

The Eden of Dreams and the Nonsense Land

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Characteristics of the British Golden Age Children's Fiction in the
Finnish Children's Fantasy Literature of the 1950s.

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Foreword

This dissertation tells about the journey fantasy literature made from Victorian Britain to a Finland, profoundly changed by the Second World War. It is loosely based on part of the licentiate work I completed almost five years ago. Much has since changed. When I started, I was simply fascinated by the enchanted worlds I was able to visit by reading fantasy literature. Later on, I was impressed by how children's literature is linked in so many ways to the society in which it is created.

During the years spent writing this thesis, I found texts which I would have otherwise never come across, as well as being able to return to the stories I had greatly enjoyed as a very young reader. In many ways, this process was an adventure during which I found I was not only a researcher of literature, but also I remembered the experiences I went through as a child reader. I hope my thesis will raise the interest in children's literature and help grown-ups, in addition to children, to enjoy it.

In this process - or my literary adventure - I had many guides and helpers, whom I wish to thank warmly. The supervisor of my thesis, Professor H. K. Riikonen has guided me during the entire process. I wish to address my most grateful thanks to him for his valuable advice. I also want to thank Professor Monique Chassagnol and Professor Liisi Huhtala for their comments, which have led my work in the right direction. Professor Maija Lehtonen gave me several important comments about my licentiate dissertation and they, too, have helped me forward in this research process. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Roderick Dixon for his skilful and patient correction of my English.

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Introduction

This study concerns the intertextual relationships between Finnish children's fantasy literature in the 1950s and works of the Golden Age of British children's literature. Both the genre and period are defined in terms of Finnish literature. The Golden Age is a common term among British literary critics. Instead of literary content, it refers to a certain historical period. In Humphrey Carpenter's opinion, the Golden Age - named after the title of Kenneth Grahame's book - took place between 1860 and 1930. (Carpenter 1985, IX) Generally the period is simply called the Golden Age, though some critics, like Sheila G. Ray, call it the First Golden Age to distinguish it from the Second Golden Age, which occurred between 1958 and 1974. (Ray 1982, 17) Margaret and Michael Rustin have composed a more complex categorisation, dividing British children's literature into three periods: the mid-decades of the nineteenth century, the late Victorian and Edwardian phase, and the period after the Second World War. (Rustin & Rustin 1987,1)

Which writers' works, then, are considered to be representative of the First Golden Age? The scholars mentioned above have usually concentrated on the fantasy classics of the age. Thus, Charles Kingsley's (1819-1875) *The Water-Babies* (1863) is often seen as the starting point of the era, along with the nonsense classic, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and its sequel, *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871), both by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, (1832-1898). Following these novels, a group of fascinating fantasy stories for children were written: George MacDonald's (1824-1905) Princess-books (1871-1872), Beatrix Potter's (1866-1943) little animal stories, starting with *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1893), Kenneth Grahame's (1859-1932) *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), J. M. Barrie's (1860-1937) *Peter Pan* (first performed as a play in 1904, then published as a novel in 1911) and A. A. Milne's (1882-1956) *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926) with its sequel *The House at Pooh Corner* (1928). All these books have several common characteristics, such as the elements of fantasy and the creation of extraordinary worlds. On the other hand, they are also different. Some, like Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, concentrate on playing with the language, according to the terms of the nightmarish Wonderland, while others, like Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, reach

pastoral heights in their description of an almost perfect paradise.

The Golden Age had a remarkable significance regarding the development of fantasy literature in Britain. Writers like P. L. Travers (1906-1996) or J. R. R. Tolkien (1892-1973) could not have created their fantasy books without knowing the tradition of the Golden Age. The Golden Age was also very significant in the development of Finnish children's fantasy fiction. In the 1950s, following the drastic changes in the culture and society, which took place during the Second World War and the post-war reconstruction, Finnish authors were looking for a new way to express themselves. They found the genre of fantasy literature, which offered, at the same time, an escape from the depressing reality and a way to criticise and comment on it safely. This way, Finnish children's literature, which earlier had had strong connections especially with German fairy tales, started to recreate itself and establish a new tradition, which also had a strong position in later decades. In many ways the 1950s, when Finnish authors found the genre of fantasy literature and started to build inter-textual connections with the British Golden Age, can be considered the Golden Age of Finnish children's fantasy fiction. Though authors writing in Swedish had found the British masterpieces as early as the pre-war period, authors writing in Finnish discovered them in the 1950s, which was a new beginning for children's literature in Finland. The position of the fairy tales was challenged and new influences flooded the consciousness of the writers.

When we speak about the relationship between British and Finnish literature, we can not avoid the concept of intertextuality, which is a literary term defined by several scholars. Julia Kristeva, for instance, considers it a process between different sign systems, as the passage below suggests:

To these [displacement and condensation] we must add a third "process" - *the passage from one sign system to another*. To be sure, this process comes about through the combination of displacement and condensation, but this does not account for its total operations. It also involves an altering of the *thetic position*; the deconstruction of the old position and the formation of a new one. The new signifying system may be produced with the same signifying material; in language, for example, the passage may be made from narrative to text. Or it may be borrowed from different signifying material: the transposition from a carnival scene to a written text, for instance. In this

connection we examined the formation of a specific signifying system, the novel, as a result of a redistribution of several different sign systems: carnival, courtly poetry, scholastic discourse. The term *intertextuality* denotes this transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another /.../ (Kristeva 1984, 59-60)¹

As the passage shows, Kristeva includes almost everything in the category of the different sign systems. Such subtexts, as they are called (Tammi 1980,146) may, indeed, be as well literary texts as different cultural phenomena. Very often, however, the intertextual studies focus on finding connections between literary works.

Several decades ago, literary critics talked about influences. However, a direct influence is, unfortunately, usually impossible to prove. We cannot be sure, whether an author was influenced by another author's work, what made him or her show it in his or her own text. In some cases, we cannot even know whether the author in question has read a certain text. But the question is problematic even for an intertextual study, which only tries to prove a relationship between two texts. In their introduction to *Intertextuality: Theories and Practises*, Judith Still and Michael Worton stress that all writers are firstly readers of texts. Hence, it is inevitable that intertextual references appear in literary texts. Their writing is in fact an intertextual process: ideas, quotations and allusions of every sort travel easily, and even unconsciously, from one text to another. (Still & Worton 1993,1) But how can we know that an author has really read the text his or her own writing has connections with? What if he or she learnt something about it by reading other texts?

By this I mean literary traditions. Each tradition or trend is a vast field, which is not necessarily known as a whole by the author. He or she may know only a limited number of texts, which may, in particular, have connections with others. As Anna Makkonen has noted, a scholar does not aim at solving an author's intention, or how consciously or unconsciously other texts are referred to, when he or she is doing an intertextual study. The purpose is to solve how the texts form new meanings with each other. (Makkonen 1991, 16) Hence a literary critic has to note that references do not even remain inside the borders of a specific genre or linguistic area, but all literature affects everything, as a passage from

Susan Bassnett's *Comparative Literature* shows:

It could be argued that anyone who has an interest in books embarks on the road towards what might be termed comparative literature: reading Chaucer we come across Boccaccio; we can trace Shakespeare's source materials through Latin, French, Spanish and Italian; we can study the ways in which Romanticism developed across Europe at a similar moment in time, follow the progress through which Baudelaire's fascination with Edgar Allan Poe enriched his own writing, consider how many English novelists learned from the eighteenth century Russian writers (in translation, of course), compare how James Joyce borrowed from and lent to Italo Svevo. When we read Clarice Lispector we are reminded of Jean Rhys, who in turn recalls Djuna Barnes and Anais Nin. There is no limit to the list of examples we could devise. Once we begin to read we move across frontiers, making associations and connections, no longer reading within a single literature but within the great open space of Literature with a capital L /.../ (Bassnett 1993, 1-2)

Bassnett's view also concerns children's literature. Even though it is often approached as an isolated field, it is not. Children's literature carries on a continuous dialogue with adult books, but that is not all. Literature, too, communicates with other fields of culture, like oral stories, plays, films or radio programmes. In this study, I do not even try to distinguish literature from its cultural context. Other cultural texts count when we study literary works.

Children's literature has often been underestimated by critics. It would be not a surprise if a typical description of the intertextual relations of children's literature defined them as simple and unsophisticated. This view is, nevertheless, false. True, there are children's books, which are parodies or new versions of stories so well-known that most young readers easily recognise them. But there are also books, which demand a thorough knowledge of mythology and older literature from a reader. Janet and Allan Ahlberg's *The Jolly Postman* (1986) or Jon Scieszka's *The Stinky Cheese Man* (1992) are well-known international examples of straight relationships with famous fairy tales, while Susan Cooper's *The Dark is Rising* quintet (1966-77), for instance, relies on the reader's knowledge of Arthurian and Celtic mythology. (Wilkie 1996, 133-5)

In the material for this study, both plain and sophisticated relations in the Finnish texts of the 1950s are to be found. Some books were very simple, referring directly to certain well-known stories or some specific scene in them. Some, on the other hand, had several levels

and were difficult to interpret even for a literary critic, let alone the child readers. Besides, there were references, which did not necessarily link the studied text with any book, but rather with contemporary cultural phenomena. The main target of this study - the intertextual relations between Finnish and British children's fantasy fiction - is thus accompanied by relations with other cultural texts as well.

This study concerns fantasy literature and, hence, this literary term should be defined more closely. It is easy to list which Finnish children's books represent fantasy literature, but the term itself is more difficult to define. In fact, fantasy is only an umbrella term. Under it we can find sophisticated novels, adventure stories, science fiction and nonsense stories. In this respect, it is not really a genre. It is rather a characteristic of the text.

Fairy tales are not fantasy, but fantasy has its roots in fairy tales. In many cases fantasy is more sophisticated than its predecessor. The characters are complex and the plots do not follow any rules. The worlds of fantasy fiction are evidence of the sophistication. Robert H. Boyer and Kenneth J. Zahorski divide fantasy fiction into two separate fields: high and low fantasy. (Boyer & Zahorski 1982, 56) Their separation rests on the terms J. R. R. Tolkien has presented in his collection of essays, *Tree and Leaf*, where he separates the primary world from the secondary worlds. The writer may lead his or her reader away from the world they are living in, the primary world. Such a journey continues to the secondary world, which is an imaginary universe. The rules and laws of nature, which dominate the world we know, do not necessarily hold true in the world we travel to on our literary journey. (Tolkien 1964, 36) I refer to these optional worlds in the title of this study, because dreamlike Edens and chaotic nonsense worlds appear both in British and Finnish children's fiction.

According to Boyer and Zahorski, low fantasy takes place in the primary world, while high fantasy happens in the secondary world. Hence, they prefer the latter to the former. The extraordinary rules and laws of nature in secondary worlds are capable of explaining the supernatural events, while in the primary world they happen for no reason at all. (Boyer & Zahorski 1982, 56)

Maria Nikolajeva goes further and questions the entire existence of low fantasy. In her opinion, two different worlds always appear in fantasy literature, while a fairy tale may have only one world. She divides the secondary worlds into three separate groups: closed, open and implicit worlds. Closed worlds have no entrance to the primary world, while open worlds are the opposite. Implicit worlds do not concretely appear in texts, but hints of their existence can still be found. (Nikolajeva 1988, 13) The classification places the denial of low fantasy in a peculiar light. If the optional reality continuously enters the fictional primary world, is it really important to draw such rigid limits?

Boyer and Zahorski, too, list different kinds of secondary worlds. Some of them take place outside our reality and, thus, resemble the worlds of fairy tales. Some take place in the distant past of our primary world, and some in the distant future. The last group has pseudo-medieval characteristics. Usually the view-point is typical of our thinking, but there are exceptions, like George MacDonald's stories, which move from the secondary to the primary world. (Boyer & Zahorski 1982, 59-71)

Scholars often separate fantasy from the fantastic depending on the scholarly tradition and its objects of study. Fantasy researchers have usually focused on the Anglo-Saxon area. Secondary worlds are one of the main concerns of their studies. (Kuusisto 1993, VIII-IX) This study belongs to this line of research. This is not just because of the British material in the study, but also because children's literature has been successfully approached from this point of view. This is not only the case with English scholars, like Ann Swinfen, whose *In Defence of Fantasy* concentrates on modern children's fantasy fiction in English, but also with Nordic critics, such as Maria Nikolajeva from Sweden, who separates different worlds of fantasy fiction in her book, *The Magic Code*. When approaching the fantastic, the view-point of the study is usually rather different. The study of the fantastic concentrates on continental Europe, especially France, where Tzvetan Todorov has paved the way for later scholars. The texts studied usually do not usually represent children's literature, either. Fantastic elements in literature for adults are a more typical object of study. Thus, this kind of research is not plausibly applicable to this study.

The British texts studied here are all well-known representatives of the Golden Age. The Finnish books, however, are not that famous. There are some exceptions, like Tove Jansson's (1914-) *Moomin* books, but authors like Oiva Paloheimo (1910-73), Marjatta Kurenniemi (1918-) and Kirsi Kunnas (1924-), along with their works, are mainly known in their own country. The reason for selecting their books was for me, at any rate, self-evident: they all follow the paths leading to the Edens of the British Golden Age. From Jansson's works, this study concentrates on *Kometjakten* (1946, *Comet in Moominland*), *Trollkarlens hatt* (1948, *Finn Family Moomintroll*), *Muminpappans bravader* (1950, *The Exploits of Moominpappa*), *Den farliga midsommaren* (1954, *Moominsummer madness*) and *Trollvinter* (1957, *Moominland Midwinter*), as well as the picture book *Hur gick det sen?* (1952, *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My*). Other texts are Paloheimo's novel *Tirlittan* (1953) and Kurenniemi's novels *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* (1953, *Once There Was an Elf Called Onnimanni...*) *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* (1954, *How-Wonder-Land is Everywhere*) and *Puuhiset* (1956, *The Tree Goblins*) along with her two short story collections for children, *Antti-Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja* (1954, *Antti-Karoliina and Other Funny Stories*) and *Kuu omenapuussa* (1957, *Moon in the Apple Tree*). Of Kirsi Kunnas' books, I have concentrated on *Tiitiäisen satupuu* (1956, *Tiitiäinen's Fairy Tale Tree*) and *Tiitiäisen tarinoita* (1958, *Tiitiäinen's Tales*). All the books mentioned above represent the era, when their creators discovered links to the British Golden Age: the late 1940s and especially the 1950s.

Naturally, not all the Finnish children's fantasy books published in the 1950s are included in this study. Usko Kemppi's *Seikkailu satumetsässä* (1955, *Adventure in the Fairy Tale Forest*), for instance, is a mixture of fantasy stories with modern characteristics, and fairy tales, which resemble their pre-war predecessors more than modern children's literature of the post-war era (some of the stories are even based on folk tales). Aila Meriluoto's *Pommorommo* (1956) is touched upon for its typical characteristics of the age, but because of its rare connections with British fiction it is not analysed thoroughly. Aila Nissinen's *Minä olen Lammenpei* (1958, *I Am Lammenpei*) is a typical representative of the type studied, but its numerous similarities to Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, published five years earlier,

make it a less interesting example.

All these writers except Jansson wrote in Finnish. As will be seen later, Finnish authors writing in Swedish followed the British examples two or even three decades before their Finnish-speaking colleagues. British texts entered the consciousness of the Finnish-speaking authors later, in the 1950s, which is the period I am concentrating on. I have well-found reasons. The decade was a new phase in the history of Finnish children's literature. Signs of the coming of fantasy literature had been seen as early as the pre-war era, but the breakthrough did not occur until after the war. This study concerns fantasy fiction in Finnish, but because Jansson's works, though very different from the pre-war Finnish books written in Swedish as they were created in an entirely different situation, functioned as a watershed in the development of children's literature, they are also included in this study. Because of the marginal position of the official languages of Finland globally, I have translated all the literary texts appearing in this study into English in order to ease the reception for the non-Finnish readers.

Though this study concentrates on novels and tales, poetry is not ignored, either. Only Kirsi Kunnas wrote a book consisting purely of children's poetry, *Tiitiäisen satupuu*, but all the writers studied favoured poetry and used it as an extra flavour in their prose works. This is a phenomenon typical of the decade. The writing of modernist poetry in Finnish mainly started in the 1950s, and this helped give Finnish children's books their own special characteristics. The passages from children's poetry have been added to the study in the original language because of the complex essence of poetical expression. In cases where the book has been translated into English, it is referred to by its English title. Otherwise, the title is translated into English once for the non-Finnish readers, then the Finnish title is used afterwards.

This study connects two different historical periods. There is almost a century between the starting point of the British Golden Age and the 1950s, when the Finnish texts in question were created. For this reason, the nature of the study is also historical. The British Golden Age books alone did not give birth to Finnish children's fantasy fiction; many other things

were also necessary such as the situation in Finnish society and changes in the literary field. They gave Finnish children's literature its essence, which may differ greatly from literature in other countries. Therefore, these things cannot be ignored in this study.

The approach of this study is in some respects traditional, but also new, because children's literature, especially in Finland, is mainly an unexplored area. There are some important studies, like Riitta Kuivasmäki's doctoral dissertation (1990), but it only concerns children's literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The area in this study, the 1950s, has so far not interested scholars. This study concentrates on one decade only, but that is an important start. Children's literature needs its own literary history. The lack of it is one reason for its marginal position.

