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Anselm Hollo provided a generation of Americans insight into the intricacies of contemporary Finnish poets and their verse, most notably the work of Pentti Saarikoski. He also introduced Finnish readers to Allen Ginsberg. These are the contexts in which I first became acquainted with the work of Anselm Hollo, whose own avant-garde poetics captured the raw vibrancy of the American 1960s. Anselm Hollo, extraordinary Finnish-American poet, translator, scholar, teacher, and long-time *Journal of Finnish Studies* Editorial Board Member, passed away on January 29, 2013.

Anselm Hollo was born in Helsinki, Finland, in 1934, and was educated there but spent his senior year in high school on an exchange scholarship to the United States. In his early twenties, he left Finland to live and work as a writer and translator, first in Germany and Austria, then in London, where he was employed by the BBC’s European Services from 1958 to 1967. During that time, he translated into Finnish Allen Ginsberg’s *Howl* and John Lennon’s *In His Own Write*.
For the past forty-two years, Hollo had lived in the United States, teaching creative writing and literary translation at numerous colleges and universities, including SUNY Buffalo, the University of Iowa, and the University of Colorado. He read his work, lectured, and conducted workshops at universities and colleges, art museums and galleries, literary conferences, coffeehouses, and living rooms. Since 1985, he had held the post of Professor of Writing and Poetics in the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics at Naropa University in Boulder, Colorado, where he was instrumental in the development of their year-round MFA program.

Naropa University marks his passing thus: “Naropa University has lost an extraordinary professor and friend,” shares Naropa President Charles Lief. “Anselm exuded European culture, Beat truth telling, and ordinary human kindness and grace; he was a fearless and outspoken poet-warrior and will be greatly missed by our community and the big world he so profoundly touched” (para. 2).

Hollo published more than forty books and chapbooks of his poetry, including Notes on the Possibilities and Attractions of Existence: Selected Poems 1965–2000 (Coffee House Press), which won the San Francisco Poetry Center’s Best Book Award for 2001, and Guests of Space, also from Coffee House Press, 2007. He also translated many contemporary Finnish poets, among them Paavo Haavikko (Selected Poems 1949–1988, Carcanet Press, 1991) and Pentti Saarikoski (Trilogy, La Alameda, 2003), as well as fiction, plays, and poetry by Bertolt Brecht, Paul Klee, Jean Genet, Aleksandr Blok, and Louis Malle, among others. In addition to Finnish, Hollo translated from German, French, and Swedish.


He passed away peacefully following a long illness, with his wife, Jane Dalrymple-Hollo and children, Kaarina and Tamsin, at his side. The literary, scholarly, and Finnish-American communities will miss him profoundly. Hyvästi, Anselm Hollo.

Reference

Beth Virtanen
South University Online
EDITORIAL

This, the third issue of the Journal of Finnish Studies prepared in Huntsville, Texas, brings to you a set of eight articles. Volume 16, number 2, is an open issue, and the articles were never planned to form a unified, coherent collection—yet they do. The emerging themes are those of identity; the Self and the Other; fitting in—and being different; defining—and being defined. The issues of identity and representation are addressed at national, tribal, and individual levels.

The topics our authors tackle are fascinating. In the opening article, Sirpa Salenius addresses the question of how nineteenth-century American travelers perceived Finland and created their written narratives of it as reflections of their own nation. Concepts of whiteness and masculinity, cleanliness and intelligence were idealized as travel writers constructed what Salenius calls “engaging reading experiences.” With persuasive vignettes, Salenius shows how these Victorian-era American authors’ identity and expectations are reflected in their descriptions of Finland.

Through a different genre, Finnish crime novels in translation, and in texts created over a century later, Scott Kaukonen looks at some of the same issues as Salenius: how is Finland perceived and presented through the eyes of a foreigner—as opposed to the eyes of a Finnish writer? Kaukonen detects a pattern where the crime novels written by non-Finns show strong traits of genre-mixing; they become travel guides disguised as crime fiction—not completely unlike the travel writing on which Salenius’s article focuses.

By providing a snapshot of Terijoki, a villa community on the Karelian Isthmus, Maria Lähteenmäki broaches the question of borderland identity. Terijoki was a focal point of an ideological dispute between Finland and Russia; today, because the region was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1944, for many Finns (especially those dislocated), Terijoki continues to be a symbol of what it means to live in the borderland.

Tiina Seppä’s article on a collector of old Finnish runes, Samuli Paulaharju, and a rune singer, Anni Lehtonen, keeps the conversation in the Karelian borderland, now further north than Terijoki, since Lehtonen’s home was in Viena Karelia.
By looking at the texts—outcomes of the collaboration between Paulaharju and Lehtonen—Seppä opens up a door into Paulaharju’s life, his conflicting identities as a data-collector and a father, and the similarly conflicting identities of his informant, a dislocated mother.

With a look into the lives of forestry officers and foresters, Leena Paaskoski brings the reader to post-war Finland, the extended 1950s, where upward social mobility and education were highly valued. Sons of forestry workers were encouraged to educate themselves, yet many remained in forestry, but now in supervisory positions. This article, based largely on biographical interviews, forms a part of a larger project, funded by the Academy of Finland, directed by Hanna Snellman, and entitled *Happy Days: The Everyday Life and Nostalgia of the Extended 1950s*. Our plan is to publish an entire theme issue on this topic in the near future; Paaskoski’s article provides a peek into this.

In their articles, Pia Maria Ahlbäck and Martyna Markowska bring into the discussion the identities of Finland Swedes and the Sami, respectively. Ahlbäck approaches the topic through a popular tune, based on a lesser-known text by a Finland-Swedish writer, Arvid Mörne. Ahlbäck discusses the song’s portrayal of a Finland-Swedish mental landscape and how that portrayal—through a happy tune—differs in subtle ways from the text of the original poem that allowed for connotations of somewhat darker undertones. Markowska’s article, “Lapland Dislocated: Jorma Puranen’s Photography and Anthropology,” looks into Puranen’s portrayal of the Sami and their cultural heritage through Puranen’s photographs and texts. Connecting her discussion with concepts of dislocation and representation, Markowska offers a view of Lapland through Jorma Puranen’s lens.

Like Paaskoski, Pauliina Latvala also uses oral history as her methodology. Through narratives, her article looks at politicization within families. The importance of the War of 1918 for the formation of political identities for decades to come, as well as the role of the Winter War and the Continuation War in bringing a divided nation together to face a common enemy, are underscored. Even though individual political identities are often formed through strong familial socialization processes, the importance of large-scale political events (such as wars) will have a formative impact in the entire nation’s political outlook.

These eight articles offer a wide spectrum of views on Finland and Finnishness at different times and from different scholarly perspectives. We trust that all readers will find something of great interest to them within these pages. Enjoy.

During the preparation of this issue, we received word of the death of Anselm Hollo, a poet, an author, and a long-time member of the *Journal of Finnish Studies* editorial board. This issue is dedicated to his work and his memory.

*Helena Halmari*
REFLECTIONS OF HOME IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN TRAVEL WRITING OF FINLAND

Sirpa Salenius
Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT
In the nineteenth century, Americans generally knew very little about Finland, which functioned primarily as a transitory halt for a small number of American travelers crossing from Sweden to Russia proper. As Finland never became a fashionable destination, the number of visitors remained small and the amount of time spent there brief. This essay examines American travel guides and magazine articles about travel in Finland, then a Grand Duchy of Russia, to argue that the portrayal of this marginal nation confirmed the values, beliefs, and ideologies of their American authors. Hence, although these nineteenth-century American travel texts focus on Finland and its people, the texts tend to reveal the American idealization of such concepts as whiteness and masculinity, intelligence, religiousness, and cleanliness. In this way, the images that nineteenth-century American travel writers construct of Finland are charged with a reflection constructed of the writers’ own nation.

INTRODUCTION
In the nineteenth century, Americans generally knew very little about Finland, which functioned primarily as a transitory halt for a small number of American travelers crossing from Stockholm to St. Petersburg. It remained a marginal destination throughout the century, never gaining the popularity of Southern Europe, which nearly every itinerary of an American Grand Tour included. Consequently, American travel articles and guidebooks that include information about Finland are few in number. Yet the travel-writing strategies employed by the writers construct an image of Finland that, for the most part, appears the same as those commonly employed to define other foreign countries. Following Youngs’s encouragement to “look at how
travel writing works and at what functions it performs” (1994, 8), this essay will examine nineteenth-century American travel texts about Finland in order to understand what images American travelers created of this northern destination, how these images were constructed, and for what purpose the visitors used their travel writing. Frequently, nineteenth-century travelers used their writing as a vehicle for constructing the Other while simultaneously defining the observing Self. Indeed, as Youngs argues, travel writing “is an expression of identity based on sameness to and yet remoteness from the members of the home society” (3). In a similar way, nineteenth-century American visitors in Finland searched for points of difference and sameness in order to define the local people, their behavior, customs, physical appearance, and racial origins. But instead of using positive images to criticize their own home, American travelers employed those images for a process of identification, to reconfirm their own values, beliefs, and ideologies (see Youngs 2006, 13; Siegel 2004, 5). Hence, while discussing Finland and its people, nineteenth-century American travel texts reveal American society’s idealization of such concepts as whiteness and masculinity, as well as the admiration of such characteristics as intelligence, religiousness, and cleanliness. In their texts, the writers confirm previously created and persistent stereotypes, for example, of blond-haired, blue-eyed people as the embodiment of white civilization. Thus, while writing about Finland, nineteenth-century Americans not only defined the Other but also discussed their own nation, reformulated their ideologies, and legitimized the period’s racial hierarchies. In their descriptions of Finland, then, the travelers tended to proclaim their Americanness.

The few nineteenth-century Americans who visited Finland tended to repeat the images and ideas created by previous travel writers. They commonly visited and wrote about the same sites, which may be an indication of the scarcity of material and information available in advance about the destination. This led to the construction of images that, at times, can be seen to reflect American society. For instance, as with other travelers, the search for racial purity and authenticity could be seen as a reaction to the problems of immigration and urbanization that Americans were facing at the time (see Youngs 2006, 13). Such social problems can be understood to trigger a search for qualities that confirm positive conceptions of the travelers’ own nation and identity. The ideal whiteness associated with the Finns served for constructing images of the foreign that became a projection of the Self. A similar reaction to modern urban progress perceived as a problem surfaced in the nostalgic admiration of the silence that permeated the pastoral Finnish rural landscape. Although the ideological tendency of nineteenth-century Americans was to emphasize the future and progress (see, for example, Lears 1994, 7–8), in some travel texts, the city, which became the epitome of such progress, was also presented as a negative contrast to idyllic nature. Travel writers used the positive or negative connotations variously
linked to the city or to nature in accordance with the author’s ideological assumptions. The depiction of rural areas emphasized simplicity, and in the midst of frenetic urbanization, the countryside was nostalgically portrayed as idyllic and serenely pastoral. Cities, by contrast, were depicted as representing the future and modernity, as a cradle of fashionable life, comfort, and sophistication, yes, but also as a space linked to the problems associated with urbanization. In this ambivalent dichotomy, the nostalgic lament of the loss of the pastoral past appeared as a strong contrast to modern progress. Such polarity, which appeared in travel writing about Finland, was common in American travel writing about other parts of Europe as well, for example Italy. It was an expression of an ambivalent antimodernist American sentiment (see Lears 1994, xii–xv).

**Gender and Genre: The Typology of Travelers and Their Texts**

According to historian Ernest J. Moyne, Finland was almost exclusively the destination for American diplomats stationed in St. Petersburg (1953, 67–71). A few other travelers published descriptions of their visits in American magazines or travel books; among these were the travel writer Bayard Taylor; temperance advocate Robert Baird; John Maxwell, secretary of the American consulate in St. Petersburg; and Frances Willard, who subsequently became an influential women’s rights advocate. The Americans in Finland, then, were independent travelers, both men and women. They represented the white middle- or upper middle-class, and belonged to that privileged group of Americans who could afford to visit foreign countries. Many of them came to Finland for pleasure, stayed merely a few days, and at the end of their travels published an article in a magazine or a passage in a guidebook regarding their brief visit. Their visits were mainly pleasure-oriented. The first nineteenth-century Americans to visit Finland and write about it arrived in the 1840s; the last publications appeared in the late 1880s. Although the number of visitors was small—which makes it hard to draw conclusions or to prepare any statistics of the travelers, their destinations, or to make generalizations about their travel publications—it can be concluded that most of them visited the same places. The present and former capitals, Helsinki and Turku, appeared on every itinerary, and the texts used similar strategies for constructing comparable images of Finland and its inhabitants.

Because only a few primary sources are available, it is difficult to offer any concluding generalizations about the impact of the writers’ gender. However, it may be true, to some extent, that women focused on the people, their physical appearance, clothing, manners, and behavior, whereas men tended to place more importance on statistical and factual information about the country’s legal system, its history, and its autonomous political status. Such a selection of topics may derive from the general expectations regarding the boundaries of gender, confirming the assumption that men had a tendency to discuss matters related to the public sphere, while
women focused on domestic concerns, which were more familiar to them. However, as critics have explained, distinctions should not be lost in the desire to generalize. Historian Alison Russell has argued that “[g]enerally speaking, travel narratives by women have almost always reflected the way female travelers negotiate socially constructed boundaries of gender” (2000, 193), whereas Jennifer Steadman encourages us to look at the wider picture of a more complex participation of women in public life and “the range of models of mobility and autonomy available to women” that counteracts “the ideological mandates of separate spheres” (2007, 9). Indeed, although travel may have been different for men and women, there were discrepancies of perception, which rendered the general picture varied and inconsistent (Youngs 2006, 9; see also Siegel 2004, 5). Frances Willard, for instance, is an example of a woman who focused on textual portraits of people, but, like many male travelers, also provided statistical information. On the other hand, there were male writers, such as Bayard Taylor, who offered very little factual information and, instead, dedicated their texts to discussing Finns, especially Finnish men and their masculinity. Consequently, then, it becomes difficult to generalize about the impact of gender on how travel texts were structured.

However, it has been suggested that travel writing served a special purpose, especially for women. For instance, Steadman argues that as female travelers, and their travel texts, gradually “were gaining a larger audience,” they were “impacting cultural ideas about women, travel, national identity, and citizenship” (2007, 60). Moreover, especially for women, travel served for self-definition. Indeed, women like Willard used their travels and travel writing for identity formation, to create a new persona. I would, however, argue that men also appropriated features of travel writing in a similar way. For instance, Bayard Taylor, who was a professional travel writer, dedicated his life to writing about foreign places. He often framed the descriptions of the foreign within discourses of his own nation and national identity. Willard, whose “A Peep at Finland” appeared in Harper’s New Monthly Magazine in August 1869, was among those women who began a public career by first publishing travel writing and, subsequently, sought a wider audience through lectures and publications that promoted their social agendas. Willard became an influential role model for other progressive women who desired full citizenship.

If gender cannot be considered the determining factor in distinguishing between different types and styles of American travel writing about Finland, the differences between texts seem more evident, however, when guidebooks are compared to travel articles. The former genre—even when limiting the information to a mere page or two—often focused on local history and provided factual information, whereas the latter, travel articles, tended to structure the narratives around descriptive passages about various sites, scenery, and, in particular, people. It is worth noting, though, that the nineteenth-century American guidebooks that mention Finland
were all written by men. Therefore, in American travel writing about Finland, gender seems to overlap with genre: of the few sources available, men tended to choose to write guidebooks, whereas women’s choice was to express their views in travel articles.

In the nineteenth century, Americans were still influenced by ideas promoted by the British. In addition to travel texts directly geared for an American audience, many Americans also read articles and guidebooks published by the British. Indeed, it was quite common for nineteenth-century travelers to consult such popular and authoritarian guides as John Murray’s handbooks. In the title of Murray’s guidebook for the region, Russia is separated from Finland, which emphasizes Finland’s independent position. The first edition of Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Russia, Poland, and Finland* came out in 1865, an expanded second edition appeared in 1868, and a renewed third edition followed in 1875. In the second edition Murray dedicated over twenty pages to Finland and its sights, and in the third edition about forty-seven, a sign of a growing interest in Finland among British visitors. According to historian Kristiina Henriksson, Murray’s German rival, Karl Baedeker, came out with his guide of the area first in German in 1888, in French in 1893, and in English as late as in 1914 (1982, 1). Americans frequently consulted the British guidebooks when looking for reliable information about their travel destinations. Yet British travel writing greatly differed from its American counterpart. For instance, Murray’s guides and English travel articles offered extensive information about Finland, including a summary of its history, an explanation of the racial origins of the people, an introduction to the language (including a small vocabulary list), indications of inland travel routes, and a growing variety of recommendations for places to visit. The British, who seemed interested in exploring regions outside the coastal towns (see, for example, Landsell’s (1891) tour itineraries of the lake districts—Saimaa, Päijänne, Pyhäjärvi), introduced a variety of regions as tourist destinations, whereas American travelers included only the former and present capitals, Turku and Helsinki, in their Finnish itineraries. The repetition of the same travel destinations—Turku and Helsinki—with the same list of sites gave force to the images created and made them resistant to change.

As Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs have argued, travel writing testifies that “there are differences within Europe—there are different Europes—and the ways in which those differences are enforced parallel the processes of Othering enacted elsewhere” (2004, 1). Scholars have paid much attention to analyzing nineteenth-century American travel narratives of such popular destinations as Southern Europe, whereas the study of travel writing describing marginal European destinations has, to a great extent, been neglected. Jean-Yves Le Disez has maintained that “[c]ultural relations between marginal parts of Europe (or between the centre and the peripheries) have often received little attention partly because metropolitan histories
tend to erase them” (2004, 71 footnote 4). Moreover, the scarce attention paid to examining nineteenth-century American impressions of places like Finland can be seen to derive from the fact that Finland never became a popular Old World destination among American Grand Tourists. The marginality of Finland originates from its peripheral location and its minor importance to nineteenth-century Americans. As Willard affirmed, her overall impression was that Finland was a strange country that offered very little of interest to visitors (1869, 395). As it never became a fashionable destination, the number of visitors to Finland remained small, the amount of time spent there brief, and, consequently, the few American travel texts published in the nineteenth century have received scarce attention from scholars who have focused on examining destinations considered more important or more exotic.

**Finland’s Independence: An American Ideal**

In the general understanding of the Grand Duchy’s socio-political position, nineteenth-century Americans’ view of Finland bears similarities to their perception of Italy, a peninsula under foreign rule that outsiders considered a unified territory although it was divided into separate states until its unification in 1861. Similarly, the geographical area that is now Finland was under Swedish domination for approximately five hundred years, from the 1300s until 1809, when it became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Although Finland obtained its independence only in 1917, as early as in 1518 its Latin name, “magnus ducatus Finlandiae,” was used to differentiate it from other areas of the kingdom of Sweden (Kemiläinen 1998, 30). As the American travel texts testify, many aspects related to the Grand Duchy’s autonomous state influenced the visitors’ impression of Finland as an independent country and confirmed its socio-political separation from Russia. The idea of Finland as detached from its sovereign echoed Americans’ tendency to support others who shared the ideals of independence, freedom, and democracy, which were considered fundamental national rights in the American republic.

In English-language travel writing, the unique characteristics attributed to Finland contributed to a nascent idea of the land’s national identity. As historian Jaakko Paavolainen argues, this manner of thinking was common with foreign travelers visiting Finland even before its independence from Russia in 1917. In Paavolainen’s view, it was important for the political history of the country that Finland was “regarded as a ‘fully European’ country” because, he argues, this image “contained in a way a preliminary acknowledgement of the budding ideas of independence in Finland” (1973, 309). Most of those few Americans who briefly stopped in the Grand Duchy on their way from Sweden to Russia proper perceived Finland as having its own identity, which differed from that of its neighbors. As Russell maintains (quoting Henry Lefebvre), the definition of any space is shaped from historical and natural elements, while it is inseparable from ideology and politics (2000, 75).
In the image of Finland, too, American travelers intertwined historical with natural elements, while charging the image with their ideological and political projections.

An idea about Finland’s independence is reflected in the image of Helsinki, which was presented as the modern political capital, where new buildings had been erected for hosting the administrative bodies of the autonomous territory soon after Finland was attached to Russia. The buildings appeared in the travel texts as representing the modern intellectual, educational, and governmental core of the Finnish capital. As John Urry has argued, when travel writers introduce descriptions of objects, it is not so much for what they are but what they stand for (2002, 117). The new government buildings stood as a concrete demonstration of the existence of a new political entity, the autonomous Grand Duchy. In addition, Russians had let Finland maintain the already existing institute of higher education (the University of Helsinki), its own civil and penal legislation, and the Lutheran church; Finland’s own currency was created in 1860 and detached from the Russian ruble in 1865. All these aspects were used in American travel writing to construct an image of self-governing Finnish identity, which corresponded to such ideals as freedom and independence.

Robert Baird, who started his career as a teacher and journalist before becoming a devoted promoter of the temperance movement, was among the first Americans to visit and write about Finland. His travel guide, *Visit to Northern Europe: Or Sketches (Descriptive, Historical, Political and Moral) of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck* appeared in 1841 (Virtanen 1994, 74; see also Moyne 1953, 71). Baird dedicates about twenty pages to Finland; even in the title of his book, Baird mentions Finland along with such independent countries (or territories aspiring to independence) as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. He thus separates Finland from Russia. Furthermore, he explains that Finland has its own laws, and the Grand Duchy’s senate has sixteen members who greatly influence the governing of the country. The language of the masses, Baird also points out, is Finnish (1841, 332–33). He further informs that the Finns trade with both Sweden and Russia, as if these are two neighboring countries. His travel book, then, tends to underscore Finland’s autonomy.

Another example of the perception of Finland as independent comes in Maturin Murray Ballou’s travel book, *Due North; Or, Glimpses of Scandinavia and Russia*, which was published in 1887, over four decades after Baird’s guide. When Ballou’s gaze first touches the Finnish coast at Turku, he observes that it is the red, blue, and white Russian flag that greets visitors who have crossed over the Baltic, or the “Northern Mediterranean,” from Stockholm (1887, 196). The Russian flag is a reminder of Finland’s dependency, and yet, Ballou writes, the Grand Duchy is “nearly as independent as is Norway of Sweden” (199). He further explains that although Finland is “ruled by a governor-general assisted by the Imperial Senate, over which a representative of the Emperor of Russia presides” and there is also a Secretary of
State resident at St. Petersburg to designate the official for Finland, still, “the country pays no tribute to Russia” (199). Its independence and autonomy are evident in Ballou’s description of how Finland is governed:

It imposes its own taxes, and forms its own codes of law; so that Norway, as regards constitutional liberty, is scarcely freer or more democratic. When Finland was joined to Russia, Alexander I assured the people that the integrity of their constitution and religion should be protected; and this promise has thus far been honestly kept by the dominant power. (199)

Hence, the image that Ballou creates of Finland is of a country capable of independent governing despite its formal dependency on Russia.

Willard also describes a Finland unlinked to Russia. In her article, the only reference to the sovereign appears in the mention of Helsinki University as the oldest in Russia (1869, 397). She also spots one Russian officer among some Finnish dancers. In the short passage, she describes the Russian as “of medium height” but shorter than his dance partner, with a bald and dun head (395). The unflattering picture of a short and bald officer with heavy dance movements contrasts with Willard’s depiction of Finns, which includes an idealized captain, refined urban citizens, and even some rural dancers whose swift movements Willard observes. Other than these two mere mentions of Russia, perceived as a separate entity from Finland, the article focuses on descriptive portraits of Finnish scenery and people.

The title of W. Pembroke Fetridge’s European guide, Harper’s Hand-book for Travelers in Europe and the East: Being a Guide Through Great Britain and Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Switzerland, Tyrol, Spain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden (1864), does not mention Finland as a separate entity, but the section about the Grand Duchy is detached from the description of Russia. The guide was one of “the American Travellers’ Guides” series, aimed specifically at American travelers in Europe. Fetridge allocates merely one page to Finland; the column-and-a-half of Fetridge’s text focuses on Turku and Helsinki.

Other nineteenth-century American guidebooks that concern Finland include John Maxwell’s The Czar, His Court and People, which came out in 1848 (Moyne 1953, 72). Finland’s independence is foregrounded even before Maxwell’s arrival from Sweden to Turku onboard the steamer Finland, when Maxwell (1848) reports to have changed Swedish money into Finnish currency (78). Upon arrival in Turku, the visitors are allowed on land only after the Russian police have checked their passports. Maxwell informs his readers that by the treaty, “which incorporated Finland with the Russian Empire, it was stipulated that the former province should retain its ancient privileges, and be permitted to trade as formerly with Sweden” (82). He further explains that Finland was also allowed to retain the Lutheran church as the established religion. Although in Maxwell’s view Helsinki, which is the seat of the government,
“does not deserve particular mention,” he finds it to be “the most youthful-looking town” in Europe (83). The short passage in his guidebook that covers Finland, then, provides an impression of a country with its own currency, privileges, government, trade, and religion.

Bayard Taylor published *Northern Travel: Summer and Winter Pictures, Sweden, Denmark and Lapland* ([1857] 1858) shortly following the mid-point of the nineteenth century; his travel article, “A Cruise on Lake Ladoga,” appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1864. Other American guidebooks were published towards the end of the nineteenth century, including James Monroe Buckley’s *The Midnight Sun, the Tsar and the Nihilist: Adventures and Observation in Norway, Sweden and Russia* (1886).¹ Like other travel writers, Buckley informs his readers of the relative independence of the Finns, who had their own constitution, the free exercise of their religion, and other rights (138). Hence, these travel texts tend to underscore such American ideals as political, religious, and commercial freedom.

These texts also, with the exception of Taylor’s, concentrate on images of the two Finnish coastal towns—Helsinki and Turku. The obvious reason for this was that the visitors were merely transiting through Finland and, therefore, had time for only a brief stop along the coast.

**SELECTING SITES THROUGH THE TOURIST GAZE**

According to Urry, the interconnectedness of divisions of gender and ethnicity “are important in forming the preferences that different social groupings develop about where to visit and in structuring the effects of such visits upon host populations and the fashionability of different sites” (2002, 137). In their attempts to give form to their ideas about Finland, the American travel writers repeatedly describe the same cities and sites already introduced in previous publications. Urry argues that tourist sites are created through the tourist gaze, which, according to him, varies depending on the historical period, society, and social group that produces the gaze. The “tourist gaze” of our experience is constructed through difference and based on structured pre-existing cultural images created around distinct and famous objects considered worth viewing (Urry 2002, 12, 59). In this way, certain objects become associated with the specific places that they are taken to represent. As an example Urry cites the Eiffel Tower, which denotes Paris (12). It is known to everyone and automatically associated with the French capital. Since Finland as a destination was marginal and visited by few in the nineteenth century, such constructions still needed to be made. Travel writing served this purpose: the American visitors engaged themselves in the

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¹ Taylor’s Northern Travel focuses on describing Lapland, which in the book consists of the northern regions of Finland and Sweden, forming an area separate from the rest of these countries. The magazine article, by contrast, offers his impressions of the Ladoga area, including the Valamo monastery, Sortavala, and its Finnish inhabitants. Charles F. Cutting’s *Glimpses of Scandinavia and Russia* appeared in 1887; only about one hundred copies of the book were privately printed.
selection of unique objects to be associated with Finland. These sights, however, never became as famous as the Eiffel Tower or even to be automatically associated with the Grand Duchy, yet through the repetition of the same sights in various texts, the visitors constructed cultural images that subsequently could be developed as Finnish tourist sites. For Americans, Helsinki—the modern academic capital of the autonomous Grand Duchy—appeared as the most appealing site since it reflected American values.

The construction of the American gaze started with the first guidebooks. In the Preface to Visit to Northern Europe (1841), Robert Baird explicitly states that since Americans had hardly any idea about the destinations described in his two volumes, the author, “in preparing this work, has acted very much upon the principle of supposing that those who will read it know but little about the countries of which it treats” (vi). Baird explains that he has collected the information “from books, from personal observation, and from the conversations and contributions of the best informed men, whose acquaintance he formed in the countries which are spoken of in this work” (vi). Baird’s travel guide dedicates Chapter 17 to his “Voyage in Finland.”

The chapter covers Turku and Helsinki, discusses the Finnish language and character, as well as the moral and religious condition of the Finns, their education, government, and history. In his description of Helsinki, the author mentions its university, observatory, botanical gardens, governor’s palace, prison, and the fortress. Baird especially admires the new appearance of Helsinki: the wide streets, new church, and the university (339). The sights in Turku seem less interesting; he mentions the “old Cathedral” and a “famous observatory” (330). His tourist gaze selects specific objects and monuments in Helsinki and Turku that subsequently appear in other travel articles.

The travel texts testify that the two cities remained the main attractions for American visitors throughout the century. Buckley, in his The Midnight Sun from 1886, confirms how durable the tourist gaze is. He writes that his “plan was to see as much as possible of Finland” (138) and yet, when he had an opportunity to visit Hanko, he decides “not to land” (146). His tour included only the two most important cities, which everybody else visited. Hence, the main places had already been selected and their images stabilized, along with the sites of interest in each town. In the texts, the Americans show a preference for Helsinki over Turku, thus underlining the American tendency to sustain the capital city, which is depicted as the academic center proceeding towards modernity.

In their writings, the Americans who wrote of Finland create polar opposites of the two cities they visited: Turku represents the past, whereas Helsinki, as scholar Marko Lehti also points out, represents the new and the future (1994, 113). The former stands as the ancient capital it had been under Swedish rule, whereas the latter is the modern political center of the autonomous territory. In addition, the travelers
mainly provide historical information about the castle and church of Turku, whereas the Orthodox Church and the main Cathedral of Helsinki are barely mentioned. In Helsinki, instead, the visitors focus on the university, especially such quantifiable details as the number of professors, faculty, students, and books in the university library. Consequently, Turku, with its castle that functioned as a prison and the “old” church that represented the religious and emotive life of the people, appears in high contrast to modern and intellectual Helsinki.

Since the tourist gaze was in its early phase of selecting and confirming objects that would, in collective perception, render the place interesting, it is hardly surprising to find travel descriptions that focus on Turku and Helsinki in the guidebooks of Maxwell, Baird, Ballou, Buckley, and Fetridge. Willard’s article also provides information about the two towns, and describes a dance scene she observed with her traveling companions outside Turku. It is unsurprising to find the same factual and numerical details as well as unoriginal descriptions of the places that appear and re-appear from one travel text to another. Plagiarism and paraphrasing were popular travel writing strategies in the nineteenth century, and, as scholars Hooper and Youngs point out, there was already a high occurrence of plagiarism among travel writers in the eighteenth century (2004, 2). The travelers had a tendency to “borrow” information from earlier published travel narratives and to use this information in their own travel letters, which were then published in newspapers and magazines at home (Virtanen 1988, 157; Cheng 2004, 159–60). Willard’s article is one example of such a practice: the information related to Helsinki (descriptions, numerical facts, years) has been taken directly from Murray’s *Handbook*, and the source for information concerning Turku has clearly been Fetridge’s guide (compare, for example Willard 1869, 395 and Fetridge 1864, 506; or Willard 1869, 297 and Murray 1868, 387–88). In her article, Willard refers to one “fine statue” that stands prominently in the middle of the Senate Square of Helsinki, but since neither Murray nor Fetridge mention it, Willard has no specific information about it and, thus, the hero it represents remains nameless.

In what way did the travelers, then, portray these towns? In sum, when describing Turku, Ballou mentions the “awkward” castle, the astronomical observatory, and the cathedral. In Ballou’s view, Turku is “a very quiet little town” that lost its glory when “it ceased in 1819 to be the political capital of Finland” (1887, 197). Moreover, Turku previously had boasted of a university, which, however, was swept away by a fire. His comments regarding Helsinki are somewhat lengthier and include some history about the founding of the present capital, the number of inhabitants (between fifty and fifty-five thousand), and the university, which, according to him, represents “a high standard of excellence, and contains a library of about two hundred thousand volumes” (1887, 198). Ballou quotes a fellow passenger he met on the steamer, a graduate from the University of Helsinki, who informed everyone that
there were forty professors at the university and the number of students exceeded seven hundred (198). The author of *Due North* proceeds with a mention of the “handsomely and evenly paved” streets of the capital and the “imposingly” architectural buildings that, in Ballou’s view, are “quite Parisian in effect” (199). The ancient “glory” of Turku under Swedish rule is clearly depicted as less admirable than the progressive academic capital, Helsinki. Such a perception corresponds to American ideals: the preference of the fashionable self-governing Helsinki over a Turku that had lost its educational institution and its prominence as the capital. Ballou then refers to fisherwomen in the market square, who sold fish and managed their boats with great skill, an observation that had not appeared in previously published travel writing (200–201). Otherwise there is nothing new in the rest of the sights he mentions. In addition to about seven pages on Finland, the book’s Chapter XI (pages 193–205) gives an account of the crossing over from Stockholm and the continuation of the journey to St. Petersburg.

In *The Midnight Sun* Buckley mentions the same sights of Turku as the other American visitors. The castle and church both appear in the approximately ten-page section dedicated to “Finland and Its History” (1886, Chapter 16). In addition, his gaze sweeps over the scenery that the author found “very remarkable” (141). From the “lofty summits” he had some “magnificent views” that he describes with a rather original metaphor: “In the sunlight a succession of little lakes surrounding a church resembled a diamond necklace” (142). Hence, the first-person narrator of the guide concentrates on scenic tourism. As Buckley explains, he dedicated his ten-hour visit in Turku to “a view of the natural scenery and a study of the historical remains and the aspect of the people” (141). In addition, he formulates his opinions about Finnish transportation, elaborates on theories of the racial and ethnic origins of the Finns, and observes a funeral procession. These ten hours seem enough to form an overall impression of Finland, which is highly positive. He especially admires the “remarkable” natural scenery of Finland, “the home of a hardy race,” the “free exercise of their religion and other rights and institutions,” and the language skills of Finns (138, 141). Again, the text echoes American values.

**Textual Portraits of the “Other”**

As scholars have demonstrated, travel writing repeatedly expresses ideas about the foreign, the “Other,” by observing and describing their physical appearance and clothing. Frequently, in such textual portraits of people, the “Other” is evaluated from a distance, without any contact (Pratt 2001, 133). Similar textual portraits appear in nineteenth-century American travel writing that analyzes Finns from a certain distance. The only contact with locals is the exchange of polite greetings. Often the foreign Finn is measured against either Americans or Russians or, at times, Swedes. The image thus created of the Finns is based on comparison, partially on perceived
similarities, partially on perceived differences. The physical features trigger ideas about the inner characteristics of the people.

One strategy for rendering the foreigner acceptable to a home audience is to foreground similarities in positive aspects between the observer and the observed, in ideals, values, and “racial” features. As scholars have pointed out, already toward the end of the eighteenth century, scientific and travel writing speculated and theorized concerning human “races” and the origins of racial dissimilarities (Halmesvirta 1995, 88). In the course of the nineteenth century, scientists created racial theories supported by nascent anthropological studies and comparative linguistics as well as new ideas formulated in Darwinism and social Darwinism (89). As Kemiläinen explains, usually “the scholar looked at some crania and hair and the colour of the eyes” to make “a generalization in an unscientific way” (1998, 160). Based on these new sciences and such pseudo-scientific evidence as skull measurements, leading experts drew conclusions and formed their racial theories. By the 1850s and 1860s, racial classification and gender hierarchies were well defined and ranked.

At the top of the racial pyramid were definitions of whiteness that Americans had formulated as a consequence of socio-political changes occurring in the new nation. Already in the 1830s, Americans had tried to solve the many problems associated with the Irish and Italian immigrants. An unwillingness to grant the poor Catholic immigrants the same rights and privileges that white Anglo-Saxons expected induced scientists to create complicated hierarchies concerning different white “races” that were based on stereotypical ideas and racist concepts. Highest on the hierarchy were people with white complexion, blond hair, and blue eyes (see, for example Jacobson 2002 or Babb 1998). Although at times Finns were classified with the Germans and at other times with people of Asian origin, by the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of Finns as members of the white, Aryan race was a commonly accepted and established idea (Halmesvirta 1995, 93–94). Some theories placed the Nordic people at the very peak of racial hierarchies. The determining factor, as Matthew Frye Jacobson has argued, was the identification of the qualities that constituted good material for citizenship. In the ranking of different peoples, the Nordics were considered the best material for American citizenship, not only because of their physical features but also because they were deemed to be of higher intelligence. But, as has been pointed out, the “Nordic race” was merely a political invention used to demonstrate the inferiority of some other white “races” (Jacobson 2002, 69, 83, 86).

The nineteenth-century concept of “race” was, then, an arbitrary invention and a discursive construction used to assert the superiority of certain groups over others (Thieme 2003, 213). Americans, as historian Keijo Virtanen argues, considered Northern and Western Europeans both intellectually and morally superior to Southern and Eastern Europeans (1988, 260). The prevailing racial theories
influenced the way Americans perceived Finns. For instance, in his book, *The Midnight Sun*, Buckley argues that the Finnish and Russian “races” have nothing in common and there is very little sympathy between the people. Instead, Hungarians, Estonians, and Laplanders are of the same racial origins as the Finns (1886, 138). Taylor presents a similar interpretation in his book, *Northern Travel*, in which one entire chapter is dedicated to discussing the Finns. According to Taylor, the Finns retain many distinct traces of their remote Asiatic origin and their distant relatives, Hungarian Magyars. Indeed, their distinctive traits, in Taylor’s view, bear resemblance more to the Orient than to Europe. But, Taylor asserts, the Laplanders have hardly any trace of their Mongolian blood and they resemble the “Esquimaux” only in their “filthy manner of life” ([1857] 1858, 135). Taylor finds the Finns “more picturesque” than the Swedes, “with stronger lights and shades of character, more ardent temperaments, and a more deeply-rooted national feeling,” with a dislike for both Swedes and Russians with whom they rarely intermarry (135). Baird also claims that Finns are of Asiatic origin (the Fenni), who, however, resemble Swedes in their physical appearance and manners (1841, 332, 336). It is quite evident that the ideas concerning racial origins and theories were quite confusing. This reflects the general bewilderment resulting from the categorization of people based on pseudo-scientific proof that failed to provide a firm grounding for the period’s racial theories.

Nonetheless, travelers such as Isabel Hapgood, an American scholar of foreign languages from Boston, was convinced when observing the Finnish vendors at a Russian market that they were not to be mistaken for Russians because their features, expressions, clothing, and language were different, “unmistakably Finnish at any distance” (1856, 349). Another American female traveler, a teacher and poet from New Hampshire, Edna Dean Proctor, also felt certain that she could distinguish the Finns from the Russians because of the “subtle differences of race” (1872, 4). According to her, despite their intermarriage with Swedes and Russians, their “high cheek-bones, depressed noses, and low awkward figures” were unmistakable signs of their “Finnish or Kalmuck ancestors” (Proctor 1872, 4). A Finn in Baird’s textual portrait is small but robust, has a flat countenance, grey eyes, a thin beard, and a swarthy complexion (1841, 336). Both Baird and Proctor provide a rather unflattering image of a Finn. It is worth noting that both of them are describing representatives of rural lower classes, peasants, and vendors. This image differs from portraits of urban Finns, who are deemed sophisticated and cultured. Hence, the lower classes are contrasted with representatives of educated middle- and upper-middle classes, whose blue eyes and blond hair are mentioned (see, for example, Willard 1869). Finns, according to Baird have the “reputation of being amiable, patient, and industrious” and, as mentioned above, they “resemble very greatly the Swedes in their appearance, customs, and manners” (1841, 332). The city bourgeoisie in such American travel texts as Willard’s is presumed to be bright and to represent ideal whiteness.
Such a line of thinking surfaces from American comments not only about the Finnish “race” but also about their high level of education and presumed intelligence. For instance, Taylor, who knew a few words of Finnish, admits his difficulty in understanding the language and, yet, he is convinced that it expresses the intelligence of the people. As he writes: “I could understand nothing of the Finnish tongue except its music; but it was easy to perceive that the remarks of the crowd were shrewd, intelligent, and racy” (1864, 531). Such an understanding was based on dominant stereotypical ideas about Finns with their white complexion, flaxen hair, and blue eyes that stood as “evidence” of their racial collocation. These ideas gained force through comparisons with representatives of other nationalities or with Americans themselves.

