any of them you'd know your friend was there."*
> *"Why does the dog come here by himself?"*
> *"For his dinner, sir! Of course he doesn't always come here. Often he goes to one of the other hotels."*
> *"Well, if I follow him after he's had his dinner, I'll probably find his master."*
> *"No, sir. After his dinner the dog usually walks home or takes a taxi."*
> *"How on earth can a dog take a taxi?"*
> *"It's quite simple. He just watches for an empty taxi, steps off the pavement and barks. The driver stops, opens the door, and drives him home – him sitting up on the seat. They all know where he lives."*[162]

Sutherland's narrative foregrounds animal agency and their ability to manipulate human practices and orderings, and it suggests how human spaces such as restaurants had become Cabot's animal spaces. In addition to revealing Greene's lifestyle and routine of eating out at the period's best restaurants in Helsinki, the story of Cabot's frequent and iterative urban wanderings also tells of friendly human–animal relations, probably based on the close and well-known association between the dog and his carer and the latter's privileged position. His apartment, while described by Sutherland as located "on the heights of Helsinki",[163] is in reality very close to

160 Sutherland 1938, 58.
161 Sutherland 1938, 61.
162 Sutherland 1938, 61–62.
163 Sutherland 1938, 56.

the city centre (and almost next to the British Embassy), the address being Itäinen Kaivopuisto 9 A 13.[164]

In addition to constructing an animal space shared with humans but used as a resource for his own purposes, Cabot's agency in the narrative is noticeable. For example, when Sutherland, Greene, and Cabot share a drosky ride, Cabot is not content to stay on the floor but jumps onto the bench to share it with the two men. In a humorous episode, human space is taken over by a large dog who, in order make himself comfortable "nudge[s] me [Sutherland] in the ribs with his left elbow" and succeeds in moving the human to the corner.[165] Questions of agency and animal resistance are addressed further in the episode, telling of a party co-organized by the SES attended by Sutherland and Greene on 10 April 1937 apparently held at the Student House.[166] The event, "an English evening party," organized by the SES and "the English Club", a section of the Nation of Southern Finland student organization, was advertised as including "a funny Hamlet parody".[167] This event involves Cabot's emphatic presence. In addition to musical performances by the English students Hertta Tirranen and Olenius, the programme included a speech by Sutherland, who mentioned that he was in Finland for the first and – unsurprisingly for a medical doctor – admired the "excellent" Finnish hospitals.[168] While the student magazine mentions only briefly the parody of Hamlet and Cabot's "very significant role" in the play, Sutherland's book provides a detailed description of what he refers to as "a burlesque" written by a female Finnish student.[169] The play focuses on Ophelia and her lamb, the latter role played by Cabot "with a pink ribbon round his neck".[170] In Sutherland's view, the dog appears to enjoy the situation and respond in a humorous manner to "Ophelia's most pathetic declamations about love by raising his head and saying 'woof.'".[171] Cabot's agency becomes evident when he stops following the stage directions and refuses to leave the stage with Ophelia: "He lay down on all fours, and slender Ophelia had to drag 130 lbs. of dog along the polished floor".[172] His resistance to the human ordering of the theatrical space continues:

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164 *Helsingin ja ympäristön osoite ja ammattikalenteri* 1936, 217. The current address of the now lost building is Itäinen Puistotie 16. A 1920s image of the building is available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaivopuisto._Itäinen_Puistotie_16._-_Helsinki_1920_-luku_-_N102147_-_hkm.HKMS000005-km0000m7m4.jpg. Accessed 23.9.2025.

165 Sutherland 1938, 57.

166 Sutherland 1938, 58.

167 *Eteläsuomalainen. Eteläsuomalaisen osakunnan tiedonantoja* 24.4.1937, Number 5, 18.

168 *Eteläsuomalainen. Eteläsuomalaisen osakunnan tiedonantoja* 24.4.1937, Number 5, 18.

169 Sutherland 1938, 60.

170 Sutherland 1938, 61.

171 Sutherland 1938, 61.

172 Sutherland 1938, 61.

> *Cabot spotted his master sitting to the right at the far end of the first row of chairs, and slowly but surely Ophelia, as she strove to speak her lines, was pulled across the footlights. […] Once more he was led back to the stage. There he stood regarding the audience, and the amidst laughter that drowned the play he shook his head slowly and sadly from side to side – at the folly of the humans.*[173]

In addition to portraying animal resistance to the human ordering of space, Sutherland's description of Cabot's response as a distinctively animal way of relating to the world of the humans can be related to Jacques Derrida's description of his cat. Similarly to Derrida's cat, whose gaze at the human indicates its otherness and marks the limit of the human,[174] Cabot's gaze at the laughing audience and the related gesture marks at the same time his inclusion in and exclusion from the human-mastered space of allegedly shared action. If examined in the context of theatrical animal performances and their conventions, the scene confirms Lourdes Orozco's view that theatre animals are not mere materialist markers of the real.[175] Rather, their function is to breach "the system of representation that the theatre is concerned with".[176] When Cabot performs as Ophelia's lamb, his counter-performance marks animal resistance to human orderings and scripts: while the space is shared and involves co-operative practices and routines, animal agency may operate in unexpected ways and generate meanings and responses that lie beyond human intentions.

Conclusion

This article has addressed the interspecies relationship between Greene and Cabot, a close and long-lasting one that reveals how they were involved in jointly performing in cultural and student life. In so doing I have also contextualized the relationship in the biographies of both participants, human and animal. By presenting previously unknown information about Greene's life and activities in Helsinki, the article places him firmly as an active and significant figure in the Anglophone cultural life in Helsinki at large and at the university in particular, promoting English language and culture in the Finland of the time in various ways in order to challenge the contemporaneous hegemony of German. Similarly, the discussion of Cabot in the context of Finnish dog culture is also a new contribution to our understanding. The article shows that Cabot played a significant role in the cultural sphere, serving as a

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173 Sutherland 1938, 61.

174 Jacques Derrida, "The Animal That Therefore I Am (More to Follow)". *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 28, Number 2, 2002, 380–381.

175 Lourdes Orozco, *Theatre & Animals*. Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013, 67–68.

176 Orozco 2013, 68.

mascot of the English-speaking student club and thus possibly assisting in bridging the language division between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students. After all, as an apparently English-speaking dog he goes beyond the social divisions. Greene and Cabot, with their interwoven lives, share the multispecies space of 1930s Helsinki and do not disappear without leaving traces. What is also important is Cabot's animal agency, shown in the way that he affects the life of the humans near him as well as in his construction of animal spaces in an urban setting.

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Abstract

This article addresses human–dog relationships in Helsinki in the 1930s through the case of Godfrey George Roundell Greene (1888–1956), an established lecturer in English at the University of Helsinki, and his Newfoundland dog Sebastian Cabot (aka Harlingen Nero). Using an analysis of their entangled lives and role in promoting English culture in the Finland of that period, the article focuses on their contribution to university and cultural life and underlines their strong interspecies relationship. On the basis of current scholarship in human–animal studies, the article also underlines the dog's non-human agency and role in constructing animal spaces.