After years of oblivion in the shadow of other research trends (e. g. close reading), literary history has returned to the study of literature. David Perkins traces the new coming of literary history to the rise of marginal literatures. Histories are written telling of the literature of women, blacks, gays and lesbians, and other marginal groups. Histories are also written from new points of view, such as sociological literary history, the research of literary institutions, reception histories and ideology criticism. (Perkins 1992, 9-10) This is partly due to the breaking of the traditional canon. Frank J. Warnke has stressed that, in addition to renewal, the canon also needs expansion (Warnke 1988, 55). In this process, literary histories have a significant role. In order to raise the position of children's literature to the same level as other literature, it, too, needs a cohesive history. This study only covers a tiny part of it, but, in itself, it is one piece of the puzzle of an entire history.

Cultural context also plays an important role in this study. Children's literature, a field which has connections both with elite and popular culture, cannot be approached by ignoring other cultural phenomena. Literary history is part of cultural history. Intertextuality, too, works in a similar way. Intertexts not only take place in literature, but also in the rest of the culture. Stories can be told by several different means.

The creation of a literary history may raise children's literature to a position of more

importance and influence. The intention of this study is to create one part of this enormous process. The reasons for this are clear; children's literature is valued as an important part of the literary field. It is not automatically inferior as a form in relation to adult books, as many people seem to think, but a colourful field of art. It is also where reading begins. Almost every reader starts, after all, with children's books. There are few readers, who can directly start reading literature for adults. Dealing with children's fiction first gives the reader the linguistic capacity necessary for reading books for adults as well as a knowledge of literary expression. Children's literature has also been referred to in adult literature, as will be seen later.

1. Roots of Fantasy Fiction

1.1. Oral Folk Tale and Its Written Forms

The origins of children's fantasy fiction can be traced to folk fairy tales.¹ Despite the fact that they are considered to be the oldest form of children's literature, they were, in the beginning, entertainment for adults instead of infants' stories. Folk tales were told at all levels of society during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, even though they probably originated in peasants' cottages (Zipes 1989, 1). Folk tales have often been considered universal (see e. g. von Franz 1996, 27-28), but, in fact, they differ when we move from one cultural or linguistic area to another (see Dundes 1989, 264). That is why Indo-European folk tales, which developed in written form in seventeenth century France are discussed here.

Robert Darnton describes the life of seventeenth and eighteenth century French peasant children in his study, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. According to Darnton, children participated in everyday work from a very early age. They slept in the same bed as their parents and were thus able to observe marital life. As a result, children were not protected from the true facts of life. (Darnton 1988, 35) The idea of children as miniature adults, often present in older studies like Philippe Ariès' *The Centuries of Childhood*, is not, however, the whole truth.

According to Shulamith Shahar, as early as the Middle Ages children were distinguished from adults, although the medieval concept of childhood differed from its modern form. Children were not, for instance, automatically taken care of by their parents, because someone else, perhaps a distant relative, a hired nanny or just a passer-by, could do the job as well. Play was, however, supposed to be favourable to the infant's development and some scholars even recommended reading educational stories and singing songs to children. Even the idea of an innocent child, typically connected with Romanticism, has its roots in the Middle Ages. (Shahar 1990, 1, 3, 6, 99, 103). Later on, in the seventeenth century, the idea of childhood strengthened. C. John Somerville stresses that childhood was discovered, in his opinion, in Puritan England. He remarks that the Puritans produced realistic descriptions of childhood, as well as literature that provided the young with both

religious education and entertaining reading. (Somerville 1992, 27, 31, 111)

Shahar's views placed Philippe Ariès's classic study, *The Centuries of Childhood*, in a controversial position, because Ariès denies the existence of the concept of childhood before the sixteenth century. The main point is, however, that Ariès also defines the position of children in society; children were not separated from adult society, but formed part of it. A person's ability to take care of him or herself was stressed instead of the biological age. School education did not follow the pupils' age, but rather their knowledge, leading to a situation where children and young people from completely different age groups could form a school class. (Ariès 1996, 125, 230) Literacy was reached at different ages, making the creation of children's fiction impossible.

In such a society, adults and children had to cope together. Hence, children were allowed to take part in adults' story-telling sessions and listen to all the violent and pornographic details the stories contained. Maria Tatar has stated that the oldest written versions of "Little Red Riding Hood" were typical entertainment of the period. In a version Tatar has included in her study, the main character eats her grandmother's flesh and drinks her blood. Then she undresses alluringly in front of the wolf and rescues herself by her own wits. (Tatar 1992, 37) The function of such oral folk tales was not to teach moral lessons, but to entertain and horrify.

The written form of a folk tale was the next phase in the development of the fairy tale. (Holmberg 1988,34) It had its beginnings in the seventeenth century literary salons of the French aristocracy. Before the 1690s, folk tales were not considered worth writing down throughout most of Europe, because they were seen as representative of the vulgar tradition of peasants. Their pagan beliefs and superstitions were seen as inappropriate in Christian Europe. There were a few exceptions, particularly in Italy, where Giovan Francesco Straparola collected *The Entertaining Nights* (1550-3) and Gianbattista Basile *The Pentameron* (1634-6). (Zipes 1989a, 1-4)

French upper-class women, however, became interested in folk tales in the 1630s. First,

parts of them were used as elements of riddles and other popular linguistic games. Later on, fairy tales were narrated from beginning to end in social situations. The stories offered upper-class women a new form of expression. The limited position of women in society did not provide them with very many means of commenting on controversial matters, and so the fairy tale was a welcome novelty in the salons. (Zipes 1989b, 121-4) The themes of fairy tales were, however, often connected with controversial matters. Topics like the freedom of choice in marriage, fidelity and justice were typical of the period. (Zipes 1989a, 1-4)

Marie Catherine D'Alnoy and her novel, *Histoire d'Hippolyte*, containing a fairy tale called "The Island of Happiness", is often seen as a pioneer of the powerful trend. (Zipes 1989a, 5) The stories written by women must be carefully distinguished from men's stories (for instance Perrault's). (Zipes 1989b, 121-4) While women's stories offered new aspects of their own position, the approach to women in men's stories was highly patriarchal. In Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé*, for instance, the major female characters are expected to be modest and beautiful, unlike the male protagonists, who are smart and ambitious. The goal of Perrault's women is marriage, while men aim at achieving both social and economic success. (Zipes 1983, 26)

Both men's and women's stories were aimed at adults instead of children. (Zipes 1989b, 121-4) In D'Alnoy's stories, for instance, descriptions of torture and other grotesque details are rather common. (Zipes 1989a, 7-8) The idea of stories written for children was not familiar among storytellers until the 1720s and 1730s, though the exact time is impossible to pinpoint. (Zipes 1989b, 131) By this time, interest in fairy tales had considerably diminished. The writers began to either parody the genre, or develop it along conventional lines and utilise it for children's literature. (Zipes 1989a, 10) Madame Leprince de Beaumont's version of the popular fairy story, "Beauty and the Beast", published in 1756, is commonly considered the first story written especially for children (Zipes 1989, 121-124,131) The story is, however, just a short version of Mme de Villeneuve's "Beauty and the Beast" (1740) which emphasised true love and class differences, while Mme Leprince de Beaumont turned "Beauty and the Beast" into a didactic story. (Zipes 1989a, 10-11)

Beauty's self-denial and sacrifice did not reflect the needs of aristocratic women anymore, but rather the ideas appearing in the education of young girls.

After Mme Leprince de Beaumont's works, fairy tales gained their position in the nursery. They began to follow certain forms. Fairy tales had to have a didactic function and thus were used in education. They were written in a simple, short form so as to be easily read. They were not allowed to contain inappropriate characteristics, which were seen as unsuitable for children, because the stories had to pass adult censorship. Fairy tales also had to mirror the values of contemporary society and encourage upper-class children to cherish them when adults. (Zipes 1994,31-33) Thus, the fairy story came a long way. The tradition created by authors writing for adults, like Mme de Villeneuve, did not have much in common with the fairy tale for children. The old inheritance did not, however, completely vanish. It was adapted later on by German writers, like E. T. A. Hoffmann and Novalis (Zipes 1989a, 10), who played an important role during the next phase in the development of the fairy tale, the German *Kunstmärchen*.

1.2. *Volksmärchen* and *Kunstmärchen*

Before the beginning of the nineteenth century, the folk tale had travelled from peasant cottages through the salons of the French aristocracy to the nursery. The development was connected with the change in the concept of childhood. In the opinion of many including Neil Postman, the romantic concept of childhood was inherited from Rousseau, who thought that children, as with ordinary folk, who were supposed to be in a natural state, are innately honest, spontaneous and curious. According to Rousseau, children have a talent for imagination, which will be inevitably ruined when they grow up. (Postman 1983, 58-59) According to this logic, folk tales were also regarded as suitable for children, because they were seen as representatives of natural imagination.

In Germany, the written folk tales were called *Volksmärchen*. The Brothers Grimm are commonly regarded as the most important developers of the children's fairy story. This is true in the sense that several folklorists were encouraged by their example to collect more

Volksmärchen and to value their tradition. Nevertheless, the authenticity of the Grimms' folk tales has been continuously brought into question. Maria Tatar stresses that, although the Grimms were folklorists, they still created their tales themselves. The Grimm brothers actually collected some material, but rewrote it according to certain familiar models. (Tatar 1987, XVI-XVII) In John M. Ellis' opinion, the Grimms were almost forgers. He accuses the brothers of lying about their sources. Instead of illiterate peasants, their story tellers were often representatives of the middle class. The tales themselves were originally French, not German. They were also moulded: references to sexuality were left out and the plots were reshaped in a more complex direction. Finally, the stories were very different from the original versions (Ellis 1983, 107-110, 72-73), if such things even existed. However, very different views have also been presented. An admirer of the Brothers Grimm, Jack Zipes, has defended his idols against their critics. Zipes appreciates the Grimms' intentions as pure and honest. In his opinion, their aim was to improve and raise the position of fairy tales, which were considered a cultural form of the ordinary folk, rather than the aristocratic culture of the chosen elite. (Zipes 1989c, 273-4) Thus the end was supposed to justify the means.

Although Zipes' arguments can be easily judged naïve, there is still some truth in them. In the Grimms' time, nationalism was on the rise and the shaping of the national identity was a controversial topic. The trend was particularly powerful in the German-speaking area, where ancient German mythology and the Grimms' tales - both included more or less in the same category² - were used as tools in this process. (Mauss 1996,93) The Grimms' tales were even seen as preservers, not indicators, of the national inheritance. Instead of being considered expressions of contemporary national ideas, they were seen as reflections of ancient wisdom. (Fishman 1996,165)

Although French fairy tales, especially Mme Leprince de Beaumont's "Beauty and the Beast", were considered models for the German stories (Ewers 1996, 735), the contemporary comparison between the French and German tales was used in order to raise public opinion against the French. The high morals and innocence of the German tales, especially considering their censored descriptions of sexuality compared to the French

tales, were held to be the opposite of the subversive characteristics of the French stories. By such means, some German nationalists aimed at highlighting the moral superiority of the Germans in relation to their old enemy, the French. In this way, the *Märchen*, in addition to their many other qualities, were used to serve political ends. (Schenda 1989, 82-3)

Romantic ideas were used to underline the national identity. In some of the Grimms' tales, the admiration of nature, very typical of Romanticism, is very common. (Doderer 1980, 96-97) This characteristic, not be found in the original, often rather concentrated folk tales, presents the ideas of nationalism of the Romantic Age, because nature and the landscape of the fatherland were highlighted. The Grimms' tales, in particular, have an especially strong position in establishing the German identity, which has been powerfully expressed even in our own time, although the entire idea of the national state was criticised as early as the nineteenth century. (see e. g. Renan 1996,53)

The rise of German nationalism was connected in many respects with Hegelian ideas. As extraordinary as it might sound, the Hegelian ideas of the national state also strongly affected the concept of childhood and the development of children's literature, because the family was seen as a basic unit of an ideal Hegelian State. (Westphal 1992, 49-51) Before the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the family was defined on the basis of financial matters (for example, the servants were seen as part of the family). (Häggman 1994, 172-3) This also influenced the children's position in the family. In the medieval family, for instance, showing tenderness to children was not automatically the mother's task - the servants might have also helped in raising the children (Shahar 1990, 115).

It was not until after Rousseau, when the love between husband, wife and children was seen as the connecting factor of the family. The husband's role was to support his family financially while his wife took care of the household. The German pedagogue, J. H. Campe supported Rousseau's ideas, and preferred - stressing the benefit to the State - the role of the middle-class woman as a servant of her family to the idle life of aristocratic ladies. Campe's

idea of the middle-class family as an ideal, in turn, had a significant position during German Romanticism, for instance in Hegel's writings. (Häggman 1994, 145, 172-3, 174)

Such ideas also had a solid relationship with building the nation. Just as myths were seen to be sacred in archaic societies (see, for instance, Eliade 1964, 1), so, in various ways, were they considered in a German society searching for its identity. The nation was based on the family, according to Hegel, and so was also seen as sacred. In Ernst Cassirer's opinion, Hegel not only glorifies the State in his writings, but also approaches some kind of religious worship. (Cassirer 1979, 114) In this setting, the middle-class family, having a key role as a miniature model of the nation's structure, was also sanctified. Therefore both the State and family represented the sacred myth of Germanness.

Children, too, had an important task in building the nation. For this reason, Campe defined the children's role in his ideal family. In addition to adapting to the social ideals learnt at home, the innocent child of the Romantic Age also had to develop his imagination by reading. (Ewers 1996, 736) Campe himself made an adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1779-80) in accordance with Rousseau's terms³. He did not write fairy tales, but since his thoughts were remarkably well-known in contemporary Germany, one cannot ignore them when approaching the *Volksmärchen*, or its successor, the *Kunstmärchen*.

The *Kunstmärchen* was developed along with the success of the *Volksmärchen*. It was also originally meant for grown-ups instead of children. The *Volksmärchen* - stories, which were supposed to be folk tales, but which had been written down all over again - were changing in the hands of the writers, but they were also sources of inspiration for new stories, the *Kunstmärchen*. Many well-known writers started to produce new material, which was based on the elements of the old folk stories (Zipes 1979, 15).

The *Kunstmärchen* does, however, differ from its predecessor in many respects. Vladimir Propp has stated that just as the birth of literature is always linked with an individual writer, so the birth of folklore is connected with the community. An oral story changes every time

it is told according to the needs of the teller and the listeners, but a text remains the same, only its readers change. (Propp 1984,7-8) The written *Volksmärchen* tales were supposed to be based on oral stories, but the *Kunstmärchen* stories only used familiar folklore elements. They were by no means collected from oral performances, but written by different authors. (Dundes 1989, 264-5) Thus, the complete nature of the *Kunstmärchen* differs from the essence of the *Volksmärchen*. The plots of the *Kunstmärchen* are far more complex than those of the *Volksmärchen*. The latter is moulded during the communication process, while a *Kunstmärchen* offers a ready-made role for its reader, who must adopt the rules and values given in the story. In a *Kunstmärchen*, the characters may change during the course of the story. Even the hero of the tale has human weaknesses and can, therefore, fail at some point in the story. (Frye 1981, 135-139)

The well-known representatives of German Romanticism, Clemens Brentano, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Novalis and Ludwig Tieck, were eager writers of *Kunstmärchen*. (Frye 1981, 135) Hoffmann was particularly important as a developer of the fantasy literature genre, especially for children. Vivi Edström considers Hoffmann's *The Nutcracker (Nussknacker und Mausekönig, 1816)* the first children's fantasy tale ever written (Edström 1980, 50), and her fellow-Swede Maria Nikolajeva, in the same vein, argues that true fantasy literature starts with this particular work of Hoffmann's (Nikolajeva 1992,27-28) Nevertheless, *The Nutcracker* can be seen as a *Kunstmärchen*, which, in many respects, marks the beginning of modern fantasy literature for children.

The development of the *Kunstmärchen* also occurred outside Germany. The significance of the Danish master, Hans Christian Andersen cannot be stressed enough. Elizabeth Cook considers Andersen's stories to be models for the most "invented" fairy tales, in other words, the *Kunstmärchen*. Several famous fairy tale writers, such as George MacDonald and Oscar Wilde, have followed Andersen's example.(Cook 1976,46). Sadly enough, as Reginald Spink notes in his biography of Andersen, the popularity of "The Little Mermaid" harmed Andersen's reputation as a writer. After its creation, he was always branded as a writer of naive and sentimental love stories, even though "The Little Mermaid" is an exception among Andersen's numerous works. Most of his other stories are, unlike "The

Little Mermaid", humorous, even sarcastic. (Spink 1972,78-9) Hence, Andersen's stories cannot be considered simply as plain prototypes of the genre, because they have influenced the development of all types of *Kunstmärchen*.

All modern fantasy is indebted to the traditional *Märchen*. In other words, the tradition of the old tales is also present in modern fantasy literature for children, because even though the genre of fantasy literature has developed its own essence, there are still some characteristics linking it with the *Märchen*. The most important ones are, of course, the imagination and the secondary worlds, which do not correspond faithfully to ours. In addition, one of the most significant features of fantasy fiction is, in common with the *Märchen*, the presence of talking animals, which act like human beings (Sale 1978, 77)

More similarities can, however, be found. Some fantasy stories follow the formula of the *Volksmärchen*, like J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* (1937). It is based on the motifs of the *Volksmärchen* and in this way, it even follows the ancient pattern. (Zipes 1979, 149) The way they are told orally also ties fantasy with the *Volksmärchen*. Though fantasy represents written literature and is thus more tightly linked with the written *Kunstmärchen*, it can be connected with oral story-telling in some cases. Both Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1906) and A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926), though written texts, started with the communication between a parent and child.