Comparing the “Self” to the “Other”

In Buckley’s guidebook, local residents, scenery, and even carriages are compared to those in Russia and Sweden, and, notably, these comparisons generally favor Finland’s excellence over its neighbors. Through his comparisons, Maxwell expresses his concern about the negative effect he detects Russians to have on Finns. He employs a “civilization/barbarism dichotomy” that Mary Louise Pratt has argued appears frequently in British colonial writing (1995, 192). According to Maxwell, Finns were starting to resemble Russians in their outward appearance and behavior, which, he claims, was “an extraordinary instance of the degradation of a people. In a century,” he asserts, “the Finns of the east have passed from a state of comparative civilization to a state of barbarism” (1848, 83). Finland, then, is perceived initially to have been superior to its sovereign, Russia. Moreover, Maxwell’s statement expresses his dislike of Russians and his preference for Finns. He defines Russia, the oppressor, in negative terms, which was typical at the time for Americans in their views of other parts of Europe [see, for example Henry T. Tuckerman’s (1848, 13) views about Austrians in Italy]. Again, it reveals the importance that Americans placed on democracy, independence, and the freedom of nations.

Other travelers found similarities between Finns and Americans. Willard expresses her surprise to find the Finns quite similar to the observing “Self.” As she writes: “Finns look very much like New Yorkers and Chicagoans, and vice versa” (1869, 397). However, to her the similarities are particularly evident among sophisticated urban citizens. By contrast, for her the perspiring rural dancers outside Turku represent simplicity, and the “wall-flowers” in the dance hall who keep time to the dancers “by rocking back and forth in an imbecile way” embody lower-class ignorance (1869, 396; see also Salenius 2012, 67–68). In this way, Willard creates a polarity between rural and urban citizens.

If Willard finds similarities between the refined urban citizens of Helsinki with those of New York and Boston, Taylor’s comparisons between Finns and Americans
seem to confirm the likeness of rural peasants. According to Taylor, poverty in the countryside of Finland is the same as poverty in the countryside of the United States. The market scene in Sortavala reminds him of the fairs in America with poverty-stricken children in their ragged garments of hemp begging for money, women in their scarlet kerchiefs curiously scrutinizing the foreigners, and peasant boys carrying grass to the horses offered for sale. In Taylor’s view, “It was a repetition, with slight variations, of a village-fair anywhere else, or an election-day in America” (1864, 530). Even the faces of Sortavala peasants are “almost of the Yankee type, many of them, but relieved by the twinkling of a humorous faculty or the wild gleam of imagination” (531). Poverty is visible in the “hard, keen, weather-browned faces,” the “mouths worn thin by biting farthings, and hands whose hard fingers crooked with holding fast what they had earned” (531). As the examples demonstrate, a common nineteenth-century travel writing strategy is to compare features of home with the same features abroad. It renders the foreign “Other” more familiar.

Hooper and Youngs have pointed out that in travel writing “religious difference was also deployed and seen as a convenient ethnic marker” (2004, 5). Nineteenth-century Americans in Finland used religion as part of the identification process and to underscore similarities. Americans such as Baird comment on the high-level of education among Finns, a result of efforts by the Lutheran church. As Baird writes, during his visit in 1837, when the country’s population was a little over 1.4 million, he was impressed that the majority of citizens was literate and many could even write. Moreover, there were several gymnasias and high schools, and the Finnish government maintained the approximately 3,100 ministers, professors, and school-teachers (1841, 330–34).

Buckley is another one who reports that nearly all of the two million Finns could read or at least knew the alphabet. He points out that the high literacy rate was a result of the Lutheran church’s demand that those who wished to take part in the sacrament had to be able to read and write (1886, 138). Baird explains that in order to take part in the first communion it was necessary to read sufficiently well to be able to follow the sacred scriptures (1841, 288). Hence, nineteenth-century Americans were quite impressed to find nearly the entire population of Finland capable of reading and writing. This reinforced prevailing ideas about the Nordic people as educated and intelligent. Their literacy skills were linked to the Lutheran church that bore similarities to the faith of American Protestants, thus including the Americans among the learned citizens. It was easier for Americans to accept the Protestant beliefs of Finns than, for example, those of the poor Catholic Italian and Irish immigrants, whose beliefs were deemed a form of superstition. The Lutheran church better corresponded to the religious doctrines and faith of Americans themselves. Both Baird (1841, 333–34) and Buckley (1886, 138–39) acknowledge the important role the church had in educating people in Finland, thus underscoring
the importance of religious institutions and the centrality of the Protestant faith in Finnish, and by extension American, life.

The presumed intelligence and high level of education of Finns was confirmed through pointing out the various languages “common people” mastered. Buckley asserts that many Finns spoke Finnish and English, while Swedish was the language spoken in the coastal areas (1886, 141). The Finnish captain of steamer *Wiborg*, Lars Krogius, who appears in Willard’s article, knew English fluently (1869, 395). The knowledge of foreign languages was presented as something uniquely pertaining to Finns, again highlighting their positive qualities.

The Finnish educational system was linked to the image of Helsinki as a modern university town. Many travel texts mention the number of the university professors, students, and books available in the university library collection. The numbers vary from year to year, but the percentage of students attending the university remained high, considering the population of the country. Willard foregrounds the education of Finns when she lists some books she saw on the shelves of a local bookstore. Among the classics, she found works written by Dickens, Thackeray, and Julia Kavanagh that were next to philosophical volumes by Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero. In this way, Willard presents Finns as a population knowledgeable of high-brow literature, philosophy, and history (1869, 397; see also Salenius 2012, 67). This positive image of Finns was a reflection of the travelers themselves, many of whom as writers represented the intellectual elite of their own nation.

When describing the physical features of local residents, the travel writers commonly focus on the bodies of men rather than women. This is because during the nineteenth century it was not considered proper to observe a woman’s physical appearance, other than her face or hands. Willard, for one, constructs a highly idealized picture of the Finnish captain Krogius with his fair hair and blue eyes, his knowledge of languages, education, manners, and masculinity. As scholars have pointed out, it was common in the nineteenth century to interpret physical characteristics as markers of intellectual or moral traits (Jacobson 2002, 32). Willard finds the Finnish captain a man “to be trusted” and “a perfect gentleman” with a “manly figure” and “graceful gesture” (1869, 395). In this way, she attributes qualities to the captain that were highly appreciated in the American society of the time. In addition to Willard’s portrayal of him as a representative of ideal whiteness, the captain appears as an embodiment of ideal masculinity (see Salenius 2012, 64–67).

Taylor offers a similar view of Finnish masculinity when he describes a Finnish sailor he observed during his tour of the Ladoga. The sailor’s “handsome, tanned face, quick, decided movements, and clean, elastic limbs” lead Taylor to conclude that “what we most value in every man, above even culture or genius, is the stamp of sex,—the asserting, self-reliant, conquering air which marks the male animal” (1864, 529–30). He evokes an image of masculine strength, of a fast, determined,
and courageous male, a conqueror. Thus, Taylor’s idealized maleness underscores concepts of masculinity that were admired in his own society. It is worth noting that the strongly built bodies of these Finns were a result of the demanding physical work they did as seamen.

As can be seen, the period’s travel writing about Finland quite often highlights traits that contributed to the conception of Americanness. These traits also include a hard work-ethic, piety, and civility (Babb 1998, 87), which Willard presents as characteristic of the Finnish captain, or religiousness, cleanliness, and politeness, which were also used to construct a positive image of Finnish identity. Indeed, writers such as Ballou define Finns as “thrifty, cleanly” with “an aspect of quiet prosperity” (1887, 199). Baird claims that Finns have a reputation of being friendly, patient, and diligent (1841, 332). The visitors also admire the religiosity of the people. In these instances Self approaches Other by finding similarities and common values. In these portraits, a typical Finn is perceived to correspond with the image of an idealized Northerner, who shares the same qualities with idealized Americans. Thus, Americans identify with their construction of the foreigner, which becomes a construction of themselves.

**Travel Writers as Experts: In Search of Authenticity**

In addition to comparing the “Self” to the “Other,” the search for authenticity is one of the features that appears in many travel texts discussing Finland. The nineteenth century witnessed an ever-increasing number of publications on travel covering various parts of the world. Scholars have indicated that travel writing’s influence during the nineteenth century was greater than ever before (Youngs 2006, 4). Historian Casey Blanton positions the years between 1850 and 1930 as the “heyday of travel writing because of both the depth and the breadth of travel books” (2002, 19). Although the purpose of travel literature is to inform, educate, and provide an interpretation of the travel destination and its inhabitants, simultaneously it aims to entertain. Indeed, to a great extent the popularity of travel writing stems from its capacity to amuse those readers who never travel themselves. In the nineteenth century, these so-called “armchair travelers” were satisfied merely to be reading entertaining stories about exotic locations. Hence, the main goal of travel writing was not necessarily to provide realistic descriptions of foreign destinations but to provide an engaging reading experience, to function as a source of enjoyment for those who preferred to stay home, seated in their comfortable armchairs. Foreign peculiarities were often used for this purpose.

As scholars have argued, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, travelers were trying to find ways to travel unconventionally (Korte 2000, 101–103). They were in search of authenticity, “physical, emotional, or spiritual” (Lears 1994, xix). As Hooper and Youngs have pointed out, travel writers were often obsessed with constructions of authenticity. They favored romantic notions of the
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past rather than elements of the modern present while searching for any surviving signs of the authentic (Hooper and Youngs 2004, 8). Moreover, travel writers were looking for Finnish peculiarities in order to recreate an identity for themselves as experts of the foreign, as authorities knowledgeable of the unusual. The practice of including descriptive passages of the strangeness of the foreign served to excite the reader’s curiosity. Hence, the travel destination was turned into a site of exoticism and pleasure (see also Hooper and Youngs 2004, 9). Among the uniquely Finnish aspects, Americans mention the sauna, as can be expected, but also reindeer and the silence of the countryside. The image thus constructed of Finland emphasized its exotic nature and evoked positive associations and emotions. Again, American values and problems seem to be interwoven with the image of Finnish particularities.

Taylor’s tour of the Ladoga is an example of such a search for authenticity. According to Taylor, he wanted to visit the area because it was not even mentioned in the popular Murray guide, the “red hand-book, beloved of tourists.” Thus, he realized, “there was an untrodden corner of the world, lying within easy reach of a great capital, yet unknown to the eyes of conventional sight-seers” (1864, 521–22). He and his two friends turned out to be the first Americans to visit the northern area of the lake and had the rare opportunity to craft the first images to be associated with it. His explorations expressed the American pioneering spirit, while Taylor himself would seem to represent the American masculine conqueror of the wilderness.

What first catches Taylor’s attention is the silence of the countryside. He stops for a short moment to dream of idyllic pastoral scenery where simple people, together with Taylor, could find repose from the bustle of modern urban life: “It was wonderfully silent. [. . .] Over all the land brooded an atmosphere of sleep, of serene, perpetual peace. To sit and look upon it was in itself refreshment like that of healthy slumber.” He dreamt of a nostalgic escape from everyday reality, “of a pastoral life in some such spot, among as ignorant and simple-hearted a people, ourselves as untroubled by the agitations of the world” (1864, 531). In this way, he creates a dichotomy between the idealized rural serenity and the modernity, noise, and progress of urbanization. The escape from contemporary problems and anxieties into an imagined pastoral scene was a common response of nineteenth-century American travelers in Europe.

During his travels in the Ladoga area, Taylor hoped to see some reindeer, which he considered an essential part of the Finnish nature. He expresses his disappointment when the only animals he sees are mosquitoes (1864, 537). During his tour of Lapland he frequently saw reindeer, which, similarly to other travelers in Lapland, Taylor compares to a camel. Even their hooves, he maintains, are similar ([1857] 1858, 144). Ballou explains the importance of reindeer to the Lapps, stating that “[w]hat the camel is to the Arab of the desert, the reindeer is to the Laplander” (1887, 148). He repeats that “the reindeer is to the Lapp what the camel is to the
Arab. This small creature is the Lapp's cow, horse, food, clothing, tent, everything” (1887, 149). From the “camel of the North,” the Lapps even obtain milk that is rich and nourishing. The reindeer appear again in an article published anonymously in the *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine* in 1856, in which it also is compared to the camel. According to the writer, in their otherwise modest language the Lapps have seventy-six different words to define their dear animal (Anonymous 1856, 143). The unexpected pairing of the camel and reindeer serves to add liveliness and humor to the otherwise quite uneventful texts. The camel of the North, then, became one of the authentic curiosities to be associated with Finland. Its introduction into American travel writing gave the authors an opportunity to demonstrate their expertise and re-create themselves as “authoritative knowers,” thus underlining their superiority and, by extension, American supremacy, an idea that can be seen to have prevailed in the contemporary American society.

Travel writers often describe foreign peculiarities in order to entertain their readers and to provide moments of extreme emotions—disgust, pleasure, surprise. Their sketches of uncommon destinations and unexplored regions or the repetition of incredible stories are used for the purposes of arousing sensations of disbelief. In the book of Lapland, Taylor ([1857] 1858) adds a detailed description of the castration of the male reindeer as performed by old Lapp women “by slowly chewing the glands between their teeth until they are reduced to a pulp” (145). The mention of such a peculiar habit of the Lapps was surely used to arouse the curiosity of the readers, to entertain them, and to provide exotic flavor. Simultaneously, Taylor is able to introduce himself as an expert on the reindeer and life in Lapland.

American travel writing, like the travel texts of other foreigners who wrote of Finland, include the sauna among the typically Finnish peculiarities. It may be one of the most enduring images of Finland. Taylor provides a lively description of his experience in the “little wooden building without windows,” whose interior is hot and moist, “like an Oriental bathing-hall” ([1857] 1858, 100). In the center, Taylor continues, “was a pile of hot stones, covered with birch boughs, the leaves of which gave out an agreeable smell, and a large tub of water” (100). He proceeds to describe the Finnish servant-girl’s “usual scrubbing and shampooing” (100) after which the Finns “frequently go out and roll in the snow during the progress of the bath” (101). Taylor himself “ventured so far as to go out and stand a few seconds in the open air. The mercury was at zero, and the effect of the cold on my heated skin was delightfully refreshing” (101). Again, the travel writer provides his readers with an opportunity to be amazed by the curious habit of the Finns sweating in the windowless huts. Moreover, cleanliness, thus associated with Finns, was highly admired among Americans. The sauna, together with the reindeer and silent scenery, was included among the peculiarities characteristic of Finland.
Conclusions

The unique attributes of Finland identified by American travel writers contributed to the impression of the Grand Duchy as a distinct place, unlike any other country. As Paavolainen has observed, the idea in foreign travel writing of a self-governing Finland contributed to the nascent desire for independence (1973, 308–309). Americans reported on the use of the Finnish language and currency, the constitution and the laws, as well as the nation’s religious beliefs, and portrayed Helsinki as the modern political capital.

Nearly all American travel articles and guidebooks discussing Finland focused on the same two towns, Helsinki and Turku, and the same sights in them. Indeed, the lack of alternatives is striking. In Turku, they emphasized the religiosity of locals by focusing on the church, whereas Helsinki was associated with a high level of education and marked by its citizens’ high rate of literacy, their knowledge of languages, and their urban sophistication. Americans visiting Finland appreciated the pastoral peace of the countryside, as well as its clean towns, and admired the physical appearance of its masculine men. These same ideals, values, and ideological assumptions were esteemed back in the United States.

Indeed, as Youngs argues: “Since travel writing in its broadest sense must, like all literature, reflect the society in which it is produced and consumed, multifarious elements of culture are contained within it” (2004, 175). Consequently, it is hardly a surprise to recognize that the images of Finland and Finnish people in nineteenth-century American travel writing were, for the most part, reflections of the writer’s own society and background. Pratt’s observation that “Europe was constructed from the outside in as much as from the inside out” (1995, 6) seems applicable to the construction of Finland. Indeed, as Youngs confirms, “travellers (and those who borrow from their descriptions) throw onto their destinations philosophical, ideological and cultural baggage that carries more of their departure than of their arrival” (2006, 15). The overall positive images that nineteenth-century American travelers formed of Finland catered to their own need to reconfirm their identity, to praise Americanness, and to seek for legitimization of their racial beliefs and value systems. The physical force of Finnish sailors and captains was underscored to link Finns with concepts of masculinity as idealized in the travelers’ home society; the presumed intelligence, polite manners, clean towns and people were all attributes that echo the ideals and beliefs that were dominant in American society of the time. The Finns, especially in towns, were depicted as intelligent and educated, admirable representatives of the blond, blue-eyed Aryan “race” and, thus, of ideal whiteness. As Willard writes at the end of her article, “we thoroughly admired this garden full of Finns!” (1869, 397). They were well-liked, especially when the travel writers found that the foreign corresponded to the familiar American. In this way, the images that nineteenth-century American travel writers constructed of Finland were charged
with a reflection constructed of the writers’ own nation. Hence, travel writing was used to underscore American exceptionalism, to reformulate American national identity, and to identify Self in the Other.

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A Sense of Terijoki: The Discourse of Karelia in the Karelian Borderlands

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Abstract
Karelia, the borderland between Finland and Russia, has been a “land of quarrels” for centuries. The Swedish kingdom, the Novgorod realm, and the Russian Empire, one after another, have colonized the area. In 1812 the southwest part of Karelia, the Karelian Isthmus, was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Finland. This incorporation was practical: for hundreds of years the area had already been a region of Finnish-speaking people. After Finland’s declaration of independence (1917) and civil war (1918) and the birth of Soviet Russia (1917), political tensions sharpened in the Karelian Isthmus. In those days, the borderline between Finnish Terijoki and Russian St. Petersburg became the most important ideological barrier between revolutionary Russia and Finland, where the right-wing Whites had won the civil war and begun an unequalled campaign against the Bolshevist power. In 1939 and again in 1944, Soviet troops occupied the Karelian Isthmus, and the area ever since has been a part of the Soviet Union/Russia.

Introduction
This article discusses the discourse of identity and sense of place (for the concept see Massey 1991) surrounding the Finnish-Russian border community of Terijoki, located on the Karelian Isthmus, in terms of Karelianness. A villa community of four thousand inhabitants, Terijoki was in the 1910s the most Russian parish in Finland: the eye of a visitor would repeatedly fall on texts in Cyrillic script on shop and road signs and on items of clothing; he would also detect the influence of neighboring Russia in the voices around him, in local eating habits and customs. This in itself was
not surprising, since St. Petersburg, capital of the Russian Empire, was a mere thirty kilometers away. Terijoki, with its sandy beaches and its wooden villas with beautiful carvings, was extremely popular with the St. Petersburg aristocracy as a delightful holiday resort. The locals themselves looked upon their hometown, which attracted as many as forty thousand summer visitors, as unique by Finnish standards. Tourism not only provided a livelihood, it also brought life and a cosmopolitan dimension to the social fabric of the villages each year from April to October. But in the eyes of the Finnish nationalist, or Fennoman, movement, Terijoki was seriously “Russified,” and the local Fennomans confirmed that the local Russian influence was indeed strong.

Viewing the border regions of the Karelian Isthmus from a historical perspective, the second period of Russification (1908–17) and the decade following Finland’s declaration of independence (1917) would, in particular, appear to be social contexts in which the need to define an ethnic image was particularly important. It became imperative to define who one was and what one had never been, but also to define the image one wished to present. For the inhabitants of the border region, these periods were extremely arduous and challenging as the physical, political, and cultural borders now had to be redefined. As cultural researchers have noted, identity discourse takes precedence over all others in a community in crisis (e.g., Hall 1992, 274–75). On the Isthmus, drawing the line between “us” and “them” was hastened on the one hand by the perceived threat of Russia/the Soviet Union and on the other by the domestic policies of the newly independent Finnish republic. The identification process cannot, however, be explained solely by external, centrally produced policy, even though this did provoke the politicization of local and regional ethnicity.

This article focuses on two questions: what, in general terms, was the Karelian border region of the Isthmus like under these circumstances in the 1910s and 1920s, and insofar as the region was ethnically recognizably Karelian, how and why was Karelianness realized in the border region? Another intriguing question is what Karelianness implied in the world of the early twentieth century. It could have been something quite unlike what we imagine it to be today. I will here ignore the enthusiasm for Karelia (Karelianism) of the Finnish national artist elite (see Sihvo 1969, passim.) as a model explanation: on its own, it is possibly not sufficient to explain the local Karelian orientation. Instead, I will try to examine the form of Karelianness at the grassroots level, from both the local (Terijoki) and the regional (Isthmus) perspective.

Serving as the framework for my text are two mutually conflicting contemporary ideologies. One is the idea of the border community as an ordinary multicultural crossroads, or as Homi K. Bhabha argues, as a bridge between cultures (Bhabha 1994, 1–2, 5). The other is the Finnish-nationalist discourse defining the social state of the border community as centrally produced and growing increasingly vociferous
in the 1910s and 1920s. Applying the views of Zygmunt Bauman, Finnish nationalism fed a tendency for cultural crusades, attempts to change alien habits, to convert strangers, to force them to yield to the cultural authority of the dominant nation. In the reality of the early twentieth century, the politicization of the border regions was a nationalist program. Accordingly, inhabitants of the border regions had to be converted into genuine Finns so that “they” would become “us” (see Bauman [1990] 1997, 216–17). In Finland’s cultural crusade directed at the geographical border regions, Karelianness became a tool for Finnicization (Lähteenmäki 2012c).
**A First Step to Arousing Karelian Tribal Feeling**

Let us begin with an event of importance to local identity. On Midsummer’s Day 1910, crowds of people thronged the unpaved streets of the center of Terijoki: the women dressed in long dark skirts and headscarves, a few ladies wearing large-brimmed hats and carrying bags with buckles and little pouches; the suited gentlemen proudly displayed their caps, their watch-chains, buttoned waistcoats, and polished boots, their pipes and tobacco close at hand; the children frolicked on the edges of the crowds, clad in their Sunday best, in their sailor suits and their lace-trimmed dresses. To look at, these people differed very little from those to be seen in the Sunday streets of any southern Finnish town. The crowd filled the benches facing the platform and lectern opposite the village school. The lively chatter, the gusts of laughter, and the coughing ceased, and the famous Terijoki Music and Sports Festival was ready to begin.

The platform on which they gazed was decorated with green garlands and flowers, and Finland’s crowned heraldic lion astride its sword drew the audience’s attention to the lectern. Ranked behind the speakers, under a high awning, stood choirs in national dress, the women in front with their colorful costumes, the men behind in their darker attire, and here and there a student cap. The proceedings began with the massed choirs singing “A Mighty Fortress is Our God” and “The Song of the Karelians.” The former was extremely appropriate, a hymn carefully chosen for the occasion. It was not just any hymn: it was the battle hymn of the German priest Martin Luther and the Reformation, the “evil fiend” of the hymn, in this case, meaning not the devil but Russia: “The ancient evil fiend / Has deadly ill in mind / Great power and craft are his / His armour gruesome is / On earth is not his equal.”

No better way could there have been of expressing the rock-hard political nature of this seemingly merry music and sports festival. The fact that it was paired with “The Song of the Karelians” likewise speaks of the ideological message of the event: Karelia was part of Finland and should continue to be so: “The frost from the East shall not harm it / nor the winds from the frozen north / no force shall ever oppress it / no hailstones beat it down . . .”

Before raising their voices together in this defiant song, the choirs had marched in, bearing banners that indicated where they had come from. These they placed at intervals in front of the platform, like a battery of flags. The welcoming speech was given by a local civic activist and writer, Mikko Uotinen. He had, furthermore, penned for the occasion a welcoming poem that burst with anxiety and sorrow: “The king of the border is grief, care the mother, trouble the father . . . You here on the Karelian Isthmus are people of a kingdom of grief . . . bring warmth, bring hope, rise up, ignite . . .” (*Juhlaopas Terijoen Laulu-, Soitto- ja Urheilujuhlassa* [The Guidebook of the Music and Sport Festival in Terijoki] June 23–26, 1910, 1–2).

Uotinen’s plea for help sprang from local anxiety created by the threat of the
border parishes being annexed to the St. Petersburg Governorate. In the weeks before the festival, rumors of an annexation had been going round the villages: the parishes of Terijoki, Kivennapa, and Uusikirkko, bordering on Russia, would, it was feared, be annexed to the St. Petersburg region. The matter was so fresh that it was on everyone’s mind at the festival. It turned the Midsummer festival into a political event in which the local resistance encountered the national discourse of an undivided Finland. Uotinen writes: “There are threats that Karelia will be wrested from the breast of mother Finland like a slender sapling on the edge of the home field. An alien hand has threatened to snap off the whitest cluster of bird-cherry blossom . . .” (Speech. The Guidebook of the Music and Sport Festival in Terijoki, June 23–26, 1910, 22).

Uotinen likens Finland to a bird-cherry tree and not, for example, to the birch used as a metaphor by famous Finnish author Zachris Topelius or the Karelani pine customarily regarded as symbol of both Finland and Karelia. It is difficult to say how deeply Uotinen had contemplated his bird-cherry metaphor, but as such it was admirably suited to conditions at the time, for bird-cherry bark had, since ancient times, been placed around doors to ward off plague, and its strong scent is known to repel vermin. Additionally, bird-cherry flowers in early summer, at the time of the Terijoki festival, in showy white blossom were seen as a symbol of Finland. Also interesting is the fact that Uotinen speaks of Finland as a buxom, bosomy mother, not as a slender, innocent maid, as was the case in Topelian parlance. The different choice of symbols may mean that no collective symbol had yet been negotiated, or at least that it was not yet familiar in the border region. In any case, Finland was, for Uotinen, a mother, and the Isthmus a child seeking protection.

Karelia appears from Uotinen’s texts to be an oppressive place to live in. Bordering on Russia had made the local population constantly anxious. According to Uotinen, the Karelians were a people worn down by a sorrow that would find its happiness in Finnishness; this would raise the Karelian people: “. . . these festive moments will Finnicise and ennoble the minds of the borderland people” (22). Meanwhile, the planning committee of the 1910 festival was also maintaining the Karelian ethos, as demonstrated by its choice of “The Song of the Karelians” to match the enthusiastic atmosphere at the gathering. The festival began with a bonfire in the ancient Kalevala spirit, and there were a number of performers of Karelian poems and laments, kantele players, and reciters of charms (18–19, 24). All in all, the mission of the whole song festival was to foster a sense of Finnishness in the inhabitants of the border region, to create a united tribal spirit, and to underline their “role of border guard of Finnish nationality and law” (18–21). The Terijoki festival was just one of the political song festivals held by the Finnish nationalists (the Fennomans) during the periods of Russification (1899–1905 and 1908–17). The Fennoman organization, the KVS Foundation (Kansanvalistusseura, People’s Education Organization in
Finland), had been organizing song festivals on the Estonian model since 1884 with a view to raising patriotic fervor.

The discourse of sorrow crops up again and again in connection with Karelianness in writings about the Isthmus of the 1910s and 1920s. When the annexation of the border parishes into the St. Petersburg region occurred in 1911, Karelia’s misery became the dominant genre of discourse. Karelianness, in that Finnish-nationalist discourse, nevertheless came second to the glorification of all things Finnish: Karelia was specifically part of “our” Finland, not of alien Russia. As such it appears in, among others, the famous poem “The Karelian Isthmus” (1911) by Eino Leino: “. . . one Finland have we and one race, to no new fatherlands will we become accustomed.” Elsewhere, however, even Leino sees the border communities as Karelian in generating faith in the people of the borderlands: “. . . not yet will we dig Karelia’s grave” (Leino 1912).

Karelia’s borderland status was lamented even further after the Finnish Civil War of 1918 and the birth of Soviet Russia in 1917: “The enemy has always first plundered, torched and destroyed the Karelian Isthmus . . . The scars of sword and whip are still more clearly visible here today than in other parts of Finland” (Castrén 1927, 71). The Isthmus had been left to fend for itself in the face of an overwhelming power, as a result of which it had been “forcibly settled by strangers, a danger to the whole Finnish nation and above all Karelia’s national existence” (Castrén 1927, 71).

A narrative of misery such as this was one of the main hegemonic discourses connected with Karelia in the 1910s and 1920s. “Hegemony” here refers in the Gramsci sense to social leadership, in other words, to the group that succeeds in establishing the common acceptance of its view. The fight for hegemony fundamentally means political dominance, but it likewise expands into the social and cultural domain. The weapons in this fight for hegemony are ideologies. An ideology is in this construct conceived of as part of the balance of power: it is a way of representing, renewing, and altering the power relations in society. At its most concrete, it is a politically operating culture with specific values and the means of achieving them (see An Antonio Gramsci Reader 2007).

The French philosopher Louis Althusser (see Lewis 2009) in turn proposed that an ideology is a set of signs (myths, narratives, images, schools of thought) and social practices that tie us to different social structures. This tie also offers us an identity. An ideology helps us to understand the world and to see it as a rational system. The prevailing ideology is accepted as a self-evident truth, because the person who has assimilated it is not equipped to question it. On the other hand, a dominant ideology is important for the ruling class to remain in power. The ruling class underpins its position by means of either a coercive or an ideological state apparatus. Examples of the tools employed by a coercive state apparatus are legislation and the police. An ideological state apparatus is far more subtle: examples of its tools are schools, the
The discourses employed in a specific time and place are a fundamental component of the exercise of power. As Michel Foucault points out, discourses are social practices that shape reality in relation to other discourses. They are also molded by external forces such as institutions, social processes, and structures. A hierarchy exists between them, and some discourses are more dominant and “natural” than others at certain times and in certain contexts. To achieve dominance, a discourse must fight in order to be feasible. Discourses are always tied to power, because all institutions use the discourses at their command. The discourses determine what can be said, the criteria for truth, and who is empowered to speak. Hegemonic discourses can roughly be distinguished from others according to two criteria: the more often and the more contexts in which elements of a given discourse recur, the more hegemonic it may be, and the more self-evident and the more lacking in alternatives a discourse is, the stronger it will be. Among the characteristics of hegemonic discourse are therefore quantitative predominance, self-evidence, and the absence of alternatives. Generally speaking, the hegemonizing of discourses is, according to the Foucaultian view, an interweaving of knowledge, power, and truth (see Foucault 2002, passim.).

Another hegemonic discourse, along with the discourse of Karelian misery, has been the habit of speaking of the Karelians as cheerful, childlike folk. Vivacity and exuberance are the very attributes associated with the present-day stereotypical view of Karelianness. This positive stereotype can be derived directly from the tribal images constructed in the first half of the nineteenth century. The initial impetus for
this came not so much from the *Maamme kirja* (Book of Our Land) by Topelius (1876) as from the anthropological studies of the Finns on which Topelius obviously based his views. The first of these studies, which made a detailed analysis of the racial characteristics of the different tribes, is that by Professor Carl von Haartman of 1845 distinguishing between the people of Karelia and Hämë in the middle part of Finland. According to Haartman, the Karelians were slim, had long arms and legs, often curly hair, a long, beautiful nose, blue eyes, and a lively, childlike, cheerful disposition. Haartman assumed that the Karelians were descended from the Arab Bedouins, because travelers’ descriptions of the Arabs fit the Karelians so well that scientists marveled at this mutual resemblance (von Haartman 1847, 850–51). Topelius, in his own texts, repeats this stereotypical picture of childlike, friendly, cheerful Karelians. The imagery is astoundingly reminiscent of descriptions of the Sámi in Lapland: living on the border appears in the nineteenth-century view to produce people like this. In general we may say that the negative or positive associations connected with the Karelians (likewise with the Sámi) are closely linked to their time and place. There is no such thing as a “cheerful Karelianness” existing at all times and all ages; rather, there are many, nuanced types of Karelianness (Fingerroos and Loipponen 2007, Lähteenmäki 2012b).

**FROM THE RUSSIAN STEPPES TO THE FINNISH WILDS**

It is essential to know in this context that in the early twentieth century, Mikko Uotinen, the leader of the local Fennomans, took Karelia to mean the part of the Isthmus bordering on Ingria (the area on the Russian side inhabited by the Finnish-speaking people) and St. Petersburg, and what is more, as the politically most right-wing part of Finland. Looking a little further back into the past, we also find in the history of settlement ethnic grounds for Isthmus Karelianness. The region known as Karelia, which was divided in the demarcation after prolonged warfare in 1323, for the first time, was split between Russia and Sweden. The western part of the Isthmus, to which the Terijoki region belonged, remained on the Swedish side, with Viipuri (Russ. Vyborg) as its center, and the eastern part, with Käkisalmi (nowadays Russ. Priozersk) as its center, on the Russian side. Historically, the Isthmus thus encompasses two very different regions: the eastern part was under Russian administration for a very long time (from the year 1323 to 1617) as reflected in the religions, languages, and cultures of the regions known in Finland as Ladoga and Border Karelia (see Map 1). Under the second historically significant adjustment of the border in 1617, the whole of the Isthmus passed to Sweden, but as a consequence of the wars at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1721) it once again became part of Russia. For the next almost one hundred years, the Isthmus belonged to Russia, until the whole Isthmus became part of Finland when Finland was granted autonomous status in 1812. As may be concluded from these shifts in the border,
the cultural climate and sense of place have for centuries been subject to Finnish, Karelian, and Russian influence. But what ethnic group did the inhabitants of the Isthmus represent?

We know that Karelia was first mentioned as a vague region in a Novgorod chronicle of 1143, as well as in ancient Norse sagas. These sources have not, however, permitted the construction of a comprehensive picture of the Karelians’ roots. Finnish school children are told at an early age of the ten-thousand-year-old Antrea [nowadays Russ. Kamennogorsk) fishing net, and archaeologists have found widespread evidence of Stone-Age settlement in the Isthmus regions. So people lived there, but who were they? Many twentieth-century treatises of a general nature reiterate that the Karelians came to Finland via the Isthmus. The *Tietokirja Suomen kodeille* (Facts for Finnish Homes) of 1925 enlightens the reader that the Karelians came to Finland via the Isthmus from the south, from the borders of the Russian steppes, and that the name Karjala, meaning Karelia, is derived from the word karja, meaning cattle (Korpela 2007, 42). The Isthmus was not, therefore, regarded as the core Karelian region but as a channel or road along which Karelians settled. Research has also revealed that settlers from Western Finland and Häme migrated to the Karelian Isthmus in the Viking Era. It has been further conjectured that the Karelians were probably identified by name at the end of the eleventh century (Uino 1998, 32, 37).

Finnish historian Heikki Kirkinen has aptly pointed out that names are coined by others; this has undoubtedly been the case of the Karelian “tribe” (or kinship), whose language—just like Finnish—belongs to the Finno-Ugric family of languages (Kirkinen 1998). In any case, even if the Isthmus borderland were inhabited by Karelians at an early point in time, they were not alone. The Isthmus region can be said to have been multicultural at a very early age. Philological research, on the other hand, places the dialect of the region among the Finnish South East dialects that were said to have been spoken all over the Isthmus. The oldest maps show the Terijoki region as having little settlement, but by the eighteenth century it appears as an area of sand dunes and clear waters (Lähteenmäki 2009, 25). Terijoki seems, from an early date, to have been regarded as a bracing area characterized by the proximity of the sea and its nature, not by its Karelianness. It may be said that—if anything—Terijoki lay beyond and far from the core Karelian region, which in Finland has been regarded as Viena Karelia, which is near the White Sea. If the people of Terijoki in any way regarded their region as “Karelian” before the periods of Russification (1899–1905 and 1908–17)—and there is no saying that they did—then the border of the Karelian hinterland, that is to say, the Isthmus, and of St. Petersburg was etched with great precision on maps and minds alike. Seldom, if ever, has a tribal border run precisely along a political one, as was the case with the Rajajoki (meaning Border River). The very proximity of the Russian border made Terijoki suspicious, less Karelian and
less Finnish than was desirable in the political climate of the 1910s–20s, and for this reason it was the target of very strong Finnishness propaganda.

Figure 3. The checkpoint of Rajajoki was the most important frontier crossing point in Finland during the 1920s and 1930s. Photo: Terijoki-Seura, Finland.

But what did contemporaries have to say about the Isthmus? One typical description is to be found in the annual report of L. K. Relander, Governor of the Province of Viipuri, for 1919.

The indigenous inhabitants of the province are by descent Karelians who migrated here from more southerly regions in ancient times; there are a few people from Häme living in the northwest parts and from Uusimaa in the southwest. There are people of indigenous Russian descent living only in four villages in the parish of Muola and scattered over the parishes of Pyhäjärvi, Hiitola and Jaakkima, where they have almost merged with the rest of the population. (Relander 1919)

What is interesting in this quotation is the southwest corner of the Isthmus, i.e., precisely the Terijoki region, which, as the governor claimed, still had people of Häme origin whose homeland was and still is an inland region of Southern Finland. This is well in line with the tribal discourse of the 1910s–20s: the border region belonged to “us,” because Finns had been living there since ancient times. Another interesting point in the quotation is the governor’s admission that the indigenous population of his large province consisted of both Karelians and Russians (Lähteenmäki 2009, 26).
The key local figures of Terijoki, among them the teachers at the Terijoki Secondary School, and especially its headmaster, along with the priest, the editor of the local newspaper, the senior officers of the garrison in the 1920s and the civil guard, as well as the border commandant, adopted the discourse of the Patriotic People’s Movement (Isänmaallinen Kansanliike), a very fundamentally Finnish and, to some extent, very right-wing party. The role of the Terijoki Secondary School in the Finnicizing of the area was extremely significant. Even when the school was founded in 1907, it was said that “the school will, many times more strongly than the country’s other schools, arouse and foster a feeling of patriotism in its pupils. All the education provided there will be permeated and infused with Finnish national sentiment” (Lähteenmäki 2009, 245–51). Like other institutions, the schools regulate their pupils’ behavior by imposing approved practices designed to lead in the desired direction (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1994, 67). In the Terijoki region, the role of teachers proved to be the most important in the pro-Karelia and anti-Russian ideological campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s.

The basic message of this Genuine Finnish discourse was beyond all doubt the elimination of any signs of alien influence in the locality, and Finnicization, even down to surnames. It is important to note that almost all the most visible local Fennomans had originally come from other parts of Finland and did not speak the South East dialect as some of the local inhabitants did. However, the headmaster of the Terijoki school—who originally came from Western Finland—did learn the dialect and spoke it when teaching in school. The primary mission of the Fennoman activists was not, however, to stress Karelianness but to make the “Russified” region politically even more right-wing than the other parts of Finland. A Genuine Finnish Club was founded in Terijoki in 1929 because “all Genuine Finns should, each in their own way, start working to ensure the Finnish language the status it deserves” (“Terijoen Aito-Suomalainen Klubi perustettu” [A Genuine Finnish Club has been founded in Terijoki], Kannaksen Lehti June 14, 1929).

The fact that, unlike in the rest of the country, there was no great movement to found local heritage societies in Karelia is very symptomatic. A branch of the People’s Education Organization (KVS Foundation) was set up in Käkisalmi (by Lake Ladoga) in 1905 and a Viipuri Local Heritage Society in 1908. On the Isthmus, by contrast, all was quiet. The first local heritage society was not founded in Terijoki until 1936, under the name of the South Karelian Museum Society. Though the chairman was the headmaster of the Terijoki Secondary School, the word Isthmus did not feature in the name; instead, the area looked to South Karelia and Finland (see Lähteenmäki 2009, 242).

In other respects, too, the first reports of the region did not use Karelianness to refer to the Isthmus’s border regions. The oft-quoted chapter on Terijoki in a work called Suomenmaa (Finnish land) published in 1923 says that some fifteenth-century
Baltic coins had been discovered in the area and that the first known records of taxation dated from the sixteenth century, when Terijoki had fifty-six households (Suomenmaa V, 1923, 249–53). There is nothing in the chapter to suggest Karelianness. The claim is repeatedly made in non-academic histories that the parish took its name from a little stream, the Tervajoki (Tar River), and that there was a village of this name in the seventeenth century. The local dialect then shortened the name to Terjoki and further adapted it as Terijoki (nowadays Russ. Zelenogorsk). A history published in 1951 makes no further conjectures as to the early ethnic background of the region’s inhabitants, but in the foreword it does speak in glowing terms of the wonderful collective memories of the Karelian tribe and the lost homeland: “Raise, cloud / carry, wind / I weep eternally to be there!” (Terijoki 1951, 5–14).

The seemingly cursory reflections made in the printed texts to the degree of Karelianness of the inhabitants of the Isthmus border region clearly indicate that (1) it was not considered important to emphasize Karelianness before the 1910s, when writers expressly wished to stress the Finnishness of the region as distinct from its Russianness; (2) emphasizing Karelianness did not altogether fit the image of a multicultural village of Terijoki, since the Karelians were but one of many groups there; and (3) a politicized Karelianness and Isthmusness did not begin to be resolutely commodified as an ethnic entity until the 1910s and 1920s. Let us now take a look at how this happened.

**The Isthmus Acquires a Stronger Regional Profile**

If emphasizing Karelianness was, to the local inhabitants of the Terijoki region, a more or less alien endeavor (with the exception of such ardent Fennomans as Mikko Uotinen), after Finland’s declaration of independence and the closing of the Russian border in 1918, it became increasingly common for those constructing a regional profile for the Karelian Isthmus. The very term “Karelian Isthmus” seems to be of fairly recent origin, appearing with increasing frequency in texts written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But who in fact created the Isthmus’s regional profile?

Among the builders of a regional identity for the Isthmus were members of the gentry, teachers, writers, and politicians. As in the local awakening to Finnishness and Karelianness in the 1910s, key individuals now acted as driving forces in generating regional awareness. One of the leading figures was Erkki Paavolainen, a right-wing politician originally from the border community of Kivennapa and the principal of the Kanneljärvi (both municipalities were in the Karelian Isthmus) adult education center. He sat on virtually every committee for Isthmus affairs (Lähteenmäki 2009, 283–88) and published many articles and political pamphlets dealing with the Karelian question. In 1921, for instance, he published a book *Karjalan Kannaksen kysymyksiä* (The Current Issues of the Karelian Isthmus).
Paavolainen and many other politicians in the region were eagerly setting up foundations and societies designed to strengthen the regional identity. In this, the Isthmus lagged slightly behind the tribal work aimed at the core Karelian area, that is Viena (White Sea Karelia) and Aunus (Olonets Karelia) on the Russian side. The model for this tribal work was in fact borrowed directly from the discourse on Viena and Aunus, and used to profile the Isthmus. Mikko Uotinen says in a pamphlet, “Valveilla Kannaksen miehet, vaara uhkaa!” (Beware men of the Isthmus, danger threatens!), appearing in 1913 that “the whole Isthmus will soon be swamped by the wave of the Viena spirit. . . . The battle for our country is now beginning here. A battle dire and fierce . . .” (Uotinen 1913, 5–9). A Viena Karelia Union and a Karelian Education Society had been established with a view of making the Russian Karelian regions more visible and linking them with Finland, and concrete tribal forays had been made to these regions, as to Petsamo (Russ. Petschenga) in the north. Over on the Isthmus, in the shadow of St. Petersburg, such border crossings would have been too risky; rather, every effort was made to guard the border, for example, by declaring a state of war in the border parishes and making them closed territory for the years 1918–22 (Lähteenmäki 2009, 148–50, 198–201, Lähteenmäki 2012a).

There were several foundations and committees profiling and supporting Karelia and the Isthmus. A Karelian Cultural Foundation was set up in 1918 with funds bequeathed by Jonas Castrén, a Karelian Isthmus Committee began operating in 1918, and so did a Karelian Isthmus Statistics Committee. A Karelian Isthmus Fund became operative in 1931. In the 1920s, there was also a Karelian Isthmus Federation, led from the school town of Sortavala by Lake Ladoga (nowadays Russ. Sordavala), and a delegation representing the municipalities on the Karelian Isthmus, mostly in the western part.

In addition to the identity created by the inhabitants of the region themselves, major steps were taken with the help of outsiders, too, to construct a regional Isthmus identity. The primary actor here was the nationwide Association of Finnish Culture and Identity, also known as the Finnish Alliance (Suomalaisuuden liitto), and the Border Region Association (Rajaseutuliitto) created by it. Among other things they began organizing an Isthmus Day from October 1928 onwards. The first was held on October 21, 1928. The previous year, the Independence League (Itsenäisyyden liitto) had added the promotion of the Isthmus to its agenda. A free forty-four-page handbook entitled Karjalan Kannas: Suomen lukko (The Karelian Isthmus: Finland’s Bulwark) was distributed on that day (Paavolainen 1928). This booklet embodied the defiance, typical of the 1910s and 1920s, regarding the position of the Isthmus as a frontier post against the threat from the east. A speech given by Paavolainen at the Finnish Opera told the same story: “Many regard the Isthmus as lost. . . . In 1911 part of the Isthmus seemed ripe for annexing to Russia. The battle was fierce. . . . If the people of Karelia succumb, all Finland will succumb . . .” (Erkki Paavolaisen arkisto.
The Personal Archive of Erkki Paavolainen, Folder 1. KA). Stamps worth two marks were also sold on Isthmus Day in aid of the Isthmus’s educational and cultural efforts.

Apart from these activists, numerous writers and artists who spent their summers at Terijoki helped to mold the image of a Finnish Isthmus. One of them, Unto Seppänen, had attended school in Terijoki and described life in the region in Iloisten ukkojen kylä (A Village of Cheerful Old Men, 1927). Also contributing to the construction of a regional profile were the texts by writers Olavi Paavolainen and Ilmari Pimiä, two cousins from Kivennapa (now Russ. Pervomaiskoje) who were excited about building the identity of the Karelian Isthmus (see, for instance, Paavolainen and Suova 1940; Paavolainen and Pimiä 1942). The aforementioned Erkki Paavolainen was an uncle of Olavi Paavolainen, who was one of the most famous writers in Finland from the 1920s through the 1940s. Pimiä wrote a theme poem, The Karelian Isthmus, in honor of Isthmus Day: “Corn is being sown on the banks of the Border River / the sun warms the borderland dunes / the Isthmus has risen, the Isthmus lives / – God, protect the Karelian sword . . .” (Pimiä 1928).

In the course of the events of 1918–20, the Rajajoki (Border River) separating Finland from Soviet Russia became a mighty cultural boundary between two worlds. On the Finnish side, the poet can already see the results of the cultural seeds that have been sown: the Isthmus has risen both economically and ideologically as the result of hard work, if only God will protect the Karelian sword from the eastern sabre. By 1925, Iivo Härkönen, an expert on Viena Karelia, was saying optimistically that “Finnish Karelia is no longer very different from the rest of Finland” (Härkönen 1925, 135).

The previous year Härkönen had also written a text (Härkönen 1924) that tells of the emergence of a tribal spirit in Viena Karelia. However, the conditions in the border regions were in fact very different from those elsewhere in Finland. An article published in the weekly Suomen Kuvalehti in 1928 came closer to the truth: “anyone from the Isthmus tends to be placed in a different class from the rest of Finland . . . somewhere . . . in the back of beyond . . . on the outskirts of Russia” (Reijonen 1928, 72–73). As late as the early 1930s, a tourist guide claimed that the Isthmus was not the same as the rest of Finland, or even the same as the rest of Karelia (Terijoen ja sen ympäristön opas 1932, 28). In order to make even a superficial acquaintance with the region, some Members of Parliament travelled to Rajajoki in Terijoki in 1919 and 1928. The Finnish Tourist Association and local tourist enterprises, the municipality of Terijoki included, likewise strove towards the same physical appropriation (Lähteenmäki 2009, 149–60, 329–36).

All in all, the first Isthmus Day exceeded all expectations. Events and speeches were held in some four hundred places all over the Isthmus, as well as in the Finnish capital, Helsinki. Organizing the day were ninety-seven youth associations, forty-two study groups, forty-two student committees, one hundred and one
elementary-school teachers, and twenty-six others. If the regional profile was to be raised nationwide, it was important for the day and the Isthmus to receive coverage on the radio and in special Isthmus issues in the press. An introduction to the Isthmus was presented in one radio program by Uuno Brander, a politician originally from North Karelia and head of border operations at the Ministry of Agriculture, and A. O. Väisänen, an expert on Finno-Ugric folk music. An orchestral work on the subject of the Isthmus by Professor Erkki Melartin, originally from Käkisalmi, was also performed. In Helsinki, talks on the Isthmus were given at the Opera by Brander, E. A. Tuomivaara, a leading member of the organization of Genuine Finns, and Erkki Paavolainen (Lähteenmäki 2009, 328–29). The organization of Isthmus Day, as well as the whole political profiling of the Isthmus in the 1920s, was very much in the hands of members of the regional and local right-wing circles.

**Muted Karelian Discourse Grows Louder on the Borderland**

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, tribal discourse began to receive more column space in the press and provincial guides, apace with the growing enthusiasm of the Finnish nationalists, the Fennomans (and the popular education that accompanied them), and the international debate on racial theory. True, there had already been characterizations of the attributes and features of different tribes in earlier documents, but not until the nineteenth century did the tribal movement (heimoliike) really turn political. At the end of the century, Karelia discourse escalated into elitist Karelianism. However, this discourse did not really have anything to do with the Isthmus and its muted Karelianness; rather, it was aimed above all at Viena Karelia, the homeland of the national epic, the *Kalevala*, and at Kainuu and North Karelia.

It never occurred to anyone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to speak of the core Karelian regions or to identify the Isthmus border regions as “Karelian.” A change nevertheless took place in this way of thinking during the second period of Russification (1908–17), when the Tsar’s plan for annexing the Isthmus’s border regions to the St. Petersburg Governorate threatened to become reality. The external threat galvanized both the local Fennomans and the regional and national activists into rescuing the Isthmus from being finally Russified. One of the weapons employed in this was Karelianness—membership of the great Finnish tribe. There was a political and cultural need to prove that even the seriously-Russified border regions of the Isthmus were part of “Finnish Karelia” and in need of rapid rescue from passing forever into the Russian sphere of influence. What sort of image was, then, constructed of the Karelianness of the Isthmus border regions in the 1910s and 1920s? To put it briefly: extremely Finnish.

Every means was used to make the Karelianness of the Isthmus border regions look dyed-in-the-wool Finnish, non-Orthodox, non-Russian, monocultural, politically tribe-oriented, and right-wing. The Karelianness of the border regions was
subordinate to the great Finnish ethos. It was determined via the Finnish ethos and had cultural value only as just one Finnish tribe among many, not as an independent cultural phenomenon. Anything in Isthmus Karelianness that seemed familiar to the Finnish ethos was adopted, but any more alien features were shunned.

The manifestations of the work to burnish the image of Finnish Karelianness on the Isthmus changed slightly with the passing of the years: underpinning the work was the ideology of Fennoman popular education, which in Terijoki, as elsewhere, became institutionalized at the end of the nineteenth century in the elementary schools and youth association halls, condensed as cliquish nationalistic discourse at the Terijoki Music and Sports Festival, politicized as Russophobia during the period of Russification in the 1910s, and manifested as anti-Bolshevism following the experiences of 1917–18. The actors in the Finnish Karelianization project were local, regional, and national. The roots of those at the national level were in most cases in Karelia. The motives for the Finnicization project were mainly political and cultural, and the strategy was clear: tribes could be assimilated, but races could not (see Bauman [1990] 1997, 218). Karelianness, with its related tribal ideologies, was admirably suited to assimilation with “white” Finland, Russianness under no circumstances. The focus in operations was primarily on making a distinction between Finnishness and Russianness, not Karelianness as such. Maybe for precisely this reason, the characterizations of Karelianness and the discourse of Karelia failed to get very far: they were dominated on the one hand by a discourse of misery concerning the arduous lives of the border folk, and on the other by the discourse dating back to the nineteenth century of the Karelians as cheerful, friendly people. As far as Terijoki was concerned, the deeper Karelianization of the remote Karelian borderlands took place only after the region was ceded to the Soviet Union in 1944. Hence the “Karelian Terijoki” of today is a fictive, imagined community, not a physical place.

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DISCUSSIONS ON THE PAST: SHARED EXPERIENCE IN THE COLLECTION OF FINNISH FOLK POETRY

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ABSTRACT
The article examines dialogues and encounters between rune collectors and rune singers, mainly by scrutinizing one case of collaboration. How did the physical, emotional ties and commitments of the collectors themselves influence the material they collected? What does it mean if we render commitments such as family ties visible? The singer, Anni Lehtonen, interprets the material learned from older relatives and shapes it for her own needs. Then the collector, Samuli Paulaharju, interprets this information from his own perspective—a perspective that already has informed the questions posed to the interviewee. Most importantly, this perspective (pre)determines the material. This means that the material we are now able to access in the archives was already shaped by at least two interpretative processes, separate from the selection process of the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society itself. The third layer of interpretation is the lens of the interpretative, reflective researcher—and after that, the readers.

INTRODUCTION
In this article, I examine the dialogues and encounters between rune collectors and rune singers, mainly by scrutinizing one singer-collector collaboration. These folklore materials, produced well in the past, are now numbered folklore units stored in folklore archives in Helsinki and Joensuu. They were recorded by hand and are commonly illegible and can seem disconnected from the surrounding material. To understand this material as evidence of a real person’s existence and her or his physical, emotional, and artistic representation or experience of it, it helps to think of this material as the second half of a dialogue or an interview. Which it is, naturally; only
the answers were written down. Sometimes the questions are present in the folklore material, but not usually. Because of the demand for authentic folklore data, everything outside the accepted boundaries of the folklore genres was supposed to be excluded—by the interviewer, by the authorities of the archives, by anyone involved in folklore. Individual “invention” was also out of the question, although Lönnrot himself mentions some singers in the prefaces of *Kalevala*, the national epic, and *Kanteletar*, a collection of folk lyrics, and he pondered the tension between individual creative poetic invention and the collective poetic sources and inspiration (Lönnrot [1835] 1999, [1840] 1997).

In this article, I examine the relationship of traditional singer Anni Lehtonen and folklore collector Samuli Paulaharju with the following questions in focus: How did the physical, emotional ties and commitments of collectors influence the material they collected and the people they collected from? What does it mean if we render commitments such as family ties visible? Will doing so perhaps offer a more authentic folklore material, too, even if the material is invented? By “invention” I refer to the inventing that is required in tracing back the past, through material that reveals itself only in fragments.

**FOLKLORE ARCHIVES AND THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY**

Folklore archives originate through real encounters. These encounters are physical, material, real, and full of shared experiences and understanding, as well as the lack of it. Even these physical factors made the material what it is, and present-day researchers must sort out what these emotional, everyday life conditions were, and what these encounters were actually like. These are my first questions concerning folk poetry material: under what conditions was it created, and through what kinds of encounters? What kinds of feelings did these singers experience in these meetings? And what about the collectors, the interviewers? They had their own life histories, families, and social attachments, too, and they also experienced feelings of fatigue, homesickness, and inadequacy; however, these experiences are rarely examined seriously.

Folklore poetry was collected in Finland mostly during the nineteenth century, in the spirit of National Romanticism and to suit the needs of national political efforts. Throughout this process, epic poetry was seen as the most important and interesting material; these narrative poems were regarded as traces of an expansive oral narrative, which one could still access. While authenticity has always played a central role in the history of folklore studies, it has come to occupy a different position in the context of new, more interpretative folklore research, influenced by cultural studies. No longer is the degree of authenticity important. In fact, the word *authenticity* has, in a manner of speaking, become outdated. Authenticity is now understood to mean something more like truthfulness or some kind of transparency in
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methodology, as well as reflexivity; the origin of the folklore material, however, is not that important. (For more about authenticity in folklore studies, see, for example, Bendix 1997.)

If the individual creativity of rune singers was denied, then subsequently much creativity was required of the national romanticists, in order to create the image of the rune singer, introduced in hindsight and with a lack of supporting information. The rune singers were described as humble, noble people who seemed to carry a message from our own past. The rune singers were seen and described as “others.” For example in the book *Viimeiset runonlaulajat* (The last rune singers), the famous Finnish folklorist and poet Martti Haavio listed the greatest and the last rune singers in Finland and Karelia in an extremely romanticized style. For instance, Haavio describes Anni Lehtonen as follows:

This sensitive woman was the embodiment of the true poetic bloodline. Out of her deep sense of poetry, which was not merely rote repetition, emblematic above all were her ineffably beautiful laments; through these verses she interpreted her own thoughts with her incomparable skills (Haavio [1943] 1985, 28, translation by the author)¹

This image building finds its origins in National Romanticism and “Karelianism” (Sihvo 1969), but at the individual level its origins lie in the texts of collectors. This process of idealizing certain aspects of the common people reminds one of the invention of tradition, which Eric Hobsbawm has written about. Invented traditions may seem very old and indigenous at first sight, but they turn out to be quite young—and mostly invented—to suit, for example, the needs of political power (Hobsbawm [1983] 1992; Seppä 2009). The rune singers never existed, at least not in the way they have been presented to us.

**FOLKLORE DATA AND THE GENDER QUESTION**

Despite the partial yet apparent ignorance of gender matters in early folk poetry collecting projects (Nenola 1986, 91–92), it is clear that gender has much to do with oral poetry material and its interpretations. The most respected epic poetry was sung mostly by men; therefore, women (especially if they were young) were often neglected by collectors (Vakimo 2001, 25–26). In the process of collecting oral traditions, genres sung especially by women were not viewed as interesting. Since 1980, though, gender has been taken up with verve in several disciplines, including Finnish Folklore Studies (see, for example, Nenola 1986; Timonen 1989, 2004).

¹ "Tämä herkkämielinen nainen—hänen syvästä runollisuudestaan, joka ei ollut pelkkää ulkoaopitun kertaamista, ovat osoituksena ennen kaikkea hänen sanomattoman suloinen itkuvirtensä, joiden säkein hän tulkitsi ajatuksiaan vertaansa hacevalla taidokkuudella—oli saanut todellisen runon verenperinnön“ (Haavio 1985, 28).
The aspect that has not received much attention in previous research in the study of folklore material is the standpoint of the collectors. Certainly, one can observe that since most of the folk poetry collectors and interviewers were men, the gender gap made it difficult to obtain any information concerning intimate matters, such as menstruation or sexuality. In addition to sex and gender, there are several points that matter in these encounters that sometimes later grew into personal friendships. Moreover, it may be noted that these attachments have had an enormous impact on folklore archives as a whole, through a strong influence on other actors, such as following collectors, in the field of folkloristics. In other words, the commitments of respected collectors such as Elias Lönnrot were more influential, and their choices shaped the collection of poetry for a long time.

THE SINGER AND THE COLLECTOR

This study examines a rune singer-collector collaboration from the twentieth century. The singer under consideration is Anni Lehtonen (1866–1943), who came from Vuonninen, Viena Karelia, and the collector is Samuli Paulaharju (1875–1944), a writer, collector, and teacher from Oulu. The focus of this particular article involves material of Anni Lehtonen, recorded by Samuli Paulaharju between 1909 and 1915. Their collaboration is known to have continued until 1923, when the last letter from Lehtonen to Paulaharju arrived. After that, the unsettled situation in the Soviet Union made traveling difficult. Later, Lehtonen married again, this time to Hotatta Malinen (Šahtarina 1986; Laaksonen 1995). Anni Lehtonen died while fleeing Archangel in 1943, and she was buried in the village of Karataiha (Laaksonen 1995, 243).

In addition to their long period of working together, special features of the collaboration between Anni Lehtonen and Samuli Paulaharju include the richness of this material and, ironically, the lack of interest in it on the part of academic circles. Paulaharju’s work was formidable, at least in quantity, and Anni Lehtonen was seen as “the last rune singer” (see Niemi 1921; later Haavio [1943] 1985), but at first, Paulaharju’s collections were criticized for being too wide-ranging and the materials too diverse. His language was also criticized for being imprecise, and some of his collections were suspected of being at least partly invented (Venho 1968, 60). For decades, Paulaharju’s wide collection of proverbs was labelled untrustworthy (Kuusi [1971] 1985, 85).

The fear of mixed genres and inauthenticity was typical for folkloristics at the beginning of the twentieth century. The idea of collective oral tradition, and the aim of collecting and archiving all possible old folk poetry, was a mission that required authoritative sanction. In addition to the quality of the actual material, the recorder

2 The collaboration between Juha Pentikäinen and Marina Takalo reminds one of the case of Samuli Paulaharju and Anni Lehtonen in many ways. Marina Takalo, Pentikäinen’s interviewee, was from Oulanka, Viena Karelia, and she was also an illiterate, talented rune singer. This collaboration lasted for nine years up to the death of Marina Takalo (Pentikäinen 1971, 1978, 2011).
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of the data was also important. Paulaharju was not a respected academic collector; he was regarded rather as an uneducated and even difficult person who produced disordered, motley collections. Other self-taught collectors were coming under similar scrutiny (Kurki 2002). Paulaharju himself felt that he was ignored. He thought that better-educated, academic researchers were stealing his thunder because they were publishing books and academic dissertations based on the archival material he had collected (Harju 1989, 67).

**Written Dialogues and the Meaningful Third**

Most of the material in folklore archives is originally dialogue. Hence, I undertake to read it as such. I read these texts—for example lyrics, proverbs, and laments—as dialogues, or as parts of a dialogue. Thus, these texts are either answers or questions, or, more likely, they refer to some discussion. Further, discussions in this context might be also imaginary discussions, or even imaginary dialogues. These may be, for example, dialogues that have taken place inside one’s head, in a manner of speaking. Vincent Crapanzano has written about the question of “the Third” in his book *Hermes’ Dilemma & Hamlet’s Desire: On the Epistemology of Interpretation* (1992), in which he examines dialogues between—ostensibly—two people. The presence of *the Third, or Thirds*, is an essential factor in the analysis. According to Crapanzano, the Third “may be the voice of conscience [. . .] of various demons who may be ‘present’ at any human interchange: of God, in his omniscience and omnipotence; of the community, the party, and the cause; and most interestingly, of the other as the subject of transference” (Crapanzano 1992, 88).

Two Finnish folklorists, Armi Pekkala and Maria Vasenkari (2000), for instance, have applied this idea of the Third and of the close reading of texts as dialogues in the context of fieldwork interviews that they themselves conducted. In the case of written and archived material, the levels of dialogue cover not only the dialogues in the past, but also the dialogues in the present time and in the researcher’s academic imagination—and all the Thirds of all these (Seppä 2010a; 2010b).

The idea of conjuring the Third in the (imagined) conversation highlights the fact that invisible commitments are present in all intentions. For example, Paulaharju had his own thoughts concerning the academic scene. At the same time, he had his family commitments. It is likely that there is a host of Thirds lurking in the background.

Who, then, were Anni Lehtonen’s Thirds? It is probable that they were her neighbors, at the very least, who seem to be described in the poetry material implicitly as gossiping and even slightly hostile. The appreciation of her neighbors appears to have been important to Anni Lehtonen, and she seems to have believed that her collaboration with Paulaharju was something to be proud of. Marjut Harju, a biographer and Paulaharju’s granddaughter, describes Paulaharju’s visit to Vuonninen in 1915 as follows: “In Vuonninen the traveler came by Anni Lehtonen, who proudly
showed him around the village. ‘The entire neighborhood came to see this curiosi-
ty, an embarrassed Paulaharju wrote home in a letter’ (Harju 1989, 95, translation by author).

At the same time there is the question of religion as one of Anni Lehtonen’s
Thirds. Lehtonen was, as were most people in Viena at the beginning of the twen-
tieth century, an Old Believer (for more on Old Believers in the Viena Region, see
Shikalov 2007, 52–56; Pentikäinen 1971). Paulaharju’s proverb collection, under-
taken with Lehtonen, offers some evidence regarding her ambivalent relation to
religion:

When Anni is singing, it is like a cuckoo cuckooing. People have said of
me, Anni Lehtonen, the singer: A celebration cannot start if Anni is not
there singing. I am surely going to Hell, they will drag me down to the
depths of Hell, they say. That is the reason I would like to learn to read. I
do not believe what they say. ³ (Translation by author)

In this short text, Lehtonen reflects on the complex dialogues around her. In
the very first sentence it becomes clear that she is, no doubt, a singer specialist in her
own home village. But right after that, she reveals that her singing will banish her to
Hell, and that this is said by “them,” the other villagers, neighbors perhaps. And then
she says: I do not believe what they say. It seems that she reflects this judgment from the
perspective of the world in which Paulaharju lives, the perspective of literate people.
She denies this talk of “them” and muses that if only she could read, she could prove
them false. Here, she is clearly talking with the educated collector. It is a well-known
fact that the beliefs of the Old Believers were often problematic for the poetry col-
lectors. Sometimes singers refused to sing anything, because it was a räähkä, a sin.⁴
Anni Lehtonen adopts an outsider’s point of view and refuses to believe what she is
told.

**Gender, Shared Experience, Life-Course?**

One noteworthy question is: How did the singers experience their lives and how is
this aspect present in one singer’s poetry? How did the singers and the poetry collec-
tors experience their encounters with each other, and is it possible to uncover any
traces of the collector’s experience, too? The question of experience and, further,
shared experience is raised by my own stance, my own experience. I first stum-
bled onto this poetry material via a book called *Syntymä, lapsuus ja kuolema: Vienan

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³ Anni kun laulaa/ se on kuin käki kukkuu. Sanottu sanelijasta Anni Lehtosesta: Ei päässyt kisat alkamah jos
en mie ollun laulamas. Kyllä mie jouvn hetveltih, ne viö alimmaiseh hetveltih imehnisen, sanovat. Sill mie itse
tahtosin oppia lukomah. en mie uso mitä muut sanoo (Paulaharju SKS Jpa 9635).

⁴ Marja-Liisa Keinänen has noted that the räähkä system was not the purview of the Old Believers alone,
but general practice and collective tradition in Viena. It is just that the Old Believers restored this tradition
(Keinänen 2011, 162).
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Karjalan tapoja ja uskomuksia, [Birth, childhood and death: Traditions and beliefs in Viena Karelia] (Paulaharju [1924] 1995), an ethnological publication written by Samuli Paulaharju and edited with an epilogue by Laaksonen (1995). The material of the book comes down from Anni Lehtonen and the book is quite revelatory of perspectives on the two terminal stages of life: birth and death. When I first read the book, I wondered where the feelings, emotions, and physical experiences were. The text is ethnological, purely informative, and extremely general. I was expecting that the experiences of the informant—emotional and physical—would have been present in the text. The experience of being a parent seemed emotional and physical to me, and the lack of these elements in the text was utterly incomprehensible. This was the starting point for me, where I began to ask questions. Then I discovered that the editing process for Syntymä, lapsuus ja kuolema (1924) had been complicated, and that the manuscript had been shortened and revised a number of times. In the original manuscript, Paulaharju describes his informant in greater depth and shines a brighter light on her. He narrates the difficult turns of her life, as well as her great talent for traditional knowledge and singing. Most of this narrative text was removed by the publishing editor. During my examination of the book and the prior versions of the manuscript, it became clear to me that the collector originally wanted Anni Lehtonen’s voice to be heard in the text, even if it was supposed to be a general description of Viena Karelia. By comparing the manuscript and the final version of the book, it became obvious that Paulaharju had also intended to write about the emotions and experiences of Anni Lehtonen herself, but the publisher did not share this idea (Seppä 2007). After all this, I began to contemplate the idea of shared understanding, that the collector and the singer had had the same kinds of experiences in life, and that perhaps this was the reason for such an exceptionally extensive and diverse collection.

In one of her lyrical aphorisms, Anni Lehtonen says something interesting about being a mother, especially being a mother of several children: “Every mother raises one child; but when you have two to raise / it provokes your thoughts, it brands itself on your mind / what with your family in the cottage and children on the floor.” The original text reads, “Joka moamo se yhen lapsen kasvattah / vaan kun kahta kasvattah / siinä mieltä merkitäh / ajatusta annetah / kun on pere pirtissä / lapset lau-voilla” (SKS Jpa Paulaharju 8967, italics added for emphasis). This is the basis of my interpretation: these are the conditions of the data I interpret. This is the reason I am concentrating on emotions, family, children, and the contradiction between family and responsibilities versus ambitions outside the home or the family. The second reason is that these topics seem to be largely ignored in most of the earlier research conducted in folk poetry studies.

5 Renato Rosaldo has pondered the same kind of question in the context of ethnographic descriptions of funeral rituals and performances. According to him, they express denial of emotions: grieving and misery (Rosaldo 1989, 46–67; see also Behar 1996).
Hence, who are the people beyond these texts, Lehtonen and Paulaharju? What did they experience? What did they feel during their collaboration? Lehtonen was far away from home, her children were at home without any money, and there she was in Oulu, Finland, missing them. She sang her songs and laments in the home of Paulaharju, perhaps even taking care of his children (Harju 1989). What was she experiencing? What about Samuli Paulaharju, who was also a father, whose wife died during this collaboration, who left his children at home while out for long periods on collection excursions? What did he feel? Did Anni and Samuli recognize something familiar in each other? Might it be the misery, the responsibility of parenthood and the feeling of inadequacy, perhaps? The poetry of Lehtonen is full of misery and feelings of inadequacy as a mother, but it may reveal something of Paulaharju, too. Though he recorded only the material given to him by Lehtonen, it sometimes hints at Paulaharju’s own life. The subjects alone in the material reveal to us that Paulaharju had a deep understanding of family life. In this particular case, there is a large collection of children’s rhymes and lullabies, but this is also true in general for his collections. Contrasted with other collectors, this is indeed noteworthy. Laments seem to have been rare to Paulaharju: he collected laments from Anni Lehtonen, and this lament collection is large. But aside from this collection, there are but few laments that he recorded from other singers. Writing down these laments was a time-consuming process, nor was this very feasible under ordinary interview circumstances.

Lehtonen herself conveys a notion of understanding rooted in the body—her physical and emotional experiences—in her verses. In the context of the proverb, or lyrical aphorism, quoted above, her thoughts and worries mean almost the same thing: the number of worries increases with the more children you have. Still, it seems that Lehtonen created a distinctly personal combination of her own of collective proverb themes. Further, this means that she most likely stated something important, something personally significant.

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6 Anni Lehtonen traveled to Oulu several winters between 1909 and 1922 to earn money by carrying bricks and doing some household work such as laundry. It has been said that Lehtonen probably worked as a household helper in Paulaharju’s home (spoken information in a project-seminar from Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen 2007; see also Huttu-Hiltunen 2008). Paulaharju lived in Oulu at that time, and Marjut Harju has written that Lehtonen became close with Paulaharju’s first wife, Kreeta-Liisa, and their children too. It is not known if Paulaharju paid Lehtonen, but it seems likely; at least he seems to have been trying to help his other informants in general (Harju 1989).

7 It has been noted that the role of Paulaharju’s second wife, Jenny Paulaharju, née Simelius, was enormous in collection excursions and she is the reason for the exceptionally numerous collections (see Sinikara 1989). Her presence and contribution is an obvious explanation after 1919, but not before that. Samuli Paulaharju and Jenny Simelius did not marry until 1919 and undertook no common collection excursions before that. Still, in the Collection of Finnish Folk Poetry (SKVR, Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot), they have both been noted as collectors in the context of all Samuli Paulaharju’s material (see http://dbgw.finlit.fi/skvr/). This must be a misunderstanding, because Paulaharju collected almost all the material before 1919, and only by himself (Harju 1989).
The Laments: Narratives of Misery and Everyday Life?

All Anni Lehtonen’s material is to a great extent shaded by the misery of leaving her children home alone. This emotion can be heard in her lyrical songs, aphorisms, and the proverbs. More than any other genre, the laments represent emotions of misery and loss, as a specific genre of sorrow (Nenola 2002). Still, daily life with children is also vivid in the laments of Anni Lehtonen. For example, Lehtonen created laments about almost every need conceivable, including one or two on the topic of “trying to wake up a child in the morning.” Even though misery and sorrow are peculiar to the genre of laments, these themes are full of daily life, its routines and its joys, too. Naturally, there are laments cried for a dead husband or a mother or a child; these laments carry a totally different emotional charge. In the collection of Paulaharju and Lehtonen there is one lament called “A wife crying to her husband,” performed by Anni Lehtonen. This lament is very short and unfinished, and the collector has written the explanation in the end: “Cried Anni Lehtonen, whose husband died five years ago, she couldn’t continue for her crying” (SKS Jpa Paulaharju 4959, translated by author). As this document also reveals, laments were not only artistic singing performances, but also physical acts. Lamenting could take the singer along over her own will, and it was believed that it could be even dangerous: lamenting “too much” could take the singer too close to the underworld and the deceased (Paulaharju [1924] 1995, 187; Utriainen 2000, 227).

Lehtonen performed over two hundred laments for Paulaharju ([1924] 1995, 8), who, according to the archive material registers, lack experienced in collecting laments (Kerääjäluettelot [SKS Jpa Collector Registers]). In the context of Lehtonen and Paulaharju’s collaboration, these laments are evidence of the shared experiences that I have discussed earlier. Below, I first list the themes of the laments. Second, I present the most important laments, accompanied by a rough translation. Naturally, the language of laments is different from other genres. The language in question is not only Finnish or Karelian, it is the language of laments. I have transcribed the laments in the original language from the original, handwritten manuscripts. In the interpretative translations, I lean on the Dictionary of Karelian Language (Karjalan kielen sanakirja, http://scripta.kotus.fi/cgi-bin/kks/karjala.cgi?l=2&a=) and Sandra Stepanova, who has translated all the laments in the book Syntymä, lapsuus ja kuolema: Vienan Karjalan tapoja ja uskomuksia (Birth, childhood, and death: Traditions and beliefs in Viena Karelia) (Paulaharju [1924] 1995). Most of the laments in the book were performed by Lehtonen and all of them are from Viena Karelia, so the interpretation must be somewhat relevant in here (Stepanova 1996).

Laments are traditional, ritual performances, commonly used in the context of transitional phases, such as deaths or weddings. The laments are also seen as rites of passage. It was common for singers to perform laments in daily situations, and these laments are most commonly created in the situation itself. Lehtonen seems to have
been very productive in creating such situational or temporary laments, *tilapääitkut* in Finnish. Despite the concept “situational” or “temporary,” these laments carry all the characteristics of the traditional, artistic lamenting ritual and performance. One list of laments in Paulaharju’s collection is of particular interest. Below, I present the list of the names of the laments, the first ones in the list concerning daily life and household work:

Laments, cried by Anni Lehtoni, a forty-three-year-old woman from Vuonninen, recorded by Samuli Paulaharju in Oulu in 1911. [Itkuvirsiä, Itkeskeli Anni Lehtoni 43-vuot. Vuonnisen eukko. muist. kirjoitti Samuli Paulaharju Oulussa 1911]

Fishing (Kalalla oltaessa)
Fishing and listening to cuckoos (Kalalla oltaessa kun käki kukahteelee)
Haymaking, when it starts to rain (Heinällä, kun sade sattuu)
Cutting the sprigs (Lehen leikkoannassa)
Harvesting (Peltuo leikkatessa)
In the drying barn (Riihessä)
Crop failure (Kato kun tulee)
Cutting down the pine tree (Kun petäjää mennäh leikkoamah)
Gathering firewood in the winter forest (Talvella metsässä puita noutamassa)

Coming home from work at night (Illalla työstä tultaessa)
Picking berries (Marjassa)
In the summer, when the weather is warm (Kesällä, kun on lämmin seä)
When the eavestroughs are leaking (Räystäät kun vajattaa)
Grinding the millstone (Kiveä jauhaissa)
Spring cleaning one’s cottage (Suurella pesulla kun pestäh pirttiin)
Doing the laundry (Vaatteiden pesulla)
Spinning (Kesrätessä)
Sewing (Ommellessa)
Waking up a child in the morning (Lasta aamulla herätettäessä)
When the church bells chime (Kirkon kellojen soidessa)
Listening to the bells (Kellojen soittoa kuullessa)
When your son is leaving to the army (Soldataks kun poika lähtee)
When your son is coming back from being in the army (Kun poika palaa kotiin soldattana oltuaan) 8

When your husband treats you badly (Kun mies kohtelee pahasti)
To a brother, when he gets angry (Veljelle, kun se suuttuu)

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8 The theme of a son going to the army is common in laments, and it still appears to be a common concern of mothers in both Karelia and Russia today (SKS Jpa JpaN 60–78 1999).
When a husband is smoking (Kun mies tupakoi)
When a child is crying (Lapsen itkiessä)
When a child is in pain (Kun lapsi on kivuloisena)
When a bear kills a cow (Karhu kun lehmän koataa)
When a horse falls into quagmire (Kun heponen joutuu hettieh)

(SKS Jpa Paulaharju 4947–4979, litteration and translation by author)

Even if the manner of producing laments in daily life situations is common for laments in general, the laments seem to reveal much about Anni Lehtonen’s own life. Laments tell us about daily life, household work (doing the laundry, sewing), and the ordinary difficulties with family members (trying to wake up a child, a brother getting angry, a husband smoking).

The next laments concern situations of the moment, being away from home. In the first lament, the singer is returning home from the foreign region, she thinks back to the winter she has spent away from home, and she describes her longing and misery, her children, daughters and sons, waiting at home for her. The singer also describes the feelings in her heart and the feelings of guilt for abandoning her children. The singer also hopes for good weather for the journey home. I have translated the main gist of the lament, but one should note that in the original text the description of poor children and the apparent self-accusation are repeated in many variations:

Leaving for home from the foreign region (Kotiin lähtiessä vierailta seuduulta)

I am leaving, miserable me, from the foreign region towards my own and familiar region. I feel so miserable because of my little children, daughters and sons, waiting for me, far away at home. I will return home, after a long winter, where I have been here far away. I am in burning pain and feel guilt in my heart because my little children are at home alone without anyone to take care of them. I hope the Blessed (Spuassu) will send good weather so that I can leave for home to my little ones. 9 (Translation by author)


Niin on turtivolla vartuollan kun ollah tuuvittamaiseni tunnon armottomii, da aivan turvattomina omilla tunnon-ylenentä puolusillan tunnon etähäisiien matkojen peähysissä.

Niistä on turtivolla vartuollan tulen palavaiset tuskaset dii tuukisaet tunnon alenneltavaisina tunnon tuhmissa seinälasissani.

Kun asettelis armas spuassusen ankarat ahavascähyöt, läksisin, ankeh-vartuoni, aijan omattomilta puolusiltta armahie ilmasie assuksentelomah, kujin olen aijan olovat aikaset aijan omattomilla puolusilla armahie ilmasie aijan koallellun, da aikomien avotyöhysie asetellun.
It is possible to imagine a dialogue between the laments of Anni and the laments of her daughter, Olga Lehtonen. Samuli Paulaharju wrote down one of Olga Lehtonen’s laments. She was twelve years old when she performed this lament:

I am sitting by the window, in low spirits,
While my mother is so far away
I have no one, I am all alone.