Children's fantasy literature has developed from the genres originally aimed at adults, which have, however, become part of the culture of childhood. This raises many questions. The most significant of these is the difference between children's and adult literature. Similarly, as fairy tales have travelled to the nursery, some children's books, like Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* or Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, are nowadays favoured by adult readers. Such examples question the need for classifications. The limits between children's and adult literature have been rather unclear from the very beginning, and, despite the forceful attempts to distinguish them, the boundaries have remained vague.

1.3. Fairy Tales and *Märchen* in Nineteenth Century Finland

As in Germany, nationalism also started to rise in nineteenth century Finland for numerous reasons. One was the interest in the Finnish language, which had already arisen in the 1770s, when the Aurora Society was founded in the former capital, Turku. In the eighteenth century, Finland was still part of Sweden, and Swedish was the language of the ruling upper class. However, in 1808, Finland was invaded by Russia as a result of the Napoleonic wars, and, in 1809, annexed as an autonomous Grand Duchy. When nationalism was on the rise elsewhere in Europe, the circumstances also supported the awakening of the Finnish national consciousness. Though it rested on the shoulders of the relatively small, in most cases Swedish-speaking, intelligentsia, Russian domination brought the two different language groups in Finland together. The situation led to the awakening of nationalism. (Hroch 1985, 63, 75)

As in Germany, myths and folklore were also seen as the origins of the national culture in Finland. Elias Lönnrot partly collected from oral performances, partly rewrote the epic *Kalevala*, which was published in 1835 (the second, expanded version in 1849). A few years later, he published the *Kanteletar* (1840), which was a collection of folk poems⁴. The *Kalevala*, in particular, was considered evidence of the glorious and mythic past of the Finnish nation.

At the time of its publication, the *Kalevala* was one of the rare works of fiction written in Finnish instead of Swedish. Unfortunately, the *Kalevala*, due to its enormous significance, left fairy tales in the shade. The *Volksmärchen* were virtually ignored and the first collection of Finnish fairy tales was not published until between 1852 and 1866, when Eero Salmelainen edited a collection of Finnish fairy tales, *Suomen kansan satuja ja tarinoita* (Finnish Folk Tales and Stories) (Apo 1986, 32-3). The fairy tale tradition was partly neglected due to the tales' connections to the surrounding cultures, both east and west, which did not please Finnish nationalists, who were anxious to distinguish Finnish culture from both Swedish and Russian traditions. (Rausmaa 1972, 28).

The intellectuals and representatives of the ruling class in Finland were mostly Swedish-

speaking. Thus, literature was also written in their language. The most important author, in relation to the development of children's literature, was Zachris Topelius (1818-98), who published his first collection of *Kunstmärchen* called *Sagor* (Fairy Tales) in 1847. Ulla Lehtonen has found several similarities between Topelius' and Andersen's works. Sharp irony is an essential element of the story, "Pariser Hatten" (A Parisian Hat) in *Sagor: tredje samlingen* (1849, Fairy tales: The Third Collection), for instance, and this is also typical of Andersen's tales (e. g. "The Emperor's New Clothes"). In "Tomtegubben i Åbo Slott" (The Goblin in Turku Castle) in *Läsning för barn 6* (1884, Reading for Children 6) Topelius sketches an old goblin, whose duty is to protect the castle. Andersen's Holger Danske - created a few decades earlier - who lives in the Kronborg castle, is a very similar character. (Lehtonen 1981, 113-5) But Topelius cannot be regarded, in any respect, as a minor writer, or an imitator of the great Dane. Lena Kåreland places his works on the same level as Andersen's masterpieces. She considers both of them the most significant writers of *Kunstmärchen* ever. (Kåreland 1995, 29) Topelius' works have, indeed, their own special quality, which cannot be found in any other author's stories. Topelius' sense of humour, poetic descriptions of Finnish nature, and nationalist spirit have attracted generations of Finnish readers. His stories do not continue the heritage of the *Volksmärchen*, but do include several characteristics, which are completely atypical of folk tales. For instance, poetical praise of nature, which does not usually appear in Finnish folklore, is very typical of Topelius' stories. (see e. g. Lappalainen 1979, 117-8) The characters of *Kunstmärchen* are also complex individuals instead of the plain types of *Volksmärchen*.

In addition to his literary significance, which was partly based on his great historical novels, Topelius was also an important political character. Many of his stories have a didactic dimension, because their purpose is to establish the idea of the fatherland in the minds of the reading youth. Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon is his *Kunstmärchen* called "The Birch and the Star" (1852), which is a sentimental story about two children, who tirelessly search for their own country until they finally find it:

- Look how gently our star twinkles. Our wandering in the forest has ended. Dear sister, we have arrived home! [the boy said]
- Children, children. This life is a continuous wandering towards the eternal

good, their father reminded them. - On your journey you were looking for the birch: the fatherland. And you were looking for the star: eternity. That is right. Let the fatherland be the object of your work and love, and let the star lead you throughout your life! (Topelius 1993, 184 [M. S.'s translation])

Topelius appreciated both Hegel's and Campe's ideas. In Topelius' opinion, establishing the position of the middle-class family as a basic structure of society was an important political topic (Häggman 1994,148) and thus, he binds Finnish children's fiction to the ideals of the middle-class family.

J. W. Snellman (1806-1881), a Hegelian philosopher, senator, journalist, author and political theoretician, can be considered an even more significant character in this respect than Topelius. Snellman approached the family as an ideal and ideology, emphasising virtue in relation to the family, by which he meant maintaining the old traditions. (Häggman 1994,177,180) Snellman based his ideas on the ideal of an organised society and thus strongly criticised natural philosophers like Rousseau, because, in Snellman's view, the admiration of primitive man could only lead to barbarism. He saw freedom as a process instead of an essence. (Karkama 1989, 31) In this process, each and everyone had their particular function both in the family and society. Snellman's term "decency" (*sedlighet*) was stressed in his thinking. Natural decency was part of family life, while general decency was part of the society. (Karkama 1989, 153)

Snellman also had ideas about art and literature. He wrote some novels and short stories. He was also familiar with European literature through his own reading. In Snellman's opinion, national literature was made to serve the ideal of Patriotism. Instead of a hostile phenomenon towards other nations, it meant an international process, which made different nationalities love and honour the traditions of their ancestors. He did not include folk poetry, like the *Kalevala*, under the term "national literature", because he considered it merely a starting point and thus a passing phase. National literature had to mirror its own age. (Karkama 1989, 74-5, 81, 246)

In his own writing, Snellman favoured the short story. When a coherent national literature

had to be created from scratch, a short story was, in Snellman's opinion, a better way to start than with a larger entity like a novel. (Sallamaa 1995, 27-8) He had learnt some of his criteria of the short story during his student days in Germany, where A. W. von Schlegel's and Ludwig Tieck's ideas, in particular, inspired him, though on a rather superficial level. (Tarkka 1970, 73) Though Snellman showed no particular interest towards fairy tales, *Kunstmärchen* have undeniably much in common with the German short story. *Kunstmärchen* had their origins in the texts of Snellman's spiritual teachers, especially in Tieck's writings, and their form is short and simplified. Very often *Kunstmärchen* could be described as fantasy short stories. There is, however, also a genre called the short story fairy tale, which does not contain supernatural elements (see reference ¹ in this chapter).

Snellman's ideas were severely criticised shortly after his death (Karkama 1989, 260), but Finnish political, cultural and ordinary life were stamped by the thoughts of Snellman, Topelius and, certainly also, Hegel for a long time. These ideas were still controversial as late as the 1920s, when they were criticised due to the great changes in the field of art. In those days, young modernists, like Erkki Vala, stressed the gap between the ideas of the younger and older generations, whose ideals originated in the previous century with its cultural leaders, like Snellman. (Takala 1990, 56-7)

The *Kunstmärchen* tradition was created in Finland in the nineteenth century. The law creating Russian censorship in 1850 which prohibited the publication of any other literature in Finnish except religious and economic was repealed a decade later, making the development of fiction possible. The first *Kunstmärchen* were written in Finnish by Julius Krohn (1835-88), using the pseudonym Julius Suonio, and published in 1860 under the title *Kuun tarinoita* (The Stories of the Moon). The amount of children's fiction written in Finnish remained, however, very small until the turn of the century, when it started to increase. This was partly due to the beginning of the career of Anni Swan, one of the most famous writers of Finnish *Kunstmärchen*. The concept of fantasy literature was distinguished from the *Märchen* in order to be repressed because of the dominating educational attitudes. Riitta Kuivasmäki has stated that Topelius was involved in creating these ideas. He supported both *Volks-* and *Kunstmärchen*, since they seemed to have

connections with Finnish folklore and thus they could be used to build the national consciousness. (Kuivasmäki 1990, 189) The *Kunstmärchen* differed in many respects from the *Volksmärchen* in relation to the traditions of the Finnish folklore, but the new stories were, however, interpreted as part of the tradition, and later, in the following decades, as representatives and models of a great national tradition.

Eric Hobsbawm has discussed the invented traditions, which are often only sets of relatively new rules or manners, wrongly considered to follow ancient traditions. As a striking example, he mentions the rebuilding of the British Houses of Parliament, originally built in the 1800s, after the Second World War. It was built in exactly the same way as its predecessor, because it was supposed to continue an ancient tradition in its Neo-Gothic style. Thus, it was supposed to represent the medieval tradition of the British democracy, though the original building only represented a popular architectural trend of the late nineteenth century. (Hobsbawm 1995, 1-2) Prys Morgan has found a comparable tendency in the creation of Welsh history in the eighteenth century, when the historical writings were based on newly created, mythical ideals instead of facts. (Morgan 1995, 99).

In the creation of the Finnish national identity, similar phenomena were rather common. As late as 1789, Christfried Ganander attempted to prove in his *Mythologica Fennica* that the Finnish language was related to Greek, Hebrew and Gothic. At the same time, Ganander linked Finnish mythology to Greek and Roman myths and thus tried to create a heroic past for the Finns. (Hautala 1954, 80-1) Ganander wanted to raise the respect for Finnish mythology and folk lore to the level of Greek and Roman antiquity that was so admired in Finland at the time. The same tendency continued at the beginning of the 1800s, when the main hall of Turku Academy House was decorated. The mythical Finnish hero, Väinämöinen, was included in the paintings, but in the combined role of the Finnish interpretations of Mercury and Orpheus (Knuutila 1994, 104-5). Later on, the *Kalevala* was considered, for a long time, purely a product of epic folk poetry instead of a compilation by Lönnrot.

The tradition of the Märchen can be linked with the chain of invented traditions. Such

writers as Topelius started a literary tradition, which was later cherished by other authors and which, itself, cherished folklore to some extent. But the new tales written by Topelius and his twentieth-century successors, like Anni Swan, did not continue the tradition of the folktales. Hence, the uncritical linking of Finnish *Kunstmärchen* with the *Volksmärchen* presents an example of invented traditions, as Hobsbawm would say. As in Hobsbawm's or Morgan's examples, its primary purpose was to mould and strengthen the national identity.

The *Märchen* had a significant role in nineteenth century Finland, but the creation of fantasy literature was discouraged, partly due to Topelius' ideas. He warned about exciting the imagination of young readers with fantasy literature, because he regarded it as harmful to their understanding of reality. (Kuivasmäki 1990, 189) Topelius' attitude was still strongly held in the early twentieth century, when some critics banned the translations of representative fantasy literature. For instance, one of the leading children's literature critics, Mandi Granfelt, rejected the Finnish translation of Hoffmann's *Nutcracker* vehemently in *Arvosteleva luettelo*⁵ in 1919:

This book is said to be the German writer's best children's story. Ordinary life and fairy tale are combined in an entity, which may confuse the little reader rather badly. Perhaps the book tries to be educational and the purpose of its strange visions is to amuse. One can still ask, whether such a confusing product of the imagination can be healthy reading. (Granfelt 1919, 27 [M. S's translation])

Granfelt's striking opinion was not, of course, the only criticism the text received⁶. Hilja Haahti, who was also known for her Christian thinking, described Hoffmann's story briefly in the critical periodical *Valvoja* as a sweet Christmas tale, which has historical references to the Napoleonic era (Haahti 1919, 43). The differences between these two critics in their ways of evaluating a literary work is at least partly due to the publications for which they were writing. Granfelt's review was published by the *Kansanvalistusseura* (The Society for Culture and Education, the present KVS foundation), while *Valvoja* was open to more intellectual discussion. An interest in religious education and the Temperance Movement also guided Granfelt's writing. Paradoxically enough, in spite of her criticism, the Finnish *Kunstmärchen*, which kept alive Hoffmann's inheritance to a great extent, flourished.

Granfelt also criticised the translation of J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* as forcefully four years later (Granfelt 1922, 111) This can, however, be connected as much with some contemporary Finnish attitudes towards theatrical institutions (due to Peter Pan's fame as a play) and drama literature as with the educational ideas about the subversion of fantasy literature. Although Topelius wrote several children's plays (e. g. "The Sleeping Beauty" 1870), drama, especially when performed in theatres, was still seen as a sinful art form from which young people should be protected. (Kuivasmäki 1990, 189) Such a view was not, however, supported by all the leading cultural figures in Finland. For instance, J. V. Snellman appreciated drama as the most developed form of literature. He did not discuss dramas written in Finnish because they were, in his opinion, in a miserable state, and introducing such literature to his readers would not serve Snellman's nationalist purposes. Printed plays were also not easily available. (Karkama 1989, 230)

Kunstmärchen flourished at the turn of the century. Children's literature had, of course, developed over the course of time. But new literary trends and radical changes in politics were also in the air. The acts of Russification, the period of oppression and struggle for independence, gained in 1917, were all important factors. The declaration of independence was followed by the Civil War between the Bolshevik-backed, left-wing "Reds" and the "Whites", who were supported by the Germans. This, and especially, the victory of the "Whites", strengthened the close relationship between Finland and Germany, which, in turn, led to circumstances, which affected the situation in Finland during the Second World War. The cultural base had, however, already been created as part of a long process. Although cultural relations were close with Germany after independence, interest towards other European cultures also started to awaken.

The political circumstances at the turn of the century had a strong impact on the development of fairy stories. Nationalist ideas had reached new heights and the national folklore, particularly in *Kalevala*, inspired artists. For instance, Eino Leino, one of the leading poets of the age, based his symbolist poetry on themes from the *Kalevala*. Scenarios from the *Kalevala* appeared in Akseli Gallen-Kallela's oil paintings and impressive frescoes. But, in addition to the *Kalevala*, both the *Volksmärchen* and the

Kunstmärchen were also considered a national heritage. They were, as mentioned earlier, only expressions of the invented tradition (to use Hobsbawm's term once again), but according to Maija Lehtonen, both Leino and Volter Kilpi, who is best known as an essayist and novelist, were inspired by some *Märchen* motifs. One of the leading novelists in Finland, Joel Lehtonen, even edited and partly rewrote a collection of folk tales called *Tarulinna* (1906, *The Enchanted Castle*). (Lehtonen 1996, 27) Later, in 1915, Ilmari Kianto also wrote his *Turjanlinnan satukirja* (*Turja Castle Stories*), which was originally composed for his children, but the author also wanted to address other little ones, especially in Northern Finland. In his tales, Kianto intended to concentrate on subjects, which were familiar to Finnish children in the countryside. Foreign stories about princes and princesses were, in his opinion, too distant. (see Kianto 1985, 5-7)

The rise of folktales and the *Kunstmärchen* at the turn of the century was not just a Finnish phenomenon. Partly due to Selma Lagerlöf's work in Sweden, both the fairy tale and fantasy literature also began to gain honour and success in Finland. (Lehtonen 1996, 27-28) Only a few books of fantasy fiction were approved of, like Selma Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, but the glory of the fairy tale in the whole Nordic area cannot be denied. The aims of the authors of the tales, as well as those who were writing for children, had moved in a more artistic direction. The fairy tale boom no longer existed. (Lehtonen 1996, 28) The changed position of the fairy tale also had connections with symbolism, which had a particularly important position in the Finland of the early 1900s, because of Russian censorship. In some cases, symbolism in Finland was connected with Karelianism, the deeply felt interest in Karelia, which was considered the landscape of the old Finnish folk poetry. Karelianism forcefully expressed the inner nationalist feelings of Finns during the period of Russification by reusing the material of the *Kalevala*.

The leading writer of *Kunstmärchen*, Anni Swan (1875-1958), however, cannot be connected with Karelian romanticism. She was rather a symbolist, who found some inspiration in folklore. In her monograph about Swan, Maija Lehtonen considers Grimms' and Perrault's tales as major literary sources of the author's inspiration. (Lehtonen 1958, 110-111) She has also stated that the presence of the folk tale can be seen in Swan's works.

(Lehtonen 1996, 30) Therefore, it is worth remembering that Swan had edited several folk tale collections, such as *Unkarilaisia kansansatuja* (1904, Hungarian Folk Tales), *Tanskalaisia kansansatuja* (1909, Danish Folk Tales) and *Ranskalaisia kansansatuja* (1916, French Folk Tales). Thus, Swan used the structure and motifs of folk tales as textual elements for artistic instead of political reasons, unlike some other contemporary writers, who commented on the Russification in symbolist literature. The most famous example of the phenomenon is probably Eino Leino's poem "Helsinki sumussa" (Helsinki in the Fog) in *Ajan aalloilta* (1899, From the Waves of Time), where a depressing view of the city is a comment on the February manifesto, which was issued the same year as the poem was published. This manifesto was seen as the starting point for Russification of the Finns.