(Laaksonen 1995, 232, translation by author)\textsuperscript{10}

Paulaharju’s first collection of Anni Lehtonen’s laments includes one that she created for the collector himself. In this lament, Lehtonen discusses Paulaharju’s work as a teacher in a school for deaf children. Lehtonen also broods over not only the special character of the children in the school, but also the fact that Paulaharju has to leave to teach “children raised by other people.” The idea of the lament, in brief, is as follows:

I will leave today over the river to take care of other people’s children.
I will leave to take care of these children. I will leave, even though the weather is horrible, it is snowing, over the wide river. I will guide these children who, poor children, cannot say a word.\textsuperscript{11} (Translation by author)

There is a lot of subtle, implied information hidden in these laments, although sometimes it is even obvious. To be understood as such, the laments need to be read in the context of the encounters, in the context of discussion and dialogue, in the interrelationships of living, existing, emotional people.

\textsuperscript{10} Ikävissäni istun ikkunankorvasissa/ kun on itvojaiseni/ innon etähäisien matkojen peässä/ kun olen innon armotoin/ kun olen ilman lintusista innollisista innon armotoin.

\textsuperscript{11} Lähen vaimala vartuoni vall’aiksentelomah/ näinä päivä varreksuisina poikki valta vetjäisi/ muien voalimia lapsie vallan silmittelmäh.

Lähen turtivo vartuoni tunnon silmittelmäh/ näinä päivä-tuomeksuisina/ muien tuuvittelemie lapsie, kun on tunnon ankarat tuutsta-seahyöt/ ja monenloaitset tupruilmaset/ tunnon etähäisien matkojen peähäh/ poikki tulvakologamäen lähen oneh-vartuoni opastelomah/ muien ottamie lapsie/ kun on ne ottamaiset lapset/ monien op-pien oiveltelemattomat lähen niille soarnumien lapsilla/ sanusie soarn anojittelolomah/ kuin ei yksikänä sanasie/ soarnumien laps set voija sanella.

Lähen malkivo vartuoni mahtelolomah niitä mainumien lapsie/ cikö voitalis, jos min sanullisie mahtie/ rupielä malhtettelo/ jos on manank ankarat sajesähyöt/ mairehella spuassusellä/ näinä päivä-malitvoisina.

Lähen, sammu vartuoni/ niille soarnumien lapsilla/ sanasii soarn anojittelolomah/ kun o inclusive spuassu/ minkänä soarnallissie sanasie/ soarn anojittelul soavehien ilmojen peälä/ soarn scätylaikasina/ jos on soarn nan ankarat sajesähyöt/ näinä päivä-soalostisina.

Lähen, oneh-vartuoni/ muien ottamie opastelomah/ kaiken oimullish hyvih oppisih/ kun allah kaikkien op-pien oiveltelemattomat/ orheijen ilmojen peälä/ lähen, turtivo vartuoni/ jos on tuprahat tuutsaçehyöt/ näinä päivätuomeksuisina kuin ei ole tuuvis spuassu/ antan heille minkänän tunnollisie tuumasie/ tuuvhehi ilmojen peälä.

Eikö voitalis rupiele tuumaksentelomah/ jos minkä tunnollisie tuumasie. (SKS Jpa Paulaharju 4982)
Shared Understanding?

It is readily discernible that a deep understanding existed between this collector and singer. They shared the experience of parenting, absence from their own families, and, eventually, the loss of a spouse. These kinds of incidents that are part of the collector’s experiences are rarely, if ever, apparent, but they appear significant. Paulaharju himself did not draw attention to these connections, but a few letters remain proving that they experienced these feelings. For example, during the collection excursions after his wife had died, Paulaharju wrote to his colleague Jenny Simelius (who was to become Paulaharju’s second wife), describing the contradictions between his own ambitions and the needs of his children:

It gives me great pleasure to travel around and to interview old people in the outlying villages, and to come alive through the memories of these old folks. Isn’t this rather crazy, a selfish rapture, mania? That intensity in me is stronger than anything else. Every summer I have left my family longing for me because of my obsession, many times I have exhausted myself because of that. Of all things, I have cut my family out because of that. Truly, my friend; isn’t that selfish to seek one’s own desire? And I still wish that I was able to carry on with that, as long as I’m able to walk by myself. Those poor children of mine! I certainly would want to take care of them, poor orphans, who have no mother anymore (nor father, referring to previous). And Poor Paula, she is so little and would need a lot of care! She draws pictures for me and sends them to me. To me, who occasionally stays at home being restless and then abandon her again and again. Isn’t this selfish? Seriously, my life is not harmonious nor has it direction. Waving about here, waving there. No matter how old I am, I certainly do not know myself.12 (From a letter sent to Jenny Simelius April 22, 1918, Harju 1989, 116, translation by author.)

Hence, it appears clear that the rune collectors have had emotional experiences that have influenced their work, but do we know if they shared these feelings with their interviewees? There is some evidence of this. In some cases, it is possible

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to deduce something about the written material, but sometimes this evidence has been written right into the poetry itself. For example, the singers often created certain laments for ephemeral circumstances, usually when the collector was leaving for home. Collectors, of course, wrote these laments down, too. In these laments, singers ponder the misery and the difficulties of the other, of the collector, and even introduce the crying self. Hence, it is possible for us to understand the kinds of themes they discussed during their collaborations, even though now it is only the answers that remain.

While examining the material lists of the collector Samuli Paulaharju in the Folklore Archives, it appears that there are only a few laments collected in areas other than Viena or Vuokkiniemi. Hence, even if Paulaharju was repeatedly mentioned as a collector who collected everything, it seems that his material is not that encompassing after all. Most of the laments he wrote down came from Anni Lehtonen, and, to a lesser degree, from Anni’s mother, Okahvie Bogdanoff, and from Anni’s daughter, Olga Lehtonen, as well as from Stephanie Lesoni, Matro Perttuni, Stephanie Karhuni, Tatjana Karhuni, and “the wife of Hilippa,” who even presented a lament concerning the collector himself:

Traveling in the Foreign Countries

I keep rolling all over the world in strange regions and foreign countries / where I can find all kinds of people who seem to look at me with hostility / And it seems that I cannot even move without these books of mine and all the notebooks I keep filling with my writing / I just have to write down everything / even if so much writing already exists. But my little children without a father or a mother / they are waiting for me at home, far away / I cannot tell you how much I miss them. (The wife of Hilippa, Sappuvaara, July 20, 1915, SKS Jpa Paulaharju 6207, translation by author.)

Hence, it seems that Paulaharju has evoked the same image of children waiting at home for him that is present in at least two rune singers or interviewees. It seems obvious that the theme has come up even if Paulaharju has not explicated it in his own texts; the notion of reflexivity was still far off in the future.

Lotte Tarkka writes about “Widow’s song” (Lesken laulu), taken down from Anni Lehtonen, as follows: “The interrelationship between the ego of the poem and its singer is open. Anni says she has learnt it from her mother; yet it needs to be

related to her life situation as well” (Tarkka 2005, 189; see also DuBois 2006). This logical idea also goes further: even if Paulaharju wrote down the poetry of other people, which among other things brings up themes of being alone far away from home and the misery of children waiting at home alone, these themes do necessarily relate to his own life, too. This is a fact, because we know they do. This lived, experienced understanding and these shared emotions may be the reasons why these significant data, emanating from this one person, even exist in the archives. Until performance-centered or autobiographic ideas were taken up by the academy, this thinking was not at all common. Even in Paulaharju’s own material, the Lehtonen case is exceptional.

Thus, the idea of the marked mind recurs at every level of interpretation. First, the singer, Anni Lehtonen, interprets the material learned from older relatives and shapes it for her own needs. Then, the collector, Samuli Paulaharju, interprets this information from his own point of view—and this interpretation already informs the questions posed to the interviewee. Most importantly, it (pre)determines the material. This means that the material we are now able to access in the archives was already shaped by at least two interpretative processes—separate from the selection process of the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society itself. The third layer of interpretation is then my own lens: the interpretative, reflective researcher. My interpretative implements are necessarily and naturally selective: my focus is parenthood and family, which outlines and stresses these themes in the material. Consequently, this series of interpretations is not only the chain of marked minds but also living, experiencing bodies. Emotions and experiences related to family life include not only love, joy, and attachment, but also responsibility and insufficiency, contradictions between solicitude and personal ambitions. All these mixed feelings are probably familiar to most parents of the present time, and modern discourse tends to stress this contradiction as being stronger than ever before. However, the experience of this distress present in these texts transcends time.

Even though folk poetry is sometimes seen as foreign, maybe even a little obscure, and definitely strange to the uninitiated, it has a lot to do with our past and present, and even with our future. When we render these texts more familiar, they remind us of something in ourselves, in our language, and even our physical emotions and reactions. According to the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, not only do we think about the myths, but the myths think in us. I would take this one step further: the myths are experienced in our bodies and shape our thinking through that, whether we are consciously aware of them or not.
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TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE: FAMILY CAPITAL AND UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG FINNISH FORESTRY EMPLOYEES IN THE EXTENDED 1950s

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ABSTRACT
The article focuses on the questions of the vocational choice, education, and occupation of forestry employees in post-WWII Finland. Extensive oral history material and biographical interviews with Finnish forestry officers and foresters illuminate the concepts of family capital and upward social mobility at the individual, everyday level. In Finland, occupations in forestry are often inherited. The sons of forestry employees profit from family capital as they become forestry employees themselves, and there are many so-called “forestry families” in Finland. Because the situation in Finland after the war strongly favored education, young men were encouraged to educate themselves in the hope of obtaining a better future, economically and socially, for themselves, and also to provide more skilled workers for the nation. The pursuit and acquisition of upward social mobility, occupational prestige, and higher socio-economic positions as compared to their fathers was typical for these forestry employees, as well as the whole of Finnish society in the extended 1950s. The article was written as part of a project called Happy Days? The Everyday Life and Nostalgia of the Extended 1950s, led by Professor Hanna Snellman of Jyväskylä University and Helsinki University and financed by the Academy of Finland.

In post-war Finland, work in forestry offered suitable and respected positions for numerous men willing to take part in rebuilding the country. The forests were no longer just the destiny of the unskilled and the poor who had to seek their livelihood as forest workers and lumberjacks, or a sector with jobs for a few educated white-collar workers, officials, and foresters. Men were presented with more alternatives.
Who were these men who chose forestry after the Second World War? How did their social conditions and family backgrounds, in general, affect their ways of life and their decisions? And despite the existence of choice, were the alternatives easily and equally accessible to every Finnish young man seeking a better living?

From the late nineteenth century on, Finland gradually became a society in which education mattered. During the twentieth century, education came to be the crucial channel to greater social mobility and individual opportunity and to the obtaining of a better life and livelihood (Heikkinen and Leino-Kaukiainen 2011a, 11–12; Stark 2006b, 22–24, 33–34; Pöntinen 1983, 110, 120). The process towards educational equality started with the establishment of primary schools from the 1860s on, and it was reinforced by the Compulsory Education Act in 1921. The aim was to educate all children regardless of their gender, social class, or place of residence. However, the system that was created led to a further division between the elite and the common people, as education was arranged in two parallel but different school systems that were unequal in terms of content. A primary school with, from the 1950s on, follow-up courses, was meant for ordinary people. Some children, in the countryside, even went to so-called “reduced primary schools.” Others, the children of parents belonging to the upper social classes and town residents, went to primary schools that were followed by lower and upper secondary schools. They received a longer and more thorough education, which also enabled them to go to university. Before the Second World War, nearly 80 percent of all Finnish children attended primary schools. Until the 1950s, only a very small proportion of young persons attended secondary schools. After that, the number of pupils in secondary schools rose, partly because education in municipal secondary schools became free and partly as a result of the baby boom. This division into primary school pupils and secondary school pupils was still clearly evident in post-war Finland until the comprehensive school reform of 1972. Before that year, children’s educational paths bifurcated very early, depending on their social background and place of residence (Leino-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen 2011, 22–27; Tuomaala 2011, 104–10; Jauhiainen 2011, 117; Kaarninen 2011, 409, 419, 426; Ahonen 2003, 18, 64, 77, 102, 105–108; Tuomaala 2004, 71–75).

Nevertheless, education gradually came to be seen as a normal part of childhood and as a way towards advancement and a better life. It played a central role in recruiting new members into the middle class (Heikkinen and Leino-Kaukiainen 2011a, 13; Leino-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen 2011, 16, 25; Stark 2006b, 20, 24). For many, however, everyday life still brought great concern over concrete material matters and obtaining a decent livelihood. School and education were needed not so much for their own intrinsic value but as a means to obtain a proper occupation that would ensure one’s daily bread (Heikkinen 2011, 39, 72). For this, a primary education was not enough, and further vocational training was
required (Jauhiainen 2011, 119). The establishment of vocational education generally was set up quite late in Finland, although agriculture and forestry, for example, seem to be exceptions in this respect. The development of vocational education in all branches often started with the training of foremen and skilled workers and later expanded to include other workers (Klemelä 1999, 349–52; Ahonen 2003, 110; Paaskoski 2012a, 97–104; see also Stark 2006b, 11–12).

THE TRAINING OF FORESTRY EMPLOYEES AND OCCUPATIONS IN FORESTRY

When forestry and the forest industries became a defining element of the Finnish economy in the nineteenth century, there soon arose a fundamental need to train forestry employees not only abroad but also in Finland in order to serve the needs of the country (Paaskoski 2012b, 49–55; Klemelä 1999, 139–42; see also Leinon-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen 2011, 31–32). Forestry training and the state forestry administration were developed and seen as a three-level structure. This structure was in the main copied to other forestry organizations as well. At the lowest level were forest workers, lumberjacks, men without any vocational training until the 1960s. On the highest level were university-educated forestry officers (metsänhoitaja). In the middle were foresters, who were designated by several different titles depending on their training, position, and the period concerned. In the 1950s, they were named forestry foremen (metsätyöntoijat), foresters, or forestry technicians (metsäteknikko); regardless of their title, they always held a higher or lower supervisory position in forestry (Paaskoski 2008, 116–18). In this article, foresters with higher education are called forestry officials, and all forest technicians and forestry foremen with a lower level of education are called foresters. The umbrella term forestry employees is used to cover both groups. Both these occupational groups belong to the white-collar stratum in forestry.

As the whole of Finnish society in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was highly hierarchal, these two groups of forestry employees also generally drew their members from different social classes. The recruitment of new members into various vocations started to change gradually in the latter half of the twentieth century as Finland became a state that offered more equal educational opportunities. In 1950, one half of the population still earned its livelihood from agriculture and forestry, and since urbanization did not begin on a larger scale until the 1960s, it was quite natural that the family background of forestry employees lay mostly in the countryside, in agriculture and forestry (Koli 1952, 9–16: Leinon-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen 2011, 20; Heikkinen 2011, 44; Pihkala 1982a, 387, Wiman 1982, 494).

From the 1940s to the 1960s, the only faculty of agriculture and forestry was at Helsinki University. Only upper secondary students could apply for entrance to the university (Halonen 2008; Paaskoski 2008, 40–54). There were, however, other ways of becoming a forester. The Forestry School Act in 1922 renamed forest ranger
schools “forestry colleges,” and forest rangers became foresters (forestry technicians). A couple of new colleges were established, and the number of pupils doubled in the 1930s. Even more colleges opened after the war, as there was a great need for trained foresters. Forester training was, in fact, divided into two different levels. One was intended to train actual foresters (forestry technicians) while the other existed to train those forest workers regarded as capable of supervising forest work to be forestry foremen. In reality, this distinction was not always quite so clear-cut with regard to the work tasks involved (Klemelä 1999, 250–51).

In the period from the 1940s to the 1960s, one could choose to apply to one of five or six state forestry colleges or to one of six private forestry colleges. Pupils had to graduate from a primary school before applying to the forestry colleges. Additionally, it was possible to study forestry in agricultural colleges or to take short courses in the private colleges of forestry organizations, aimed primarily at providing forest owners with more silvicultural expertise. Most of these colleges and institutions were located in southern and central Finland, but there were also a couple of colleges further north, in northern Savo and Lapland (Klemelä 1999, 142, 250–53).

A few men still achieved positions as foreman without any formal training, but rather just by proving themselves to be able workers at forest work sites and in
forestry companies. It seems that roughly 10 percent of those who started working in forestry during the period from the 1940s to the 1960s and ended up as foremen never received any proper training of any length for the position. These men were called “long-haul men”; they learnt their work by doing and, according to their own words, were trained “by hunger.”

Casual and permanent posts in forestry were offered by the National Board of Forestry, numerous forest industry companies, and private forestry organizations. Permanent jobs were usually only for forestry officials and foresters. Until the 1960s, forest workers were usually casual labor. Temporary work was also available in many other forestry duties, including jobs as assistant foremen and trainees. In any case, one’s education, occupation, and position were still tightly intertwined; they all reinforced the prevailing hierarchical social structures in forestry (Paaskoski 2008, 117).

THE EXTENDED 1950s AND THE LIFE STORIES OF FORESTRY EMPLOYEES

This article focuses on the period of the extended 1950s, as it is defined in a project called Happy Days? The Everyday Life and Nostalgia of the Extended 1950s. The aim of the project is to question and re-examine our understanding of the 1950s as a relevant periodization between the Second World War and the 1970s; this article is one attempt to consider the length and happiness of “the 1950s” in forestry and the everyday life of forestry professionals. The extended 1950s can be interpreted here as the period from the 1940s to the 1960s because the time between the war and the 1970s constituted a special epoch both for Finnish forestry and for the whole of Finnish society (e.g., Pihkala 1982a, 387). The phrase “peace transition crisis” has been used to describe shorter or longer post-war periods that involve difficulties for individuals and society as a whole in adapting to everyday peacetime life. Despite the official talk of reconstruction and returning to peace, after the war individuals in Finland and Finnish society as a whole faced a situation that was different from the pre-war reality (Karonen 2006, 19–20; Karonen and Tarjamo 2006, 400–401).

The country had to deal with a great many new challenges: Finland had lost about 12 percent of its forest area to the Soviet Union as a result of the war; reconstruction was under way; war reparations had to be paid to the Soviet Union; and the evacuees of the ceded territories as well as the war veterans had to be relocated. In this situation, Finland’s forests were seen as a national treasure and the salvation of the country. More skilled forest workers, foresters, and forestry officials were needed to develop forestry and thereby to obtain more income for society from it. As efficiency was more crucial than ever before, the whole system—forestry

1 Happy days? The Everyday Life and Nostalgia of the Extended 1950s is led by Professor Hanna Snellman of Jyväskylä University and Helsinki University and financed by the Academy of Finland (project number 137923). I thank all the members of the project for inspiring discussions and especially Professor Hanna Snellman and doctoral student Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, for their excellent comments on my manuscript.
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organizations, working methods, tools and employees—needed to be developed. The period from the 1940s to the 1960s became an era in forestry that witnessed many new fundamental projects in mechanization, education, and reorganization, etc. (Paaskoski 2008, 45–50).

My research is based on two observations, which are expressed in the concepts family capital and upward social mobility. First, it has been noted that in Finland occupations in forestry are often inherited. The sons of forestry employees become forestry employees themselves, and there are many so-called “forestry families” in Finland. The same is true of many other occupations and professions in Finnish society. The Swedish ethnologist Susanne Lundin has used a term family capital, which makes it easy for a son to take up his father’s occupation as he has already been socialized into it in his childhood (Borda and Lundin 1986). The term originates from the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who defined the concept symbolic capital as well as related concepts of social, cultural, and economic capital as part of his ideas about culture and social class.

Even if inspired by Bourdieu, Lundin has used the concept of symbolic capital in her own ethnological way when writing about the early twentieth-century typographers. The typographer families had family capital, values and a lifestyle connected to their vocation and social status, and this was passed to their children who were early socialized into it and could easily choose the same vocation. The idea of family capital has been further applied in Finnish ethnological research specifically with regard to forestry occupations (Snellman 1996, 129; Paaskoski 2008, 56–57).

Secondly, because the situation in Finland after the war strongly favored education, young men were encouraged and even pushed to go to school and educate themselves in the hope of obtaining an economically and socially better future—and in order to get more skilled workers for society (e.g., Jauhiainen 2011, 111). In terms of social mobility, I am interested in individual and intergenerational upward social mobility, i.e., how individuals acquire more occupational prestige and a higher socio-economic position than their fathers (Pöntinen 1983, 17–18). Even if social class is a relevant concept for social mobility, it is not possible to define my oral history informants as representatives of exact social classes. That is why I consider their social mobility in relation to their education rather than their social class.

In this article, forestry employees’ life stories, constructed and formulated several decades later by the forestry employees themselves, are provided in order to illuminate the concepts of family capital and upward social mobility at the individual everyday level. My questions concern not only these concepts but also the effects of modernization on vocational choice, education, and occupation. The answers lie in the individual life stories. It is interesting and fruitful to compare forestry officers’ and foresters’ life stories and their detailed individual content with reference to the research concepts. However, I place more emphasis on the experiences of the latter
group, foresters, whose life stories have mostly been neglected in earlier research, and who are, in this article, even more relevant to my research interests.

The article is based on biographical interviews with Finnish forestry officers and foresters, conducted in the years 1999–2002 in connection with a project called *Forestry Professionals in a Changing Society*. The interviews follow more or less the same structure: all interviewees were asked about their life stories and their vocational choices, education, work, careers, and experiences in the Finnish forestry sector. As such, these interviews could be called *working life stories*. Of this extensive material, comprising altogether 630 life histories of forestry officers and foresters, I have selected only those men who chose their careers and received an education during the research period. Forestry officers usually started their studies at the age of eighteen or nineteen, having first gone through a primary, secondary, and upper secondary school, and after doing their military service. By contrast, the educational path of foresters was seldom as linear as this, as will later become apparent. Before applying to forestry colleges, it was necessary to have completed one’s military service. In order to study their vocational careers, it is also necessary to examine their earlier years. The Winter War (1939–40) and the Continuation War (1941–44) make this timeline even longer and more complicated. Because of the war, a particularly long period of birth dates, circa 1921–47 (for forestry officers) and 1925–47 (for foresters), has to be taken into account. Altogether 103 interviews with the forestry officers born in the period 1921–47 and 182 interviews with foresters, born in the years 1925–47 were conducted. Both groups belong to age cohorts characterized either by poor education or by educational growth and inequality. For the former, education was generally seen as an ideal and life as a struggle; for the latter, education was a means, but work was the real content of life (Kauppila 1996, 47).

I have used the interviews in two different ways. First, I have adopted a quantitative approach: by examining the entire material statistically, it is possible to estimate roughly to what extent their fathers’ occupations and their families’ social positions and ways of life affected the sons’ decisions and futures, i.e., how common family capital and upward social mobility were among these men. The figures relating to the actual experiences can be extremely interesting (Paaskoski 2008, 22, 186), and they also justify the relevance of the research questions that I have chosen for this article. However, as the interview material was not collected for quantitative research, I do not present the quantities in figures but in words, in a way as approximate values. This is more in line with my oral history perspective; the results

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2 This project of the Finnish Forest History Society, the Finnish Forest Museum (Lusto), and Helsinki University Department of Ethnology was led by Hanna Snellman and financed by the Metsämiesten Säätiö Foundation. More than a thousand forestry employees of different ages and with diverse occupations, positions, and educational backgrounds were interviewed all around Finland between 1999 and 2002 (*Forestry Professionals A02001*; Paaskoski 2008, 146). For more details about the project, see Snellman et al. 2002; Snellman 2005, 145–148. All the oral history quotations in this article have been translated by Leena Paaskoski.
of qualitative oral history research have also been regarded as approximate values (Ylijoki 2004, 27–28; Korkiakangas 2005, 145).

Secondly, and more specifically, I have adopted a qualitative approach, focusing on the interviewees’ individual life stories with regard to their education and future careers. For this purpose, I have selected a smaller number of interviews, which I have interpreted and analyzed as narratives of childhood and youth, taking into account stories of vocational choice in particular. All the narrators, twenty-three forestry officers and fifty foresters, are sons of foresters, forest workers, farmers, or smallholders, or have some other important forestry influence in their backgrounds. They all also ended up with higher levels of education than their fathers. My central concepts in this research, family capital and upward social mobility, are combined and manifested in all these stories. The tellers explain more profoundly how they became forestry professionals, what the processes through which they arrived at their vocational choices were like, and what were the attitudes of their parents towards their aspirations and decisions. The concepts of family capital and upward social mobility are studied and made visible at the level of individuals, daily life, and the real social situations which the interviewees themselves describe and explain as part of their life stories.

**Family capital: “The forest claims its own”**

Various studies that have pointed out the connection between the social background of Finnish forestry employees and their vocational choices (e.g., Koli 1952; Elovainio 1963; Elovirta and Ihalainen 1984) are strongly corroborated in the interviews. Nearly half of the forestry officers and most of the foresters who started their studies in the extended 1950s were sons of either forestry employees (including forest workers) or sons of farmers and smallholders. As farms almost always included some forested land, the members of farming families were also occupied in forest work. Moreover, smallholders were often forced to find extra income outside their own holdings, and most of them did so by working as lumberjacks or horse tenders on the forest work sites of forestry companies and the National Board of Forestry. Forest work was thus available in the countryside, and it did not as yet demand any special training: “[1951], well it was the time of the Korean [War] economic crisis. [In] ’51 and ’52, I suppose there was so much work to be done in forestry that even kids were good enough.” The number of smallholders had radically increased as a consequence of landowning reforms in the 1910s and 1920s and the relocation of the war veterans and evacuees after the war (Vihola 2004, 356-60; Roiko-Jokela 2004, 56–58). Family capital was, therefore, a visible phenomenon in post-war Finnish forestry.

When asked about the reasons for their choice of vocation, the forestry officers often referred to the environment and a way of life that they had experienced in their childhood on farms in the countryside. This was their own interpretation
of family capital. It was only natural to choose forestry as they knew the work and had usually even taken part in it with their fathers and relatives. In addition to their familiarity with forest work, their motives included hunting and various other activities associated with forests (see also Paaskoski 2008, 55−56). Another factor that made the choice of vocation was that in many cases their fathers, uncles or brothers, for example, had already made the same decision and become foresters: “I was born into the family of a forest technician with the Kymi Company. So, a sort of forester’s seed was sown in me” (see also Paaskoski 2008, 55−56). Previous work experience in forestry before applying to the university was recommended from the 1930s on and compulsory from the 1950s on; this, too, could reinforce a forestry officer’s sense of familiarity and reassure him that he had made the right vocational choice (Paaskoski 2008, 59−61). Generally, the vocational choice narratives of the forestry officers portray a “normal,” happy childhood without any dramatic turns or greater difficulties that might have affected the making of educational and vocational choices in the future.

The life conditions of those who became foresters usually differed from the circumstances of forestry officers, but they were surprisingly similar to one another. Most of the foresters grew up in big families and on very small farms, which were former crofts or post-war settlement farms for evacuees or war veterans. The large number of such small farms as well as the fact that more than half of the Finnish population still lived in the countryside made this childhood experience extremely common among members of these generations. Families became even larger with the post-war baby-boom in the years 1945−50. (Pihkala 1982b, 342−46; Suomen taloushistoria 3 (1983), 40−41; Kietäväinen 2009, 11−12; Virtanen and Kietäväinen 2008, 38−46, 70−72, 105−108; Karisto 2005, 17−22).

The interviewees often referred to or described their childhood poverty in some detail. It was not only a result of the small size of the farms and the big families, but also of a lack of education or work, the depression of the 1930s, wartime and post-war economic difficulties, or some family misfortune. Shortages and poverty, combined with hard drudgery, were, in general, common experiences in the lives of the baby-boom generations and their parents’ in Finland (Häkkinen et al. 2005, 63, 82; Stark 2011, 14).

Talking about poverty often takes stereotypical forms in individual life stories, as the ethnologist Laura Stark has emphasized. The life of a poor person is full of holes to be filled and repaired—holes in clothes, cottages, food supplies, and income (Stark 2006a, 67; see also Stark 2011, 14−16). This is the case with the foresters as well; they follow these cultural norms of narrating poverty when they tell of snakes slipping into a cottage because its floor was so bad, and water that froze in a bucket because the cottage was so cold. Children went out one at a time because there was only one pair of shoes in the family, and, owing to a lack of food, they were forced to
fill their stomachs with small birds (see Korkiakangas 1996, 104; Virkkunen 2010, 74, 108). Poverty is often given as an explanation for the fact that a teller is not better educated (Stark 2006a, 60). Another way in which the narrators described their poverty was by emphasizing the smallness or remoteness of their homes.

Even when the foresters are describing their very early years, they devote a central position in their stories to work and money. Agriculture and the way of life on small farms partly involved child labor; it was taken for granted that as soon as children were able to do so, they too took part in the work of the household.

Child labor was connected partly to poverty; many started their working lives outside the home between the ages of ten and twelve. Boys followed their fathers to the almost only places in the vicinity where work was available, forest work sites, where they at first helped adults or were given other simple jobs like debarking, for which they even received a wage of their own (see also Häkkinen et al. 2005, 67–68; Stark 2011, 105; Virkkunen 2010, 50–51; Virtanen and Kietäväinen 2008, 174–82).

This taught them early on an appreciation of money and its importance in life. Money was needed more than education, and attendance at primary school was disrupted when the children went to work in the forests instead. Money was a quick way of getting things. In such circumstances, the primary school teachers, too, often understood this and saw the importance of forest work.

The first earnings I remember in my primary school days, when there was a logging site, and logs were debarked with a debarking iron in springtime, and I, too, was there debarking those logs as well, partly during school time, partly after school, and so I got my first earnings and my first bicycle.

And, already as schoolboys, we went debarking, and so I got my first wages by debarking, to buy trousers. And we were lucky to go to the so-called reduced primary school. So there was time for debarking.

Debarking logs especially was a common job for young boys, and as the money was their most important motive in work, they sometimes even described their first job as “debarking money.” To get their own money was their “greatest experience.” Learning to work, in general, was seen as the most important way of growing up and becoming a proper hard-working adult: “... a man was a dud if he couldn’t work. So it was in my family; so it was in the life of that whole village; there weren’t many other ideas—just working and succeeding in forest work” (see also Tuomaala 2004, 89). Until the 1940s and 1950s, child labor and the ethos of hard work seem to be the elements that most commonly structure the narration of the Finnish agrarian childhood (Korkiakangas 1996, 327–28, see also Hoikkala 1999, 419, 421–22).
When one reads the stories of foresters, the parents’ occupations or their children’s vocational choices may appear to be totally irrelevant. Terms and concepts like “occupation,” “career,” and “vocation,” or questions like “How did you choose your occupation?” often seem to come from some totally different world, as is evident in the next quoted passage, in which a forester, who was born in 1929, answers the interviewer’s questions:

_Interviewer:_ What kind of occupations did your brothers end up in? I mean, did they go into the field of forestry?
_Forester:_ Yes, they did, my brothers did forest work.
_Interviewer:_ All of them?
_Forester:_ Yes.
_Interviewer:_ What did your parents do for a living?
_Forester:_ It was such a small cottage, they just lived there.
_Interviewer:_ What did you do when you were a young boy?
_Forester:_ I went to [work in] the forest after school.
_Interviewer:_ Well, why did you choose the field of forestry then?
_Forester:_ Because there was no other alternative.

When asked about the reasons for choosing his occupation in forestry, another man answered: “I didn’t choose anything.” In a way, life just went on without any complicated decisions to make, without any deeper soul-searching. Another forester, when asked whether he already became interested in forestry as a child, said that he “was forced” to be interested in forestry. When he was just twelve years old, he had started to work in the forests during the day as his teacher had promised to let him go to school in the evenings. If the interviewees mentioned other reasons than the familiarity of forest work, these were also usually based on the environment of their childhood and youth. For example, sports, a typical pastime of rural boys, sometimes induced them to apply to forestry colleges, which offered good opportunities to participate in sports there, and many famous cross-country skiers were foresters. Family capital was inevitably determining the foresters’ lives as forest work was most often seen as the only possible future.

**Upward Social Mobility: “It’s Like Making Progress”**

During the extended 1950s, about two-thirds of all the forestry professionals in this study chose or ended up in vocational positions that were higher than those of their fathers. It was common for sons of forestry employees and farmers to go into forestry but with better training. More than half of the forestry officers were sons of farmers, smallholders, lumberjacks, or foresters, and at least the same proportion of the foresters were sons of farmers, smallholders, or lumberjacks. Social mobility was clearly upwards. On the other hand, forestry officers considered their choice of
occurrence to be natural, whereas foresters considered that they had had no choice. Both opinions were, still, based on family capital they had. It is extremely interesting to study more closely how they described and justified the decisions they made.

It seems that for forestry officers choosing to go to lower and upper secondary school was the actual moment when they decided on the direction that their careers would take, since the education they chose opened the door to university and a “boss’s job.” After that it was easy to progress along their chosen educational path (Paaskoski 2008, 63; Ikonen 2011, 236). After upper secondary school there were many opportunities open to them, and they could choose one of several professions. As there were alternatives, they sometimes also said that their vocational choice was a matter of “chance” (Paaskoski 2008, 63). The parents’ role in the process was usually to give their approval. If they had some particular opinions or advice to give their children, it often seems to have been the mother who planned or dreamed of her children’s future. She could encourage them to go to a secondary school and upper secondary or suggest that they should choose a career as a doctor, a priest, or an agronomist, for example. Planning for the future and thinking about a career has generally been regarded as a middle-class characteristic. Correspondingly, an orientation towards the present and an inability to plan the future have been considered typical of poor families and communities (Löfgren 1994, 39; Stark 2011, 16–17).

For foresters, the secondary school was more like a closed door. If they did not want to stay on at school, or could not do so, there were fewer alternatives left for them, as they specifically pointed out in their life stories. Remotely located homes meant distant secondary schools, and if there were no relatives living near the schools with whom the children could stay, it was often impossible for the parents to pay for their boarding. Nor did the orientation of their families towards work and money encourage them to educate themselves. In forest work, the results of hard graft could soon be seen in the form of a thick wallet, whereas the result of schooling was seen as an empty wallet. Education and work were regarded as opposites (Häkkinen et al. 2005, 80; Kortteinen 1992, 87; Pöysä 1997, 180–83):

I went to work in the forests when I was twelve years old, my father asked me. [. . .] I had a 12-kilometer journey to school. [. . .] Well, he asked whether I would [prefer to] go to a logging site or to school. To a logging site, I said. I used to get homesick so easily that I wouldn’t have wanted to stay somewhere else, so I made the whole journey to school every day, 24 kilometers. [. . .] it was so nice when I was able to go to a logging site and stay overnight at home [. . .] it was in 1941 when I went there together with my father.

Parents often thought that it was no use going to school if there was real work available. In their view, one’s whole life might pass one by while one was at school.
Their children often thought the same:

I went to a workers’ primary school, and after that had some shorter courses for workers. So, a primary school and these follow-up courses. After that the next one must have been a driving school, when I decided that my going to school would end, but then I still had to do a stretch for one year on a course for forestry instructors in Rajamäki.

Even if forest work was extremely familiar to the vast majority of people in the countryside, they did not regard it as a vocation that required training. The children of rural families sometimes found it really difficult to get information about some other alternatives to what they could already see around them. One of the foresters described how he had “a great desire to leave” and how even his parents in a way understood that some education or occupation was needed. However, they could not see how to accomplish it, so they just advised their son to go and work in the forests. He had to do something anyway—families with smallholdings could not support and feed all their children, and there was no longer any great confidence in the future of agriculture in the early 1960s. Even though the sons of these families might feel it difficult to detach themselves from this tight circle of agriculture and forestry in the countryside, it was self-evident that they had to seek their future working elsewhere, outside their own farms (see also Häkkinen et al. 2005, 64; Virtanen and Kietäväinen 2008, 188–89).

Their hopes for a better life can be read perhaps more between the lines than directly from their words. But just what was a better life for them? A good life meant at least an easier one: “. . . anyhow we clearly saw there that one could get one’s daily bread in some easier way than by doing heavy forest work. I tasted so much of it as a growing boy and it was no delicacy.” Primary school teachers who encouraged their pupils to get an education had a strong influence, often more so than parents. The school teachers used all the strategies available, talking to parents, coaxing children and trying to push them into secondary education, sometimes even threatening them. If the pupils did not succeed in schoolwork, their teacher might warn them: “You’ll become nothing but forest workers!”

Forest work at that time was not highly valued, although the position of a forestry foreman or forestry technician—the white-collar stratum—was. Despite their limited education, they were respected as bosses in the hierarchical society of the countryside (see also Kauppila 1996, 68). A good life included a regular job as well, and employers preferred candidates with some education when recruiting permanent workers. When a job was regular, it offered more security, responsibility, and opportunities for promotion in the organization.

A decent regular income was welcome to the foresters’ families as well. On the other hand, it has been noted in previous research that the concept of a happy life is
usually defined by good relations, health, and food, and in particular by a respectable job well done rather than by a particularly high income. This attitude was a heritage handed down to the baby-boom generation by its parents (Häkkinen et al. 2005, 85).

The vocational choices of foresters were not always their own, if by “vocational choice” we mean a conscious process of choosing a career and trying to achieve it through education and work. In fact, training was sometimes acquired on the employers’ initiative, whereas the employees themselves could be quite inactive:

Yes, I worked as a foreman after I had been to a school for forestry foremen. Well, I already was a foreman before, but the company could not keep me as I was; it [training] was somehow an essential part of it, I don’t understand how it was an essential part, but they put me to school.

After they had worked at forest work sites or done other jobs in forestry for years, forestry companies might suggest to able workers that they should apply to state or private forestry colleges or at least take some forestry courses in order to obtain official qualifications and thereby get better and permanent positions. It was not always so easy, however, to get in; after the war many young men were applying for admittance to forestry colleges and to the university to study forest sciences (see Ikonen 2011, 230−32).

A forester, who was born in 1933 on a smallholding in Northern Ostrobothnia, told how he had already started working in agriculture and forestry as a child with his father. A reduced primary school was the only source of education in those backwoods, so that “such an important issue [as education] was unfortunately ignored,” he said. All the children in the family recognized their own family capital and saw that agriculture and forestry were inevitably to be their future as well. There was no experience of anything else around. At the age of sixteen, however, he applied to work as a trainee with the Santaholma Company, floating and logging:

And there I got a bright idea [. . .] when these work team leaders and forestry officers emphasized that it would be very good for a young man who was interested [in forestry] to start planning a career [in this work] by getting some education. And so I finally in a way got into this forestry branch, and it began to interest me. [After I had done my military service] I was already so interested in forestry that I went to the National Board of Forestry as a trainee [. . .]. And it took some years. [. . .] There were also these young students as trainees, who applied to the “Forest House” [Helsinki University]—and they always emphasized, “Lads, do try more, it will be better for you personally, and these circumstances will become better as well. When you get an education and come back, it is like making progress.”
The discussion referred to here can be seen as a kind of crossroads where the straight road of the forestry officers crosses the meandering path of the foresters.

**Narrating the process of making a vocational choice**

It was quite clear to me. I didn’t actually know there was any other branch than forestry. And my parents aimed to educate their children. Because a lower forestry consultant’s wages were not that good, I worked for the local private forestry association every summer. It was enough. Life wasn’t so hard; it was the family life of a functionary, a country official. My younger brother became a forestry employee as well. He only studied in a forestry college as he lost interest in the secondary school after a year. And my youngest brother ran away to do a totally different job. He became an economist. So it was self-evident, I couldn’t have become anything else but a forester. So, when the secondary school was over and we graduated, I applied to two different places, to the “Forest House” [Helsinki University] and to Tampere, the Faculty of Economics and Administration in the university, where they educated people to be some sort of economists. I could have started my studies there as well, but that was only a reserve alternative, like some other place just in case.

This story can be seen as a common example of the way in which forestry officers narrated their vocational choices. In their childhood and youth they experienced a heavy load of family capital that guided their choices. At the same time, their decision to go to secondary school seemed to be self-evident. Even so, they often told about other alternatives and described the moment when they made a real vocational choice. The result was often seen as serendipitous but it still led to a turning point and a highly meaningful phase in their lives as their period of study was recollected with great pleasure (Paaskoski 2008, 132–43). Since one can read a large number of such stories, it feels justified to call them typical.