Irja Lappalainen stresses Swan's connections with the stories of Andersen and Topelius. She emphasises the lyrical description of nature in Swan's stories, which is completely unknown in the Finnish folk tale, but dominates both Andersen's and Topelius' tales. (Lappalainen 1979, 117-9) In fact, the author herself confessed in an interview that she found Andersen's tales and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* very impressive (Haapanen & Tallgren 1926, 6).

Swan's early texts, like *Satuja* (1901, Fairy Tales) are considered by some critics to be her most impressive works. (see Lappalainen 1979, 117-9; Lehtonen 1996,37) Their theme is usually love, and its inevitability, which leads to tragedy. Nature is an essential factor and elements of Mysticism were added in a way reminiscent of Symbolism. (Lehtonen 1996, 29,36) Swan's later stories are very different. They are more realistic and usually set at home or in a farm yard (Lappalainen 1979, 117-9).

Swan's significance as an early twentieth-century story-teller cannot be underlined enough. Later on, there were several other children's authors, who followed in her footsteps. Laura Soinne's (1897-1992) Gothic fairy tales or Raul Roine's (1907-60) Andersenian stories (see e. g. Lappalainen 1979, 124) owe a lot to Swan's works, which brought the old tradition into the new century. Thus Swan's tales also established the fairy tale tradition in pre-war Finland, where it completely dominated the field of younger children's literature for

decades.

2. Finding the British Eden

2.1. Golden Age and Its Successors

2.1.1. Origins of Fantasy Fiction in Britain

The fairy tale and the *Märchen*, which were both popular in continental Europe, also started to become successful in Britain in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, their popularity could not, for various reasons, be taken for granted. Firstly, England had its own story-telling tradition, which can be seen, for instance in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (written between 1386 and 1400), Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1589 and 1596) and several of Shakespeare's plays (*King Lear* 1605-6, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 1595 and *The Tempest* 1610-1) (Zipes 1991, XVIII), but the development of the fairy tale in England was not, however, closely connected with the Continental tradition before the first English translations appeared. In 1729, Perrault's *Histoires de temps passé; avec des moralitez* (1697) was translated into English by Robert Samber. The fairy tale collection included some of the most famous fairy tale classics, like "Little Red Riding Hood", "Bluebeard", "Puss in Boots" and "Sleeping Beauty". These stories were basically French and thus their roots were not in the English soil. Soon the situation would change and fairy tales gained a firm position in Britain. (Harvey Darnton 1982, 85-88) One reason why they became popular in England was that they were adapted to British culture in various ways. Thus, the title of Perrault's book was translated into *Histories, or Tales of Past Times; Told by Mother Goose*. Unlike Sleeping Beauty or Bluebeard, Mother Goose was not a typical character of French fairy tales. Instead, her name often appears in English folklore, especially nursery rhymes.

Nursery rhymes, like folk and fairy tales have their roots in oral story-telling. Thus, the older nursery rhymes are also similar to folk tales: they contain many violent details and disasters. The oldest collection of written nursery rhymes, of which there is a museum copy left, is *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book Vol. 2* (1744). Despite the fame of Mother Goose, the first collection named after the character was not, however, published until the 1780s¹. *Mother Goose's Melody* contained many drinking songs and it was very different from its successor published in 1842, *Nursery Rhymes of England*, where all the inappropriate details had been left out. (Avery & Kinnell 1995, 63-65) In this respect,

English nursery rhymes went through a middle-class adaptation similar to folk and fairy tales elsewhere in Europe (e. g. Grimms' *Märchen*) (Tucker 1984, 352).

When approaching English nursery rhymes, the character of Mother Goose is interesting in the sense that she represents Englishness in relation to Continental stories. Marina Warner has noted that, at some point, publishers even argued that Mother Goose was a real person. Until the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, her character was very popular. She was seen as a source of feminine wisdom in British folklore. (Warner 1995, 155-6) Although the translation of Perrault's fairy tales was published long before the first printing of *Mother Goose's Melody*, the Mother Goose character links the past of British nursery rhymes and folklore with the Continental fairy tale tradition.

In addition to Perrault's fairy tales, the Grimms' *Märchen* were translated for the first time between 1823 and 1826 as *German Popular Stories*. They have never been out of print ever since. Despite their popularity, they were never favoured by educational authorities. (Darton 1982, 215) Later on, the Continental *Kunstmärchen*, especially H. C. Andersen and his "Little Mermaid" were widely read in England. Although political relations between Britain and Denmark were rather chilly until the mid 1800s due to the Napoleonic wars, they did not harm the literary connections between the two countries. Danish texts were often translated into English using the earlier German translations. The situation had its shadowy sides. Andersen's works lost a great deal of their originality in poor quality English translations. (Spink 1972, 70, 82) Nevertheless, Sheila A. Egoff argues that, for instance, W. M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1855) owes a lot to Andersen, as just as Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* (written 1841, published 1851) owes much to the Grimms' tales. (Egoff 1988, 40-1) According to Zipes, George MacDonald's works, in turn, are related to Hoffmann's and Novalis' stories. (Zipes 1983, 110) Hence, the tradition of the Continental fairy tales and *Märchen* shaped British fiction and connected it, especially the representatives of the fantasy genre, with the long line of both oral and written tales.

The position of fairy tales in England was not, however, unquestioned. Unlike the Continent, the British were very critical of the *Märchen*. The Moralists movement played a

significant role in the struggle against them. One of the leading proponents of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century moralist movement, Sarah Trimmer, had even hoped that every single fairy story would be removed from the nursery and burnt in a bonfire. In her opinion, fairy tales gave children false fears and taught morally strange ideas. (Carpenter 1985, 2-4) Mrs. Trimmer, frightened by the French Revolution, also found anarchistic elements in fairy tales, where a peasant can beat the king and win the princess for himself. (Egoff 1988, 31) Two other moralists, Anna Laetitia Barbauld and Sarah Fielding, accused fairy tales of ruining childhood. (Manlove 1983, 2-3) Fairy tales in Britain were considered to be utterly different from the children's literature people wished their children to read. The situation is particularly interesting if we think about the relations between British and Finnish children's literature at that time. In Britain, the attitude towards fairy tales was negative, which partly led to the creation of fantasy fiction. In Finland, fairy tales were given credit as national heritage, while fantasy was not, at first, seen to be suitable for children.

The concept of children's literature carried a heavy Puritan heritage ever since the seventeenth century. The existence of both Heaven and Hell is continuously stressed in Mrs. Trimmer's writings and, later, in the works of Mary Martha Sherwood and even Charles Kingsley. (Harvey Darnton 1982, 51) Mrs. Sherwood's *The Fairchild Family* (1818) was not written to amuse children, but to lead them away from the original sin in which all of them had been born. (Reynolds 1994, 6)

Some writers also wanted to provide useful information, especially for working-class children. Maria Edgeworth considered imaginative stories silly nonsense compared to didactic ones, such as her own book *The Parents' Assistant* (1796). (Reynolds 1994, 19) One of its most typical stories is "The Purple Jar", which is very well-known, but not of a very high quality. In the story, curious Rosamond, in this respect quite like Lewis Carroll's Alice, wishes to get a beautiful purple jar instead of new shoes. After some persuasion her mother buys it, which places the poor girl in a pitiful situation, as she cannot walk, run or dance because of her old broken shoes. The situation is supposed to teach children to respect practical and rational values. (Harvey Darnton 1989, 140-1) A modern reader

would disapprove of Edgeworth's ideas, even though they are not as strict as in Heinrich Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* (1844), but so did Edgeworth's contemporaries, though for different reasons. For instance, Sarah Trimmer strongly criticised Mrs. Edgeworth; emphasising utility and reason instead of religion was shameful in her opinion (Egoff 1988, 31-2). In this light, we may note that children's literature was seen only as a means of religious education until the mid 1800s in certain social circles.

Chapbooks and penny dreadfuls were offered as mere entertainment. (Carpenter 1985, 2-4) They were read by all social classes and age groups, but because of their cheapness and easy narration, they were especially favoured by the poor and young. (Neuburg 1977, 12) While spiritual literature was devoted to serving moral purposes, the cheap booklets only aimed at entertainment and horror. The dual purposes of educating and entertaining were very rarely met. So chapbooks and penny dreadfuls were full of the adventures of famous heroes, like Robin Hood, but stories of murderers and other dangerous criminals were also popular. Naturally, moralists were strictly against them. (Carpenter 1985, 2-4)

The new, romantic idea of childhood required, however, new kinds of children's books. The change in the ideas about childhood took some time, but by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the image of a child as a sinful creature was abandoned and replaced by that of an innocent infant. (Reynolds 1994, 13) Rousseau's texts, in particular, greatly influenced this process, though John Locke had also introduced similar ideas much earlier in England. (Kinnell 1995,45) Ideas similar to the ones appearing in their texts were presented following the creation of modern children's literature. Such ideas were, however, very different from reality. Karin Lesnik-Oberstein states that the ideal of the innocent child was after all just a result of adults' - Locke's and Rousseau's - ideas of cognition processes. They did not necessarily have much to do with reality and ordinary children of the time, who often had to work for a living and who, to put it sarcastically, very rarely had an opportunity to expand the borders of their innocent imagination. (Lesnik-Oberstein 1994, 96) This, in turn, had an impact on nineteenth century children's fiction, which presented the adults' ideal of children instead of a realistic image. (Grylls 1978, 74) The changed concept of childhood had, nevertheless, an important role in the change in

children's fiction, because it required no powerful preaching about the horrors of Hell, but instead emphasised a child's vivid imagination and pure innocence in contrast to the greedy, industrialised society.

In addition to the transformed idea of childhood, some important changes also appeared in the literary field. In spite of the Puritan movement, the fairy tale started to gain popularity. Paradoxically, the rehabilitation of the fairy tale happened at the same time as children were discouraged to read them. The popularity of the Gothic novel and interest in folklore inspired authors to write a new type of children's fiction. (Butts 86, 90-1) The year 1850 was a watershed in children's literature, because then the variety of children's literature began to broaden. Soon there were many options for middle-class children (e. g. adventure, school, nonsense, fantasy and fairy stories) but, because of their cost and unavailability, working-class children usually had to be content with evangelical stories, which were cheap, even free, and, being short, could be read in what little free time they had. The religious stories did not, however, threaten young readers with the punishments of Hell anymore, but instead gave them idealistic ideas. (Briggs & Butts 1995, 130)

Although favourable circumstances for the development of children's literature were created in the first half of the century, new types of children's books were not written before the latter half. In many respects, Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* (1863) and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) were pioneers. They were followed by several other fantasy books written between 1863 and 1914. The most significant classics of British children's literature, like George MacDonald's Princess books, Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* and Beatrix Potter's works were among them. Their tradition was continued until the 1930s, by, for instance, A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, and was remoulded and reused, in different cultural and linguistic contexts. Later on, they were read and loved in other areas of Europe, including Finland, where they inspired Finnish writers to search for the childhood idyll as late as the post-war period.

2.1.2. Escaping to Edenic Worlds

The books which started the Golden Age of British children's literature - Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* and Carroll's *Alice* - represent the genre of fantasy literature. The term "Golden Age" describes the contents of Victorian and Edwardian fantasy literature very precisely in the sense that this literature offers the reader Edenic worlds in which to escape. It is a kind of literature, where the clock has stopped ticking. Temporally, these worlds exist in the present, but in an eternal childhood, which in itself can be seen as an idealised golden age. They present the world we believe in as children and dream about as grown-ups.

Other specified characteristics can also be found in the literature of the age. Louis MacNeice has distinguished eight elements, which are particularly important in Victorian fantasy literature, especially in the works of George MacDonald, Charles Kingsley and Lewis Carroll:

- the creation of a specific world
- the presence of mystic and imaginary elements
- the concern about identity
- an ordinary man as hero
- relations with dreams
- an approach, which is poetic rather than documentary
- the importance of formal events
- the significance of the image of the world (MacNeice 1965, 76-79)

Most of these elements appear in Carroll's *Alice*, where the main character is an ordinary little girl, who enters a strange world through a rabbit hole. Her identity is questioned in the world she finds, Wonderland. She also meets an image of the world, which is very different from her own. The formal events (like manners and ceremonies) are forcefully stressed, partly because of the nonsense genre. This can be seen, for instance, in the chapters where Alice meets royalty or visits the crazy tea party. The relationship with the dream world already exists in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, but it becomes much stronger in *Through the Looking-glass*.

Carroll's *Alice* is not the only example, though it is a very tempting one. Similar characteristics can be found not only in the Victorian but in all Golden Age children's

literature. For instance, Potter's works and Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* - all written in the Edwardian era - offer fine examples of secondary world fantasy with concerns similar to those in MacNeice's classification.

What were the circumstances, then, which influenced the creation of the Golden Age fantasy books, in so many ways similar to each other? Why are they full of secondary worlds to escape into and from what were their creators escaping?

Golden Age fantasy fiction was born in a highly industrialised Britain. British society had already started to change during the previous century and at the beginning of the industrial era optimism was high; economic growth was fast while technology and science were also developing rapidly. At the time of the 1851 World Fair in London, belief in progress was still strong. However, in the latter half of the century pessimism began to grow. (Carpenter 1985, 16-17) The dark sides of the Industrial Revolution were seen, not least because of authors like Charles Dickens and Hesba Stretton, who criticised the use of child labour and the poor circumstances surrounding working-class children.² Not all writers, however, wanted to change the depressing reality by describing it in a realistic way and by showing new options, but rather to escape from it by creating secondary worlds in fantasy literature. The genre thus offered writers, according to W. R. Irwin, an alternative to the hegemony of the dominant form of literature, a kind of social realism. (Irwin 1976, 4)

The secondary worlds even offered something more. Several authors of the period abandoned traditional Christian beliefs because of the confusion due to the changing world view, and replaced the Christian Heaven with self-made Edenic secondary worlds. (Carpenter 1985, 13) The Christian Eden had to be replaced one way or another. For instance, Kenneth Grahame was interested in the idea of neo-paganism and replacing belief in the Christian God by turning back to nature. He considered the subversion of Decadentism, which was seen, in his opinion, in the Bohemian way of life and the decadent qualities in contemporary art to be a dark side of the abandonment of the traditional lifestyle. The way out of the corruption led to the golden age of childhood, which was embodied in 1895 in Grahame's book of the same title. (Green 1982, 101)

Part of the disbelief was caused by Darwinism, which in itself also paved the way for the development of children's literature. Kimberley Reynolds has stated that after discovering the origin of the species, one could also better understand the development of a human being and separate childhood from adulthood. (Reynolds 1994, 21) Charles Kingsley describes the Darwinist development in his *The Water Babies*, which shows how controversial the topic was even in children's literature. The events in Kingsley's classic take place underwater; the same environment, where life had started in the first place. (Yates 1996, 314-5) On the other hand, Kingsley also created his own Garden of Eden underwater, and so his book was also in agreement with Christian ideas about the beginning of life.

For these reasons, it is no wonder that Golden Age fantasy literature criticised the dark sides of society on several occasions. For instance, Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* is a vigorous protest against the use of children as chimney sweeps. Kingsley's book, to some extent, even brought about a change in the law. (Cadogan & Graig 1976, 47) Another example can be taken from George MacDonald, whose Princess books, in Jack Zipes' opinion, present doubts concerning the development of society in its contemporary stage. MacDonald believed that an individual can be civilised, but he did not firmly believe that society as a whole could ever reach a level of civilisation. In *Princess and the Goblin*, the goblins kidnap the princess and intend to destroy her father's kingdom, but she manages to escape danger with the aid of her helpers. MacDonald thus places his hope in individuals, not in the community. Therefore, he also supported social reform and tried to do his part through his writing. (Zipes 1991, 109-11)

Views of the contemporary society in children's fantasy literature had their roots in Morris' and Ruskin's utopias of social reform and in the Pre-Raphaelite ideals adoring the past. Several nineteenth century authors, who wrote children's fiction, like George MacDonald and Oscar Wilde, were deeply impressed by the ideas of the social reform movement. On the other hand, many of the leading personalities of the movement were also involved in the creation of children's fantasy fiction. John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River*

(written in 1841, published in 1851), which is intertextually connected with the Grimms' tales (Egoff 1988, 40), is one of the most significant nineteenth century children's *Kunstmärchen* in Britain. It, in turn, prepared the way for fantasy fiction. William Morris' essentially political utopia, *News from Nowhere*, was not aimed at children, but it had, nevertheless, a significant role in the development of British fantasy literature. *News from Nowhere* introduces radical political ideas by describing an ideal utopia of the future. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race* (1871) can be linked with Morris' ideas, because of its idealist vision of the future, but its literary significance for the developing genre of fantasy literature was smaller in comparison with Morris' book, which was published twenty years later.

G. W. Sullivan III has argued that the age of the true secondary world fantasy starts with William Morris, while earlier authors like Carroll, Kingsley and Ruskin did not write such fantasy fiction at all. (Sullivan 1996, 306) Sullivan's argument is very controversial, because all these writers created worlds, which are separate from our own. These secondary worlds work according to different rules and laws than our own, and phenomena, which would be supernatural in our world, are, therefore, possible in these worlds. However, Morris' significance as a developer of the genre, especially in relation to utopia, cannot be denied.