The narratives of the foresters, for their part, are partly made up of distinct elements, but the “same” story seems to be repeated time and again when one reads the extensive material. The fundamental difference between the narratives of these two professional groups is that forestry officers’ narrations of their vocational choice can be seen as almost independent stories, a distinct phase in their life histories, whereas the vocational choices made by foresters are represented rather as a long process and a single ongoing strand in their life course. “I grew slowly into choosing my vocation,” one of them put it. I first noticed this in a most concrete way: Forestry officers tell about choosing a career and educating themselves on the very first pages of their interview transcripts. The subject of foresters’ vocational choices and education, on the other hand, can sometimes be found only after reading numerous pages.
sometimes even at the end of the interview. Sometimes they even totally forget to mention their education. For example, after one interviewee had told about his work career, the interviewer still had to inquire:

*Interviewer:* So, you had no education then?
*Interviewee:* Oh, I forgot. Well, yes, there was a school in between [the work career].
*Interviewer:* Where did you study?
*Interviewee:* In Sippola [a private forestry college].
*Interviewer:* I see. What was it like?
*Interviewee:* Well, it was quite nice.

The central features of foresters’ vocational choice narratives, which are sometimes so long that it is impossible to include them in a single quotation, can still be stated: These men spent their childhood in big families on remote smallholdings; the families’ work- and money-orientation led them early to forest work with only a short period of schooling. They did not usually continue their education in secondary schools as there was often a lack of schools nearby, a lack of money and a lack of encouragement from their families. After primary school, they usually worked for several years—on their parents’ farms or elsewhere—before applying to forestry colleges because work experience of at least two years and the completion of military service were compulsory requirements for forestry college students. Some of them did not apply to colleges until they had been working for several years, some even for a decade. The initiative to do so could come from their employers, and for some it was even their own idea, and even then they saw education more as a means than as a goal in itself. Training was needed to obtain an official qualification that would finally lead to a permanent job or position in the organization.

In addition to intergenerational mobility, aspects of intragenerational mobility can be discerned in these life stories. According to Seppo Pöntinen (1983, 18), *intergenerational mobility* refers to a change between the parents’ and the child’s class situation while *intragenerational mobility* refers to changes during the career of the individual. A forester’s social and occupational position did not change only in relation to the preceding generation (his father) but also during his own career.

Each of the seventy-three informants and their individual stories analyzed in this research is, of course, unique. Their social situations in different times and places were shaped by numerous daily factors. Exceptions to “the usual story” always exist. Some smallholding families did, after all, send their children to secondary schools, and even to university, while some sons of larger farmers became just uneducated workers. Some homes were not so remote; on the contrary, they were close to secondary schools or forestry colleges. Irrespective of how common all their accounts were, the interviewees, later in their lives between the ages of fifty and eighty, in
their middle-class homes, crystallize the accounts of their vocational choices as a subjectively true and meaningful story (see Portelli [1991] 2005, 68–69; Ukkonen 2006, 188; Hoikkala 1999, 399). What was true for them was their own lives with all the decisions and events they contained. What was essential for them was to understand and justify why their lives took the directions they did. Telling about one’s life makes it into a sensible story. At this point, the teller often forms an attitude toward his childhood and youth by estimating and interpreting those experiences (Korkiakangas 1996, 36).

A life story is forgiving and flexible. A forester might say there were no possibilities for him to get more education although his sister went to university. He might compensate for his lack of higher education by telling about his industriousness and hard work: “It was life that educated me” (see also Stark 2006a, 65). At the same time, the gap between a deprived childhood and a comfortable middle-class old age can be filled with the narrator’s own honorable achievements in life (Häkkinen et al. 2005, 82; Stark 2011, 371–75, 381; see also Kauppila 1996, 88; Korkiakangas 1996, 36–37). Saara Tuomaala has noted how industriousness was often used as an element for building an individual’s identity in agrarian societies; later on, it offered a way to compare the past and the present and to estimate one’s own life and values. Tuomaala calls this kind of identity “the character of the industrious Finn” (Tuomaala 2004, 156; see also Korkiakangas 1996, 103–104). It has a clear connection with the concept of the so-called “ethos of survival,” which has been seen as typical not only of the life histories of the wartime generations but also of those of the generations of the late twentieth century (Kortteinen 1992, 43, 50, 123). Even if the gap between childhood and old age did not seem to be so wide in forestry officers’ life stories, it was just as important for them to be able to describe their careers as good and rational ongoing projects, with satisfactory endings (Paaskoski 2008, 160). Recalling and formulating one’s life as a story is a way of giving meaning to it (see e. g., Vilkko 1990, 82; Hyvärinen and Löyttyniemi 2005, 202, 220; Portelli [1991] 2005, 67; Ukkonen 2006, 188).

However, most of these tellers in their unique life stories share or recognize the same kind of experiences to such an extent that it justifies the researcher in presenting a few more general features of their stories. There was no choice for most foresters: they did not choose, they ended up. “Vocation” and “vocational choice” were terms from another world. Education and the available educational options divided these forestry professionals into two different educational streams: those who went to secondary schools and continued to upper secondary education and those who did not. Which stream they entered, in turn, depended on their social background, gender, or homes. The first group chose higher education and intellectual knowledge joined to practical skills, the second ended up in totally practical occupations (see also Heikkinen and Leino-Kaukiainen 2011b, 469–70). The former
could choose the forest and make their own lives, while the latter were chosen by the forest and just lived their lives, since for them it was not a question of vocation, position, or profession, but rather one of livelihood, their daily bread, and money.

**Reworking family capital**

I have here described and analyzed only fathers and sons with regard to education, forestry, and obtaining a better life. It was mainly men who were able to benefit from family capital and the means to attain upward social mobility. There were not many women who chose professions or work in forestry during this period. The first Finnish woman to become a forestry officer had done so in 1921. Before the 1940s, there had been altogether four women who graduated in forest sciences in Finland. During the war, the number of women employed in the sector rose rapidly, which was a familiar phenomenon in other fields of Finnish society as well. But, when the war was over, women were seldom seen studying forestry at university. This remained the situation until the 1960s, when female students of forest sciences became more common, although it was only in the 1970s that their numbers increased appreciably. During the period from the 1910s to the 1960s, fewer than sixty women had chosen to study forest sciences (Paaskoski 2008, 42, 46–47; see also Kärkkäinen and Toivanen 1995, 5). Women were even more uncommon in forestry colleges. Military service was compulsory for those applying to forestry colleges until 1965, when forestry studies became possible for women as well (Suopajärvi 2009, 14).

Even those women who did become forestry professionals had not been encouraged to choose this masculine occupation. On the contrary, they were warned about the difficulties, the physically difficult work involved in a career that was specifically meant for men. Even in the 1960s, this choice was usually seen as a good one for men but a bad one for women. Men could get a better life in forestry, while the women who entered the sector were regarded as sacrificing a lot: their true womanhood, a family life, the freedom to choose their work, or to get a proper career. Nor could they usually look to their mothers as role models in this respect. The mothers did not generally work outside the home but were dependent on their husbands, regardless if the women wanted to be or not. Their “better life” was connected to their husbands’ work. This was held to be the case for their daughters as well. Women could only obtain a better life in the context of forestry by marrying an educated forestry professional; their social mobility was not determined by education alone, but by marriage (Paaskoski 2008, 161–69, 178–79; Pöntinen 1983, 75–79). There was a great difference between men’s and women’s vocational choices as well, even though women too might possess family capital and enjoy social mobility. However, when these women later on told about their vocational choices, the most visible determining feature in their life stories was not family capital or social mobility but gender (Paaskoski 2008, 170).
The 1950s do not form a particularly unique period with regard to questions of childhood and youth or vocational choice and forestry education. Post-war Finland had its own special features that affected forestry and forestry employees, and it can be claimed that the situation did not witness any clear change until the late 1960s, when forestry education, for example, was extended to all forestry employees, and when the processes of modernization in society generally accelerated. It took time, however, before these changes in society were experienced at the individual and local levels. An individual life story of the 1940s could still have a parallel in the 1960s. The concept of the extended 1950s is, therefore, highly relevant in the light of this research. Forestry officers’ and foresters’ experiences were not divided by single decades but by social background and place of residence. Even if these professional groups commonly shared experiences in family capital and upward social mobility, the contents and meanings given to these concepts and narrated as a part of their life stories differed, and, therefore, the narratives tell equally of their past lives and of their present need to understand them.

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STEPPING OUT OF THE TUNE: 
AN IMAGOLOGICAL STUDY OF ARVID MÖRNE’S POEM 
“SJÖMANSVISA” (1899)

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ABSTRACT
The article discusses how the poem “Sjömansvisa” (Sailor’s song), which was published by the prolific Finland-Swedish writer and scholar Arvid Mörne as part of his first collection of poetry Rytm och rim (Rhythm and rhymes) in 1899, was transformed into the wide-spread and popular song “Båklandets vackra Maja” (Beautiful May of Båkland). The song remains extremely popular, whereas Mörne himself and his other writings have been all but forgotten by the general public. This, I argue, is the result of the happy melody, composed by the teacher Hanna Hagbom in 1906. It is the song, and particularly the tune, not the poem, that has lasted. The article suggests that the interpretation of Mörne’s poem as sunnier than most of his other poems results not from the verbal properties of the poem as such, but rather from the sonic and prosodic aspects of the poem-as-song. In other words, the text of the poem has been overshadowed by the tune. Moreover, the ways in which Swedish Finland has over and over again been constructed as territory through Mörne’s utilization of stereotypical images of women (in this case “Maja”), and not only of (male) peasants and fishermen, has been neglected.

The Finland-Swedish writer, politician, and academic scholar Arvid Mörne (1876–1946) published his first book, a collection of poetry, Rytm och rim (Rhythm and rhyme) in 1899. That volume would become the first in a long line of collections of poetry, stretching up until the year of Mörne’s death in 1946, and includes the poem that will be the center of attention in this article: “Sjömansvisa” (Sailor’s song). However, this poem is better known today as a popular song with an even more popular tune: “Båklandets vackra Maja” (Beautiful May of Båkland), referring to the
Stepping Out of the Tune: An Imagological Study of Arvid Mörne’s Poem “Sjömansvisa”

first line of the first stanza.¹ The melody was composed in 1906 by Hanna Hagbom (1874–1953). As the title indicates, this poem represents the lyrical genre of the song (Swedish visan) which, according to Mörne’s biographer Hans Ruin (1946), was the genre particularly representative of what made Mörne famous as a kind of national poet of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland—the powerful depiction of a light-drenched archipelago and a glittering sea. And yet, as Clas Zilliacus and Ruin himself have pointed out, the dominant tone of Mörne’s writings, including his earliest works, is often pained and always lonely (Zilliacus 2000, 38; Ruin 1946, 274).² Quoting Mörne himself, Ruin, however, suggests:

[M]aybe the song, “the song with its lack of intention, its lack of contents,” has succeeded in doing it [releasing Mörne from his bitterness and broodings], for a few happy moments. In the song he has forgotten himself and his questions. Through the songs he has breathed out, in the song he has had his joy. In them his joyous, open, happy self found an expression. (Ruin 1946, 310–11)

What is interesting about Arvid Mörne’s early poem “Sjömansvisa” is that it is hardly thought of as a poem anymore, only as mere lyrics to a popular tune. This makes it a poem of nearly lost words, its verbal properties having been primarily overtaken by music long ago, retaining only so much of its original verbal text therein that it can be referred to. The poem is no longer recited; when it is performed, it is sung in unison or the tune is played on an accordion accompanied by much waltzing, usually in the context of some sort of summer fête. Here it becomes necessary to pose the question whether the popular tune has not done much to reinforce the verbal text: without the tune, the poem is likely to have been lost altogether.³ Little of Mörne’s poetry has survived until this day outside of a professional circle of literary scholars. Still, in Finland-Swedish literary historiography and ethnology, Mörne’s writings, his poetry as well as his prose, are treated as key to the very idea of Finland-Swedishness (Ruin 1946; Wrede 1968, 2000; Zilliacus 2000; Lönnqvist 2000, 2001; 1 The Swedish word båk ‘beacon’ is an old-fashioned word for ‘light’ or ‘lighthouse’.

² Ruin claims that “early expressions are given to the feeling of loneliness in Mörne’s poetry. Already in Rytm och rim, which is otherwise rich in full, warm emotions and brave thoughts that grasp far into the future, the feeling of loneliness breaks through time and time again” (Ruin 1946, 274, translated by author). Zilliacus concludes that the “tragic attitude was not exclusive in the poetry of the dwarfed pine. There were also both salty spray and sunshine between the branches. But the main note was that of patient suffering” (Zilliacus 2000, 38, translated by author).

³ In an article entitled “Kampen om Båklandets vackra Maja” [The fight over Beautiful May of Båkland] published in Nya Pressen on March 2, 1953, after Hanna Hagbom’s death the previous day, Gunnar Mårtenson quotes a letter dated October 1, 1929, to Hanna Hagbom from Mörne himself. In heated phrases Mörne insists on Hagbom’s rights to proper honoraries for her composition. Mårtenson interprets Mörne’s anger as proof of his realization that “his poem primarily had achieved its great popularity thanks to its musical clothing.” Mårtenson thus quotes Mörne: “it is your right here which is of much greater importance than mine” (translated by author).
Koli 2000). In other words, would it be more adequate to say that the tune “owns” the text, or that Hagbom has become more important than Mörne? To a certain extent, maybe (although Hagbom’s name is rarely remembered either). Thus the transformation of a verbal work of art, a poem on the book page as part of a collection of other poems, into a song that has permeated a particular culture to the extent that “everyone” knows it, needs extraordinary tools of analysis. I shall argue that the text of the poem became overshadowed by the happy tune, foregrounding therein only the words of the refrain. This excluded the poem from any kind of reading, in silence or aloud, that is to say that the poem was exclusively turned into a song. Historically speaking, however, there would, of course, be no tune to begin with if Mörne’s poem had not been there first. This acknowledgement, together with the well-known fact of Mörne’s immense importance for the construction of the discourse of “Finland-Swedishness,” will form the starting point for this study. In contrast to Ruin, I shall argue that when the various verbal, sonic, and visual properties of this allegedly happy song are considered separately and as a unity, the implications of “Sjömansvisa” are not as light and uplifting as traditionally perceived. “Sjömansvisa,” or “Båklandets vackra Maja” by the title of which I from now on shall refer to the poem-as-song, is not only captivating and highly ambiguous, but downright imprisoning.

**IMAGE, TERRITORY, PERFORMANCE**

My purpose in highlighting Arvid Mörne’s poem, as well as a number of discursive transformations of it, is two-fold. First, I aim to deconstruct the ideology written into the text. This ideology is arguably reinforced in the sonic text of the song to the extent that differences and inconsistencies are overshadowed and depleted within the “image world” (Johnson 2005, 53), an imagological term that I borrow from

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4 This article does not deal with the character of the close friendship between the elementary school teacher Hanna Hagbom, who became a famous and appreciated composer of popular songs, and Arvid Mörne. According to Mörne’s biographer Hans Ruin, the girl Maja in the poem is no one else but Mörne’s own wife (Ruin 1946, 230). When writing the biography, Ruin conducted interviews with his biographic subject Mörne. Stating the identity of the model for Maja as a fact, Ruin simultaneously claims that speculation over the girl’s possible existence in reality is unnecessary. Referring to Hanna Hagbom’s letters to Mörne, Johan Wrede claims that the friendship between Hagbom and Mörne had an obvious erotic overtone (Wrede 1968, 273). Hagbom’s letters to Mörne are preserved in the archive of the Swedish Literature Society, Helsinki. It is difficult to disagree with Wrede on the point of the intimate tone of the letters. For the purpose of this article, however, these biographic details have no significance.

5 The historic moment of 1906, when the Swedish coalition movement in Finland had established itself, was also the year of Hagbom’s composition. By this year two major Swedish song and music festivals had been organized as well as a number of regional ones. According to Nils Erik Villstrand, the reason for the exceptionally swift establishment of the coalition movement has not as yet received a satisfying explanation (Villstrand 2001). Let me here heuristically suggest that it was the overwhelmingly territorializing power of the music, or the fields of sonic images on the move, which affected this spread. In this context the internal inconsistencies in the image world of “Båklandets vackra Maja” should also be understood. I suggest that the poem was probably over-interpreted to a certain degree, that is to say, Hanna Hagbom gave it an overly happy tune, which was not as fully compatible with the poem’s text as it has seemed ever after. It could be said that the image world became a fiction where the reader/listener was fooled into believing in the sunny atmosphere that the tune prescribed. A
Anthony W. Johnson. These differences form a discursive dichotomy of identity and alterity, which has been concealed and homogenized through the powerful projection of self-images upon images of the other. In the case of “Båklandets vackra Maja,” the poetic subject, the “I” of the poem/song, projects his gaze onto the landscape that appears before his eyes. He desires the landscape and makes it first into his own and thereafter into a common territory—a territory shared by his fellow countrymen, as it were. It is important to notice that the ideological properties of the poem are governed by a gaze that constitutes poetic vision. The concept of territory here refers to an imaginative landscape constructed out of a physical geography to which connotations of a nationalist ideology are attached. This is why a selected terminology of territorial thinking becomes necessary, and also because the many-faceted question of “territory” has been crucial to Finland-Swedish discourse generally (Zilliacus 2000, 13–14), constituting a thematic core in Mörne’s writing (Ruin 1946, 41). Thus building on the idea of territory, I shall make use of some of the notions of Deleuze and Guattari ([1980] 2004), and, secondly, “determinitorialize” the tune of the song by highlighting the words of it in order to “reterritorialize”7 the poem in a global context largely informed by the English language. Both of these procedures also involve a restricted but important application of some concepts from the field of postcolonial theory.

Johnson suggests a definition of “image world” as those images that perceivers of any work of art constitute in their minds (Johnson 2005, 53), i.e., perceptions or mental images, in contrast to what he suggests be called “image cache(s)” (ibid.), referring to the “set of sensory cues” (ibid.) that are physically contained by the actual works of art themselves. With reference to my purpose and the particular character of my material for which a sharp distinction between sensory cues and mental images seems ineffective, I shall here make use of only the term “image world” and include in the meaning of the term what Johnson denotes as the “image cache.” Thus the image world would be defined as the three interlocking categories of visual, verbal, and sonic images, which together form the entity of the poem as written on the page together with its tune and implied performance, all of them existing in a constant state of movement. It will also be necessary to complement these categories with a subcategory of aural images, which would be the prosodic aspects of the poem, to make the analysis of the image world complete. One more term becomes essential to the mimetic contract was thus entered between readers/listeners and the image fields where the images of the song, aided by the tune, worked as devices for the establishment of the fiction as image world.

6 For discussions of imagology, see for instance Dyserinck 1966; Leerssen 1991; Taylor and Saarinen 1994; and, Johnson 2005.

7 Deleuze and Guattari explain the working of this conceptual couple in the following way: “The function of deterritorialization: D is the movement by which ‘one’ leaves the territory. It is the operation of the line of flight. […] D may be overlaid by a compensatory reterritorialization obstructing the line of flight. […] Anything can serve as a reterritorialization, in other words, stand for the lost territory” (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004, 559–60).
analysis, however. This is the “image field,” which, according to Johnson, would be the “wider cultural or geographical space” (Johnson 2005, 53). Here again I choose to take the meaning of the term in a different direction, thus defining the concept of “image field” as that territory which is formed by any medially related images within an image world.

“Implied performance” is a concept I have coined in accordance with that of the “implied reader” of the reader-response theory of Wolfgang Iser (1978). My knowledge of the performances of this song in a Swedish-speaking cultural context in Finland is accordingly wholly dependent on my experiences of them as a Swedish-speaking Finn. This song has persisted for more than a century. It is very difficult to escape. At the same time it can be concluded that the fact of its canonization as a Finland-Swedish song, and not primarily as a poem, also indicates something as to its performance. The fact that the song is also widely known among the Finnish-speaking population of Finland, the Finnish text being a direct translation of Mörne’s original one, does not change this circumstance. I use no empirical material of actual performances of “Båklandets vackra Maja,” the poem-as-popular-song, the singing of which is implied (i.e., the poem with its tune and implied performance) in contrast to the poem in writing exclusively, i.e., “Sjömansvisa” (becoming the poem-cum-implied performance, which would be recitation in this case).

To clarify: the image world of “Sjömansvisa” would thus consist of both the entire text of the poem with its verbal poetic properties such as metaphors and symbols; the rhythms and rhymes of the poem (prosody) such as alliterations and assonances; the image of the written poem on the page; and the tune, which turns the poem into the song “Båklandets vackra Maja.” Furthermore, the image world would also include the implied performance, which has been written into the poem/song as a condition for the recitation, singing, and playing of it, and possibly even for dancing to it. The implied performance consequently acts as a bridge between the artifact of the poem/song and its real-world context by enabling actual performances of the poem/song. The image fields, in their turn, are formed by the separate verbal, visual, and sonic properties of the poem/song, all of them constantly interacting with each other as part of the image world. The image world is consequently seen to exist in a state of constant flux and ambivalence, as it is being constituted by both textual artifacts and the variety of human performances of them. In encompassing both verbal and sonic images, the shared field of aural images is particularly important here. The aural category thus includes a surface of contact and convergence between prosody, i.e., phonological aspects of the verbal

8 Iser’s idea here is that any written text addresses a reader. An unspecified—“implied”—reader is thus written into the literary text as a textual stance. In practice, it is the actual reading of the text, which has been prepared as part of the text, presupposing the reader’s performance. The reader then performs the reading in an “act” of meaning-making and thus “actualizes” the literary text.

category, such as meter and rhythm, on the one hand, and of the sonic aspects, i.e., the music, on the other. Particular emphasis will accordingly be put on the fields of verbal and aural images, with interventions into the sonic and visual fields.

**Readability of a Poem? Singing, Reciting, Silently Reading**

In the following, I shall initially focus on the poem “Sjömansvisa” in some detail: first by analyzing its meter as well as the visual image of the written poem on the page. I will then go on to look at the field of sonic images of the song and its relevance to the territorial substitution of the verbal image field. In the next section of the article, I will explore the fields of verbal and aural images as a process of related territorial movement.

“Sjömansvisa”

10 Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
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Båklandets vackra Maja,  
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Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
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Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
år du min hjärtanskär?  

Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  
Ser du min vimpel vaja  
Röd vid ditt bruna skär?  
Duken är röd och namnet ditt  
Sirligt sömmat i guld och vitt.  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
är du min hjärtanskär?  

Du var ljuv att betrakta,  
Len som ett silkesskot.  
Tången knastrade sakta  
Under din bara fot.  
Dungen var tyst och soln gick ned.  
Stranden blev mörk på Båklandshed.  
Du var ljuv att betrakta,  
len som ett silkesskot.  

Båklandets vackra Maja,  
var du min hjärtanskär?  
Grannare vimplar vaja  
Snart vid ditt bruna skär.  
Vågen för bort ditt spår på strand,  
Vågen bär annan tång i land.  
Båklandets vackra Maja,  
Var du min hjärtanskär?  

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10 I thank Anna Möller-Sibelius for the metric analysis of the poem.
“Sailor’s song”\textsuperscript{11}

Beautiful May of Båkland,
are you my dearest love?
See my colors flying
red by your brownish ground?\textsuperscript{12}
My cloth is purple with your sign
Tenderly sewn into gold and white.
Beautiful May of Båkland,
are you my dearest love?

You were so sweet to set eyes on,
smooth like a silken sail.
Seaweeds rustling softly
under your naked leg.\textsuperscript{13}
Bushes went still at sunset time,
shores going dark upon beacon bight.
You were so sweet to set eyes on,
smooth like a silken sail.

Beautiful May of Båkland,
were you my dearest love?
Brighter colors flying
soon by your brownish ground.
Waves sweeping steps away so soon,
waves carrying different weeds ashore.
Beautiful May of Båkland,
were you my dearest love?

The poem is metrically built on repetitions and variations of troches, dactyls, and catalexes.\textsuperscript{14} The rhymes are constructed over the following pattern: two crossing rhymes, with first one female and then one male rhyme, are followed by a coupling

\textsuperscript{11} Translation by author. I am indebted to Heidi Granqvist and Clas Zilliacus for advice on this translation.

\textsuperscript{12} This poetic image of Mörne’s is highly symbolical, but it is ultimately constructed out of his vision of the landscape of the southwestern archipelago with its many islands and skerries, as well as the boats used in the archipelago, which carried flags. The archipelago (and the coasts) also formed that space in Finnish territory where the largest part of the Swedish-speaking population lived (and still lives).

\textsuperscript{13} ”Bare foot” would, of course, be an exact translation of the original text, but then there would be no satisfactory solution to the problem of rhythm. “Naked leg” takes the poem in a more erotic direction, which I find compatible both with the deconstructive purposes of the article and the desire expressed at the metaphorical level of the poem. In other words, “May,” her “brownish ground,” and the poetic subject’s “flying colors” are not only about the landscape of the archipelago with its inhabitants understood as symbolical national territory in romantic terms, but at one level they are also about sexual desire.

\textsuperscript{14} A troché is a foot with two falling syllables, a dactyl a foot with three falling syllables, and a catalex is a foot where the non-stressed syllable has disappeared.
rhyme and, importantly, the repeated crossing rhyme of the refrain. The poem includes much assonance, i.e., similar sounds between closely related words, as well as alliteration, i.e., rhymes on initial letters. The final two verses of each stanza form an unproductive, so-called repetitive rhyme, in an otherwise neatly rhymed poem, where male and female rhymes, here marked with capital and small letters respectively, are varied in symmetrical turns. What is more, the “braid” of rhymes is halted at the end of each stanza moving over into what in the song comes to constitute the refrain in the shape of a repetitive rhyme. What we thus get is ambivalent and unresolved stasis. There is no certainty for the poetic subject and his projected love, and the feeling of doubt that is expressed throughout the repeated questions is reinforced by the refrain. The separation is a fact, but was there ever a union in the first place? I shall return to this question in the next section, discussing the making of territory within the contexts of the verbal image field and the aural image field that the refrain constitutes.

The tune was composed in 1906, and the poem has been known under that tune ever since. Today it is practically impossible to think about the poem without thinking about the tune. What is important here, moreover, is the fact that the lyrical genre of Mörne’s poem is a “visa,” a popular song, to begin with. This means that the possibility of its performance (not only through recitation) had already been written into the poem; that is to say, that the invitation of a tune was already prepared. This is supported by the visual organization of the poem on the page. There is a trinity of stanzas, each of them built over eight lines. The neat, symmetrical image of the written poem on the page gives the impression of satisfaction, of a happy fullness, therefore seeming to presuppose this fullness. No discrepancies or idiosyncrasies are to be expected within a poem so neatly organized graphically.

However, performing the poem in singing was not self-evident. What Mörne accordingly made clear by his poem “Sjömansvisa” was that it could be sung if one wanted to. And, as it turned out, many were those who would want to. “Båklandets vackra Maja,” the initial words of the poem “Sjömansvisa,” which are also repeated in the refrain in the first and last of the three stanzas of the poem, are immediately perceived as sung when pronounced, even when only imaginatively pronounced in thinking.

15 Had I used the song text as it has been included in the Finland-Swedish song canon (Häggman 2001), one thing would have stood out as odd in the analysis: the word svaja (‘sway, swing’) which should be vaja (‘fly, flutter’) in stanzas one and three. The inclusion of svaja was a printing mistake, which is likely to have occurred in the publishing process of Mörne’s poem into the published collection of poetry. The formal discrepancy of the missed out alliteration would further destabilize the symmetrical organization of the poem as song text.

16 According to Eva Lilja, it is the image of the written poem on the page that indicates to the reader where the emphasis of the poem should be put. Referring to Lena Linde (1975), Lilja states that, interestingly, both the silent reading of a poem and the recitation follow a very similar rhythm (Lilja 2006, 22), although one could assume that the recitation provided a different rhythm. This indicates that the graphic organization of the poem on the page affects the rhythm.
What is nevertheless important to acknowledge is that the singing of the poem was not a prerequisite for its performance before 1906. Seven years passed between the publication of the poem and Hagbom’s composition of the tune. Once the poem had received a tune, a Finnish translation of the verbal text was not slow in coming either. “Båklandets vackra Maja” was translated as “Seiskarin kaunis Siiri” by Frans Hjalmar Nortamo. Consequently, the poem quickly became well-known as a popular song among a Finnish-speaking population as well. However, an even more important reason for the successful spread of the song is likely to be the tune itself, which is a simple one that easily “sticks.”

But what would this “sticky” quality of the song imply? In the following, I will take issue with this characteristic as it manifests itself within the various but interconnecting fields of verbal images, sonic images, and visual images, which together constitute the image world of the poem with its tune as sung. (This idea could be taken even further: the image world could be perceived to be constituted by the poem with its tune as sung by people simultaneously dancing and drinking, giving the image world a slightly Dionysian quality, even.) What I shall claim to be constructed through these interlocking images is an overwhelming movement of force becoming materialized through the respective image fields clasping each other. At the same time, processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization are powerfully at work internally within the image world on the contact surfaces of the various image fields but also externally, i.e., in relation to the discourses of the particular moments of performance.

Highlighting the verbal properties of the song “Båklandets vackra Maja” with the purpose of othering its defining presence in the Swedish-speaking cultural space in Finland involves the initial deterritorialization of the field of sonic images and a simultaneous reterritorialization of the verbal text on the level of the field of verbal images. What I have described above is a long process: the poem as writing, intended to be read aloud or in silence, the poem as a primarily verbal texture on the page, was deterritorialized at the same time as it was reterritorialized as a song. Moreover, the process of de/reterritorialization hardly stopped there: the very words of the poem/song can in their turn be said to have been deterritorialized by the tune itself. This means that no words of the poem as such, except the first line, are needed to recognize the tune as that of “Båklandets vackra Maja.” It is, of course, true that the text has been retained because the song is almost always sung in its entirety. But here the verbal text has rather been transformed into a property of the sonic field of images instead of forming a verbal field of images in its own right, and is thus placed entirely within the aural field. The entire image world has accordingly gone through an internal deterritorialization with obvious discursive effects.

17 According to Gunnar Mårtenson in Nya presen (March 2, 1953), Mörne had forcefully expressed his anger at the obviously rather widespread notion that “Seiskarin kaunis Siiri” had been written directly in Finnish.
What we can witness here is a syntechdochic process of becoming: one part of the image world, i.e., the field of sonic images, takes over and comes to stand for the entire image world, at the same time as three words in the field of verbal images (Båklandets vackra Maja), which are repeated throughout the field, become a syntechdochic representation of the whole field of those images. These words thus deterritorialize the verbal field only to reterritorialize it within the field of aural images exclusively. As such, it really has no relation to the verbal field any longer, but primarily to the sonic one. In addition to that, the writer Arvid Mörne himself has successively been deterritorialized as the author of his poem only to be reterritorialized as being at one not with the words of the poem but with the tune. It is probably adequate to claim that among the public “Båklandets vackra Maja” is better known than Mörne himself today. The process of territorialization, as recently described, is a “molar movement,” located at the most powerful and inescapable structural level of culture, in its discourse and accompanying discursive practices. Hence, “force” here denotes the experience of not being able to escape a particular discourse, in this case the “Finland-Swedish” one. The task, in other words, becomes creating “lines of flight” (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004, 559), of finding the “pass-words beneath the order-words” (ibid, 122). As part of that “molecular” movement (ibid, 239), or movement on the smallest, individual level of culture which enables resistance, I thus perform a test, trying to read the poem aloud. It does not succeed: I cannot think about the words of the poem without having myself hearing music and forcing my tongue and throat into singing. I insist; trying to resist the music by reciting the poem. It is virtually impossible. Jag måste sjunga det jag inte vill sjunga. I must sing what I do not want to sing. This ordering of my tongue and throat happens, I record, at a very precise moment and is scary: on the second to third syllables of the first stanza (“lan-dets”) the race is lost.

Mörne prepared the ground for the singing by generically implying the poem’s performance in singing, although there was no tune in the beginning. In the seven-year period without a melody, “Sjömansvisa” must have been performed only by reading, silently or aloud. My aversion against singing “Båklandets vackra Maja” is ultimately not about the tune itself but about the words carrying a particular vision that is reinforced by the tune even in the absence of most of the words except the refrain. At this point it becomes necessary to shift to the analysis of the interrelated fields of verbal and aural images, particularly those images that have been hidden.

18 Once again I wish to emphasize that this experience does not include any local varieties of the Swedish language or of Swedish-language culture in Finland. It is entirely about the a-topicality of nationalist discourse, i.e., the loss of individual locales that any national ideology brings about in appropriating place and the local in the construction of a national, overarching (visual) order (Ahlbäck 2009). Thus, for instance, Närpes in Ostrobothnia is not primarily a place in its own right after the advent of Finland-Swedish discourse, but one of many syntechdochic topoi constituting the space of “Swedish Finland.”

19 Writing the “lack of a melody” means introducing a heuristic thought: was the pre-melodic phase possibly perceived as a gap to be filled? Far from all of Mörne’s songs received a tune.


Difference Concealed: Laying Bare the Images of a Homogenized Landscape

After Mörne’s *Rytm och rim* (1899), over a period of forty-five years, Mörne was to publish many more books in all literary genres. Many of the poems in *Rytm och rim* became popular. Moreover, these poems together with many others of Mörne’s writings, such as his short stories of the *Strandbyggaröden* (Coastal lives) trilogy, *Den svenska jorden* (The Swedish land) (1915), *Från fjärdarna* (From the bays) (1917a) and *Lotsarnas kamp* (The pilots’ struggle) (1917b), were to contribute strongly to the constitution of the historical, nationalist discourse that has been called “Finland-Swedish” ever since. Many of Mörne’s literary motifs, such as the dwarfed pine tree, the archipelago, the coast, the sea, and the fisherman, swiftly became a constitutive part of a Swedish-language cultural imagery in Finland with a Finland-Swedish ideological content.

Making a travesty on the title of Mörne’s collection of poetry *Rytm och rim*, it can be said that initially what was needed for the spread of the ideology was exactly rhythms and rhymes. At a later stage, narrative entered, i.e., Mörne’s short stories of the 1910s. At this point there must have been a literary need for making the “Finland-Swedish” people appear more “real.” By being narrated and thus becoming characters in their own right, at least to some extent, the people began to be represented as credible mimetic constructions. The result of these discursive processes of becoming was a homogenized Finland-Swedish national landscape, a territory, which was made to serve as a self-image of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland, but which is actually a construction concealing a stock of images both playing with and warring against each other.

One space within the verbal image fields of Mörne’s works, the poem of “Sjömansvisa” included, has remained invisible: Mörne’s images of women in the archipelago. These images waver between three categories. On the one hand, there is the idealized, simple, innocent island girl, offering the male protagonist of Mörne’s short stories or the subjects of his poetry that relief from himself and his duties—his burden as a man of Western civilization—which is so well-known for instance in colonial literature. Maja is by all means the most famous girl in this category. The other two categories are those of the tempting and demoralizing women, and the old and disgusting women. The young teacher and the old woman Enokssonskan in Mörne’s short story “Lotsarnas kamp” (The pilots’ struggle) belong to these categories (Ahlbäck and Östman 2008). This dichotomy is almost tiresome in its predictability and typicality. What is neither predictable nor typical, however, is the fact that these images never entered the Finland-Swedish discourse but have remained absent.

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20 There is an ironic twist to the title of Mörne’s first collection of poetry *Rytm och rim* (Eng. “Rhythm and rhyme”). Phenomena such as rhythm and rhyme are exactly what is covered by the English concept of “prosody”.

up to this day. This means that they have stayed concealed beneath the canonized images of the landscape, the fishermen, and the peasants. Still the images of the women of the archipelago can adequately be said to have been even more problematically fundamental to the formation of the Finland-Swedish discourse. In words that I prefer to borrow from the postcolonial literary scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, these images of the women of the archipelago could be understood as the “mark to the limits of the desire to self the other” (Spivak [1999] 2003, 132). The women in Mörne could thus not be fully part of the Finland-Swedish national project as they were the others upon whom that project was built.

In the poem “Sjömansvisa,” three major verbal images unite: the island, the beacon or lighthouse, and the woman. The lighthouse consistently functions in Mörne’s writing as a kind of master metaphor for a Swedish-speaking civilization on guard on Finnish soil. Ruin claims that in Mörne the “lighthouse implies prompting and duty” (Ruin 1946, 45). Zilliacus also emphasizes Mörne’s poetic subjects as the “watchmen” of civilization (Zilliacus 2000, 38). Mörne’s simultaneously nationalist efforts to create a Swedish-language “nation” on Finnish territory and his Finnish patriotic poetic program becomes evident here: the island is a secluded space in the sea connecting itself both with Sweden and the Finnish mainland by means of a complex series of de- and reterritorializations implying simultaneous linkings of the “fatherland” Finland with Sweden through a metonymic series of substitution.22

How do the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization work here? There is an intricate union: by having the sea carry the element of “Sweden,” that is, Sweden is deterritorialized at the level of the sea only to be reterritorialized at the level of the island, which, in fact, belongs to the state of Finland, and thus an “assemblage” (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 554–56) of a simultaneously Finnish patriotic and a Swedish linguistic and cultural ideology is achieved. The image of an ideal space of organic Swedishness on Finnish territory appears. Moreover, and maybe most importantly, this is also a rural territory, where the Swedish language is at one with its defining geographical limits, thus becoming the very concept of identity. It must be concluded that the landscape in “Sjömansvisa,” as well as in great parts of his poetry of the archipelago, ultimately points back to Mörne’s own birth and early environment in terms of geography, language, and class. That environment was the Finnish inland town of Kuopio, where the Swedish-speaking Mörne family represented the middle-class; his father, Oskar Mörne, was the customs manager of the town (Ruin 1946, 31).23 Thus, in Mörne’s poetry, lines of escape can be found

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22 It is important to notice that this kind of nationalism was an entirely internal affair for the Finland-Swedes, or the Swedish-speaking population in Finland. It had no connections with any possible Sweden-Swedish nationalist efforts. The Swedish-speaking Finns perceived themselves to be completely alone in their nationalist pursuit exactly because there was no Swedish interest in them.

23 The family moved to the little town of Nystad (Uusikaupunki) on the southwestern coast of Finland when Arvid Mörne was six years old. From there Mörne made acquaintance with the Western archipelago of Åboland and the Åland Islands. Ruin suggests that the school years in Nystad were important to Mörne, as he “literally was
running from inland Finland, making possible an “assemblage” forgone by a deterritorialization of the deep woods of Keski-Suomi and a subsequent reterritorialization of them at the level of the image of the island with its dwarfed pine trees, imagined as “Swedish” since the archipelago of southwestern Finland was the space on Finnish territory with an almost entirely Swedish-speaking population. The dwarfed pines do not occur as such in “Sjömansvisa,” but the poem includes a number of closely related topoi. Moreover, they do appear in many of Mörne’s poems from the start of his career as a writer to the very end. As Zilliacus has shown, the dwarfed pines occur throughout Mörne’s writings, becoming martyred constitutive parts of his entire Finland-Swedish topography (Zilliacus 2000, 37).

“Swedish Finland”: Maja as Territory?

What is central to these processes of de- and reterritorialization is the homogenization of the self-images and the images of the other which are at play here through the subject speaking in the poem. In Mörne’s work there is often an overly strong projection of the self-image onto the other, to the extent that what and who is actually other—the archipelago, its women, its fishermen—seem to be identified with the poetic subject as being “his.”