Concerning Morris, Sullivan stresses the importance of Medievalism (Sullivan 1996, 306), which had a special role in nineteenth century arts. The Pre-Raphaelites were especially interested in the Middle Ages, and Medievalism, the romanticised vision of the Middle Ages, was a significant characteristic of Pre-Raphaelite art. Medievalism represents a non-existent world, where everything is more primitive, but, nevertheless, nobler than the present. (Stephens 1992, 112) The Pre-Raphaelites preferred the past to the present and childhood to adulthood for the same reasons as the Romanticists. They were looking for their own Golden Age (Reynolds 1994, 21) and, in many respects, such a paradise was accomplished in children's literature. Thus, there were several connections between the Golden Age authors of children's literature and the Pre-Raphaelites. The home of one of the leading Pre-Raphaelite painters, Dante Gabriel Rossetti in London's Chelsea was also a

meeting place, where both Morris and Carroll often visited. (Green 1963, 133-4) Rossetti's sister, Christina, used fantasy elements and material from folklore in her poetry, for example, in "The Goblin Market" (1862). Beatrix Potter, for her part, was a family friend of another painter, John Everett Millais (Scott 1994, 70-1).

Though both the Golden Age authors and the Pre-Raphaelites were searching for a perfect paradise in the middle of the commercialised world, the success of their works soon ruined their intentions. The market learnt how to take advantage of their ideal of a child, and even used their artistic expressions in the process.³ Paradoxically, their ideals were not, however, questioned. The Fabian Society and its leading members (e. g. Edith Nesbit and her husband) were still agreed with the ideas of Morris, Ruskin, the Pre-Raphaelites and the Social Reform Movement. (Briggs 1995, 177) The Golden Age, in itself, was corrupted, but it maintained its ideas unchanged until its twilight.

2.1.3. Literary Gardens

The literary Edens, to which the late nineteenth and early twentieth century writers escaped, had several common characteristics. They were utopias, where almost anything was possible. In general, the Golden Age authors were looking for a place, which would be more beautiful and peaceful than contemporary reality (Carpenter 1985, 13). There are, however, exceptions, like Alice's nightmarish Wonderland. Later, in Finnish literature of the 1950s, the same trends can be seen; for instance, Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* offers a better option, while Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, in many ways similar to Alice, is a journey to a twisted world.

The typical paradises of the Golden Age literature can be seen, more or less, as literary representations of childhood. The term "Golden Age" originates from Kenneth Grahame's book of the same title, and is strongly linked with the ideal of childhood. Grahame himself has even stated that a land of no-one and everyone can be found near the borders of reality. Each of us travels there when we are very young and without responsibilities. (Grahame 1988, 143) Growing up leads inevitably to the loss of paradise. According to Humphrey Carpenter, such an idea has its background in the Bible, and was also linked to the

paradises created by Victorian and Edwardian children's writers, most of whom had abandoned the traditional approach towards Christianity. (Carpenter 1985, 9)

In some cases, a secondary world resembles a garden, which is a typical place in Golden Age children's fiction. Several stories take place in safe, verdant surroundings (*Winnie-the-Pooh*, *Wind in the Willows*), but a garden can be dangerous as well, like Mr. MacGregor's garden in Beatrix Potter's *Peter Rabbit*, where a little rabbit may easily end up in a pie. Alice is looking for a garden in Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Her locked garden, for which she needs a key, refers to the secret gardens of Oxford, which were familiar to Carroll or, rather, Dodgson. But in addition to these real gardens, hidden on the enchanting university campus, the garden also links Alice with the landscape, which is typical of Golden Age children's fiction.

The garden's significance in fantasy literature reminds us of Medieval allegories. A garden can either symbolise innocence and virginity, or be the place of the Fall. (Boyer & Zahorski 1982, 76) Adam and Eve had to leave the Garden of Eden after their fall and loss of innocence. Hence, the idea of the golden age of the human race and the golden childhood are, according to Dmitri Lihacev, associated with a garden. It has been seen as an idealistic representative of culture, because there cultivated nature has been adapted to the gardener's will. Lihacev mentions the natural gardens, whose model, in his opinion, can be found in Book Four of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, as a particularly interesting phenomenon. (Lihacev 1994, 166, 246-7) Milton's garden has its temptations just as its predecessors, of which A. Bartlett Giamatti has mentioned the garden of Spenser's *The Faerie Queen*. A tree with golden apples grows there, which represents the sin of greed and the worship of Mammon. (Giamatti 1966, 308-9)

The natural garden, which had firm links with the Romanticist worship of nature, was the dominating ideal in Britain until the mid 1800s, when it was challenged by the Darwinist ideas, which demanded scientific and didactic qualities of a garden instead of sentimental ones. (Thacker 1979, 233, 240) In this respect, the gardens described later in Golden Age children's fiction could have been attempts to escape to the past before the confusion

caused by the development of science. Most gardens of the Golden Age children's fiction are natural, though there are some exceptions, as in Alice's Wonderland, which is an essentially scientific world. The worlds of Finnish fantasy fiction, which appeared a century later, were very different from English gardens, which is no wonder: the image of nature and gardens had changed drastically over the course of time and on the journey from Britain to Finland. The hay field, where the main character of Oiva Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* sleeps or the forest, where Kurenniemi's *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* takes place, are both interpretations from a twentieth century agricultural society.

The progress of science and technology profoundly changed society, because it brought industrialisation and capitalism. The escape to nature and gardens in fantasy fiction cannot only be interpreted as a reaction to the contemporary development, because the phenomenon also has links with literary utopias. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, they were mostly so-called "technotopias". They either trusted in technology and its ability to improve the world, or feared that it would create a worldly Hell. This was the way they usually described industrialised society, though some exceptions, like William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1891), can be found. It presents the England of the 2000s as a vast garden from which all cities have vanished. Hence, its vision is rather similar to the worlds of children's literature and has connections with Golden Age children's fantasy fiction, which can itself be compared to gardens. Lihacev mentions that the Medieval idea of a garden equates it with books and libraries. A garden can be read like a book, since it preserves knowledge and texts within itself. Both books and gardens are also their own micro-worlds, which can be closed. (Lihacev 1994, 231)

Lihacev's idea can be adapted to children's fiction, because the idea of a closed entity appeals both to children and the authors writing for them. Roland Barthes has investigated the charm of closure in his essay "The Nautilus and the Drunken Boat". An exploration of closure presents, in Barthes' opinion, both the existential dreams of childhood, and of Jules Verne. Children are often passionate about huts and tents. Verne presents the archetypal dream of closure in *The Mysterious Island*, where a man-child re-invents the universe (as an island), fills it, closes it, shuts himself up in it, and, as a reader, crowns this

encyclopaedic effort with the middle-class fulfilment: slippers, pipe and fireside, while outside the storm rages in vain. (Barthes 1990 72)

The purpose here is not to give reasons for the popularity of Verne's books among children, but to distinguish the idea of closure from Golden Age fiction. The world of Golden Age books is a garden more often than an island, but it is as well a space of closure. The reader of Golden Age texts, too, enters this universe by concentrating on the text. Simultaneously, he or she exits the real world, which is left outside the tightly closed garden. Thus, just as Verne's reader closes the storm outside the space of closure, contemporary reality does not follow the path to the garden. The Golden Age view of childhood suggests that only children can enter its idyllic paradises, which are closed to adults. Paradoxically, as David Grylls has remarked, the modern concept of childhood was nothing more than an ideal invented by adults (Grylls 1978, 74), which makes the Edenic gardens even more illusionary. Thus, they are often also routes back to childhood for adults.

The literary Edens were also connected to real gardens where children were encouraged to play. According to Juliet Dusinberre, the idea of the close link between the earth and a child goes back to Rousseau and Froebel, who believed children should be given an actual piece of land to cultivate instead of a dream-land. This idea reached fruition in R. L. Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses*, but it was also supported much later, in the twentieth century by Philippa Pearce in *Tom's Midnight Garden*. (Dusinberre 1987, 198-200) Pearce's garden is, however, a fictional place to experience nature, while Stevenson's garden, according to Michael Rosen, is also a commentary on education. It declares that a child has the right to play, an imagination, their own opinions and childhood itself. (Rosen 1995, 60) Thus, this little work of verses moulded the contemporary view of raising children. The idea of a bond between a child and the earth was soon adopted by the upper and middle class, and their children often visited gardens and parks, as Winifred Gwyn-Jeffreys' memories of a Victorian nursery show:

We had a garden at the back of our house. And there, again, we were very lucky children. There were no fairies at the bottom of our garden, only wild Indians and fierce animals hidden in the bushes. There were three trees there and a tree stump. The trees were plums (2) and a pear tree. There was a

greenhouse in which grew little green grapes which never ripened. There was a pigeon house, but no pigeons. And, there was a swing. /.../ Kensington Gardens held great adventure for us, especially on the days when carts arrived laden with sea shells, which were dumped on the walks. We would take home as many as our pockets would hold. But it was short-lived excitement, for the next day the rollers came and the shells were ground to gravel. (Gwyn-Jeffreys 1970, 12-3)

As in Gwyn-Jeffreys' own memories of Kensington Gardens, the significance of the park is also obvious in children's fiction, as witnessed by the importance of Kensington Gardens in Barrie's *Peter Pan* and of Hyde Park in P. L. Travers' *Mary Poppins*, which was written as late as the 1930s (Bergsten 1978, 11).

Examples of ideal childhood paradises can be found in most children's fantasy books of the Golden Age. J. M. Barrie's Peter Pan refuses to grow up and prefers to live in Never-Never-Land. Kathryn Hume has emphasised the pastoral characteristics of Grahame's *Wind in the Willows* and Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*; she considers both these worlds to be ideal paradises, because no work is needed to get food, and the most significant tasks in life are playing and singing songs. The adventures may be more exciting than a real child might experience, but actual catastrophes and enemies do not exist. (Hume 1984, 62) Life in Milne's Hundred Acre Wood is even easier than in Grahame's River Bank. They do not have to work to get food, nor do corruption or death exist, and because this world is perfect no one wants to leave it. Hence, Milne's animals do not even wish to wander to new places like Grahame's Mole in "The Call of the South". (Wilson 1985, 169-70)

Beatrix Potter's world is more realistic than others in the Golden Age children's fantasy fiction. It is a mixture of romance and realism. Confusing, even frightening things happen, but in a familiar setting. (Crouch 1960, 63) But Potter also created an ideal paradise. In *The Tailor of Gloucester* (1902), she sketches a perfect, pre-industrial community, where the skills of a craftsman are highly valued as necessary elements of the social structure. The mayor is as dependent on the tailor's toil as the tailor is on the mayor's payment. This makes the society of the book less unequal than Potter's contemporary society at the beginning of the 1900s. In Humphrey Carpenter's opinion, the story takes place in the childhood of Potter's beloved grandmother (Carpenter 1989, 283-5), but Carroll Scott places

it in Elizabethan England according to the clothing of the characters. (Scott 1994, 86)

Carpenter also regards Potter's story as a kind of a miniature representation of the utopias of Morris and Ruskin and *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle* (1904) strengthens the impression. Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle, who was based on Potter's grandmother, is seen as a significant character in her community, because she is a washerwoman, and clean clothes are appreciated in the society of the story.⁴ (Carpenter 1989, 283-5) In this respect, some of Potter's stories speak for social reformation, and thus carry the same message as Morris' and Ruskin's more political and theoretical writings. Potter's ideal world is not just a beautiful garden, but an egalitarian society. Her ideas were also passed on to the Finnish writers of the 1950s, and hence nature untouched by man, even with dangers, or a bustling agricultural community were seen there as an ideal place to live in, as, for instance, Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Oli ennen Onnimanni* or "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa" (Alli in Upside Down Land) show.

Although, in many respects, the secondary worlds of Golden Age children's fantasy fiction may seem to offer an ideal escape route from reality, they also reflected the contemporary situation. Fantasy literature was a means of expanding the understanding of the human mind as well. Elliott B. Gose, Jr. has noted that the Victorians started to comprehend the relevance of dreams in everyday life. In his opinion, Carroll's Alice was particularly significant in this sense. (Gose 1972, 13). Therefore, Golden Age children's fantasy literature had connections with reality, imagination and dreams. This multi-dimensional approach gave British children's fantasy fiction its own quality. Perhaps this is why the tradition of the Golden Age was upheld in different periods and countries, such as post-war Finland.

2.2. Kinds of Literature

2.2.1. Losing the Moralist View

Fantasy fiction had links with the evangelical tradition, which is seen, for instance, in Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, where the Christian God is the highest dominant power. The events in Kingsley's book take place outdoors, a universe created by God. Kingsley also

believed in the idea of the so-called "natural punishment", which is embodied in the character of Mrs. Bedoneasyoudid, who, each Friday, punishes all those people, who have been cruel and severe to children in the same way as they treated their victims. (Manlove 1975, 25,46) The use of educative allegory was rather common in evangelical literature, and, in J. S. Bratton's opinion, some examples of such allegories can be found in Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*. George MacDonald, in turn, used allegory in a different way. He avoided the didactic purpose and gave the allegory aesthetic meanings. This profoundly changed the relationship between children's fiction and allegories. (Bratton 1981, 79)

The impact of the moralist tradition weakened, however, along with the development of fantasy literature. Carroll's Alice was a turning point in this. According to Jean-Jacques Lecercle, Alice is an immoral literary work, because it presents nonsense. The genre is composed of language, which, in itself, is not involved with morals. Lecercle states that the inhabitants of Wonderland use the perversions of language in their speech. Extreme aggressiveness and self-centredness direct their behaviour. Wonderland is an agonic universe, where eirene is only presented in Alice's good, Victorian behaviour. (Lecercle 1994, 112, 100-4) Unlike in Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, the Christian God does not appear in Wonderland. Alice's Wonderland is a godless, insane universe, where Christian beliefs and God are mocked. The "drink me" liquid and "eat me" cake are a parody of the elements of the Eucharist, Christ's body and blood.⁵ (Carpenter 1985, 66-7)

Alice also parodies moralist and evangelical literature. Ronald Reichertz has observed that *Alice Through the Looking-Glass*, in particular, has links with the so-called "Looking-glass Books". The idea of a text as a mirror can be found as early as in some Medieval titles, but the first looking-glass book especially written for children was Abraham Chear's *A Looking-Glass for Children* (1673), which presented good models of behaviour for children in its stories. The stories were supposed to be mirrors for children: they showed, how a good child was supposed to behave. (Reichertz 1992, 23-4) *The Looking-Glass for the Mind* was a very similar book. It was freely translated by Richard Johnson from Arnaud Berquin's *L'Ami des enfants*, and first published in 1787; the second edition being provided with John Bewick's woodcuts. As late as the nineteenth century, the book was very popular

among those who bought children's books. Not every child, however, loved it. Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard have drawn attention to a copy from 1848, which had belonged to 13-year-old Mary Greaves. She had changed the title page of her copy to read: "*The Looking-Glass for the Mind; or unintellectual mirror: being an inelegant collection of the most disagreeable silly stories and uninteresting tales. With twenty-four ugly cuts.*" (Carpenter & Prichard 1984, 325)

Carroll used the mirror as a reverse element in relation to the Looking-Glass Books. The didacticism is present in rather parodic terms, when Alice teaches a kitten or the Red Queen teaches Alice. (Reichertz 1992, 23-4) More evident literary references to moralist literature can also be found in *Alice*. Carroll parodied Isaac Watts' poem "Tis the Voice of the Sluggard" (*Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language in Use of Children*, 1715) in "Tis the Voice of the Lobster". (Hunt 1994, 40-1; Reichertz 1992, 24)

Beatrix Potter also abandoned the tradition of evangelism and moral teaching. Her tales have some similarities with Aesop's fables and J. C. Harris' *Uncle Remus*, but they resemble immoral stories rather than moral tales. (Carpenter 1989, 279) Hence, they continue the tradition of the fables in rather paradoxical terms; Potter's tales, too, are animal stories, but instead of giving moral lessons typical of children's literature, they surprise with their immorality. According to Robert Leeson, their moral simply teaches how one does not become eaten. For this reason, Potter's tales are all about basic self-defence. (Leeson 1985, 17) Their moral comes from nature instead of the Church, State or school. They do not attempt to teach children how they should behave in society, but rather how nature works. Such a view is not, however, present in fables.

The immorality of Potter's tales is based on the lack of severe punishments. Carpenter mentions several examples. Peter Rabbit (1901) does not obey his mother and commits a burglary, but the narrator stays on his side. Peter is not really punished for his behaviour; he only gets camomile tea instead of bread and blackberries and he has to go to bed earlier than his well-behaved sisters. The title characters of *The Two Bad Mice* (1904) are frightened by the cat after they have ruined a fancy doll's house, but they are not eaten.

Similarly, the main character of *Squirrel Nutkin* (1902) loses its tail instead of its life after irritating the old owl. (Carpenter 1989, 287, 290)

In some respects, the ignoring of moral rules and didacticism in Potter's works can be interpreted as a return to the earlier literary tradition. In addition to fables, they have several connections with folk tales, which were very immoral in many respects (see Chapter 1.1). Numerous examples of this can be found. Humphrey Carpenter, for instance, finds the third brother of folk tales in the main character of *The Tale of Pigling Bland*, who, against the odds, survives and becomes a hero. (Carpenter 1989, 286) Ruth K. MacDonald, for her part, has argued that Potter's story is related to the theme of banishing Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. The childhood home of the pigs is a paradise, which they have to leave in order to travel to the surrounding world, full of dangers. (MacDonald 1986, 123) This aspect links Potter's story with the parody of religion, also present in other Golden Age books, like Carroll's *Alice*. Another of Potter's books, *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908), which is a rewritten version of "Little Red Riding Hood" (Lane 1978, 157; MacDonald 1986, 111) has even more evident links with the genre of folk tales. Sexual references, which are often also typical of the folk tales, are very clear in *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck*: the fox is an elegant, Victorian charmer, who seduces a brainless, silly maid. (Carpenter 1985, 149)

In some cases, the lack of moral lessons and pedagogy in Potter's tales can be interpreted as criticism of contemporary society and its institutions. A critical attitude towards religion and the Church is only one example. For instance, *The Tale of Two Bad Mice* satirises the consumer culture and materialism, which were both dominating powers in the industrialised, Victorian society. (Carpenter 1989, 291) Its main characters end up destroying the interior of a luxurious doll's house after being irritated because there is no food in its kitchen, only inedible objects, which resemble food. Hence, the book criticises the gaining of unnecessary objects.⁶ Similarly, Potter sharply criticises the manners of the age. *The Tale of Mr. Jeremy Fisher* mocks the paradox between snobbism and real life, as well as the artificial emphasis on manners. (Carpenter 1989, 289)

Unlike Potter's animal lands, the River Bank of Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* is a relatively safe secondary world, where the basic values have maintained their position. Fred Inglis has described Grahame's book as a pastoral with friendship as its central theme. (Inglis 1981, 118) The character of Toad, however, shakes the balance of the paradise. Toad can, in no sense, be seen as a moral role model for children, because he steals, lies and boasts. Nicholas Tucker argues that children become enchanted with Toad particularly because he is dishonest and self-centred, while adults, for their part, cannot tolerate the character for the same reasons. (Tucker 1976, 160-1) At the end of the story, Grahame chooses a conventional path: harmony must return to the River Bank and so Toad is taught a moral lesson. At the same time, the character loses his interesting quality.

In spite of all these examples, the educational approach has always been present in children's literature, as it is in the works of the Golden Age. Grahame's Toad finally learns a moral lesson and Milne's Pooh books, in turn, aim to teach the readers that Pooh's friendliness is a more significant quality than his small brains. (Wilson 1985, 167) This shows that, even though the works of the Golden Age disengaged themselves from the moralist tradition, the moral itself never vanished completely. It only changed, and the frightening visions of Hell, so commonplace in the early children's literature, were replaced by gentler approaches towards the dominant values taught to children. The new tradition was later passed on in the Finnish fantasy fiction of the 1950s, which also led to a new era in Finnish children's literature; the severe lessons of fairy tales were about to become history, while the more liberated thinking of fantasy fiction was gaining influence.

2.2.2. Talking Animals, Toys and Other Imaginary Creatures

Along with its development, the genre of fantasy literature has maintained some of the characteristics of the folk tale. One of the most significant of them is the appearance of animals with human characteristics (Sale 1978, 77). In addition to folk tales, such animals also have an important role in fables, where they are usually types instead of individuals.

Animals play an important role in the Golden Age children's fantasy fiction. A human protagonist, like Carroll's Alice, may meet different animals in a similar way as in folk

tales, or the animals may experience adventures by themselves as in fables, like in Kenneth Grahame's *Wind in the Willows*, where the human characters have no more than a secondary role. Otherwise, Golden Age children's fiction has few connections to fables, because it does not join the forcefully didactic tradition of fables. In this respect, Finnish children's literature of the 1950s did not follow its British example, because although there are many undeniable allusions to the works of the Golden Age, it is closely connected to the tradition of the fables, which still remained very much alive in Finland. Finns have always admired nature and felt close to it so that the fable-like animal stories, for instance, Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni*, are in a stronger position here.

The animals of Golden Age children's fantasy fiction resemble human beings rather than representatives of different species of fauna. For instance, Alice's animals are more like masked actors than real animals, and they may take on a person's appearance at any moment. (Blount 1974, 80) Another example can be found in Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, where the emotional life of the animals seems to be very human because of their many dimensions and liveliness. (Carpenter 1985, 202) In other words, many animals of the Golden Age books are human beings in the guise of animals.

The characters of Beatrix Potter's books most resemble real animals. Though Potter does not strictly follow the generic conventions of the fable, she obviously knew Harris' *Uncle Remus* rather well. Like Harris', Potter's characters also behave in ways typical of both humans and animals (see Taylor & Whalley & Hobbs & Battrick 1987, 66-7). The relatively realistic description of the surroundings makes her characters truer, too, because though the milieu of Potter's book is idealised, it is still rather realistic. (Blount 1974, 137) The possibility that those little dramas could really occur in rabbit holes, hedgerows or lakes, makes the fantasy more realistic and the human qualities of the animals more natural. In an enchanting way, Potter's world is a mixture of romance and realism, where confusing and even frightening things may happen, but in familiar surroundings. (Crouch 1960, 63) A similar setting can be found in the Finnish animal fantasy stories of the 1950s, like Kirsi Kunnas' *Tiitäisen tarinoita* or Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni*, which, thus, follow the same paths as Potter.

Potter's animals always have several different human characteristics (Carpenter 1985, 201), which distinguishes them from fables that offer a way to describe human beings satirically by giving them an animal appearance in order to stress their dominating qualities. Potter's animals also become more human by wearing clothes. In a way, this links her works with the contemporary ideas of childhood and nature as lost paradises. Carroll Scott has remarked that the animals in Potter's tales use clothes in order to hide their natural self instead of expressing it. When Peter drops his clothes in Mr. MacGregor's garden, he becomes more like an animal. The little rabbits of *The Tale of the Flopsy Bunnies* (1909) do not need clothes yet, because they are not supposed to be worn before growing up. (Scott 1994, 78-9, 81) Just as Adam and Eve hid their sexuality after losing their innocence, Potter's animals, too, hide their natural selves and animal characteristics after growing up.

Unlike Potter, A. A. Milne did not attempt to include realistic characteristics in his two Winnie-the-Pooh books, where events take place in a perfect paradise. The characters have no animal qualities, because, instead of real animals, they are Christopher Robin's toys, which neither live nor develop. Unlike Grahame's animals, Milne's toys have no deep inner life (Carpenter 1985, 202). Their toy life is entirely linked to a child's progress and, to some extent, so are the Pooh books. This especially concerns the language. If Potter challenges the reader to improve his or her vocabulary, the Pooh books approach the child on a linguistic level. Abstract concepts can be interpreted by their superficial meanings, such as when Pooh is looking for the North Pole with his friends⁷. (Tucker 1981, 98)

According to Humphrey Carpenter, the Pooh books return to the genre of the fable. Winnie-the-Pooh is, in his opinion, related to Harris' *Uncle Remus*, although Milne himself has denied all the connections. (Carpenter 1985, 201-2) Milne's way of interpreting the tradition of the fable, however, differed remarkably from that of Potter. Her vivid characters have inherited their trickster roles from the fables while Milne's toys only resemble the types of fables.

In the use of animals and toys, a bridge is created connecting fantasy fiction with fairy tales and fables. The phenomenon also expresses the longing for a paradise. The animal world stands for nature and innocence, and hence, according to Margaret Blount, the secondary world with animals only are usually better, more innocent and more honest than human societies. (Blount 1974, 267) In *The Wind in the Willows*, the human characters play secondary roles in the background, and Christopher Robin, an icon of an innocent child, is the only human creature, who is allowed to enter the Hundred Acre Wood in *Winnie-the-Pooh*. In Potter's books, the human beings are rejected most vigorously, because all the people are seen as extremely bad and threatening. The only exception is the little girl in *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggly-Winkle*, and in many respects she is, after all, a living doll instead of a human being. (Richardson 1976, 175)

Once again the paradise or garden is closed to adults. It may appear without people or with very young children, but the subversive nature of an adult is always threatening to destroy the idyll. Such an idea grew from the ideals of Romanticism, but it was still alive as late as the 1950s, when Finnish writers started to follow the tracks of the Golden Age. A secondary world with no human beings, as presented, for instance, in Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* or Kunnas' animal poems in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*, or a magic garden with imaginary creatures, like the maple tree in Kurenniemi's *Puuhiset* were interpretations of the same topic. Thus Potter's, Milne's or Grahame's books paved the way for the later animal fantasy, also in a different age and country.

2.2.3. "And the World Turned Upside Down": Nonsense Stories

Although nonsense literature can be approached as its own, particular genre, it also had a significant role in the development of Golden Age children's fantasy fiction. Nonsense characteristics can be found, for example, in Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, but the most significant representatives of the genre are, undoubtedly, Carroll's Alice books.

Anyway the writer of Alice, Lewis Carroll, the Oxford scholar in Christ Church College, Charles Lutwidge Dodson, who hid behind the pseudonym, did not invent nonsense. Characteristics typical of nonsense have even been found in the comedies of ancient

Greece, like Aristophanes' *The Frogs* or Aesop's fables. (Anderson & Apseloff 1989, 9-10, 13). Carpenter traces its roots to the fools and the lunatics of Shakespeare's plays, and to the *Lugenmärchen*⁸ (Carpenter 1985, 55-6). Nonsense also marks the *Kunstmärchen* of the 1800s, like Topelius' fairy tale "Wipplustig och gubben i mån" (Hustling Harry and the Man in the Moon) (1852), where a travelling puppet-theatre owner journeys in his dream to the moon, where everything is turned upside down.

Robert Benayoun goes back further in time to the French poetry of the 1200s and the works of Renaissance authors François Villon and François Rabelais. (Benayoun 1977, 32-41) Some of the eighteenth century chapbooks also approached nonsense, like *And the World Turned Upside Down*. (Carpenter 1985, 55-6) It was one of the most common chapbooks. Due to its popularity, Ann and Jane Taylor wrote a didactic children's version of it, in 1810, *Signor Topsy-Turvey's Wonderful Magic Lantern; Or the World Turned Upside Down*⁹, nearly a century after the publication of the original version. Such chapbooks have clear connections with Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), which was satirical by making things opposite and comical. (Harvey Darnton 1982, 107)

Nonsense characteristics have also been found in R. H. Barnham's *The Ingoldsby Legends* (1837) and in John Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1854) (Mare 1973, 58), but the most significant British nonsense book before Alice was, however, Edward Lear's *The Book of Nonsense* (1845), which was so widely read in contemporary middle-class homes that Carroll could not have avoided seeing it. (Carpenter 1985, 56) Nevertheless, Carroll's Alice books do not follow the pattern of Lear's works. We may even ask if the two authors ever read each other's works, since the differences between them are so significant. The Alice books were published rather late compared to Lear's books, and Carroll wrote no limericks which form the bulk of Lear's work. Carroll's nonsense is also more intellectual than Lear's. It contains puns, riddles and plays with logic, which are entirely lacking in Lear. (Lehmann 1977, 50)

Though Percy Muir has drawn attention to the relations between Lear's "The Owl and the Pussy-Cat" and "The Jumblies" episode in Carroll's *Hunting of the Snark* (Muir 1979, 135),

the differences between Lear's and Carroll's texts are rather clear. Wim Tigges has distinguished two different types of nonsense: the Lear and Carroll types. Both of them are essentially literary, but, according to Tigges, the origins of the Lear type can be found in folklore, because its roots are in nursery rhymes and *Lügenmärchen*. The Carroll type, which Tigges describes as ornamental, is more sophisticated in its quality, since it focuses on playing with language and logic. (Tigges 1988, 85) During the Golden Age, the Carroll type was more important.

Elizabeth Sewell has described nonsense as a selection of words or events, which do not match in a conventional sense. In her opinion, the world of nonsense can only appear in literary works and not in reality (Sewell 1952, 2, 17). According to Sewell's idea, the whole world of nonsense is merely a textual entity, which has no connections at all with the surrounding world. In spite of its literary qualities, even nonsense texts often refer, however, to contemporary society. Alison Lurie argues that the Alice books attack Victorian education. She considers Humpty Dumpty a professor, who manipulates statements to suit himself, while Caterpillar is a Victorian schoolmaster, who asks unanswerable questions and demands that Alice repeat useless nonsense verses. (Lurie 1990, 6)

In fact, Jean-Jacques Lecercle, who has noted the same things as Sewell, has stated that Victorian education, especially for girls, had several nonsense characteristics. Girls very rarely had a proper education, and even then they were not allowed to learn more than absurd lists of dates, cities and Latin sayings by heart. The language education was a remarkable model case of nonsense, as the pupils had to learn loose, meaningless sayings instead of forming sentences. Lecercle believes Alice's nonsense had similar goals to Victorian education, which aimed at teaching children grammar and rules (Lecercle 1994, 215-6).

Lecercle has, however, found other similarities between Alice and Victorian reality. Alice mirrors the colonial politics and the new, Darwinist ideas of the period. The Wonderland scenery is new and strange, full of odd creatures like beasts, monsters and talking eggs.

Alice can be interpreted as a nonsense reincarnation of a British invader. (Lecerle 1994, 202-3) Thus nonsense, as with any other kind of literature, is connected to the cultural context, in which it was created.

Playing with language is essential to nonsense. As a genre, nonsense is thoroughly based on language and its structure. According to Lecerle, the analysis of Alice's language can start with de Saussure's *langue*, since the text is technically and phonetically entirely readable, and follows ordinary grammar rules. There are no problems until one reaches the semantic level, where words can be understood grammatically, but cannot be connected with their ordinary meaning. Lecerle states that reading with *langue* cannot progress because of the lack of common sense. The reader should, thus, approach the text in a new way, for which Lecerle uses Jacques Lacan's term '*lalangue*'. Just as Alice abandons the rules of the Victorian world during her stay in Wonderland, so too must the reader free him or herself from the traditional ways of interpreting texts. (Lecerle 1994, 21-5)

Since nonsense literature is closely based on grammar, it is also linked to the Saussurian *langue*. *Parole* is not usually even present in nonsense, as Lecerle has stated. The grammar, in its turn, is present, but its rules are used in a parodiable or paradoxical way. Lecerle argues that nonsense does not create new words. Instead, it uses old words in order to recreate them. (Lecerle 1994, 31-3, 36) In addition to grammar, nonsense literature also interprets other rules and conventions in a peculiar way. Anita Wilson calls Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* a nonsense book, and justifies her opinion by the particular concept of time in the Pooh books. Pooh's clock has been stopped at 11 am, because it is Pooh's regular snack time. This way the teddy bear can eat continuously. Wilson connects this with the stopping of time in Alice's mad tea party. (Wilson 1985, 169) Wim Tigges does not, however, agree with Wilson. In his opinion, time has truly stopped in the Mad Hatter's tea party, since the event is controlled by language, not the clock. Pooh's clock, on the other hand, is just an excuse to eat additional meals. (Tigges 1988, 110-1)

In addition to the grammar, the nonsense world is also closely linked with games. Lecerle describes Alice's Wonderland using the Greek term '*agon*', a competitive game, instead of

'*eirene*', harmony and balance. Wonderland is an agonic universe, while '*eirene*' is only present in Alice's polished, Victorian manners. (Lecerle 1994, 81, 100-2) What does this setting express, then? In some sense, the presence of '*agon*' can be interpreted as criticism aimed at the Western ideas of progress, which were, due to Darwinism and several other scientific discoveries, very controversial in the latter half of the nineteenth century. '*Agon*' has, however, been present in the field of science and philosophy from the beginning.

Johan Huizinga has emphasised the importance of games in Ancient Greece. He links it to the sophistic philosophy, which often led to false but undeniable conclusions. Its tradition helped to spread the *agonal* qualities to the entire Hellenic culture and its heirs. In addition to philosophy, the *agonal* characteristics were also spread to other academic fields. Huizinga considers all science both polemical and *agonal*. In his opinion, the *agonal* atmosphere has been particularly forceful during the periods of radical mental changes. Huizinga's example is the seventeenth century, which saw a thorough change in the natural sciences (Huizinga 1984, 170, 174, 179), but the nineteenth century could also be mentioned because of the drastic changes in natural sciences, technology and philosophy. The *agonal* inheritance of the ancient Greeks is also present in Alice, a nineteenth century children's book critical of the world of science and academia.

In addition to being like a game, nonsense literature also has connections with carnivals. In Margaret Blount's opinion, the animals in Alice look more like actors in carnival masks than real representatives of their species. They have partly human faces, which express the different aspects of human nature like joy or sorrow. (Blount 1974, 78,80) In Alice, animals do not, as in the tales of Andersen or Ruskin, represent nature and its goodness, but function as masks for the different human roles in contemporary society. (Frey & Griffith 1987, 117) The human characters may also turn into animals at any moment, such as a baby turning into a pig or the Queen into a kitten in *Through the Looking-Glass*. (Blount 1974, 78,80) Continuous change and metamorphoses are common in nonsense. Things can always turn upside down.¹⁰ As in the carnivals, where rules are changed to be just the opposite and things never follow the same paths as in ordinary life. For this reason, nonsense is a carnival genre, where all the rules are interpreted paradoxically in terms of

common sense.

Tigges has listed four of the most significant elements of nonsense literature:

- 1) the (non)presence of the meaning
- 2) the lack of feelings
- 3) a representation, which resembles a game
- 4) strong connections with word play and literalness (Tigges 1988, 55)

All these characteristics very rarely meet in the same book. Different nonsense qualities can be found in, for instance, Milne's Pooh books or Travers' Mary Poppins books, as will be later seen. Potter's *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin* is also full of riddles, even in the characters' names. (Frey & Griffith 1987, 204) Only Alice, however, has all the qualities of nonsense. Carroll's little masterpiece is the leading example of the genre, and evident relations with it can be found in fantasy literature written after Alice.