Once the visual order was established in the field of verbal images, the aural and sonic categories are likely to have become crucial for the further swift incorporation of territory. The individual, subjective vision of the poet was accordingly reterritorialized as verbal artifact in the collection of poems, which was spread and read, and then reterritorialized again through Hanna Hagbom’s composition in 1906, coming to constitute, in addition to verbal, visual, and aural fields of images, also a sonic one. The further construction of territory was important, as the so-called Finland-Swedish coalition movement was newly established already by 1906 (Villstrand 2001, 8–20). Vision was made into verbal image by means of focalization. The visual images traveled with the verbal and the sonic image fields. The lines “Båklandets vackra Maja, är du min hjärtanskär” could accordingly be said to primarily constitute a vision verbalized in singing.

The women in Mörne’s poetry are providers of joy and vitality, and in order to achieve their mission in his writings—which Maja does—they must be both simple living on the border between what was Swedish and what was Finnish” (Ruin 1946, 32) (translation by author). There he could witness the changing conditions between the language groups in the country. These circumstances are highly likely to have affected the young Mörne, but in a territorial reading of Mörne’s work, his previous earliest world of a homogeneous inland Finland should also be emphasized for the shaping of his poetic vision.

24 Interestingly, Ruin quotes Erik Kihlman’s Ur Finlands svenska lyrik [From the Swedish poetry of Finland] where Kihlman points out that ”the freshness and freedom of the sea is not really Mörne’s property, something he owns and rules over. He shouts himself out onto it, he dreams about it, he longs for it, but in the depth of his soul he is bound to the earth and the coast” (Ruin 1946, 45).

25 For a development of the originally narratological concept of focalization for the study of culture, see Mieke Bal, Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide (University of Toronto Press, 2003).
and civilized at the same time. Maja is a perfect case: barefoot, smooth-skinned, living on an island with a lighthouse. Still, she is the object of the poetic subject’s desire, and the outcome is one of separation. As I have pointed out above, there is an insecurity at the level of verbal images and at the undecidedly hovering prosodic level (or level of aural images) of the refrain, whereas the sonic image field is more happily affirmative of a possible love. The image of the written poem on the page also initially provides the image world with that aspect of happy completion, symmetry, and lightness, which the field of sonic images so successfully confirms. In other words, can such ambivalence provide territory for long?

I shall answer that question by finally returning to some of the implications of the prosodic level, or the aural image field. Deleuze and Guattari devote a chapter of *A Thousand Plateaus* to a discussion of refrains in territorial terms:

> The role of the refrain has often been emphasized: it is territorial, a territorial assemblage. […] The refrain may assume other functions, amorous, professional or social, liturgical or cosmic; it always carries earth with it; it has a land (sometimes a spiritual land) as its concomitant; it has an essential relation to a Natal, a Native. A musical “nome” is a little tune, a melodic formula that seeks recognition and remains the bedrock or ground of polyphony (cantus firmus). ([1980] 2004, 344)

It is in this more critical light that Maja, the girl of the island with its beacon, should be read. What remains of the poem(-as-song) after the tune has done its work of overtaking the verbal image field is, above all, the refrain containing the repeated address to Maja: “är du min hjärtans kär” (Are you my dearest love)? Thus the unresolved question of Maja’s affection melts into the question of territory; it is that question which has been written into her name. Nevertheless, there has never been any certainty as to her acceptance of that position. The anxious questing seems to imply the fear of a negative answer. Let me accordingly—and at last!—answer that more than a hundred-year-old question with a firm “no.” “Recognition,” in Deleuze and Guattari’s words, is not granted and Maja is no longer the dearest love of the poetic subject, if she ever was.

**Conclusion: Going Global, Stepping Out of the Tune**

Translating the poem into the English language means trying to keep the meter so that the poem can still be sung to its tune, but, at the same time, breaking the force of the tune—with the words, i.e., the fields of aural and verbal images. In its English translation, the poem can once again be read aloud, recited. The words mean just about the same thing as the Swedish words, but they are different. The field of verbal images has lost its power, its Finland-Swedish spell, and now resembles the textual content of any silly old song. The words of “Båkland” and “Maja” are crucial. Båkland
is directly translatable as “beacon land”; however, in the first and last stanzas Båkland is retained in the English translation and is treated as a place-name without really being one. Many islands in the archipelago could house a beacon or lighthouse. These lighthouses were usually named after the island itself, but in Mörne’s poem it is the other way round: “Båkland” is not a place with a name but an originally Finland-Swedish topos, an archaeological allegory of the light of civilization colored by ideal femininity. “Båkland,” consequently, cannot be translated and its full meaning cannot be grasped. And even if it could be translated, the meaning at the imagological level would change. A note is needed, an explanation or comment, which makes the understanding intellectual and discursive, not emotional or affective. In the second stanza, however, Båkland is translated so that which Homi K. Bhabha denotes a “third space” can be created (Bhabha 1994, 53). We get both Båkland, beacon land, and a comment. Bhabha concludes: “The meaning of the utterance is quite literally neither the one nor the other” (ibid). When it comes to the young woman Maja, she is made into a global—and independent—subject by translating her name into May.

Various places of Swedishness in Finland were made subject to a Finland-Swedish ideology that heavily relied on territorial thinking, making use of the local, of place, in order to produce an a-topical, overarching nationalist ideology centered in the educated, male, urban middle-class. Moreover, in an otherwise overly masculine ideology (or exactly because of that), this was done by means of the category of “woman,” preferably the ideal simple girl of the archipelago, ideal in the sense that she was linked with the light of civilization, the beacon or lighthouse. The maneuver is a familiar one in the construction of nationalist and imperialist and colonial discourses: the land to be owned was ultimately female, woman and land became one.

The genre of the sailor’s song, in its turn, presupposes the mobility of the seafarer, including the temporary landing in a harbor where beautiful women are visited and seduced. Mörne never really went that far in his (re)territorialization of the archipelago through his (de)territorialization of Maja. The desire of this song is largely romantic and thus compatible with a nationalist idealism; however, it must simultaneously be stressed that the poem also carries sexual undertones, something which is acknowledged in the translation. Reaching the end of this study, the question must be asked whether the tune still forces itself upon the reading of the poem now that it has been translated into English, now, that it has been displaced? The answer in

26 An interesting object of comparison would be the imagery constituted by women, whiteness, and the Swedish language in Ture Jansson’s novel De ensamma svenskarna (The Lonely Swedes), which was published in 1916. In Kjell Westö’s Finlandia Prize-winning novel Där vi en gång gått (Where we once walked) (2006), which is mainly set in early twentieth-century Helsinki, the group of young upper- and upper-middle-class men sing “Båklandets vackra Maja” in unison when they go for outings in their cars. Moreover, in 1918 in the aftermath of the Civil War, they also sing the song when they, on the initiative of the character Cedric Lilliehjelm, go off to punish members of the Red Guard by killing them without a trial. These events are also part of the film based on the novel, which was directed by Peter Lindholm (2011).
Swedish is “nej.” The line of flight has run to its end. Maja has been deterritorialized as a female principle of construction for the Finland-Swedish discourse. She is now to be found as a cultural hybrid and global subject of the twenty-first century.

By deconstructing Arvid Mörne’s poem from 1899 in intimate connection with the popular song which the poem was transformed into through Hanna Hagbom’s composition in 1906, I have shown that the Finland-Swedish national project, to which Mörne contributed maybe more than any other single writer, has been more complex than previously believed. In the construction of a Finland-Swedish territory and discourse during the crucial decades of 1899–1920, the use of images of the Swedish-speaking woman has not been noticed so far in literary scholarship. What has been repeatedly acknowledged, on the contrary, is (male) fishermen and peasants and the physical landscape. However, only by including the category of the images of women occurring in the early Finland-Swedish literature, is it possible to analyze the complete, and ambivalent, picture of Finland-Swedish, national ideology. The fact that images of women are part of it is hardly surprising; such images have turned out to be central to any nationalist ideology. What is remarkable is that they have been missing for so long in Finland-Swedish scholarship.

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“I Wish There Had Been a Little Bit More Finland”: Finnish Crime Novels in English Translation

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Abstract

Readers of Finnish crime novels in translation often seek more than just another good tale of cops and criminals—they’re also seeking a taste of Finland and Finnish culture. So they tend to judge the book in two ways: as crime novels certainly, but also as literary tour guides to Finland.

But the books that most appeal to readers as distinctly Finnish crime novels often suffer from the same faults as more traditional forms of tourism—self-conscious constructions that reduce Finland and Finnishness to a series of familiar tropes and artifacts, the literary equivalent of the dockside trinket shop, whereas books judged least successful as distinctly Finnish crime novels simply fail to accommodate for the literary tourist’s preconceived notions of what Finland and Finnishness—and a Finnish crime novel—must be.

In Nights of Awe, by Harri Nykänen (2012), Detective Ariel Kafka finds himself in the sort of predicament whereby his loyalties to his profession, his state, his family, and his clan are tested. But Kafka, like other noble, code-besotted heroes, knows who he is—“I’m first and foremost a police officer, second a Finn, and only third a Jew,” he says (101), a statement he repeats nearly verbatim later in the novel. The statement, of course, affirms his loyalty to law and order (and perhaps, we are to imply, truth and justice), a loyalty that transcends the claims of nation and family and clan. But Ariel Kafka is also a character in a novel—to be more specific, a Finnish crime novel—of which he is the hero and of which he is unaware. And while he himself may be confident in the hierarchy of his loyalties and in the ways those loyalties reflect his self-definition, for those non-Finnish readers who encounter him in English translation, the order of his defining qualities may not be as Kafka himself has imagined
them to be. For although Kafka sees himself first and foremost as a police officer, on a bookstore’s shelves lined with crime novels—novels filled with detectives like Kafka who must walk those mean streets—it is Kafka’s distinctiveness as a Finnish police detective (and a Jewish Finnish police detective at that) and the novel’s status as a Finnish crime novel that offer the reader the possibility of something new and exotic in a genre built on familiar tropes and well-defined boundaries. It is within this context that readers of Finnish crime novels in translation are prone to judge the books in two ways: as crime novels certainly, but also as literary tour guides to Finland. This latter judgment is not without its complications. In fact, I will argue here that the books that most appeal to readers as distinctly Finnish crime novels often suffer from the same kinds of faults as more traditional forms of tourism—self-conscious constructions that reduce Finland and Finnishness to a series of familiar tropes and artifacts, the literary equivalent of the dockside trinket shop, whereas books judged least successful as distinctly Finnish crime novels are often no less Finnish, but rather simply fail to accommodate for the literary tourist’s preconceived notions of what Finland and Finnishness—and a Finnish crime novel—must be.

**The Nordic Crime Wave**

In recent years, much attention, both in terms of sales and criticism, has been paid to Scandinavian, or Nordic, crime fiction. Even for those readers for whom the region barely registers outside the Winter Olympics, the novels and detectives of Stieg Larsson, Henning Mankell, Karin Fossum, Jo Nesbo, and others have become familiar, via the screen, if not the books themselves. But, despite recent efforts, few Finnish crime novels are yet available in English translation to the North American market. Here, Finnish crime novelists such as Matti Joensuu, Seppo Jokinen, Leena Lehtolainen, Harri Nykänen, and Jarkko Sipilä remain largely unknown.

Yet the potential for Finnish crime fiction in North America has not gone unrecognized. Select novels of the above authors have, in the past several years, been published in English translation. Most notably perhaps, Ice Cold Crime, based in Minneapolis, Minnesota, has brought Jokinen, Nykänen, and Sipilä to American audiences, while Amazon Crossing has published an English translation of the first two books in Lehtolainen’s Maria Kallio series (*My First Murder* and *Her Enemy*), with more to come. Additionally, novels set in Finland and written by the American ex-patriote James Thompson and the German Jan Costin Wagner, published in the United States by Putnam and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt respectively, have found a degree of popular and/or critical success. The latter two authors, it should be noted, are not native-born Finns, but rather men who have married Finnish wives. Thompson has lived in Finland for the past dozen-plus years while Wagner divides his time between Finland and his native Germany. Yet their novels are set in Finland and clearly identify as “Finnish crime novels.”
But what then, exactly, does that mean? In what ways are these crime novels distinctly Finnish? Is it merely a novel’s geographical setting? The language in which it was originally written? The author’s own biography? His or her artistic choices? Do these novels reflect certain traits of the nation’s collective consciousness? (And, if so, what are these traits?) We might interrogate the ways in which these novels resemble the canonical Finnish literature of authors like J. L. Runeberg, Aleksis Kivi, Juhani Aho, Zachris Topelius, Väinö Linna, Tove Jansson, Bo Carpelan, or Mika Waltari, and we might, too, wonder how much these novels, as crime novels, resemble the works of Raymond Chandler or Walter Mosley or James Ellroy in the United States, or perhaps the novels of Wilkie Collins, Agatha Christie, and Patricia Highsmith in Great Britain, or Philip Kerr in Germany or Friedrich Dürrenmatt in Switzerland. We might seek family roots, distant cousins, the ways in which, as Andrew Nestingen (2008) points out, these crime fictions engage in social critique in the tradition of Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö and other Scandinavian crime writers. We might seek, too, the sui generis, the ways in which these crime novels bear resemblance to no other. Not to Nesbo or Mankell or Larsson, not to Sjöwall and Wahlöö or Kivi or Aho, or even to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle himself.

In our globalized context, such nationalistic distinctions might seem slippery at best. We understand that novels are produced within and in relationship to the cultures of these nations and the times in which they are written, but we understand, too, that books cross borders—of nation and genre—as quickly as a file on a server in India can be downloaded to a Kindle in Sacramento or Durban, and television viewers in America can watch Henning Mankell’s Wallander series just as easily as Croatians can watch Law & Order: SVU. In the novels of Joensuu, Jokinen, Lehtolainen, Sipilä, and Nykänen, the crimes and contexts, if anything, reflect the globalized culture of the early twenty-first century: fears about immigration and religious fanaticism, the prevalence of the international smuggling of narcotics and people, organized crime and lone stalkers, and, of course, good old-fashioned murder. And there’s nothing distinctly Finnish about murder. Murder, if the crime novel teaches us anything, is distinctly cross-cultural.

Yet the cover of the novel says, Helsinki White. Or it says, Ice Cold Crime. Or, Finland: Crime Novel of the Year. Or the opening paragraph reads, “I’m in Hullu Poro, The Crazy Reindeer, the biggest bar and restaurant in this part of the Arctic Circle. It was remodeled not long ago, but pine boards line the walls and ceilings, like an old Finnish farmhouse. Nouveau rustic décor” (Thompson, Snow Angels, 1). The book promises the reader that, in some way, it’s a Finnish crime novel, which is also to say it is not an American crime novel or a British crime novel or even a Swedish crime novel. It offers something different. But what then is this difference that it offers?
**Generic and Cultural Expectations**

To mark(et) a crime novel to a North American readership as a Finnish crime novel is to assume that its national or cultural identity matters, that this identity might appeal both to those readers who have at least some familiarity with Finland, its people, its culture, and its history, and to those readers who know next to nothing about it. For the former, the publisher is depending upon a certain regional or ethnic affinity for Finland and all things Finnish, perhaps an audience of Finnish Americans or Finnish Canadians or natives of Minnesota or Michigan’s Upper Peninsula or Thunder Bay, Ontario, or Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where Finnish immigrants have historically settled, the sort of book buyer who visits Finnish cultural events and still makes it to sauna at least once a year.¹ But for the latter, which is certainly a potentially larger and much more lucrative market, the publisher depends upon a certain exoticism to Finland, the kind of exoticism that appeals to a person who says, “I’ve never met anyone from Finland!” Or, “Reindeer? They have reindeer!” Publishers understand that some readers might purchase a Finnish crime novel because those readers assume that, from the perspective of their own experience (as individuals and as readers), the novel will be set in a locale that’s unusual.² A novel set in Helsinki is not a novel set in Los Angeles or Miami, London or Berlin. The people are different. The landscape is different. The cuisine is different. The artwork on the walls is different. Maybe even the criminals and the crime, the manner of its investigation, the personalities and powers of the detectives, and even the novel’s resolution will be different. At least, that’s the hope and the expectation.

So at its most basic level, these regional identities become a way of diversifying the familiar tropes of the genre. If we have become all too familiar with the Colonel Mustard who committed the crime with a dagger in the dining room, it seems invigorating enough the next time to let Miss Scarlet use chloroform in the meadow, and if the meadow happens to be located someplace east of Turku and north of Helsinki and there’s an ice pick involved and Finnish folk metal and General Mannerheim’s ghost, and maybe the Russian mafia, too, well, so much the better.

But for this reason the Finnish crime novel, like its Nordic kin, is not entirely unfamiliar to the North American reader either. For starters, it’s a crime novel. The genre itself places limitations and strictures on the material of the novel. So just as Harri Nykänen’s Detective Ariel Kafka defines himself first and foremost as a police officer, first and foremost these novels define themselves as crime novels, and only secondarily as Finnish novels or as novels of psychological realism, or globalization, or historical revisionism, or however else we might wish to define and categorize them individually.

¹ Ice Cold Crime’s novels are distributed in the United States and Canada not only through bookstores, but through businesses that cater to customers interested first and foremost in all things Finnish, such as FinnStyle, a home furnishings retailer in Minneapolis (Steller 2010).
² It’s worth noting that this may apply to the first group of readers as well. See Lane (2006).
In this sense, the novels as a whole, and to a varying degree individually, contain the recognizable tropes of the modern crime novel: an initiating crime that must be solved; an increasingly complex puzzle of suspects and actions; a gray region of law and ethics and morals where cop and criminal, the law-abiding act and the law-breaking act all reside in close proximity; inefficient and often inept bureaucracies of investigation and justice; insufficient government funding and narcissistic leadership within and above the rank-and-file; an aggressive and antagonizing media presence; cruel and imaginative mechanisms of punishment and death; and a detective, often beaten-down professionally and personally, perhaps because of his honor and nobility, perhaps because of her youth and gender, who must overcome it all with a combination of cunning, understanding, courage, maverick independence, and instinct—and sometimes no small bit of luck.

We could certainly define the novels of Jarkko Sipilä as traditional police procedurals and define the novels of Jan Costin Wagner and Matti Joensuu as psychological thrillers. We could place Harri Nykänen’s anti-hero Raid in the tradition of criminals whom we admire because they live by a code and who, in a sense, seem ethically superior, despite their ruthless and violent means, to the corrupt or compromised cops who must try to stop them. And certainly the female heroine, Maria Kallio, of Liisa Lehtolainen’s series, can be placed in the more recent tradition of strong female detective leads who chafe against the expectations and impediments of a male-dominated, testosterone-driven, hard-boiled profession. There is nothing uniquely Finnish about these broad categories, even if they are expressed here within a Finnish context.

Yet the desire for a Finnish distinctiveness—of place, of character, of culture—is part of what draws a North American reader to these novels in the first place, and part of what publishers (and their authors) depend upon. For the reader unfamiliar with Finland, the Finnish crime novel offers not only the typical pleasures of the genre, but the possibility of a kind of cheap literary tourism: along the way to the novel’s resolution, he or she might learn a little bit about this northern country that sits between Sweden and Russia, perhaps something to share over dinner one night with a friend or while waiting in line at the Department of Motor Vehicles. Hence, readers of Finnish crime novels are prone to judge the books (positively or negatively) in two ways—on how well they fulfill the reader’s expectations as crime novels, of course, and on how well they fulfill the reader’s expectations as cultural representations of Finland. Consider this title of an Amazon review of Lehtolainen’s My First Murder: “Interesting as an introduction to Finland [. . .] but as a mystery, not so successful” (M. C. Crammer, October 11, 2012). Or this review of the same book: “The reason this book got 4 rather than 3 stars out of me was because of the fascinating backdrop of Finland and Finnish life. [. . .] The murder mystery element of this book was just okay. I loved reading about life in Finland (not the information
the average tourist would usually get) and I was busting for a good soak in a sauna and a bottle of the hard stuff by the end of it” (S. Goodwin, October 6, 2012). Or this not atypical comment from an Amazon reviewer of Nykänen’s Raid and the Blackest Sheep: “I wish there had been a little bit more ‘Finland’” (Spiegelei, September 6, 2012).

But what then does that mean? How does the literary tourist know when he or she has been given “a little bit more ‘Finland’”? Against what is the novel’s Finnishness to be measured? What form(s) would this Finnishness take? In these novels, most of the characters are Finns, or, at least, are intended to be understood as Finns, in the way that we might claim that fictional characters can hold any sort of national identity. But what does it mean even to speak of the characters as Finnish? To what extent do we merely evoke stereotypes when we speak in such terms? Who has decided that this is “Finnish” and this is “not Finnish”? That this character “acts Finnish” and this character “does not act Finnish”? Is it the ritual of the sauna? Sibelius on the car stereo? Hockey practice after work? Are Finns quiet and reserved by nature? Do all Finns contain within themselves sisu? Is Finnish humor, by definition, laconic? Should we presume that the marriages represented in these novels are indicative in some more broad way of the current state of Finnish marriages? Are these “typical” Finnish youth? It seems a risky business to make such essentialist claims, or to draw any conclusions from a handful of crime novels in translation. If an American only knew Finland through the films of Aki Kaurismäki, what would he then know of Finns? How accurate would his understanding be? If she only knew Finland through the bands JPP or Nightwish, or through the symphonies of Sibelius, could it be said that she knew anything about Finns or the Finnish character? Is Finnishness subject to change? And who decides? And how representative of a nation and its people can we claim criminals and police officers—or crime novels; any novel—to be?

Yet the literary tourist, like other kinds of tourists, wants a distinctively Finnish experience. Finnish characters. Finnish landscapes. Finnish culture. It is, after all, a Finnish crime novel, right?

A LITTLE MORE FINLAND

“The last words came out as a shrill groan, and Kauppila disappeared at a run into the hallway that led to the rooms. Koskinen put his baseball cap back on and, before he left, heard that now they were belting out ‘The Hymn of the Häme’ in the dayroom. The group was already on the last stanza: ‘So gallant are our heroes, with sense and strength to act when ever called upon.’” (Jokinen, Wolves and Angels, 98)

“And on top of it all he’s an Axes man,’ Koskinen added. He knew that would be worse to Kaatio than a religious heretic, a half-breed, and a sexual deviant all rolled up into one.” (Jokinen, Wolves and Angels, 124)
“Antti’s gaze landed on a beaten-up mixed-choir songbook lying on the desk. It was open to Toivo Kuula’s pathos-laden ‘Drifting on the Tide.’ Even though I wasn’t much of a fan of rhyming poetry, I had always liked the Eino Leino poem from which the song took its lyrics.” (Lehtolainen, *My First Murder*, Chapter 1)

For the reader who desired “a little more Finland,” here you go. If we are the music we listen to, the art we hang on our walls, the cafés we frequent, the teams whose colors we wear, then perhaps these details—“The Hymn of the Häme,” the fans of the Tappara Axes ice hockey team, the music of Toivo Kuula, the poetry of Eino Leino—say something about these particular characters, and in the process help to define this particular culture and nation. Even if the full resonance of the cultural marker may not be fully realized in translation, there’s still that hope. The non-Finnish reader may not understand what it means to be an Axes man, but she might gather that it’s some type of sports fan, and know what it would mean to say a character is a Yankees man or a Notre Dame man or an Arsenal man and so get by with a general, if not specific, association. And she may not know the historical context for “The Hymn of the Häme,” but she can understand that it’s patriotic and inspirational and perhaps sentimental, given the context in which it’s being sung and the narrator’s attitude toward the song and the singers.

In one sense these details are merely mimetic markers of the realist novel. They exist to persuade the reader that the story presented within this text is “real,” that it bears an equivalent relationship to the world outside the text. Characters in novels often have strong allegiances to specific sports teams just as people in “real life” often have strong allegiances to specific sports teams; a person walking through the hallway of a home for invalids may hear music coming from the dayroom, just as Detective Koskinen does in *Wolves and Angels*, and if the dayroom is in Tampere, then the music is likely to be Finnish. This assumption undergirds a reader’s expectation that in the act of reading a Finnish crime novel he or she will learn a little bit more about Finland itself, that the novels represent not only the “real” in general, but Finland and Finns in particular. These readers are prepared to accept the verisimilitude of such cultural markers, trusting the author as the tourist trusts the tour guide. The North American reader of Finnish crime novels then accumulates cultural knowledge like little badges—a Finnish pop musician referenced here, a rye bread reference there, yet one more reference to President Kekkonen and his glasses. Even if the reader isn’t certain of the reference (what type of music does Eppu Normaali play anyway?), a quick check of Google provides the answer. Aren’t certain what kind of café is the ubiquitous Teboil Café? Enter it into Yahoo! search and a few moments later you can click your way through a Twitter stream of Teboil Café images. Need some background on Henry Parland or Iittala dishware? Try Wikipedia.
the literary tourist, the novel seems “more Finnish” because these mimetic details are marked as Finnish: these are Finnish musicians, Finnish cafés, Finnish politicians, Finnish authors, Finnish companies.

Yet it is worth noting how often in these novels such cultural markers are insignificant to the crime in question, or to a deeper understanding of the characters, or even to an understanding of Finland and Finns. Does the criminal’s choice of music say something about his personality and thus offer a clue as to his motivation in committing the murder? Is someone who listens to Sibelius less likely to commit a crime than someone who listens to Finntroll? Is the murder of a drug courier simply not something an Axes man would do? Would the fan of another, perhaps rival, hockey team be more likely to commit such an act? Does it matter that the dishware came from Iittala? Only perhaps in the sense that it marks the home as Finnish. Early in Wagner’s Ice Moon, the detective observes that on the victim’s bookshelf, there’s a copy of the Kalevala. What could be more distinctly Finnish? What could be more generically Finnish?

Consider the descriptions of buildings and their architecture in Jarkko Sipilä’s Against the Wall (2009), the first of his works to be translated into English (by Peter Ylitalo Leppä). Although Sipilä’s novels are fairly traditional police procedurals, Against the Wall in particular routinely interjects tidbits of information about the buildings the characters inhabit or, more frequently, pass by. In this example, Juha Saarnikangas, a junkie and former art history student, is meeting Suhonen, a police officer; Saarnikangas tells Suhonen that if Suhonen can tell him something interesting about a particular building within their view, he’ll share something of interest to the police officer. When Suhonen fails to guess correctly, Saarnikangas tells him, “That building is the first one that Alvar Aalto ever designed in Helsinki. It was finished in 1951, soon to be followed by the Rautatalo, Kulttuuritalo, Finlandia-talo and Enso-Gutzeit’s headquarters. This is where it all began” (51). Then he proceeds to spill some information vital to Suhonen’s investigation, although neither the information nor the investigation has anything to do with Aalto or architecture; these are merely things Saarnikangas likes to talk about. A bit later in the novel, as Lieutenant Takamäki, Suhonen’s colleague, waits at a red light by the National Museum, the narrator informs us that the National Museum posed as the Kremlin in the 1980s American movie, Gorky Park (76). And later still, as Suhonen waits for a phone call, the narrator again tells us about the four- and eight-story towers nearby: “Rocky Pihlajamäki was the first Helsinki suburb built in the sixties to be officially preserved by the city. The Finnish Historical Board had also requested protection for it, though Suhonen had wondered why. The ‘Sausage House,’ a monstrosity of a building just across the street from the Helsinki Railway Station, named for the sausage-shaped ring encircling the second floor. For the people of Helsinki, the Sausage House is an institution. For visitors, it’s a curiosity” (108). There are numerous such examples in
Against the Wall (and fewer, it should be noted, in the translations of Sipilä’s following books, Vengeance [2010] and Nothing But the Truth [2011]).

In each instance cited above, the architectural notes have no bearing on the story’s narrative—or even its themes or motifs. In context, the information is trivial, a brief digression; it could be removed without any impact on the reader’s understanding of the characters or the plot or any other of the novel’s literary qualities. Saarnikangas has no reason to talk about Aalto or his buildings, except that the building is there, in front of him. For the novel and the characters, for the crime and its investigation—the central foci of the novel—it doesn’t matter that the National Museum stood in for the Kremlin in Gorky Park or that Rocky Pihlajamäki holds the distinction it does. If these observations about architecture in Helsinki merely characterized Saarnikangas and his own obsessions, we might see them as contributing to our understanding of this character. But they come from the third-person narrator as well, and so reveal an author interested in the architecture of Helsinki, even if it’s insignificant to the novel he’s written. Yet it isn’t as if these details serve no function; such digressions both ground the novel in an illusion of verisimilitude and provide a literal tour of the city and its architecture. “This is Helsinki,” these notes say. “This is Finland.” The history of the building gets pointed out to the reader as a native might point it out to a visitor en route to the summer cottage or to the hockey game; it is exactly the sort of trivia that a guidebook to Helsinki might provide for a tourist. In the process, it contributes to an overt sense of the novel’s Finnishness, rewarding the reader who wants “a little bit more Finland.”

James Thompson’s Crime Novel Tourism

Perhaps it isn’t surprising, as one reads the crime novels of James Thompson, to discover that he was born and raised in eastern Kentucky, and has lived in Helsinki for the past fifteen years. He is an American who has adopted Finland as his own territory, as a writer if not necessarily as a citizen, and his novels are filled with just the sorts of cultural markers a tourist might want to encounter. In fact, I’d argue that they are a defining quality of Thompson’s work.

Rarely does a page go by where Thompson does not seek to insert some unique fact about Finland or Finns or Samis, whether it concerns architecture, politics, history, government, sociology, the weather, alcoholism, racism, the Winter War, puukko, or the high rate of suicides. These efforts reflect an author highly aware of the exoticism of the Finnish landscape, the Finnish people, and the Finnish culture to a North American reader, and they reflect the tension in Thompson’s status as both an outsider and an insider. To read Thompson then is, in part, to read a crime novel, but also, in part, to read a travel guide. It’s worth noting that Thompson’s books are first written in English, then translated into Finnish (with his assistance) and published in separate versions for both the North American and the Finnish market: “The plots
are exactly the same, but I strip out all the things of interest to foreigners but most Finns know. This is to keep from boring Finnish readers to tears” (“Joy,” 2012).

While this attention to cultural detail provides the North American reader with perhaps a greater sense that they are reading a Finnish novel, Thompson’s efforts to do so often strain the illusion of realist narrative that the crime novel depends upon, the narrator and characters routinely dropping facts about Finland and providing definitions of Finnish words (the original Finnish word and its translation both often included in the text), and often doing so in exchanges of dialogue that sound as though they were being read off a Wikipedia page or quoted from an encyclopedia.

Consider, for a moment, this passage of dialogue from *Snow Angels* (2010) that takes place between Inspector Vaara and his friend Liisa, who has just introduced Vaara to Kate, the American woman who will become his wife: “‘I was just telling Kate about midsummer,’ Liisa said. ‘I explained that midsummer marks the summer solstice and is also Finnish Flag Day, that we have a tradition of going to sauna and having a big bonfire at midnight. Care to add anything?’”

And Vaara—or Thompson—does.

“Midsummer is the longest day of the year and a pagan festival of light,” I said. “It was Christianized into a celebration of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. That’s why in Finnish it’s called Juhannus. For pagans, it was a potent magical night, mostly for young women seeking men or wanting children or both. The burning of the bonfire is associated with beliefs concerning fertility, cleansing of the soul and the banishing of evil spirits.”

(Location 309/3992, Chapter 2)

None of this factors into the novel beyond this moment. It is a moment constructed as much for the benefit of the reader as for Kate. “Welcome to Finland,” it says, “Let me tell you a little bit about it.”

Or consider the following piece of dialogue from Inspector Vaara during a discussion with his pregnant wife Kate about the nine-month maternity leave she is entitled to by law in Finland: “‘It’s true that employers get pissed off when they lose workers to pregnancy, and sometimes don’t want to give young women jobs, because they’re considered investment risks. Pregnant women receive full salaries from employers for the first three months of leave’” (51).

Or the conversation a few pages earlier between Vaara and his boss, Jyri Ivalo. Though Vaara and Ivalo are ostensibly discussing the context of Arvid Lehtinen’s status as a Finnish war hero and potential war criminal, the reader is provided with the necessary historical information to understand why this would be so controversial.

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3 Critics often refer to crime novels as written in a kind of “stylized realism,” although all realism in literature is, of course, stylized—a set of conventions. But casual readers routinely ignore such distinctions. As an example, woe be the author who fails to get the details right about a particular gun employed in the execution of a crime or criminal investigation.
in Finland. It isn’t a conversation that Vaara and Ivalo would be required to have, in the same way that one American Baby Boomer would not need to explain to another American Baby Boomer that Richard Nixon was seen by many as a crook. But the conversation also clearly reveals an author who is concerned that his (North American) audience may not have sufficient historical knowledge to understand his characters’ concerns.

In a sense, these passages in Thompson’s work could be simply dismissed as momentary stumbles of craft—the sorts of moments that another writer, perhaps a better stylist, might have more artfully incorporated into the narrative, or that a tougher editor might have excised from the final draft. But these inartful slippages interrupt the “vivid and continuous dream,” as John Gardner calls it (1991), that the realist novel depends upon, and they call attention to Thompson’s efforts not only to create a scene in a novel, but to provide his North American readers with a tour of Finland.

As another example, consider this description of Inspector Vaara’s new office in Helsinki, which appears early in Lucifer’s Tears (2011), the second of the three novels to date (a fourth is due in the spring of 2013):

The atmosphere of standard-issue office junk suffocates me. I decorated with my own stuff, most of it from my office in Kittilä, up in Lapland, from when I headed the police department there. A polished oak desk. A Persian rug. A reproduction of the painting December Day, by the nineteenth-century Finnish artist Albert Edelfelt. A photo I took myself, of an ahma, an Arctic wolverine facing extinction, on the back of a reindeer, trying to get at its throat. (12)

Such a self-consciously Finnish description rarely appears in the novels of Jarkko Sipilä or Harri Nykänen, Matti Joensuu, or Liisa Lehtolainen, native-born Finns all, whose detectives maintain offices and desks that appear to be standard-issue police department offices and desks, covered with file folders, stacks of paperwork, and generic computers—offices and desks that could be found in just about any police station in any part of the world. While distinctively Finnish cultural markers do appear in the crime novels by native-born Finns, as noted in the quotations above, their use of such descriptions mostly seems to be in line with the simple accumulations of the realist novel, items of business to reinforce the novel’s verisimilitude, most often appearing unexplained and unexamined. It is these latter qualities that seem important here. Such details rarely appear in Thompson’s novels without an accommodation for the reader who may lack the necessary cultural knowledge or understanding; in fact, they often seem to have been chosen with the cultural outsider in mind. Characters in the novels of Jokinen and Thompson may visit the same establishment, in the way that both the native and the tourist may find themselves at adjoining tables in a
local bar, but while the native came because it was the bar closest to his house, the tourist has been brought here to “experience local color.” In this sense, Thompson’s novels are filled with “local color”—exactly the sorts of details and observations a conscientious tour guide would provide for his or her clients who were seeking an “authentically Finnish experience.” Thompson, then, has a clear interest in marking his novels and characters as distinctively Finnish. So when he accessorizes Vaara’s office, he’s certain to signal, through its various artifacts, the ways in which it is an office that belongs not just to a police detective but to a Finn.

This sort of relationship to his readers—and the tension inherent in the author’s creation of a crime novel in a setting foreign, or exotic, to the reader—is most literalized in *Lucifer’s Tears* in its portrayal of the siblings of Inspector Vaara’s American wife, Kate. Mary and John have arrived in Finland in order to be there for the birth of Kate and Vaara’s child, and they quite conveniently enable Thompson to explain much about Finland through his character’s conversations—the facts and ideas either voiced by Vaara himself or Kate or even through John, a graduate student in history who happens to have learned a little bit about Finland in the course of his studies. Thompson plugs Mary into the role of ugly American—a religious conservative, a pious teetotaler, a jingoistic and judgmental, flag-waving, “USA #1” American extolling the glories of capitalism—who then functions as a strawwoman for Vaara and Kate to dismantle while extolling the comparative and contrasting virtues of Finland and Finns, the ways in which the nation is different (and better). As narrative technique, it is heavy handed, but for the literary tourist who knows little to nothing of Finland and who wants the experience of a distinctly Finnish crime novel, or at least the illusion that this is what he or she has encountered, it might prove interesting.

And, in fact, it does. As one Amazon reviewer of *Snow Angels* writes, “Other than reindeer and Lapps, I knew very little about Finland, but it’s delightful to pick up the nuggets of culture, history, and climate that are revealed in the book. It’s a pleasure to read something set in a totally different locale. A refreshing change of pace!” (NewDiane “I live to read!” December 14, 2009). Another Amazon reviewer of *Snow Angels* writes, “[Thompson] excels at educating the reader on aspects of life in Finland, including such phenomena as the Northern Lights” (Michael J. Tucker, June 10, 2012).

Perhaps it is Thompson’s status as a non-native—highly self-conscious of the role of cultural distinctiveness in his work—that enables him to most readily provide at least the appearance of Finnishness that foreign readers of a Finnish crime novel might be seeking. Like any outsider, he is quite aware of those things that are distinct (from America and Americans in particular) about Finland and Finns. And it’s not just in the small details. Thompson quite consciously seeks to write novels that draw attention to what he has described as the darker side of contemporary Finland—the racist responses to immigration, from African nations in particular; the relationship
between Finns and the Nazis during World War II; the high rates of alcoholism and suicide. It is, as he has noted, a part of the noir tradition in which he writes. “Looking back, I felt compelled to write *Helsinki White* only partly because of the social problems I address,” Thompson writes,

[. . .] but more so because of hypocrisy, because of the national denial that they exist, because of the spin doctors who have convinced the world that Finland is a Utopia, when in fact, it faces a nearly identical set of problems to those much of Europe and the United States, and economically, these problems have been brought on by financiers and power brokers in the European Union and Finland. Yes, much of the book is scripture pure truth, but like everywhere I’ve ever been, this country is multi-faceted, and there is far more to it than suicide, alcoholism, and the many other ills I’ve ascribed to this society. Those facets are simply stories for other writers, not me. They aren’t the themes that compel me to write. It’s just not in my nature. (“Racism”)

I think it’s fair to say that Thompson isn’t merely interested in writing crime novels set in Finland and peopled by Finns; as a writer in the noir tradition, he wants to write novels that say something about Finland and Finns and the nation’s social ills. He wants to show the tourist—and even Finns themselves—what Finland and Finns are really like—or can be like. Whether he succeeds or fails, that is another question.

**A Portrait of Finland**

Certainly influential national (and nationalist) writers such as Aleksis Kivi, Zachris Topelius, Juhani Aho, and Väinö Linna consciously wrote with the construction (or reconstruction in the case of the latter pair of authors) of a Finnish type (or types) in mind. Their literary creations were intended quite explicitly to be part of a larger, national project—to define, in literature and art, Finland and its people. And, as Pasi Saukkonen (2007, 151) points out, foreign travelers to Finland, as with foreign travelers elsewhere, also have a long history of defining Finland and Finns, often in exotic terms.

But the native-born Finnish crime novelists are not consciously engaged in an act of national identity formation, nor do they, as a rule, seek to create exotic portrayals of Finns and Finland, such as those that might appeal to the tourist. They are, after all, writing first and foremost for Finns, and Finns know their country, know its history. They don’t need to have *kuppaus* explained to them. A sauna is just a part of the week, not some distinct cultural marker. As noted above, the novels of Jarkko Sipilä, like all realist novels, are filled with mimetic details: the identification of buildings with notes on their architecture and history; narrative commentary about Finnish history and sociology; an abundance of pop cultural references, to music and
movies and video games in particular. Yet Sipilä’s characters are just as likely to be listening to the Rolling Stones as Hassisen Kone, watching Jack Bauer on 24 as anything by Aki Kaurismäki, and eating a Big Mac at McDonald’s as a Karelian pastry at home.