2.2.4. From Adults' to Children's Texts

A new concept of childhood required a new kind of children's literature. From now on, literature had to be suitable for children. This was a very difficult task to perform. Children's literature is almost always written by adults instead of children, and their ideas too often have more influence and are taken more seriously than are the children's opinions. As Julia Briggs has ironically stated, children do not write children's books for other children, because grown-ups write them for other adults, who are the potential buyers of books, making their position decisive. (Briggs 1989, 223) Children are, however, the reading audience. The situation is paradoxical, which is seen in a very concrete way in Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction.

Jacqueline Rose starts her controversial study *The Case of Peter Pan* by arguing that children's books are not intended for children at all. Instead, they are portraits of children created by and for adults. In Rose's opinion, children's books, like Peter Pan or Alice, are very often about the desires and perversions adults have towards children and adolescents. (Rose 1984, 1-11) As they are very extreme, Rose's views are difficult to criticise, but the few examples presented in the following paragraphs, aim to show that the situation is not one-sided. Some children's books of the period approach their readers, while others are far

too complex for the intended audience.

The best known example is probably Carroll's Alice. Kathryn Hume states that the dream world in *Through the Looking-Glass* does not please Alice, because it questions the rules she has just learnt. (Hume 1984, 127) Alice's narrator does not help, but confuses the child reader in the same way. The reader is not, however, given clear, new ways of thinking. On the other hand, Nicholas Tucker regards the main character as a representative of the young readers. She develops during her journey, when adults pose her impossible questions and riddles. (Tucker 1981, 99) Tucker's view suggests that Wonderland is only as difficult for a child to understand as the adult world generally. New challenges only help Alice, and the reader, to grow up.

Even in this respect, Wonderland and its strange inhabitants may cause problems. Margareta Rönnerberg, who has studied both Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and its Disney adaptation, argues that though a grown-up may consider Wonderland's creatures amusing and ridiculous, a young child does not question their adult authority. The grown-ups Alice meets on her voyage are rude, self-centred and vicious, which forms an image of adulthood as being gloomy and negative. The chaos of Wonderland suggests that life is meaningless and mad, which may, in Rönnerberg's opinion, scare and depress an inexperienced child reader. (Rönnerberg 1990, 115-6) On the other hand, this reflects Rousseau's ideas of childhood, too. Alice, the child, is the only pure and rational character, while the adult creatures of Wonderland are subversive and corrupted.

Carroll was not, however, the only Golden Age author, who offered the child reader complex entities and challenges. The difficult linguistic structures and words of Beatrix Potter's works require a child to become a better reader because of the level of words and structures. Thus Potter's works do not aim to approach a child, but rather to present challenges.

Approaching a child reader does not necessarily happen on the linguistic level, because a book may also offer identification models. Toad in Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* is a

good example. He is selfish and dishonest, which makes the character easier to approach; the child, too, does not have to be perfect. (Tucker 1976, 160-1) Bonnie Gaarden, who describes the animal society of *The Wind in the Willows* as a family, sees Toad as a naughty child and Mole as a good one (Gaarden 1994, 46-7). These two sides can be found in every child.

Milne's Winnie-the-Pooh is a child-like character as well. The most essential qualities of Pooh - jolliness, selfishness, generosity and the love of food - are often associated with childhood. Pooh lives his independent bachelor life with no adult responsibilities. Thus, he is privileged to select only the best aspects of the different stages of life. Piglet and Eeyore, are also mixtures of an adult and child, while Rabbit and Owl are purely adults. They treat the other animals as children and never admit their mistakes. (Wilson 1985, 167) Milne's Pooh books thus present both the childhood dream about adult life and a child's view of adults. The Pooh books also approach children on a linguistic level. The surface meanings of the language are distinguished from the abstract concepts, for instance, in the episode where Pooh and his friends are looking for the North Pole, without knowing what the term really means. (Tucker, 1981, 98) Later on, in the Finnish children's literature of the 1950s, we can find several similar situations, where a child's way of interpreting unfamiliar words is present. For instance, Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* gives new meaning to the terms of detective stories, while Aila Meriluoto's *Pommorommo* is named after a being, whose appearance no one knows, not even the children, who invent it (see Chapter 5.5.4).

Edith Nesbit's works approach child readers even more directly. Anita Moss considers *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* (1899) the first children's book ever, which is narrated from a child's point of view. (Moss 1985, 188) A child narrator, nevertheless, had been introduced two years earlier in Henry James' *What Maisie Knew* (Reynolds 1994, 29), which is not, of course, in any sense a children's book. *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* does not present fantasy literature, like the books which have a key role in this study, but, since most of Nesbit's books belong to the genre, *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* cannot be completely ignored. The narration of Nesbit's fantasy books bears a resemblance to this story in its

approach to children. According to Elmar Schenkel, Nesbit approaches children's ideas about the magic of fantasy literature as some kind of technology transferred to the imagination. (Schenkel 1991, 210) Nesbit, thus, offers her readers both familiar views and a narrative voice similar to their own.

Nesbit also poses challenges for her readers. Julia Briggs has compared the world of the River Bank in Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* with Nesbit's world. In Briggs's opinion, all confusion and disappointments are shut out from the picturesque River Bank, while Nesbit's world is more vital and imperfect. As such, it resembles the real world. The image of childhood is not too idealised, either. (Briggs 1987, 189-90) The major characters of Nesbit's stories are normal children with their faults instead of the beautiful angels, who were typical of Victorian and Edwardian fiction. Nesbit's image of childhood has connections, nevertheless, with the ideals of Romanticism. For instance, the value of the imagination is strongly emphasised. (Moss 1991, 225) However, fairly realistic child characters in an imperfect world are only typical of Nesbit and Carroll, not of other Victorian and Edwardian writers of the Golden Age. Neither Carroll's Alice nor Nesbit's books offer their reader easy options, but confusion and challenges. By studying these examples, we can note that narration written from a child's point of view does not necessarily mean the creation of an easily understood text.

The literary field of the Golden Age is filled with paradoxical texts, which can as well please or displease a child or adult, a reader or buyer. The appearance of such books questions the whole idea of drawing boundaries between adults' and children's fiction. C. S. Lewis, who has continued the great tradition of British fantasy fiction several decades after the decline of the First Golden Age, does not agree with the whole idea of writing literature for children only. He justifies his opinion by distinguishing three ways of writing fiction for children. In his opinion, the worst way is to offer children what they want. Another method of creating children's fiction is the way, which was used by Carroll, Grahame and Tolkien, whose stories grew from a situation where an adult told a story and a child commented on it. Of the three ways of writing children's literature, Lewis prefers, narcissistically, the one he himself uses. In this case, children's fiction only happens to be

an ideal way for the author to present his ideas. (Lewis 1973, 232) Lewis' opinions about other writers may well be criticised, but, as an entity, his idea respects children's literature. He places it on the same level as other types of literature and, so it is approached as a variation of texts without generalising classifications.

The difficulty of distinguishing adults' and children's texts has not only been a problem with Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction, but has later been present in Finnish fiction of the 1950s. Tove Jansson's Moomin books have often been criticised by critics as too philosophical and complex for children, while, for instance, Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Puuhiset* was criticised for its political parody and, therefore, considered unsuitable for children in contemporary newspaper articles (see Turun Sanomat on Oct 24, 1956). In my opinion, the problem is still present today in the field of children's literature, though perhaps to a lesser extent, because an adult writing for children never enters a child's way of thinking entirely. Childhood is a closed garden and, in that respect, similar to the ideas presented in children's literature.

2.3. Victorian Values and Edwardian Attitudes

Several radical changes in British society took place during the same era as the Golden Age children's fiction was created. The search for a paradise in the works of the Golden Age can be interpreted both as an escape from, and criticism of, contemporary society. Fearing the changes of the present day and the future, people saw the past, in literature, as a peaceful, often idealised time. That is why novelties are often disapproved of in contemporary fiction. For example, an automobile is seen as an embodiment of the destructive, modern lifestyle in Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*. New technological inventions represent the opposite of the peaceful, rural life and thus threaten the traditional, pastoral idyll. Life in a city, too, was seen as subversive in comparison with the countryside, especially in the opinion of the Edwardians. For example, Edith Nesbit hated and despised city life. Her child characters, also, prefer living in the countryside. (Egoff 1988, 84) This approach is particularly typical of Edwardian children's fiction.

The phenomenon can be at least partly explained by the contemporary change of ideals. In

many respects, the Victorian values of worth and respectability were in the process of being played out by modernity and progress during the Edwardian era. (Cadogan & Craig 1978, 17) A return to the past and its tranquillity was a way of escaping the frightening present. The idea of the Victorian age as an era of serenity is, however, a paradox. Walter E. Houghton calls the Victorian period an age of transition, according to the term used by Sir Henry Holland in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1858. During the Victorian period, science, society and the individual way of thinking went through an enormous change. (Houghton 1957, 1-10) Some Victorian values, like home and nuclear family, however modern they were at the time, quickly became established and were later thought to be respectable and traditional. To a great extent, the tranquillity and traditionalism of the Victorian age was, to use Eric Hobsbawm's term (see Hobsbawm 1995, 1-2), an invented tradition. The circumstances of the contemporary society were very unlike the views held by later generations. Therefore, the Edwardians associated the earlier century with safe family life, though they also rebelled against Victorian values and wished to liberate themselves from the rigid restrictions. Thus childhood, happiness, innocence, the countryside and traditional way of living were all associated together as positive values and the opposites of the rapid and frightening progress of society.

Most of the Golden Age authors, in spite of their critical ideas, accepted the traditional values. Kimberley Reynolds has noted, for instance, that though children's fiction was read by all social groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century¹¹, the values were completely middle-class. The middle-class family was seen as the only fortress against the chaos caused by rapid changes in society, the broken world view and corruption. (Reynolds 1990, 31) In many ways, the middle-class family was considered the centre, for children, of all that was meaningful in society. Being without a family was as unfortunate as being a refugee. (Inglis 1981, 84)

This may be fully understood, when we approach the idea of a family in nineteenth century Europe. The ideas of Rousseau, Hegel and Campe stressed the position of a middle-class family as the basic structure of the nation (see Chapter 1.2). In Britain, these ideas gained ground as witnessed by the literature of the age. Though they were revolutionary at the

time, they soon became established and strengthened the dominating role of the middle-class in contemporary society. In Victorian fiction, the nuclear family was characterised as "haven", "refuge", "harbour", "Garden of Eden" or "secure little plot". (Inglis 1981, 84) It was a middle-class ideal, and it was soon to become a model for all social classes.

Golden Age children's literature offers several examples of the idealisation of the family. Kingsley's orphan Tom has been driven to his miserable situation partly because of his orphanage, and Barrie's Lost Boys long for a mother, which role was played by Wendy. Bonnie Gaarden describes the animal society of *The Wind in the Willows* as a family. Caring Rat is the mother and authoritarian Badger is the father, while obedient Mole and adventurous Toad are the children. (Gaarden 1994, 44-60)

Emphasising the importance of the nuclear family was not the only way to stress bourgeoisie values, because the characters and points of view are also mainly middle-class. Bob Dixon has mentioned that Edith Nesbit's books are particularly middle-class, though the writer herself held ideas of social reform, especially concerning women's liberation¹². In most of Nesbit's books, the workers are only known by their family names, which accentuates the difference between them and the middle-class main characters, who are, unlike the workers, described as individuals. The workers also speak in a manner, which differs from that of the middle class. Charity is seen as a solution to social problems instead of radical change. Nesbit's books have, however, no class conflicts, since the point of view is completely middle-class. (Dixon 1977a, 57-9)

Nesbit, unlike the earlier Golden Age author Charles Kingsley, did not evidently consider children's fiction as a means of social reform (Egoff 1988, 84). We have to admit, however, that she comments on the position of women in her books, and thus reforms contemporary thinking, as will be seen later. The setting of *The Railway Children* (1906) - a father imprisoned for selling English political secrets to the Russians, also refers to the Dreyfus scandal and speaks against the juridical inequality in society. Like Alfred Dreyfus, who was a French army officer and a Jew wrongly accused of spying for the Germans, the father of the family is also sent to prison. Like Dreyfus, who served his sentence from 1894

until 1897, when the real traitor came to light, the father of the railway children is released at the end of the novel. (Briggs 1987, 242-3)

Robert Leeson sees Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* as a perfect description of a class society. In his opinion, the central characters Mole and Rat are representatives of the middle class, while decadent Toad is an aristocrat and the despised weasels are poor workers. (Leeson 1977, 10) At the time Golden Age children's fiction was being written, the class society was an undeniable fact and belonging to a certain class was considered inevitable. The social class was supposed to mark its members. MacDonald's Princess books are particularly clear examples of this view. The difference between Princess Irene and other girls is continually stressed. (Dixon 1977a, 71) Such an idea of inherited nobility has similarities with Topelius' story "Adalmina's Pearl", where Princess Adalmina's superiority is explained in a most straight-forward way; she gets her beauty, wisdom and other splendid qualities as a gift from a fairy godmother in the same way as Sleeping Beauty in the various versions of her tale. Such precious gifts as the little princesses receive are never given to ordinary girls in nursery tales.

Curdie, a boy, who works in a mine, has to have blue blood flowing through his veins, because otherwise a close friendship with the Princess would be impossible, just like a marriage across class boundaries. (Dixon 1977a, 71) Although MacDonald's books have a lot in common with fairy tales, Leeson comments that the capitalist class society is firmly established in the world of MacDonald's works. Unlike fairy stories, where a peasant may win a princess's heart, MacDonald has to convince his readers of Curdie's aristocracy in order to bless the children's friendship. (Leeson 1977, 31-2) Thus, the world of MacDonald's books, which is located in the distant lands of imagination, mirrors the late nineteenth century class society.

In addition to the significance of the family, a woman's role was also changed by the ideas of Romanticism. It was very distinctly defined and, in most cases, linked to the mother's tasks in the nuclear family. Girls, in their childhood, were often taught the role of a woman by children's books. Parents strictly censored the books girls, in particular, read. The

purpose of the censorship was to ensure that the vulnerable young minds would only imbibe suitable influences. Children's fiction was thus used as a means of social control over the young, in order to lead them painlessly to those paths they should later follow as adults, adopting the traditional sex roles, values and attitudes. (Rowbotham 1989, 3)

Jennifer Waelti-Walters connects *Through the Looking-Glass* with the tradition of fairy-tales and the Bible in their lack of a feminist point of view. In her opinion, all these narratives aim to lead children towards adult roles, where a girl's only task is to show humility and obedience to the new authority, her husband, when the old one, her father, gives her away in the marriage ceremony, which is witnessed by a representative of the patriarchal society (e. g. a priest). (Waelti-Walters 1982, 80)

Nevertheless, approaching either one of the Alice books is a complex matter. Mary Cadogan and Patricia Graig have paid attention to Carroll's main character and her curiosity. Instead of a traditional, oppressed heroine of her age, Alice is a very radical character, who follows the White Rabbit unhesitatingly and poses courageously new questions to the ridiculous adults she meets during her journey. It seems that Carroll does not prepare the child reader for adulthood, but celebrates childhood by sending Alice on an adventure. (Cadogan & Graig 1975, 44) But although Alice bravely jumps at the chance of an adventure, she later begins to complain if things do not go the way she expects. (McGillis 1986, 25-7) Due to her rigid world view, Alice is far more traditional than the courageous start of her journey suggests.

Claudia Nelson notes that teaching facts was replaced by emotional didacticism in Golden Age fiction. (Nelson 1991, 1) Thus, teaching the Bible was replaced by leading youngsters to their roles as good wives and mothers, or husbands and breadwinners. The didacticism in children's books even competed with institutionalised schools. Jean-Jacques Lecercle has noticed that, for instance, the nonsense of Carroll's Alice works similar to a school, because it teaches children rules. Nonsense literature, like Alice, was usually read by children, who did not go to school - girls. Unlike Victorian middle-class boys, the little girls were not too often privileged to receive a proper education. (Lecercle 1994, 218)

Distinguishing boys from girls is a typical nineteenth century characteristic in children's literature. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century fiction did not stress the difference between boys and girls, but rather between good and bad behaviour. Children's literature changed along with adult fiction, where both the images of women and children were romanticised. Women and children were sketched as weak, self-sacrificing angels, while men were like soldiers or knights. (Nelson 1991, 2, 6-9) The angelic image was partly due to the twisted relations between middle-class men, women and children in the contemporary society. The middle- and upper-class children, especially boys, who were sent to boarding schools, very rarely had a close relationship with their parents. (Reynolds 1994, 2-3) But even the children, who lived at home, were often more attached to their nannies than their parents. Winifred Gwyn-Jeffreys has described this paradoxical situation in her book of memories from a late nineteenth century middle-class nursery, published in the early 1970s:

It is strange when one comes to compare our childhood with conditions in bringing up children today. How very little contact we had with the grown-up world of our parents. I am sure our mother must have come up often to visit us in the nursery, but if so, it certainly made no lasting impression on me. Of course we loved our parents, but that was quite automatic. As far as our daily lives were concerned they were quite unimportant to us.