And perhaps it is fair to speculate, in similar terms, that Finnish readers don’t seek out Finnish crime novels as acts of literary tourism, but instead as crime novels that happen to take place in their own language and in a familiar setting, a place they recognize and take for granted as their own. It seems worth noting here the distinction drawn by scholars such as Howard Stein and Robert Hill between “real ethnics” and “dime store” or “fake ethnicity.” They have argued that “real ethnics” “are not conscious of the subtle influence that their ethnic heritage continues to assert in their daily lives. To the extent that people are immersed within an ethnic culture, they may be unaware of the impact of that culture on their everyday life” (qtd. in Stoller 1996, 163).

In the context of Finnish crime novels, it seems fair to say that the native Finnish authors are less likely to be conscious of the distinctly Finnish aspects of their characters and their work; or, at least, to say they are not trying to create distinctly Finnish artifacts; they are, after all, focused upon writing crime novels. They happen to be Finnish crime novels because of the authors’ language and biographies, and the authorial choice of cultural, political, and geographical landscapes. It isn’t that distinctly Finnish elements don’t exist in these novels, but the authors (and their translators) are much less likely to call attention to them in the way that a tour guide might direct our attention to the building on the right.

The idea of the crime novel as a form of cheap literary tourism and the then-parallel idea of crime novelists as tour guides should remind us of the complexities of tourism and tour guides, and the ways in which “tour packages” are constructed to appeal to the desires of the tourist, whatever that construction’s relationship to the “real” might be. Tourism—whether it is of the Chamber of Commerce or noir fiction variety—is both an act of narrative construction and a political act. Hence, the “inartful slippages” in Thompson’s novels noted earlier should remind us not only that realism in fiction is indeed a construction, but that the tour of Finland that we are being given is also a construction. It isn’t that the details of Finland and Finns provided by Thompson are not, or may not be, true (factually or emotionally or in any other way we think of truth), but they are details that have been selected for the “benefit” of the tourist, a process that involves inclusion and exclusion, evaluation and judgment, choices conscious and unconscious, much of it oblique to the tourist who has only just arrived.

In the case of Finnish crime novels, literary tourists then voice their satisfaction—or dissatisfaction—with the tour, based on their own expectations and the ways in which a particular author’s book does or does not meet those expectations.
To return to one of the Amazon reviews noted above, the reviewer writes, “I loved reading about life in Finland (not the information the average tourist would usually get) and I was busting for a good soak in a sauna and a bottle of the hard stuff by the end of it” (S. Goodwin, October 6, 2012). It’s worth noting that the reader believes that he or she has been given a peek behind the curtain, so to speak, a guided tour of what things are really like, something authentically Finnish—“not the information the average tourist would usually get”—and yet by the end, the reviewer is ready for “a good soak in a sauna and a bottle of the hard stuff,” two stereotypically Finnish endeavors, exactly the sort of endeavors a tour guide might suggest to a tourist for the end of a “typical” Finnish day—although we must ask, “Whose ‘typical’ Finnish day?”

**Lost in the Nordic Woods**

Yet if Thompson risks over-explanation, catering to an audience that might not have sufficient cultural knowledge of Finland to understand the context in which his characters act, this Amazon reviewer’s comment about Lehtolainen’s *My First Murder* reveals the potential for the opposite problem:

> There are some places that footnotes or explanations for English-speakers would be helpful. A game called ‘kyykkä’ was mentioned a number of times. I finally looked it up. Kyykkä is a traditional Finnish game like skittles or lawn bowling. It nearly died out in all but remote villages, but has made a revival, especially among university students who enjoy flinging a board across gravel or ice at the opponents’ standing wooden cylinders. (Ann Elliot, October 9, 2012)

Such risks are inherent in cross-cultural readings of literature. How much accommodation must (or should or can) be made for the literary tourist? Should Lehtolainen (or her translator) provide such footnotes? And if so, what deserves a footnote? How many footnotes might be required? What can the author (or translator) assume the reader might know? What is the author’s (or translator’s) responsibility? What responsibilities belong to the literary tourist?

Thompson certainly goes out of his way to accommodate for the naïve tourist, much, I think, to the satisfaction of his readers. But such accommodations are much more rare in the translated works of the native-born Finns. As a small example, consider this exchange of dialogue late in Matti Joensuu’s *The Priest of Evil* (2008a). Two characters, Matti and Leena, both lost and socially isolated teenagers, are eating pizza in the food court on the basement level of the Forum shopping center, part of the Kaivokatu Railway Station in central Helsinki. Matti and Leena are in possession of a rucksack, given to them by “the priest” of whom they’ve become apostles, that contains “boxes full of rusty bolts and stuff” as well as “blocks [. . .] like sausages,”
cables, and a clock. Eventually, they speculate that it might be a bomb, but then Matti says, “Things like that don’t happen in Finland. [. . .]” Only they do, as Leena reminds him: “Don’t you remember what happened in Myyrmanni? And the car bomb downtown?” (Location 3183/3629, Chapter 54, “Pizza Outing”).

No further context for the “Myyrmanni bombing” and the “car bombing” are provided. In fact, for the reader, in particular the reader as literary tourist, it may be uncertain whether or not the characters are referring to historical events or to other fictional events on or just beyond the boundaries of the novel. But Joensuu also ignores providing further context because the characters—and the Finnish reader, it is assumed—would not need to be provided with such context, in the same way that a reference to “Columbine” in the United States needs no further context for a contemporary American reader—the name of the high school in Littleton, Colorado, has become short-hand for “school shooting.” If the naïve tourist—or reader—wishes to know, he will have to investigate for himself; Joensuu will not function here as a tour guide. (And for the uninformed, a quick Internet search will provide the answer: On October 11, 2002, a shopping mall bombing in Myyrmäki killed seven and injured 166, carried out, it is presumed, by Petri Erkki Tapio Gerdt, a nineteen-year-old chemical engineering student and amateur bombmaker; three months earlier, on July 16, a man was killed in a car bombing outside the Hotel Helka in Helsinki.) Such specific knowledge might not be necessary for the reader’s understanding of _The Priest of Evil_, except that it does provide significant context for the Finnish characters’ way of seeing the world at that time and that place—and the ways it informs the (crucial) decisions they then make.

Neither does Joensuu, in _To Steal Her Love_ (2008b), provide cultural context for the following reference to a classic work of Finnish literature: “He didn’t want to get caught, but in some way he wanted to experience the same as Kariluoto in _The Unknown Soldier_ after being hit by a bullet: _It’s over now. Never Again._ He’d read that same passage many times, and each time it moved him just the same; they were the most beautiful words ever written. _It’s over now. Never again_” (location 2925/4540, Chapter 28, “Pint”).

But then again, why should Joensuu provide greater context? Elsewhere, Joensuu references Herbie Mann, an American jazz flautist, and Camille Oaks, a character in John Steinbeck’s _The Wayward Bus_, just as Lehtolainen casually references, without explanation, authors and musicians, Finns and non-Finns, throughout her novel.

For the literary tourist—for any reader—this is the risk: that you might find yourself in a foreign land and not be able to understand everything that’s going on, the fear that you might miss something. Without a tour guide, you might, in fact, miss the birch trees for the forest.
MORE THAN ICE AND SNOW AND LONG, DARK NIGHTS

“Harjunpää took a deep breath. Though he could already sense the exhaust fumes drifting in across the Western Highway, he enjoyed the scent of Lauttasaari in the spring. It was a pleasant mix of budding birch trees, lawn slowly awakening and the sea finally released from the grip of ice. The air smelled and tasted of life.” (Joensuu, The Priest of Evil, Chapter 7)

“Raid passed a sign advertising an upcoming rest stop, bathrooms, and a café selling fresh, smoked fish. The road skirted the shore of a lake, which bore the reflection of the gray skies, the forest, and the rocky hills along the shore. In the middle of the lake was a small, lush island. A couple of mallards swam out from among the reeds along the shore and headed toward open water, dragging the ripples behind them.” (Nykänen, Raid and the Kid, 127)

“I was expecting long dark nights, too much alcohol, and violence.” (Jennifer, review of Jarkko Sipilä’s Against the Wall, Goodreads.com, June 21, 2010)

Finnish crime novels do not lack for long dark nights, too much alcohol, or violence. Certainly the reader of the novels of James Thompson will find these characteristics in abundance, which, in turn, perhaps accounts somewhat for the popularity of his novels. Even the book jackets of his novels, as well as the novels of Jan Costin Wagner, who splits his time between Finland and his native Germany, hold this promise for readers. Those covers of the English-language first editions—those first introductions perhaps to a Finnish crime novel—of Wagner’s Ice Moon (2007) and In the Winter of the Lions (2011b) and Thompson’s Snow Angels (2010) and Lucifer’s Tears (2011), all emphasize winter, snow, ice, darkness, cold, and isolation. The images include a desolate, snow-covered road in the woods; an empty, snow-bound stand of leafless trees; a deserted snow-rutted street eerily lit by a street lamp; and a cross-hatched, blood-laced sheet of ice.

Here, the covers say, is Finland. And it is just as you would expect: long dark nights, snow and ice, drunkenness and violence. This is Helsinki. This is Turku. This is Rovaniemi. And these names—as well as the names of streets and buildings and neighborhoods and businesses—are markers of geography, signifiers of the real. The ambitious reader might want a map: Here, then there. Where is this? Where are we now?

This mapping of a novel onto a landscape is perhaps the most basic of resources for the writer who wishes to imbue his or her work with a distinctive sense of place. A crime novel must take place somewhere, and so the author chooses a setting—a
city, a town, a region, a road, a set of geographical features, symbolic or otherwise—and puts his characters into action within that setting. The crime happened here. The criminal lives there. The detectives investigate here and there and there and here. Roads are driven. Houses searched. Lakes dredged. Perhaps these places function merely as a set of fictional codes, the names of streets and buildings and stores and businesses that give the novel that veneer of realism, as though you or I could travel down these same mean streets. And maybe we could. (Or at least we could sit in our own homes and we can find these streets on Google Maps.) Certainly this is the case in a novel like Sipilä’s *Against the Wall*. For the Finnish crime novel is, perhaps obviously, most Finnish in its landscape, whether it’s the urban environments of Helsinki, the waters and forests of its coastal regions, or its snow and ice and long dark winter nights and long twilit summer days. Because Finland is, after all, a place. A nation. It has boundaries, geographical coordinates, weather. You can find it on a map.

But geographies and landscapes are not merely benign backdrops against which the actions of the novel take place. A geographical space, in fact, becomes a place only when it has human associations—a people who can impart upon that space a history and a meaning. A birch tree is just a birch tree until it has associations, until it has meaning, until it becomes the representation of something it is not. And that same birch tree’s appearance in a Finnish crime novel is only trivial until an understanding of that birch tree and its meanings contributes significantly to our understanding of the character and the situation, which is to say, to the story itself.

Consider this scene from near the end of Harri Nykänen’s *Raid and the Blackest Sheep*. Nygren, an aging criminal dying of cancer, has been driving north through Finland, accompanied by his nephew and godson, the titular anti-hero Raid, a hitman who was inspired by his uncle to pursue a life of crime. Together, along the way, they have been settling old accounts, violently and without mercy. Now, that work complete, they are headed “into the heart of a thin, low-lying birch forest,” where, in a place and manner of Nygren’s own choosing, Raid will be the one to mercifully usher Nygren into death with a single gunshot to the head.

[Nygren] took a break for some time before continuing [along the trail]. They climbed for another fifteen minutes before Nygren found a spot he liked. From there, they could see a sparkling lake in the valley and the summit of another fell opposite the lake. The stream they had crossed earlier rippled past only ten yards away, its wavelets splashing against the rocks.

“This will do.”

He glanced about, looking for a place to sit, and chose a grassy tussock at the base of a small birch. Raid sat down next to him. Nygren gazed at him with a faint smile on his face. (222)
Nygren smiled and closed his eyes.

Raid slipped a pistol out of his pocket, held it just shy of Nygren’s temple and fired. The echo rumbled over the fells.

Raid stood up, arranged the pistol carefully in Nygren’s hand and fired it toward the sky. Then he picked up the empty casing and put it in his pocket. He took hold of the birch that was bowing over them and shook it, dropping a shroud of yellow leaves onto the body. (231)

The native reader can breathe deeply and recall from his own memory the same scent of glacial streams and autumn leaves and birch trees. Ah, yes, the birch trees. Such a familiar element of the Finnish landscape. But the reader may recall, too, Topelius’s stories for children, written 150 years earlier, and the ubiquitous appearance of birch trees in Finnish literature, art, and design, the trace it marks upon this scene. So when Nygren lays himself down to die on “a grassy tussock at the base of a small birch,” it matters that this is a birch tree and not a palm tree or even a pine; it marks the place as quintessentially Finnish (and of seemingly untouched natural beauty). It matters to this moment, too, that Raid has been living in Sweden, away from his native Finland, and that he’s returned (home) as a favor to Nygren, the man whose example long ago inspired Raid to a life of crime.

It is, I would argue, a distinctly Finnish scene, yet for a reader unfamiliar with Finland—the literary tourist—what makes it distinctly Finnish (those birch trees) will not be explained by Nykänen. And that is, perhaps, what ultimately separates the novel written (or translated) for a foreign literary tourist from the novel written for a domestic audience, and it is what separates the experience of the Fennophile reader from the literary tourist, even if both live somewhere in Florida. The former sees the birch trees; the latter only sees the forest.

The problem is fundamentally one of translation—not just the translation of language, rich as words are with not only denotations but connotations, connotations embedded in cultural context, but also of a place and a people. Misunderstandings are possible; misinterpretations are possible. Sometimes a reader wants an author who can take him by the hand, the better the trouble to avoid; but sometimes a reader wants to be left alone to explore unattended the highways and the backwaters, the mean streets and the meadows. It is not without its risks: absent trail markers, misplaced road signs, unfriendly locals, foreign menus. But all tourism involves risk—risks for the tourist, risks for the native. It’s as true in crime novels in translation as it is on a cruise ship in port.

For authors and translators, publishers and readers alike, it requires a sensitivity to and an awareness of the risks inherent in the process. Just as one day in the port of Helsinki cannot provide the sort of insight that might arrive with a six-month residency (nor six months as compared to sixty years), so one Finnish crime novel
cannot provide the sort of insight a deeper engagement with Finnish literature and culture might provide. Readers must be willing to get off the boat, to push inland, to stay for an extended period of time, to develop relationships with the locals. As for authors, translators, and publishers, they must continue to produce books, even crime novels, that attend to the fullness of Finland and its people, and authors, translators, and publishers must know the difference between the truth and a trinket, even when trinkets sell really well.

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LAPLAND DISLOCATED: JORMA PURANEN’S PHOTOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT
The photographic art of Jorma Puranen (1951—) depicts Lapland through the intersection of image and text. Over the course of his career, Puranen’s publications have emerged as a consequence of his photographic projects. For instance, Imaginary Homecoming records a haunting trip to the indigenous past of Lapland and the Sami people, and has become one of Puranen’s most recognized works. Lapland, as a geographical place, can be considered “dislocated” because of its specific lingual and ethnographic character. Spread across the territories of four nations without a single common language, Lapland remains one of the most unknown and scarcely described regions in the world. Puranen, working in the Nordic photographic tradition, has created several projects in which he analyzes the roots of Sami ethnicity. Moreover, the displacement of Lapland and the Sami people reflects other types of displacement present in Puranen’s art. One type is the dislocation of images into the landscape, and another type, the displacement of images into text. This article examines these metaphors along with the artistic strategies applied by the artist. Three dichotomies are present in Puranen’s albums and necessary to understand his project: art versus anthropology, nature versus cultural heritage, and photographs versus text. These three distinctions provide the starting point for this article, and, further, they provide theoretical framework for the examination.

INTRODUCTION
The exhibition “LapinTaika” (The Magic of Lapland) which took place in Ateneum, the Finnish National Gallery, in Helsinki, from June 2011 until January 2012, presented the most remarkable pieces of art devoted to Lapland and Sami culture. Among the artworks that were exhibited, including paintings, sculptures, and installations, the
photographs by Jorma Puranen (1951–) are among the most recognized worldwide. Three photographs were chosen for the exhibition in Helsinki, a selection far too small to depict the fullness of Puranen’s art, even regarding his visual experiments in Lapland best known from the work *Imaginary Homecoming*. However, it would be impossible to assemble an exposition about Lapland without including Puranen, who has become an icon of Finnish photography, especially since *Imaginary Homecoming*.

The experiment in recontextualizing the photographs was neither the first attempt by Puranen to depict Lapland (previous albums concerned this region as well) nor his first attempt to juxtapose words and images. Relations between image and text have been an issue present in Puranen’s art from his very first publications. This focus on intermedial relations registers, however, on several different levels, from the obvious fact that images in photography albums are often accompanied by text, including basic information (artist, date, materials) and more extended philosophical essays written either by the photographer or a second person.

Nonetheless, the intersection of visual and textual elements seems to be a characteristic feature not only of Puranen’s art, but also a distinctive feature of the art from Lapland. To clarify, the term “art from Lapland,” as used in this essay, refers above all to literature. Vuokko Hirvonen, in her article, “The Illustration and the Text in One Hand,” analyzes the problem of multi-media character in Sami literature. Hirvonen writes:

> Indeed, one of the most striking features of Sámi literature is the multi-talented and multi-artistic approach of the authors. They are not involved only in one field—writing—but they can also be visual artists, musicians, yoik singers, makers of handicraft or actors. (Hirvonen 2005, 104)

Further, the author provides several examples of Sami artists whose output embodies such approaches. Hirvonen mentions Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, a legendary writer and yoik singer from Finnish Lapland, who uses photographs in his poems. For example, the portraits of Sami people taken during the 1884 escapade of Prince Roland Bonaparte to Lapland, became part of the collection of poems titled *Beaivi áhčážan* (1988) (the book was translated into English with the title *The Sun, My Father*). The same portraits of Sami people inspired Puranen when he saw them for the first time while meeting with Valkeapää at his place in Enontekiö in the north of Finnish Lapland. Puranen has made his own copies of these portraits, the originals of which remain available as a whole collection in Museé del l’Homme in Paris, where they have remained since Bonaparte’s field trip (to create *Imaginary Homecoming*, Puranen used the images from the museum collection, not from Valkeapää’s book). Each of Puranen’s projects has its own story, and each varies in the way it presents Lapland. The following section will examine each of the three photographic albums devoted to Lapland and signed by Jorma Puranen, and differences between them.
Puranen’s Dichotomies

“For the last twenty years the Finlander Jorma Puranen has been developing a creative photographic production based on the Laplanders, which reconsiders the view imposed by anthropologists concerning these European ‘aliens’. This example reveals the interest in provoking a confrontation between the approach used by artists and that used by the intellectuals” (Maresca 2005, 129).

The quotation from Sylvain Maresca is one of the best nutshell descriptions of Puranen’s approach. The quote could give the impression that the most notable aspect of Puranen’s work primarily regards its content: the Sami people, the one and only indigenous ethnic group left in the European Union (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari, and Pulkkinen 2005, 5). However, it is essential to understand Puranen as one whose work involves a “confrontation between the approach used by artists and that used by the intellectuals.” It allows the reader to observe photographic images by Puranen through the ostensible dichotomy of artist versus ethnographer, which might be the most obvious if examining these pictures devoid of context. Are these images documentary? Or purely fictional? We see ethnographic “recording,” but their artistic value cannot be denied. Puranen seems to conduct a very peculiar kind of ethnographic fieldwork, where creativity and the form of representation are as important as data collection (cf. Edward Curtis’s work on Native Americans in the nineteenth century). Nevertheless, the balance between these two spheres—the scientific and the artistic—is almost never perfect. The impression remains that it always leans towards one discipline or another. However, it is not necessarily the only and unavoidable option: either the artist or the scientist. Jeff Todd Titon explains the phenomenon of crossing traditional boundaries between these two modes. The work of an ethnographer has evolved from observation and analysis as the only valuable ethnographic experience. Ethnographic texts, which were previously underestimated and regarded as secondary materials, on the contrary, have become more than data description. Researchers and anthropologists do not necessarily need to remain beyond the world of the arts. Nevertheless, the problem of authorship appears when such a step is taken (Titon, 2003). These constant shifts between the artistic and the scientific approaches (which, as we can see, do not exclude each other) can be observed when comparing the different albums that Puranen has produced through the decades, and the different visions of Lapland that each presents. Finnish scholars describe Puranen as a person who transgresses dichotomies. For instance, Taneli Eskola writes: “In many cases Puranen’s method is close to that of a scholar conducting fieldwork. Careful preliminary research is done before the actual photographing” (2005, 31). In following the photographer’s trips or reading his essays in which he explains his work and preparation for the field trips, we can observe
that he has been cooperating with other scholars. Moreover, Eskola writes that, in the Alpha et Omega project, Puranen combines two arts, photography and theater, and if we look closer at the character of the theater that Eskola means, I would call it performance as well. Here, Puranen explores practices that can be both creative and representative of ethnographic research. Interestingly, such a balancing act on the borderline between science and art seems to be a unique feature of the Finnish artistic (or maybe even scientific) environment. Eskola writes, “Finland has in many respects a special role in developing the interaction of science and art. The model of unconventional boundary crossings that it provides could serve as an international example. Already in the early 1900s, when he studied Central Asia and the Altai region, J. G. Granö combined the word and the image and developed geographical thinking by underlining the sensed world as the basis for perceiving landscape” (2005, 95). It becomes clear that the photographic tradition represented by Puranen has its origin in the early 1900s, and was introduced by another significant Finnish photographer, J. G. Granö (1882–1956). However, there are other contemporary Finnish photographers who take a similar approach, including Pekka Antikainen and Pentti Sammallahti, focusing on Nordic landscapes and people.

This article focuses upon three photographic albums of Lapland by Jorma Puranen: *Maarf Leu’dd* (1986), *Alpha et Omega* (1989), and *Imaginary Homecoming* (1999b), each distinct from the other, but each of which depicts Lapland. The last album is clearly the one that has attracted the attention of an international audience as well as art critics from around the world, thanks to its innovative approach towards landscape and ethnicity in this Nordic region. These three albums of black-and-white photographic images all depict the people of Lapland. However, the evolution of Puranen’s conceptions is evident when they are set side-by-side. *Maarf Leu’dd* is the earliest work and the least self-consciously artistic. Most of the pictures have a documentary character, although their technique is highly appreciable. Jan-Erik Lundström called this album “a visual and verbal encounter with the Skolt Saami people” (1993). It is clear that already in the case of this early album, Puranen is interested in verbal-textual relations, which will be elaborated on in the following section. One representative photograph from the album pictures two men holding a small deer with a knife close to its ear. Only the legs and arms of the men and the frightened deer itself are visible, nothing more, only the close-up on these few elements. This image of a daily routine, so simple on its surface, carries a strong symbolic meaning. Researchers who have published on the tradition of reindeer breeding highlight this act as evidence of the great skills of the herders. For example, the Sami have at least twenty different ways to mark reindeer (Korhonen 2008, 118–19). If we examine *Maarf Leu’dd*, we could assume that it has the most documentary character of these three albums. It presents the habits, traditions, and daily routines of Skolt Sami. As Lundström comments, “this book may seem a conventional
photographic reportage” (1993, 78). Nevertheless, we need to conduct more elaborate research on the meanings of the scenes photographed by Puranen to capture their real cultural importance. I will indicate some of the meanings in this essay; however, Puranen’s universe of photographic meanings remains a separate topic. According to Mika Hannula, the portrayal of the Sami in the act of daily routines can be perceived as an attempt to speak about the Sami culture on behalf of its folk. The consequence of such an engagement is an inescapable act, both aesthetically and politically, during which the artist creates a new vision of the colonized world. Hannula claims, “In my opinion, Puranen’s works contribute, in a highly organic and efficient way, to revision of colonial world view” (2000, 113, translated by the author).¹

Three years later, when Puranen published Alpha et Omega, a more creative perspective of representing Sami via images became apparent. The pictures published in Alpha et Omega all present one couple—a man and a woman—in a variety of situations. Thus, these images seem to be much more intimate in relationship to their topic, but the form of these pictures is also much more innovative. Blurred shapes and strong contrasts and shadows in black-and-white pictures make them somehow unreal. Robert Pujade described it this way:

¹ “Mielestäni Purasen teokset osallistuvat hyvin orgaanisella ja tehokkaalla tavalla tähän kolonialistisen maailmankuvan uudelleen muokkamiseen.”
It’s the publication of the book *Alpha et Omega* that starts a move from descriptive to narrative: in the places where tribal memory has created sacred sites, the photographer portrays the moments of life of one couple (Norman is an Iroquois and Åsa is a Sami) and rediscovers their relationship to nature. That is the origin, a sort of aiming directly towards the myth of origin, that photography offers as compensation for the colonial taxonomy: re-creation replaces classification. (Pujade, 2011, translated by the author)²

Pujade emphasizes one important fact—Puranen’s album from 1989 demonstrates a theme that the photographer will continue to pursue in his following works: a need to rediscover the origin of Sami people and the will to find the root of the culture. Puranen’s goal remains to grasp the spiritual nature of the Sami people and the Sami culture rather than to engage in simple ethnographic classification. Pujade continues: “But Jorma Puranen does not only rewrite a forgotten myth; he also sees the photographs as the recreation of the space that belonged to Sami people, but today which remains the property of others.”³ (Pujade, 2011, translated by the author)

Puranen’s next project, *Imaginary Homecoming*, acquired a more radical form: The re-creation of the space inhabited by Sami and divided (shared) between different administrative bodies. It was inspired by the Sami portraits “borrowed” from Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. As noted above, the process of “borrowing” had two phases. Puranen first saw the photographs while visiting Valkeapää in Finnish Lapland, and later, when Puranen went to Paris, he independently discovered Bonaparte’s old photographs in Musée del l’Homme.

*Imaginary Homecoming* was published in 1999. However, it took almost two years (1997–1999) to finish the project. It centers upon the already existing photographs that were taken by Roland Bonaparte’s team during their exploration of Lapland in the nineteenth century. As Puranen explains in the album itself:

*Imaginary Homecoming* attempts a dialogue between the past and the present; between two landscapes and historical moments, but also between two cultures. To bridge this distance, I tried to return those old photographs to their source, restoring the representations to the place where they originated, and from where they had been severed. To achieve this metaphorical return, I began by re-photographing the images of the

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² “C’est la publication du livre Alpha et Omega qui amorce un passage du descriptif au narratif: sur des lieux que la mémoire tribale a institués en sites sacrés, le photographe rapporte les moments de la vie d’un couple - (Norman, un iroquois et Åsa, une lapone) - qui redécouvre son rapport à la nature. Il s’agit d’une genèse, d’une sorte de prise de vue directe sur le mythe des origines que la photographie propose en réparation de la taxinomie coloniale: une récréation à la place d’une classification.”

³ “Mais Jorma Puranen ne s’arrête pas à cette réécriture d’un mythe oublié; il attend de la photographie qu’elle reçra aussi l’espace du peuple Sami devenu aujourd’hui la propriété d’autres peuples.”
Sámi. I developed them on graphic film and mounted them on acrylic boards, which I arranged in the landscape where they had once been taken. (Puranen 1999a, 48).

And this is how these images look in real scale and in real landscape. The re-photographed images of the Sami were initially exhibited as an installation in the natural environment in the Norwegian part of Lapland, then, later, pictures of these installations were published in the album. Imaginary Homecoming generated significant interest among photographers, art critics, and anthropologists—in other words, among both artists and scholars—and eventually it became the most recognized of Puranen’s art.

In each case, Puranen balances between his role as an artist and his role as an intellectual (understood here as a researcher, explorer, scholar, ethnologist, and/or anthropologist). The debate over Puranen’s role as an artist or an intellectual depends on the album in question. However, a closer examination reveals that this isn’t the only dichotomy that characterizes Puranen’s art. His work also juxtaposes nature versus cultural heritage (or civilization) and text versus image, the latter of which is, in fact, the main interest of this paper. As mentioned above, however,
the first two dichotomies are merely starting points for the analysis and become more and more superficial distinctions regarding Puranen’s art, which successfully transgresses dichotomies and borderlines. Since the question of text/image relation still remains unaddressed, let us consider whether this presents itself as a real dichotomy in Puranen’s oeuvre, or if it is yet another artificial distinction that appears true at first glance, but which requires revision upon deeper consideration.

**Triple Displacement**

In the prologue to *Imaginary Homecoming*, Elizabeth Edwards writes: “The authority of the text, in which one must include photography as a descriptive inscription, has been seen as increasingly problematic over the last decade or so” (Puranen 1999b, 17). Edwards emphasizes that through the years the domination of text over image was obvious. Photographs are usually used only as decorative addition, or they perform some documentary role in non-fiction writings. Puranen’s strategy is slightly different. Photos are the starting point, and the function of the text is secondary. The text either explains the photographs, or it functions as a separate, but equally important part of the book. Or, alternatively, it becomes a part of the composition of the image (like the pictures with the names of people placed on the birch’s bark or on flags situated lakeside). The text physically migrates into the space of the image, which leads to intersemiotic exchange on one surface. In the case of Puranen’s art, words can be literally transgressed upon the images, but on the other hand, the issues of indigenous people are being textualized first as well. Portraits of Sami people became a sort of a “collective document,” so to speak, by their placement in the archives. The displacement of text into images would be the first type of displacement present in Puranen’s works. And, as in the case of the image mentioned above, the text can literally “migrate into the photograph” or into nature. For a literary scholar, this sort of displacement is the most fascinating and peculiar example of intermediality. This interference between image and text treated as a displacement is present on the formal level of Puranen’s work. Regarding the content, however, such a dislocation corresponds with two other types: the geographical displacement of Sami folk and the displacement of art into nature. Ethnicity is a very complex question with regard to the Sami people. The Sami do not share one common mother tongue; neither do they have a clear political status. Depending on the territory of the country in which they live, Sami have acquired different rights, rights that had once naturally belonged to them for centuries. They have had again, sadly, as indigenous people living in their own territory, had to become re-legitimated in order to inhabit it. Nevertheless, the perception of the Sami remains that of an exotic and distant minority of developed Nordic states, which only proves how ignorant the European community is in regard to the situation of Sami people. The Sami inhabit areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, and speak more than eleven languages. Without one
independent territory that Sami people can inhabit, they can be described as permanently dislocated. The nomadic or seminomadic traditions of some Sami groups can also contribute to the outside perception of constant dislocation.

In the introduction to The Saami: A Cultural Encyclopaedia, Sami people are called the only remaining indigenous people in Europe (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari, and Pulkkinen 2005, 5). All these factors create an image of Sami people as a displaced tribe, if analyzed in terms of cultural sciences, such as anthropology and ethnology. The great task would be to compare the Sami with other indigenous people from different continents in regard to the artistic representation of their status (the literary depictions, for instance, of the Native American Creek tribe). This topic is, however, beyond the scope of this article. This notion of the Sami people as a displaced tribe is a vital factor in the interpretation of Jorma Puranen’s art by Finnish scholars and art critics. They often mention the importance of Puranen’s voice in the discussion of colonialism and the Other as embodied by a Sami person in Finnish society. Mika Hannula explains this complex characteristic of Puranen’s photographs. He argues that the problem of Otherness, or more specifically, the problem of dealing with Otherness in the contemporary world, remains a crucial investigation for Puranen. According to Hannula, Puranen avoids the glorification of, or, on the other hand, the diminution of, the Other: “One of the great features of Jorma Puranen’s photography is his ability to avoid both the trivial and glorifying approach to Otherness” (Hannula 2000, 117, translation by author). Furthermore, the artwork almost never serves as a ready-made answer or political solution. As a non-Sami artist, Puranen does not pretend to be a radical in the discussion of ethnicity. He portrays important aspects of Sami daily life, and pays subtle homage to the people he spent years working with and to whom he devoted his artistic (and private) life. Yet in Puranen’s work, the reader never senses the presence of any of the resentment or bitterness toward the political injustice done to the Sami that some of the Sami themselves and other researchers examining the Sami culture claim. Jorma Puranen’s relationship to Sami people and Sami identity is the relationship between an outsider and a particular community. This may be the reason why one of the most significant matters for Puranen is the category of migration which he tries to seize and depict through other symbolic forms, as the artist claims in one of the monologues published and translated into English in Books from Finland (Puranen 1999a, 48–54). Migration within a particular landscape is one of the topics that fascinated Puranen and became the central motif for Imaginary Homecoming.

The third type of displacement introduced in this essay concerns the art of Jorma Puranen itself, the displacement of art into nature; literally, the process of incorporating the images into the landscape through the installation of photographs

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4 "Yksi Jorma Purasen valokuvien hienoimmista piirteistä on se, että hän pystyy välttämään toiseuden latteaa tai glorifioivaa käsittelemistä."
in a natural environment. *Imaginary Homecoming* in particular is an example of such an artistic strategy. The portraits of Sami people photographed by Bonaparte’s expedition team were originally exhibited by Puranen not in a photography album, but installed as an element of the winter landscape of Lapland. Large scale portraits, negatives and positives, were placed, for instance, on the snowy ground or on tree bark. This way of displacing the images has dual meanings. First of all, it represents the real homecoming, the faces of the Sami people from the past physically transported from the museum in Paris back to their native “home.” On the other hand, considering the formal aspect of such an idea, we can say that Puranen is putting André Malraux’s concept of a “museum without walls” into practice. The category of an “exhibition,” as well as the institution of the museum, cannot be perceived in traditional terms, as a collection of artifacts placed next to each other in the space with strictly demarcated borders. Puranen’s artworks, considered installations-in-the-landscape that use old images of people as well as pictures printed in the photo-albums, are examples of transgressing the traditional meaning of the museum. The first step is to import old images “into the wild,” and then to photograph these images in spatial motion. The final product of the whole process is transforming them into reproductions available to the public worldwide.

**CONCLUSION**

The idea of “texting” (the idea of images being recycled into another work) regarding the Sami people corresponds with all the aspects of Puranen’s art discussed: the anthropological “texting” of indigenous people and their images as well as the photographic archiving that migrated into a different form of existence. To be an artist and a scholar at the same time is to assume the need to balance between two discourses while risking the accusation of being too much of one or the other, depending upon the perspective of the judge. Puranen’s projects have received mostly positive reviews and have become widely recognized, primarily because of the successful combination of anthropological “research” with subtle visual aesthetics. Words are literally written “in nature,” and after being photographed, the same words, as a part of the composition of nature, become a part of the photograph’s composition. Three or sometimes even four levels meet one another via Puranen’s images. The memory of indigenous people is constantly cultivated in the art of the Finnish photographer, although how to continue this cultivation evolves as a different form of representation in Puranen’s albums. In other words, Puranen remains one of the most respected anthropologists among the photographers and one of the most respected photographers among the anthropologists. His art originates in the field research, but on the other hand, it is hard to find the data collected and presented in a way that would be as subtle and evoking such emotions as Puranen’s “results.”
WORKS CITED


**Abstract**

This article investigates the kinds of perspectives that can be gained from oral histories of quotidian political culture that cut across the party spectrum. The narrativization of political culture offers researchers a unique opportunity to study how we make sense of the relationship between our past and our politics, how we understand growing up in a particular political atmosphere, and the processes we undergo as we build and adjust our relationship to politics and political views. In addition to examining the transmission of daily political culture through the use of language and other cultural practices, the article also considers the applicability of oral history materials in cross-disciplinary studies on political socialization at the micro level.

The year 2007 saw the celebration of ninety years of Finnish independence. In turn, the previous year marked the centenary of women’s full political rights in Finland. The commemoration of these political milestones stirred both academic and lay interest in the reminiscences of ordinary citizens: how they remembered political culture and civic life and how such experiences had figured in daily life over the course of decades. After defending my dissertation on family history in 2005, I submitted a proposal to the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society to carry out an oral history project to survey these themes. The Politics and Power Games collection campaign was undertaken in collaboration with Suomi 90 Finland, the Finnish Social Science Data Archive, the Union for Rural Education and Culture, Women’s Working Group for Rural Development, and the Coalition of Finnish Women’s Associations.1 Although the archives of many political parties have already collected

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1 In total, 203 individuals sent recollections in writing in response to the Politics and Power Games
oral histories of their own supporters, this particular collection is the first one with a political theme to cut across party lines. Moreover, it must also be stated that the political independence of the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society makes it better suited to the task of collecting this information than the political archives. Since 1960, the Folklore Archive has made a regular practice of encouraging Finns to write responses to archive collection campaigns organized around various themes. In addition to Politics, in recent years the collection campaigns have also included the following themes: National Defense (2005), Silence (2011–12), and Health (2011–12). The archives have their own respondent network but collection campaigns are also advertised in newspapers and via other forms of social media. The written responses sent to the collections are actively used by students and researchers alike. (Harvilahti 2012, 403–404). From the viewpoint of folklore studies, the approach to and analysis of this kind of research material requires culturally sensitive reading, a consideration and recognition of the circumstances of both the narrated emotional past and the time of the narration (see Latvala and Laurén 2012). This article is based on my forthcoming monograph on everyday political culture as heritage; the research data for this project was generated through the Politics and Power Games collection campaign.

The brochure asked respondents to reflect on the quotidian political culture of their experience and write about the following themes: 1) Politics in the Family and Home Region; 2) Opportunities for Political Participation in Different Time Periods; 3) Voting and Candidates; 4) Gender and Politics; 5) Youth and Politics; 6) Parties, Power, and Political Rivals; and 7) Politics, Regionalism, and Civil Society. Here, I focus especially on the theme Politics in the Family and the Home Region. The collection campaign offered interested Finns the opportunity to narrativize the political mood of their childhood homes over the decades. In Finland, adults have made little effort to bar children from areas of life where political talk takes place. The written recollections of the older generation of Finns are structured on a model of intent participation in everyday political situations (Rogoff et al. 2003, 177). Thus the narrators revealed whether their models of political ideas, participation, and meanings had been inherited from their families, and if so, whether they had ever felt the desire to break free of them. Among other things, the campaign also acquired information about how families and local people spoke about politics, and how the fates of earlier generations have played a role in shaping the formation of political views.

Oral history is a particular form of contextualized dialogue with the past that both interprets and constructs the past; furthermore, it tends to privilege the meanings of events over the events themselves (Portelli [1998] 2006, 55; collection campaign’s request. Of the total responses sent to the archive, 128 were written by women, and 75 by men. The youngest respondent was born in 1986, and the oldest was born in 1914. For more information, visit http://www.finlit.fi/kra/keruut/politikka.htm
My research material endows oral history with plots, thus giving emphasis to the childhood and youth of its narrators in addition to the actual moment of their writing. While the frames of the narrative may be structured by the grand narratives of historical events, the real significance of the narrative emerges in local activity. As Pierre Nora (1989, 22) has astutely observed, “Memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events.”

**Individual Relationship to Politics**

How do the respondents of collection campaigns, people divided by age and even generations, select meaningful elements for their identities from a domain of many political representations? Researchers have often used the notion of generational divides to explain differences in political behavior and attitudes to key experiences of historical events (e.g., see Torsti 2012). Many scholars who have investigated periods of great social upheaval have seen the differences between the generations marked out along the spectrum of ideas people entertain about their nation’s history. For those studying this relationship to politics through the biographical experiences and memories attached to the everyday lives of their subjects, however, the generational divide becomes all the more problematic. Obviously, members of the same generation live within a diverse framework of political cultures. In the past ten years, the Mannheimian notion of a generation’s shared political experience has been called into question (see Hoikkala and Paju 2002, 26–29; Mannheim [1928] 1952.) The danger of making distinctions according to generation is in my view that of generalization: if we assume that political notions and the meanings of political experiences develop generation by generation, we may fail to observe that even different generations may hold the same political views and interpretations. In fact, it appears that dividing people up into political generations would fail to do justice to the multivocality of individual political experience. To some degree, nevertheless, generational differences can be observed, especially when we pay attention to the relationship between feelings and political ideas. My research data suggest that a negative attitude toward politics in the older generations reflects its relationship to past historical events (especially the Civil War), whereas younger people rarely attach negative images of politics to history.

My perspective on how citizens think and feel about politics is based not on the study of certain generations but rather on the traces political experiences leave on the individual. Furthermore, I am convinced of the value of finding out about an individual’s personal relationship to politics through narrativization, the individual’s story about his or her childhood and youth, the milieu in which he or she grew up and its local political cultures. Generally speaking, Finnish oral history texts tend to describe the often-fraught relationship between the individual and the local community. Marianne Gullestad (1996), a researcher of Norwegian life stories, has found see also, Knuuttila 2008, 268).
that at times the local community can play just as great a role in the narrative as the individual narrator. In my research data, the narrators situated themselves and their lives in their local milieu as individuals, thus suggesting that local memory is rebuilt according to the narrators’ own experiences. In some cases, space is signified and divided up into places defined by party politics and ideology. The texts used in this research material both support and contest the idea of shared sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*; Nora 1989). We know that the political map of any given parish is made up of actual physical spaces—namely, factories, banks, village shops, open-air dance floors, ships, theaters, quarries; this map is also made up of social groups formed through clubs or shared activities—such as scouts, sports, or drama clubs. However, the understanding of the *symbolic communal experience* (see Sivula 2010, 27, 29) may remain negligible, if the shared meanings are not strengthened through narration and other historical representations. Narrated histories and politics purposefully underline alternative, disputed, and polyphonic perspectives.

Accounts of commonplace situations thus shed light on the politically-motivated practices that can also be found in schools and workplaces. Many of the above-mentioned settings served as arenas for political debate, harassment, and joking around. The narratives especially link instances of social inequality to memories of school, when teachers made it clear—either overtly or covertly—that the children of the well-to-do were inherently superior to the children from poorer families. What is more, teachers politicized the classroom, placing their pupils, depending on their families’ politics, onto the opposing ideological sides of the Civil War of 1918. Within the privacy of the home, however, certain items were viewed as private while others served as signs of public ideology or thoughts along party lines. If they felt threatened or vulnerable, people made a point of hiding party membership books from the eyes of visitors and even furtively burned party newspapers after having read them. Yet, at the same time, there were others who put up in the living room for all to see banners and flags reflecting a certain ideology. These kinds of memories are frequently mentioned in my research material. These signs politically divided the members of the local community into *us* and *them*.

**How the (Use of) Language Transmits Political Culture**

The basic definition of *political culture* refers to a set of notions and feelings about politics—that is to say, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and judgments—that are transmitted from one generation to the next. Clearly, people live within a framework of a diverse range of political subcultures, which means that a citizen’s relationship to politics may be made up of a bundle of contradictory elements (Nousiainen 1998, 19). The beliefs, attitudes, and judgments conveyed thus reflect ways of thinking acquired or inspired from various sources. To start, we ought to consider looking at political culture as a psychological orientation, that is, a political mood both flexible
and liable to change, and ultimately adopted through political socialization (see Almond and Verba 1963; Noponen 1992, 230–32).

Researchers tend to divide political socialization into structural and ideological socialization (Hyman 1959). These categories are distinct because structural socialization (habits, practices) are transmitted virtually unnoticed through the use of language, whereas the message of ideological socialization (values, attitudes, opinions) is spread directly through material produced by the political parties or the mass media. For example, in Finnish autobiographical memoirs the ideological framework of socialization can be located through descriptions of the activities of the Lotta Girls and Soldier Boys of the 1930s and 1940s; these efforts at patriotic youth work served a conscious effort to nurture and ultimately recruit members for adult organizations (Nevala-Nurmi 2006, 153). It is possible to discern both an informational (cognitive) and an emotional (affective) dimension in the process of ideological socialization. Even so, it is clear that no distinct line can be drawn between the two. If we consider language and diction, which form a part of structural socialization, we know that aspects of verbal communication have an impact on feelings and serve to convey information on the desired perspective (Berndtson [1992] 2005, 120–21). Contemporary researchers tend to regard models of thought as variable as opposed to static. In fact, few researchers continue to cling to Hyman’s (1959) static model of socialization; what is more, recent research has shown that an individual’s concept of politics is subject to change during the course of a lifetime in accordance with changes in circumstances.2 Research in women’s studies and cultural studies, for instance, takes ordinary citizens’ personal political experiences, memories, and feelings into account, and these approaches have gained momentum during the 2000s (Sapiro 2004, 11). Do the powerful emotions expressed in day-to-day communication play a greater role in the political consciousness of the next generation than previously imagined?

Political socialization frames the processes and models connected to politics on the level of the individual. It is essential to ask how people learn political practices and under what kinds of circumstances (Sapiro 2004, 1–11, 17). The fundamental events experienced during youth (from age 17–25) play the greatest role in shaping an individual’s worldview; hence those formative experiences remain most firmly imprinted in the memory. Yet, even though the key events and practices of vernacular politics in early childhood are significant from the point of view of the initial formation of political impressions, the immediate environment of a person’s present

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2 One of the earliest models (persistence hypothesis) was based on the idea of permanence and the powerful influence of parents (e.g., Hyman 1959); another model was based on the social changes taking place during youth (e.g., economic crisis) and how they shape political thinking (impressional years hypothesis). A later model (hypothesis of lifelong openness) stressed changes in the individual’s circumstances (e.g., losing one’s job) to lead to changes in an adult’s view of politics. Yet another model underscored the roles carried out over the course of the lifespan (hypothesis of life cycle effects) (Denk 2009, 124–28).
adult life also has tremendous sway. Hanna Wass (2006, 41) maintains that while key experiences do constitute part of the political socialization process, this process still helps determine the perception of experiences. Even though the mechanism of political socialization may be more permanent for some but more variable and flexible for others (re-socialization), my research materials tend to support the enduring impact of early childhood political memories and the role of language from childhood and youth. The written memoirs reveal a surprising fact: many of the respondents’ political memories reach back to early childhood, even to the age of four. Research must be undertaken with the awareness that the written memoir reflects memories sought at the moment of writing and an image of the past constructed in the present more so than a reliable document about the writer’s life.

From the point of view of folkloristics, it makes sense to study personal experiences of political socialization as distinct narrative types. In all of these narrative types, political socialization is approached primarily from the following two narrative anchors: the political culture of the childhood family and the political culture of the local environment. The first narrative type in relation to politics is the political coming-of-age narrative (in Finnish: poliittiset kasvukertomukset). These stories locate the narrator in an active political milieu, especially that of the family and its political views, which subsequently lead the individual from childhood to embrace a certain political stance. In addition to narrators with unwavering political convictions, my research material distinguishes adjustments to political views and a situational relationship to politics. Political conversion and disengagement narratives (in Finnish: poliittiset kääntymys- ja irtaantumiskertomukset) chart the changes in a person’s political stance or conviction. In conversion narratives, for example, the childhood milieu plays a significant role in the development of a certain political commitment, but at some stage in the narrator’s life he or she abandons one political position for another. Other narratives, however, come to a close after providing an account of the world that molded the narrator’s political views or experience of ideological disengagement, without describing the way of thinking later adopted (cf. Hyvärinen 1994, 87). In addition to these, the recollections of the respondents to the collection campaign take the form of circumstance narratives (in Finnish: olosuhdekertomukset) dependent on the life situation of the narrator. These narratives draw a picture of political influences in relation to circumstances, but the narrators, at least in principle, have no particular point of view to which they would be committed or from which they would like to be disengaged. Political commitment has significantly less import in circumstance narratives than it does in coming-of-age or conversion narratives.

In the memoirs sent to the archives, narratives of political socialization are situated within descriptions of political culture. For some narrators, it appears to have been more important to convey to the reader images of political practices on the local level from a certain period of time than to engage in thoughtful autobiographical
reflected. Nonetheless, even these narratives contain clues to the processes of political socialization. Below I examine part of a response by a man born in the 1940s. The original response in Finnish follows this paragraph, and the English translation comes directly after. The text corresponds to about one-third of the total response. I have chosen a fragment that depicts the transmission processes of political thought in everyday life. The example has characteristics common to oral history data: the seen and unseen political culture of the home region, which is woven into the portrayal of the times, and the means of oral communication and political folklore for the transmission of values and opinions. The left-hand column of the table contains the original response, whereas the right-hand column has the italicized generic interpolations along with the components related to the events moving the narrative forward, the circumstances, and the character descriptions.

**Pohjanmaa 50-­Luvulla**

Isäni oli pientilallinen Pohjanmaalla. Synnyin toisen maailmansodan tuhkaosta. Meitä oli kaikkiaan kuusi lasta, joita tilan piti elättää.

Maalaislätto eli ja voi hyvin kylällä. Myös oikeistoa suvaittiin, mutta muilla ei ollut alueelle asiaa. Vasemmistoa ei oikein uskaltanut ääneen mainita ja kommunisti oli kirosana.

Kylällä tilattiin kahta lehteä *Växa* ja *Ilkkaa*.

Lapset pilkkasivat toisiaan sanomalla: ”*Växa vanha valehtelija.*” ”*Ilkka ihmisten pilkka.*”

*Suomen Sosialidemokratiaa* tai *Kansan Uutista* ei olisi voinut tilata, sillä posti tuotiin yhteislaatikkoon ja kaikki olisivat näheen sen.

Tarina kertoi, että kylälle tuli yksi vasemmistolainen eli ihmisten mielestä kommunisti, joten hän joutui muuttamaan alueelta pois aatteensa vuoksi.

Sitten hän keksi meille jotakin tekemistä, vaikka siihen vuoden aikaan ei pientilalla paljon töitä ollut. En muista koskaan saaneeni palloa tai viuhkaa.

Isäni oli ollut kansalaisossadassa valkoisten puolella Tampereella ja hän vihaisi venäläisiä sanomalla:

”Älä koskaan luota ryssään, sillä se on kiero kuin korkkiruovi. Se pitää haudatkin ruuvaamalla maahan, koska muuten se nousee ylös.”

Kerran halusin punaisen paidan, kun jollakin kavereillakin oli. Isäni suuttui sanoen: ”Minun pojilla ei tule koskaan olemaan punaista paitaa. Se on kommunistien väri!”

Opettajat koulussa toivat esiin näitä samoja arvoja karttakepin ja tukkapölyn avulla.

Tässä ilmapiirissä kasvoin työikään.

SKS.KRA.POL 1285–1290. 2007. mieskertoja s.1940-luvulla
The Narrativization of Political Socialization in Finnish Oral History Texts

**TRANSLATION**

**OSTROBORHTNIA IN THE 1950S**

My father was a smallholder in Ostrobothnia. I was born from the ashes of the Second World War. There were six of us kids for the land to support.

The Agrarian League was alive and well in the village. The Right was also tolerated, but others had no business in the area. No one really dared mention the Left out loud and communism was a swear word.

Two newspapers, *Vaasa* and *Ilkka*, were subscribed to in the village.

Children mocked each other by saying: “*Vaasa the old liar.*”
“*Ilkka the mockery of humanity.*”

Ordering *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* (Finland’s Social Democrat) or *Kansan Uutiset* (The People’s News) was out of the question, because the mail was delivered to a communal mailbox, and everyone would have seen it.

The legend says that a leftist came to the village, that is, in the minds of the people, a communist, so that he had to move away from the area because of his ideology. On May Day, I saw balloons and May Day pom-poms. I wanted them, too, so I asked my parents for them. Then my father asked: “May Day?” I tried to explain, though he knew about it, but as a child I didn’t

**Profiling of the father and an autobiographical beginning (metaphor), attaching the narration to the farm and getting by (we–form).**

**Political circles in the home region (naming and excluding)**

**Tying politics to daily existence**

**One-liners in children’s political culture**

**Description of the situation (emotional)**

**Allusion to the story**

**Personal memory of May Day**

**Description of dialogue**
know that he knew because he asked about it. He answered: “It is the communists’ celebration and we don’t take part. It’s an ordinary workday, not any holiday.”

Then he found something for us to do, even though there wasn’t much work at that time of year on a small farm. I don’t remember ever getting a balloon or a pom-pom.

My father had been in the Civil War fighting with the Whites in Tampere and he hated the Russians and would say:

“Never trust a Russky, because they’re as twisted as a corkscrew. Even when they’re buried they have to be screwed tight into the ground, otherwise they’ll come right up again.”

Once, I wanted a red shirt, because one of my buddies had one. My dad got angry and said: “My sons will never wear a red shirt. It’s a communist color!”

The teachers at school taught these same values with the help of the pointer and hair pulling.

It was in this atmosphere that I grew up to earn my own keep.

SKS.KRA.POL 1285–1290. 2007. Male narrator, born in the 1940s
When engaged in oral communication and specific discussions of political values, people not only demonstrate their linguistic ability for self-expression (linguistic competence), but their points of view are also guided by sensitivity to situation (communicative competence) and conscious intentions (rhetorical competence) (see Abrahams [1992] 2005, 8, 22, 30–31). We can approach the speech culture dedicated to politics in the local community through the study of register, a useful concept first devised in the 1950s. Even though research on the topic has diversified significantly since its inception, we can still say that registers of discourse continue to refer to situational (though dynamic) language use. Linguistic anthropologists tend to speak of cultural models that individuals assimilate as they learn to apprehend the subtle union of linguistic conduct and social situation (Agha 2007, 79). We can therefore see talking about politics as a particular register in vernacular rhetoric; in this way of speaking, people draw upon political folklore and use it creatively within the family and other everyday situations in their local communities. Yet one question remains unanswered. What compels the respondents to the collection campaigns to insert dialog, proverbs, or other genres into their oral history texts for the Folklore Archives? In recent decades, Finnish folklorists have delved into the methodology of studying written oral history (e.g., Pöysä 1997, Peltonen 1996, Latvala 2005). Researchers in folklore tend to view writing to archive collection campaigns as a distinct genre: narrating by writing (Apo 1995). At the same time, folklorists have underscored the evidence of individual creativity and the narrative variation occurring in the responses sent to the archives. Indeed, the collection generated a wide range of materials, with some responses or passages approximating verse form or literary prose, and others resembling reports, documents of events, or memoirs, while some responses included embedded folklore genres (Latvala 2005). Lotte Tarkka, a scholar of Kalevala-meter poetry, refers to such generic interpolations in the text as embedded text sequences, passages, or lines representing another folklore genre in contrast to the so-called host text. Just as epic poets embedded incantations, proverbs, or aphorisms in their narratives (Tarkka 2005, 70, 72), writing narrators also make use of folklore genres in the process of crafting their own textual wholes.

Generally speaking, people resort to a range of folklore genres (e.g., riddles, narratives, and jokes) to express concerns or related ideas vis-à-vis expectations, conflicts, values, and feelings either to the wider community or only to a certain group (see, e.g., Siikala and Siikala 2005, 49). The term political folklore refers to a thematic sub-genre of folklore (e.g., political jokes). The incorporation of oral folklore genres into writing is also a stylistic and rhetorical feature that alters the impression of the experience described: it deepens, broadens, or generalizes the perspective, also creating a humorous or persuasive impression. In the written narration, the oral history and genres of political folklore conveyed stand for different elements of knowledge, and these elements are subsequently interpreted and placed...
in relation to not only the narrator’s own experiences but also to local history and moments of crisis or transition affecting the entire nation.

Even the sample text presented above shows how linguistic expressions and folklore make up an essential feature of political socialization in the family and home region. The conversations between father and son blend elements of ideological socialization with structural socialization. The narrator cites three distinct conversational situations: children’s one-liners from political newspapers, the father’s deeply ideological commentary on May Day celebrations, and his hatred of Russia and communism. The intertextuality of the text reveals a story—or rather, an untold narrative unveiled in a set of oblique references—and the embedded folklore genres bring forth one-liners and a proverb. The proverb-like formula is used as a plainspoken lesson passed on by father to son (Never trust a Russky, because they’re as twisted as a corkscrew. Even when they’re buried they have to be screwed tight into the ground, otherwise they’ll come right up again). Heard in childhood, this severe and figurative saying imprinted itself in the memory of the respondent as a young boy. Though cloaked in the language of structural socialization, the proverb works as straightforward advice.

Liisa Granbom-Herranen (2008, 216), who has studied proverbial speech and childrearing, states that the prominent place of language in children’s day-to-day lives emerges in the reminiscences of the elderly. As the father’s saying reveals, distrust of the formidable neighbor to the east continues to prevail in Finnish oral history. But what else do the text’s narrative components tell us about the political socialization taking place in childhood? The writer frames the story of his own life within that of his father’s. His narrative, combined with his use of headings and introductory sentences, vividly renders life on a small farm in Ostrobothnia in the 1950s. The metaphor he uses to describe his own birth—I was born from the ashes of the Second World War—appeals to the reader’s emotions. His third sentence, There were six of us kids for the land to support, gives the narrative its dramatic undertone. The family’s survival depends on the father’s work on the farm; there is no mention of the mother. The emphasis on the mode of livelihood in the introductory sentences establishes a base for the political theme, for the narrator then delineates the cultural borders of the area through its political groupings. He ties political convictions to daily life through the region’s most popular newspapers.

Thereafter the narrator transports himself into the cultural milieu of his childhood by citing children’s one-liners from two political newspapers. These witticisms were either formulated by the children themselves or picked up from overhearing the speech of their elders. The third issue related to newspapers is an informative report about a day-to-day practice—picking up the mail at the communal pickup point. The one-liners and other information related to political newspapers underline the significance of the theme: one of the central issues in quotidian political culture was the role of newspapers in social relations. This theme became increasingly
clear to me after going through the data in its entirety. A family’s politics was often easily ascertained through their newspapers. The newspapers present and visible in the home gave visitors a good idea about the political convictions of the family. Furthermore, the communal mail pickup location made politics even more public and visible, and narratives served to concretize these unseen political borders. The one-liners uttered by children indicate an understanding of the significance of newspapers. The political camps of adults and their significance are vividly present in children’s oral communication. This is further confirmed in the next section of the response, the allusion to the story that says that those on the political left were unwelcome in the village.

The narration then shifts to personal reminiscences. The respondent’s recollection of his conversation with his father about buying pom-poms and balloons on May Day clearly delineates the father’s ideological stance. And thus politics enter the world of the child, serving to explain and justify the family’s refusal to take part in the celebrations. The father plainly states that while May Day is a communist celebration it is merely another workday for their family. The father’s comment contains the informative aspect of ideological socialization: what May Day is and opinions about its ideology. Thus the political socialization of the boy is built on a notion of us and them (the communists). Politics is connected first to the observation of the existence of differently ranked groups. The mention of May Day makes sense because it was the most politicized day of the year. Memories of the celebration of this workers’ holiday culminated in accounts of remaining uninvolved by force or unconditional participation in the march. The social distinctions made through politics and participation in the workers’ holiday were also apparent in the sly observations made by families as to which neighbors and fellow villagers took part in the parades. The narrator also comments on his memories, thus confirming the image of his father’s ideological commitment. Up to this point in the narrative, the father’s political conviction is not made explicit, though it is made clear to the reader that he is definitely not a communist. Thereafter the narrative shifts into the realm of history. The narrator mentions that his father fought on the side of the Whites during the Civil War of 1918. This information links up with the father’s proverb-like assertion, a sentiment that also helped make up the narrator’s own political views as a youth. The response continues with another recollection of the father’s hatred of communists. Once again, the respondent uses direct speech to bring to life the dialogue between him and his father. Identifying the color red with communism, the father forbids his son to use a red shirt. To provide further evidence about the period in question, the narrator also mentions the same values transmitted through similar methods in school.

To conclude, the respondent states that this was the atmosphere in which he grew up to earn his own keep. According to his narrative, the formation of his own political stance has been shaped by the knowledge of his father’s life history and the
poignant and unforgettable messages communicated through language. In the local community the communal pickup location for mail functioned as an arena of social control. In addition, political newspapers were regarded as reliable markers of party loyalties. The remarkable significance of newspapers in the exposure of political commitment is further reinforced by another account from Ostrobothnia in my research data. Although the children’s traditions that mocked political newspapers reflected the political divisions of adults, the writer suggests that children were simply using politics to make fun of each other.

Although children pick up on forms of verbal communication used to convey political messages in their day-to-day lives, they are also bound to suffer within a culture of silence. Many respondents to the collection campaign shared memories of learning to keep their family’s political leanings a secret. Interestingly, the data show that respondents occasionally found it difficult to discern whether it was a question of politics or history. One female respondent who was born in 1941 explicitly stated that nobody spoke about politics in her childhood home. All the same, she chose to write about how her father discussed history—not politics—and his feelings about it. Her father, who had fought in the Winter War, “hated Russkies” and used the term “Red uprising” to describe the Civil War of 1918. Other contributors to the collection, however, clearly associated such themes with politics (SKS KRA. POL 1162–1165. 2006). In this particular family, political ideology was hushed up, for otherwise it would have affected the family’s social ties in the community and caused problems for the children. Furthermore, many families followed unwritten rules determined by political views. My research data contain weighty childhood reminiscences from respondents growing up in leftist families. These respondents recall being forbidden even to look into the windows of shops deemed rightist, or to walk past the store, never mind stepping inside.

**Conclusion**

The perspectives on quotidian political culture presented in this article constitute a fundamental part of the political past as interpreted by the individual. The Politics and Power Games collection campaign launched by the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society gave people the chance to give voice to their own recollections of politics and how it played a part in their day-to-day lives, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, these kinds of data offer researchers the opportunity to examine political socialization on a level that also encompasses individual and experiential interpretations. In their narrativization of political socialization, respondents stressed circumstances of political practices and language use: talking about politics was—and continues to be—a particular register in vernacular rhetoric. Reminiscences focused on political culture contain numerous accounts of oral communication, in which the varied use of the tradition functions as a
channel for values, feelings, and attitudes connected to politics. Culturally speaking, the structural concretization of political socialization is made manifest in the form of proverbs, witticisms, riddles, stories, and songs. Although people relied upon a range of traditional forms to speak about politics, ostensibly political folklore can also be devoid of political meaning or intentions. This absence is evident in the folklore of young children. Yet these recollections of folklore in action show that adults rarely, no matter the age of the children, shielded them from political situations or from overhearing conversations about politics. Through their stories, respondents communicated a political consciousness that reached back into their early childhood. As youngsters they had seen the political symbols of their local environment, learned to recognize political idioms, and had transported this knowledge and experience into their play. Without a doubt, the spoken word had played a fundamental role in bringing politics into the world of the child.

Personal experiences of political socialization can be divided into distinct narrative types that reflect the political culture of the childhood family and the political culture of the local environment. I have referred to them as the political coming-of-age narratives, political conversion/disengagement narratives, and circumstance narratives. For a long time, researchers investigating political socialization have focused on the views and understandings passed down from parents to children; interestingly, circumstance narratives also demonstrate that even children can influence the views of their grandparents. Instead of underlining the generational divides, my approach to the interpretation of oral history texts focuses on the dialogue between generations as well as the individual’s relationship to politics.

Oral history, the combination of recollected experience and narrative process, can offer a more complete picture to the cross-disciplinary study of political socialization. By their very nature, the domestic or informal instances of political communication—of views, moods, attitudes—are often imperceptible to participants and often overlooked as a topic by researchers. According to my data, the development of children into individuals able to grasp societal distinctions and political tensions in the atmosphere takes place—or at least took place in past decades—surprisingly early in life. As the case study showed, the structural, and thus hidden, political socialization is carried out effectively with the aid of day-to-day discussions. The political talk of families and relatives is a combination of direct ideological socialization with its affective features, but word choices can also subtly serve to normalize attitudes; in other words, structural socialization gives form to thinking without the individual’s full awareness. Although an individual’s political formation is undeniably a lifetime process, childhood is nonetheless a key period in the development of a political frame of reference. On the one hand, adults certainly sought to protect children from the unsavory side of politics, but on the other, they also tried to raise their children to internalize values and attitudes in harmony with the family’s politics.
Furthermore, oral narratives provided those at the grassroots a means for interpreting political processes. Such narratives may expose educational aims and attempts by elders to bear upon the political views of future generations. Indeed, older relatives offered the younger generation alternative perspectives on the past, opinions that differed from the history books or the classroom.

Traditions dealing with politics have functioned to delineate political borders of belonging and exclusion. In the midst of daily community life, the unwritten and tacit rules and power relations dictated by politics figured prominently. Politics has been regarded as action infused with a powerful symbolic dimension. In part, people lived out their workaday lives guided by silent knowledge, determined by one’s own place in the political scheme of things. By paying attention to feelings, impressions, and meanings—for example, fears in connection to politics, disenchantment, or simply matters of honor—we can find out about the impacts of the deep layers of cultural memory, or to put it another way, what sorts of historical and cultural issues have determined the processes of political socialization and thereby the individual’s relationship to politics?

Events invariably slide into the past, but archive texts offer interpretations of a given community’s political thinking years or even decades after the actual incident described took place; therefore descriptions of the past, even if constructed from the vantage point of the present, warrant our attention, often as gendered products of history culture. Many narrators underline the vital role mothers have played in stressing the valuable heritage of voting rights. Gender has also been a factor in shaping attitudes toward participation in society. During the war, for instance, much of the population recognized the importance of children’s labor input, and therefore children developed a sense of civic belonging.

Yet the war alone cannot explain how politics touched the lives of children from apolitical families in the generations that lived through the war and the post-war reconstruction period. In fact, even the younger respondents articulate the presence of politics in their families, at school, and among their friends. The narrators largely construct their relationship to politics with descriptions of their earliest political memories in the framework of the political culture of their family life. To some degree, their notions of the significance of politics are tied to a consciousness of social class, especially among the older generations. In many cases, their experiences were wrought by the Civil War of 1918 and its subsequent division of the nation into Reds and Whites. For many, politics signified the recognition of alternative ways of seeing and understanding society; those with differing political views could therefore be ranked in accordance to their convictions. The wars, the causes leading up to them and their aftermaths, undeniably represent turning points in the memories of respondents to the archives. Narrativization has helped Finns to overcome, understand, or rethink such experiences. Unlike the War of 1918, a topic that prompted
Finns to write a great deal, the Winter War and the Continuation War prompted relatively little recollection. The nation scarred by the spiral of violence that erupted in the Civil War needed to be healed. Reconciliation in Finland was sought through a shared sense of purpose: fighting a common enemy.

Translated by Leila Virtanen

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**Archived Materials**

There have been several periods of Finns migrating to other countries in the last century and a half. There was the great period of mass migration to North America during the two decades leading up to the First World War when Finland was a part of the Imperial Russian Empire. Much of this was the result of a population explosion in the Finnish countryside that resulted in fewer and fewer economic opportunities for those dependent on agriculture. Finns by the thousands migrated to the United States and, to a lesser extent, Canada. In the period immediately following Finnish Independence and the end of the First World War, Finns again left for the United States. When that country applied strict quotas on allowing immigrants in 1923, Canada became the destination of choice for Finland’s overseas migrants. Like the earlier Finns leaving for Amerikka those leaving for Canada did so mainly for economic reasons. However, the events of the Civil War following Independence did have a politicizing impact on many of those departing. The Depression brought an end to this long period of mass migration.

It was not until well after World War II that Finns again began to migrate to other countries to find job opportunities unavailable in their post-war homeland. This time the primary destination was Sweden, which would hold this distinction for much of the post-war period. However, some 20,000 Finns also migrated to Canada during the decade of the 1950s. A large number also left for Australia. As the Finnish economy re-established itself from the late 1950s onwards, the period of mass emigration gradually came to a close by 1980. Many Finns from Sweden returned to their homeland after having worked a number of years in their Scandinavian neighbor.

The Institute of Migration in Turku has, since 1974, been accumulating a
massive database related to Finnish emigration and publishing a wide range of studies. One of its most recent relates to the Finnish migrant of the late 1980s and onwards, a collection of articles entitled *Finns Abroad: New Forms of Mobility and Migration* (Migration Studies C21 2011), edited by Elli Heikkilä and Saara Koikkalainen. This collection of eleven articles introduces some eleven new researchers of the Finnish migration experience, with the stated goal of “broadening our understanding of Finnish emigration and the multitude of different types of transnational mobility that Finns engage in, which is a distinctive feature of our times” (C21: 6).

The authors address a wide range of issues. Some are comparable to issues faced by early generations of Finnish migrants; others are uniquely different. Elli Heikkilä examines the motivations of recent Finns for migrating to other countries to find jobs and other opportunities and profiles their thoughts about eventually returning to Finland. While Finland has changed its national policies to encourage such a return, many emigrants find that the longer they reside abroad, the more difficult it becomes to think about returning, particularly if they have children and grandchildren abroad. Moreover, even if they do return to Finland, Heikkilä reported how family members, who are not from Finland, have found it difficult to adjust to Finnish society.

One of the few studies relying on extensive statistical analysis is by Saara Koikkalainen, who examines the motivations of highly skilled Finns in moving to other European Union countries to seek jobs. One can see indications that this trend will increase in future years as many of the highly skilled seek opportunities in a bigger employment pool than may be available in their specialty in Finland. Some of these observations apply to Carol Marie Kiriakos’s paper on Finns in the Silicon Valley of California. Similarly Nicol Foulkes examines interview data on the experiences of Nordic privileged migrants, notably knowledge workers from Finland (eight in total) and Denmark (also eight), in the course of their work in the megalopolises of India.

This current pattern of migration has not been the mass emigration of earlier eras. Researchers could not rely on statistical data involving thousands of Finns leaving their homeland each year. Rather, the post 1980s emigrants involved small numbers with more individualistic motivations. To that extent, many of these researchers used questionnaires to acquire data from those they contacted; some combined these with in-depth interviews. Two such studies are those by Salla Saarela, who interviewed a number of Finns residing in Ireland to learn how they acquired a new sense of place in their chosen country, and by Leena Vuorinen, who compares the life of Finnish expatriate alcoholics in Sweden and in Australia.

Krister Björklund provides a comprehensive analysis that compares earlier generations of mass migration to Sweden, where services are available to retired Finns in their own language, and to the numerically smaller migration to Switzerland,
where long-time Finnish settlers must learn to accommodate to the linguistic customs of the local Swiss canton.

Some of the authors address particular social themes in their country-specific studies. Johanna Leinonen examines the changing marriage patterns of Finnish migrants in the United States through the twentieth century. Anu Warinowski examines an emerging social issue—the situation of the Finnish expatriate family as the Finnish economy becomes increasingly pan-European and globalized. Warinowski’s research, while applicable to Finnish expatriates, could be applied to the situation of families in many countries in a world of increasing globalization. Tiina Lammervo examines how Finnish language and cultural identity are maintained and promoted in a multicultural Australia. Her article pinpoints some useful ways in which a culture can continue to be promoted even as its actual immigrant numbers are not being replenished.

Finland has a long tradition of trying to maintain some form of official ties with its overseas diaspora. One such organization is Suomi Seura (Finland Society), founded in 1927, which became the driving force for the establishment, in 1997, of a Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP), an organization that linked some 130 Finnish associations across the world. The FEP has brought a number of long dormant issues related to citizenship and migration onto the political agenda in Finland. One of its major achievements has been the promotion of legislation enacted by the Parliament of Finland that has enabled thousands of Finns to reclaim their Finnish citizenship. Saana-Mari Vierimaa provides an excellent summary on the effectiveness of the FEP as a transnational advocacy network.

In summary: *Finns Abroad* introduces us to quality research on Finnish emigration in the twenty-first century. These are not the emigrants who were prepared to seek work on the American frontier—in farming, forestry, mining—or in domestic service. Today’s Finnish emigrants are more likely to be part of a global economy or are seeking experiences or adventure unavailable in their homeland. More women than men seem to be involved, and many have advanced academic degrees. The situations they face and the experiences they gain in dealing with these new situations are different, but they are part of a long tradition. There is plenty of worthwhile reading in this volume of essays.

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There is an old joke about Finnish intellectual life that relates to Pietari Kääpä’s Directory of World Cinema: Finland. The joke goes like this: A Frenchman, an Englishman, a German, and a Finn were commissioned to write studies of the elephant. After a year, the French scholar submitted his manuscript, which was titled The Elephant in Love. When the English colleague completed his study, its title was The Compleat Elephant With Regard to its Qualities. The German’s title: The Elephant According to the Foundations of Transcendental Philosophy. And the Finnish scholar’s title: Elefantti ja talvisota (The Elephant and the Winter War). As a joke, it belongs to the tradition of national self-deprecation, a joke that citizens tell to teach others to make light of their and their fellows’ obsessions. By the same token, it is a joke about the kinds of stories that a nation tells about itself, about its way of understanding itself in relation to the world.

As such a story, the joke intersects with Kääpä’s Directory of World Cinema: Finland. Since the 1920s, cinema has been one of the primary forms nations have used to tell stories about themselves and their obsessions. Cinema has also provided nations means of telling others about themselves, who they are, and what they believe. To put it another way, our exemplary joke could also be rewritten and told with film titles—only you would have to add an American.

The great strength of Directory of World Cinema: Finland is that the editor has taken this connection between cinema and national narratives as a point of departure. Cinema has formed part of the Finnish national narrative—with key films such as Tuntematon Sotilas (The Unknown Soldier, 1955), Täällä pohjantähdän alla/Here Under the North Star (1968), and the seven-film, rural melodrama Niskavuori Saga (1938–1984), as well as others, given specific critical attention. Such films have helped form what Finns think about themselves. Yet ideas about what Finnish cinema is are themselves also scripted by national narratives. To the credit of the Directory of World Cinema: Finland, it also includes many films that challenge and contest the national narrative, for example Uralin perhonen (Butterfly of the Urals, 2008), a controversial animated film that depicted Marshall C.G.E. Mannerheim’s alleged homosexual relationship with his valet while also emphasizing Mannerheim’s role in bloody retributions against the Reds during the Finnish Civil War. Such a film takes familiar events and figures, but does not narrate them according to national convention, thus raising many questions.

It is easy to repeat stories about Finland and her history when we write about Finnish cinema and its history. For example, Kääpä cites a well-known English-language introduction to Finnish and Swedish cinema, which begins by suggesting that “a foreign spectator approaches [Finnish cinema] as if it were a science fiction
experience” (5). In other words, Finnish cinema is presented as strange and exotic, shaped by exceptional forces and history. Approaching it ostensibly requires adopting specialized knowledge. What this tends to mean in practice is heavy emphasis on “masterpieces” and “auteurs.” Such films and filmmakers are supposed to give a unique vision of Finland, at the same time as they transcend the exotic circumstances from which they have arisen, becoming comprehensible as something more than mere science fiction. For those interested in Finnish cinema, the problem with such approaches is that they tend to focus on the New Wave and auteur filmmakers. Consequently, such treatments leave out the history of Finnish cinema, its industrial structure, the lion’s share of popular cinema, film stars and popular culture, documentary, and genre cinema.

Directory of World Cinema: Finland goes in another direction, seeking to give a full and heterogeneous picture of Finnish cinema. It begins with brief chapters on ten key filmmakers in the history of Finnish cinema, continuing with chapters on stars and the emergence of a star system in Finland, studies of the Finnish cinema industry, film music, silent cinema, and studies of predominant genres such as the war film, the comedy, and the children’s film, among others. There is also a study of cinema and the environment and global Finland. Each of these chapters begins with a brief essay followed by concise summaries and critical reviews of specific films. Eighty-eight films receive such a critical review.

This table of contents is typical for the Intellect series Directory of World Cinemas, which “takes the form of a collection of reviews, longer essays and research resources, accompanied by film stills highlighting significant films and players” (http://www.worldcinemadirectory.co.uk). The series website suggests that the purpose of the series is “to discuss [. . .] cultural life and history as expressed through the medium of film” (http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/books/view-Series,id=20/). With this approach, we get a broad picture of Finnish society, but also close analysis of many films, careers, institutions, and debates in the history of Finnish cinema. Some of these are less well known outside Finland. For example, chapters on the economics of Finnish cinema or the emergence of the star system provide material to scholars and students, which was previously unavailable in English. Moreover, such material provides valuable contextualizing material for any film lover who might encounter the Teuvo Tulio (1912–2000) DVD boxset, produced by the Finnish Film Foundation in a universal format, and available for rental and purchase in many places in Europe and North America. Directory of World Cinema: Finland also includes a chapter on Tulio, and several of his contemporaries.

The critical reviews of films by a variety of filmmakers are a valuable contribution. Nothing of this kind exists in English at the moment. These brief chapters range from the cult hit Rare Exports (2010) to Erik Blomberg’s classic Valkoinen peura (The White Reindeer, 1954), from Finnish-Swedish hybrid Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta (Song
of the Scarlet Flower, 1919) to Finnish-Chinese, Kalevala-Kungfu movie Jade Soturi (Jade Warrior, 2006). The methodology and range of the study will make Kääpä’s volume a useful handbook for readers interested in Finnish cinema, world cinema, film festivals, national cinema, and Finnish cultural history.

The volume concludes with a chapter on the future of Finnish cinema, which also tells us how we might situate the book under review. The chapter quotes young filmmaker Dome Karukoski from a 2010 interview. He says that Finnish cinema has been changed by a “generational shift.” He goes on: “a lot of directors, scriptwriters are in their 30s, and are reinvigorating film. I believe many great films will come out of Finland over the next five years” (265). That means new cinematic perspectives, many of which will differ from the old obsessions. Kääpä’s volume helps make clear why the old obsessions became obsessions, but also how new stories, and new jokes, are emerging. To tell this story, Kääpä gathered together a new generation of film scholars and critics as well, whose outstanding work makes Directory of World Cinema: Finland a contribution to many different audiences.

Directory of World Cinema: Finland gives a heterogeneous picture of Finnish cinema, and Finnish society, which invites a variety of cinephiles, students, and researchers interested in Finnish cinema into further dialogue with it. For this, Kääpä and the volume’s contributors deserve great thanks.

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Contributors

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Pauliina Latvala, PhD, is a folklorist at the University of Helsinki, Finland. Her dissertation, “Katse menneisyyteen: Folkloristinen tutkimus suvun muistitiedosta” (A glimpse into the past: a folkloristic investigation into oral history of the family) (2005), focused on history-narration from the perspective of everyday life. Recently, she has specialized in political oral history, critical studies of cultural heritage, and developing textual analysis of oral history. She is one of the editors of the book Tekstien rajoilla: Monitieteisissä näkökulmissa kirjoitettuihin aineistoihin (Along textual borders: Multidisciplinary perspectives on written materials) (SKS 2011). Her forthcoming book deals with the narrated heritage of everyday political culture and the individual’s relationship to politics. The Academy of Science and Letters funds her current research on the oral history of veteran MPs in Finland. She also represents the Finnish Oral History Network (FOHN) at the Board of the Veteran Members of Parliament Oral History Archive. Latvala has served many times as the secretary general of the Organizing Committee for the Folklore Fellows’ Summer School (FFSS), an international training course organized in Finland.

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Leena Paaskoski is a Finnish ethnologist who wrote her dissertation about Finnish university-educated forestry officers and their professional culture (Helsinki University 2008). In 2011–2012, she worked as a post-doctoral researcher in Jyväskylä University’s project “Happy days? The Everyday Life and Nostalgia of the Extended 1950s.” Since 1994, Paaskoski has had permanent appointments as a curator and a collections manager in Lusto – The Finnish Forest Museum. She
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**Tiina Seppä** is a doctoral candidate in cultural studies, folkloristics, at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu. Her dissertation focuses on the collecting and producing project of folk poetry in Finland. The aim of the study is to examine the archival material, folk poetry, and contextual information, as dialogues, and contemplate them as a result of encounters in the past. Experiences of rune singers and the collectors are also in the focus, especially the way these personal experiences have influenced the archival material, the poetry itself, and further, later publications based on them. At the moment Seppä works also as an editor of the open-access journal *Elore* and as the second vice-chairperson of the Finnish Folklore Society.