Every winter, they went to the Riviera for six weeks. We did not miss them, but we greatly enjoyed making "Welcome Home" posters to greet them on their return. These we plastered all over the house. (Gwyn-Jeffreys 1970, 11-2)

The servants, who raised the children, were often almost parental substitutes. Thus, middle- or upper-class men had a very distant image of the women of their own social class, whose purity and virginity were emphasised. They socialised rather with other men, because they were accustomed to it in boarding schools, military and civil service and private clubs. Working-class women were often easier to approach, which led to the seduction of maids and widespread prostitution. The company of young girls was also preferred - perhaps because of the hidden passions of adult men towards the girls, though the relationships between men and girls were usually presented as innocent and pure. (Reynolds 1994, 2-3)

The children, however, spent so little time with their parents that childhood was seen as a pretty and angelic age by middle-class adults, who wrote most of the literature of the era. Children, just like women, were described as very distant. No realistic characteristics were combined with the angelic image, which was a typical way of representing women and children in Victorian fiction. (Reynolds 1994, 2-3) The image of an angel may have a link with the literary utopias, because the most drastic of them was heaven; a natural place for an angel to live. (Nelson 1991, 2, 6-9) In this way, the road leads towards the Edenic secondary worlds of children's fiction, substitutes for Heaven in numerous ways.

Some contrary examples can be found in the representatives of the Golden Age. In Edith Nesbit's fantasy books, for instance, there are several examples of strong women, who work together with men in order to improve society. (Zipes 1986, 13) They are, however, exceptions to the rule. Taken as a whole, Golden Age children's fantasy fiction¹³ often supports the rather traditional values of its age, in spite of some radical ideas (see Chapter 2.1.1) it may also present at the same time. It reflects its own age, since it is, like all literature, bound to contemporary society. Literature, therefore, both criticised and defended contemporary values, though the criticism was often rather pale. This is no wonder, because, though literature often reflects the values of its age, individual critical voices can still rise above the surface. Later, the same situation can be found in Finnish children's fiction of the 1950s. The values of contemporary society were usually defended, but, for instance, Marjatta Kurenniemi presented a political parody in her *Puuhiiset* or Kirsi Kunnas criticised the oppressed position of women in her story "Pallo Pyöriäinen" (Roller Ball) in *Tiitiäisen tarinoita* as will be later seen. Hence, literature is always in a process of change, where old values struggle to maintain their position, while new winds try to blow them away.

2.4. Journey between Cultures

British children's fantasy fiction was closely linked to contemporary English society and its values. All literature reflects its background and that is why the British Golden Age differs greatly from, for instance, American literature, as will be seen later. Fantasy fiction in itself was a typical genre of British literature. Fantasy books created outside Britain, like Italian

Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1883), Swedish Selma Lagerlöf's *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (1906-7; *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, translated in 1907) and American Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) are rare and differ from the works of the Golden Age in some remarkable respects. Maria Tatar has highlighted the didactic aspect of *Pinocchio*, which was already present in moral tales (Tatar 1992, 75). The same approach can be found in *Nils*. Both the Italian wooden doll and the Swedish peasant boy have to struggle in, and suffer from, frightening adventures to be punished for their naughtiness and learn a lesson: to obey and respect the warnings adults have given them. The reward is the return to the safe surroundings of their homes. In *Nils*' case, it also means returning to his normal size after becoming very small because of his bad behaviour, while *Pinocchio* changes from a doll to a real boy. A similar kind of setting was already present in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century moral tales, where children were punished for their naughtiness, while a happy ending was rare. It was, however, attached to the *Kunstmärchen*, like Topelius' *Trollens jul* (1867, *The Trolls' Christmas*), where two greedy children, Fredrik and Lotta, are punished for their bad behaviour, but eventually returned home after their dreadful experiences. Nevertheless, in this case, there is only a very fine line between a fantasy story and a *Kunstmärchen*.

Baum's book, in turn, differs from Golden Age stories in the sense that it reflects American society. It has similarities with British fantasy fiction, because, for instance, its main character, Dorothy, is an ordinary girl like Alice, but differences can be found as well. In Perry Nodelman's opinion, typical American sensibility dominates *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Everything can be explained using common sense: the wizard is a fraud, the beautiful greenness of Oz is only an illusion created by the coloured glass ceiling covering the city, and Dorothy herself aims at enjoying the fantasy world as much as possible before she has to return to Kansas. (Nodelman 1989, 11) Oz is not a magical land like Alice's Wonderland or Milne's Hundred Acre Wood. Unlike his British contemporaries, Baum's fantasy does not contain a similar search for a pure paradise.

At the turn of the century, America was not yet fertile soil for fantasy fiction. In Humphrey Carpenter's opinion, fantasy literature does not grow in optimistic societies, but needs a

disappointed generation, which did not appear in America before the Vietnam War, when Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* became enormously popular in America. At the turn of the century, however, the mental atmosphere was as optimistic as it was in Britain at the time of the London World Fair in 1851. (Carpenter 1985, 16-7) For this reason, American children's fiction had its own special quality, which differed strikingly from the essence of British literature. Paradoxically enough, in pre-war Finland both British and American literature were seen as one entity, English literature. The realistic features of American stories or the magic in British fantasy fiction, which both depended on political and social circumstances, did not divide them naturally in the minds of Finnish readers. Interestingly enough, however, the realistic and optimistic American stories earned the praises of critics during the pre-war era of high expectations in Finland, while after the war, the interest in fantasy rose at the same time as pessimism, due to the defeat in war and lost values.

American children's fiction, like the British, also has its roots in moral tales. The American Sunday School Union (founded in 1824) and the American Tract Society (founded in 1825) made efforts to spread morally didactic literature for children. However, other kinds of fiction were also available. The development of books for boys and girls started with Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* (1876) and Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women* (1867), and caused a change, which led to the creation of realistic stories for children.

Sentimental adventure stories and books describing everyday life competed with each other for the reading audience in America after the mid 1800s. In some cases, for example, Canadian Sarah Chauncey Woolsey's Katy books - published under the pseudonym Susan Coolidge - the sentimental and realistic characteristics were united in the same story. Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* follows the same route. (Erisman & Sutherland 1986, 18-9, 30, 40-3) Both books describe ordinary life without supernatural elements, but their plot has sugary, sentimental qualities. Despite the connections of Burnett's books to American culture, they have often been associated with British literature, as their writer was born in England and she describes the life of the British upper class. They were mainly aimed at American readers as romanticised descriptions of the English lifestyle, though they also gained enormous success elsewhere such as Britain. Still their

world view presents American, instead of British, ideas.

Both Gillian Adams and Jerry Griswold have noticed Burnett's belief in positive thinking in *The Secret Garden*, which was typical of contemporary children's fiction in America. Griswold describes the era from 1865 to 1914 as the Golden Age of American children's literature, and names several other books, like Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, Alcott's *Little Women* and Eleanor A. Porter's *Pollyanna*, where positive thinking has been stressed as an essential characteristic. In America, unlike Britain, such an attitude reflected the optimistic feelings of the young nation. (Adams 1986, 52; Griswold 1992, 18, 13)

Gillian Avery also emphasises very concrete characteristics of the lifestyle; butter, raspberry jam and clotted cream, which are mentioned in the diet of Mary and Colin in *The Secret Garden*, could have been eaten by American children of the time, while Victorian children in Britain had a more simple, controlled diet which was supposed to improve their personality and to make them good servants of the Empire. (Avery 1994, 156, 158)¹⁴ Carpenter connects Burnett's works with the tradition of the Golden Age (Carpenter 1985, 18), because *The Secret Garden*, in particular, has characteristics typical of fantasy literature, but, for the reasons mentioned above, her works may be omitted from this study as they are American, and thus very different from the British and Golden Age works.

Three genres - adventure books, historical tales linked to local history, and family stories - dominated the children's fiction of the time. (Erisman & Sutherland 1986, 62) Jerry Griswold has studied the plots of American children's books of the Golden Age, which were often very similar and usually led from a loss to a victory. They were supposed to reflect the progress of the national identity in the United States, which developed along with children's fiction. It should also be noted that Americans often equated their political history with the development of a child in the nineteenth century. (Griswold 1992, 13) American children's fiction, mirroring its own society, was in many ways the complete opposite of British children's fiction. The term "English literature" cannot, thus, be used in this study, when referring to the British tradition. Books categorised under the concept of English children's literature gained popularity in Finland, as I shall present later on, but the

coming of British fantasy fiction had a different background than the success of the American stories before the Second World War.

2.5. Times Change, but Tradition is Cherished

Different kinds of children's books were written during the Golden Age. Fantasy fiction forms only one of the genres, but great variations can be found even within its limits. The journey from Carroll's Alice to Milne's Pooh was long and the tradition formed then was cherished for a long time.

Humphrey Carpenter states that though the Pooh books were both published in the late 1920s, it was as early as the First World War, when the development of the genre started to slow down. (Carpenter 1985, 210) Though the Golden Age of children's fiction continued through the Edwardian era to the time of George V, its only representatives in the last phase were A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* and Arthur Ransome's *Swallows and Amazons*, because the decline of children's fiction had already started. (Egoff 1988, 111, 115) Therefore, the fantasy books published in the 1930s, P. L. Travers' *Mary Poppins* (1934) and J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (1937), did not attract too much attention (Ray 1982, 17), though *The Hobbit* was praised in the columns of *The Times* by Tolkien's friend, C. S. Lewis. (Carpenter 1977, 182) The Golden Age children's books were mostly considered masterpieces. Their successors could not offer their readers such enchanting fantasy worlds as the works of the Golden Age. In Carpenter's opinion, Milne's contemporary, Hugh Lofting already presented too easy solutions and too predictable plots in his Doctor Doolittle books (the series started at 1920), while Travers' *Mary Poppins* books are based on one idea only, a nanny with supernatural powers. Tolkien's *The Hobbit*, for its part, comes from a very different starting point in comparison to the pre-war fiction. Its dangerous and threatening world could not have been created without the author's dreadful experiences in the trenches. (Carpenter 1985, 210-1)

In some cases, children's fiction written after the Golden Age did not aim at creating anything new. On the contrary, the contemporary works often reused the splendid inheritance of their predecessors. Many references to Golden Age children's fiction can be

found, for example in Travers' *Mary Poppins* books. Mary's self-love and cold heart have been compared both with Barrie's Peter Pan (Nodelman 1989, 8-9) and Nesbit's Phoenix. (Egoff 1988, 123) Staffan Bergsten has also noticed other similarities between Peter and Mary: the names (both the Darling and the Bank boys are called Michael and John), the significance of the parks (Peter's Kensington Gardens and Mary's Hyde Park) and the professions of the fathers (both work in the City). Travers' children experience their adventures independently without their parents just as the characters in Nesbit's books, though they have Mary as a guide to the magic world. Mary Poppins also has connections with the nonsense of Alice. Middle-class manners and tea parties, where the characters may run into odd creatures, are important in both books, and the saying "A cat may look at a king" has a significant role both in Alice and in *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943). Mary Poppins books, nevertheless, lack Alice's cruelty and absurd linguistic games. (Bergsten 1978, 11-2, 9)

Robert Leeson has argued that during the period between the two world wars, quantity was preferred over quality, and economic profits were stressed. In his opinion, the position of children's literature was poor and unappreciated. (Leeson 1985, 110-1) The situation was, however, very complex. To some extent, it can be explained by the changing book market, but because of the changes in society we should also stress the youngsters' new reading interests in the 1930s. Sheila G. Ray states that in the nineteenth century it was fairly common to read ordinary children's fiction until the age of ten or eleven, after which youngsters started to read adult books, like the novels of Charles Dickens or Sir Walter Scott. In the 1930s, however, the discussion about the changes in the literary field, such as the coming of modern literature (e. g. Joyce, Lawrence and Woolf) during the previous decades, was lively. It also included a lively discussion about the rapid progress of popular fiction and its influence on growing children. Something new was needed and so the time seemed right for the kind of literature Enid Blyton wrote: popular fiction for both boys and girls. (Ray 1982, 17-9)

The adventurous detective stories of Blyton and her successors started to divide the literary field in a new way. Unlike Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction, Blyton's books did

not divide audiences according to their sex, but according to their age group, which can be seen in their themes, plots and image of the world. In most of Blyton's books, independent children experience adventures without their parents (Shavit 1986, 99), which appeals to older children. The vocabulary and partly magical image of the world of Blyton's books are very similar to the children's own. (Tucker 1981, 106) All these elements guaranteed an enormous popularity for most of her books among older children. For that reason, older children read them, while fantasy literature was reserved for the younger ones. As a genre, fantasy fiction lost some of its importance. It was no longer discussed as children's popular fiction (e.g. Blyton's books), which partly led to its weakened position.

Step by step, fantasy began to regain its significance by making the necessary changes. The first sign of it was Tolkien's *The Hobbit*, which presents a new side of the genre, the quest fantasy, which was already introduced by Walter de la Mare's *The Three Mulla-Mulgars* (1910). (Crouch 1962, 19) However, *The Hobbit* had a special quality as a children's story written after the Great War, when the worship of heroes disappeared, and so, according to Humphrey Carpenter, Tolkien questioned the familiar ethics of children's fiction by presenting the major character of the novel, Bilbo, as an anti-hero, a thief and a traitor. (Carpenter 1985, 11) In Jack Zipes's opinion, the novel also warns of the coming of the Second World War. (Zipes 1991, XXVII)

The Hobbit continues the grand tradition of the Golden Age as a representative of fantasy literature, but it does not reuse the old material, though it certainly has some familiar characteristics (e. g. the protection of the pre-industrial paradise and the traditional way of life. (Blount 1974, 279-80) It turns towards significantly older tales. Ying Toijer-Nilsson has stated that unlike *The Lord of the Rings*, *The Hobbit* lacks a sense of humour and characteristics of horror. Its milieu scenes are closer to folk tales than fantasy. Toijer-Nilsson notes Tolkien's splendid knowledge of Beowulf and other Northern mythologies, and the similarities to the Edda in the narration of *The Hobbit*. (Toijer-Nilsson 1981, 66, 71) Similar references can be also found in *The Lord of the Rings*¹⁴.

A characteristic, which appears in Tolkien's works, but was not present during the Golden

Age, is the illusionary reality, which was created by invented family trees and maps, and by calling the story a "history". (Kocher 1972, 2) According to Ann Swinfen, this is a typical quality of the new fantasy fiction. She points out that it is often provided with specific "scientific" details, and a mythological, historical and geographical context that older fantasy fiction completely lacks. (Swinfen 1984, 75) The new fantasy also commented on contemporary society more forcefully than the older fantasy did. Zipes has noted that, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, a political approach, which was seen as early as the 1930s in *The Hobbit*, was common in fairy tales and fantasy. (Zipes 1991, XXVII) Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* is also a good example of the first signs of this phenomenon. In Alison Lurie's opinion, the political geography of Tolkien's Middle-Earth suggests a map of Western Europe in the 1930s. The Shire is located in the north-west, like rural England, while further in the east the conditions become more unsettled and dangerous. On the right-hand side, in the location of Germany and Italy, there is a region of terror and desolation. Tolkien himself has denied all allegorical meanings, but the presence of the political circumstances before the Second World War, however, seem to appear, in his works. (Lurie 1990, 1957-8)

Tolkien's books strengthened the readers' expectations of a new Golden Age, which was to come in the 1950s. Robert Leeson places the Second Golden Age roughly between the 1950s and the 1970s (Leeson 1985, 120), while Sheila G. Ray estimates its duration more specifically from 1958 to 1974. (Ray 1982, 17) Several masterpieces were written during those decades, and the 1950s, especially, was a period as important to fantasy fiction as the Victorian age, as it was in Finland, where fantasy fiction had just begun to flourish. During this period, Mary Norton began her Borrowers series (in 1952) and C. S. Lewis wrote the Narnia books (1950-6), which are both seen as such impressive works that it is almost difficult to give other authors enough credit (Crouch 1962, 117). However, Philippa Pearce created her splendid *Tom's Midnight Garden* (1958) and Lucy Boston's *The Green Knowe* stories (from 1954) during the same decade.

Most of these books have links with the First Golden Age. For instance, Pearce returns to the Edenic gardens of childhood, while, according to Margaret Blount, the Borrowers'

world resembles a mouse society, where relations with the human race bring destruction along with them. The Borrowers can be also compared in their humorous vandalism and borrowing with Margery Sharp's *The Rescuers* books (1959-62), published a few years later. (Blount 1974, 165, 160) Similar ideas were presented, however, as early as Beatrix Potter's books (vandalism in *The Tale of the Two Bad Mice* and people as a threat in the character of Mr MacGregor in *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*). Hence, too, a line can be drawn from Potter to Norton, who both upheld the same tradition which links Norton with Potter and can be traced to contemporary Finnish children's literature as well. Threatening human beings were also present in the representatives of the age, such as Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* or Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*.

The Borrowers, which was originally the author's imaginative childhood invention¹⁵ (Norton 1977, 68) live in a world very different from those in the First Golden Age stories. Their surroundings are frightening and full of dangers. Kerstin Auraldsson has pointed out that, during the course of the series, the safe world of the Borrowers, described in the first book, has vanished. The new situation has led the Borrower family to struggle in order to survive in the threatening reality (Auraldsson 1992, 50). Thus, the Borrowers' society has parallels to our own. In the 1950s, the terrors of the War were still present in the Western consciousness, and *The Borrowers* can be considered a commentary on the Holocaust. (Swinfen 1984, 191; see also Kuznets 1985, 201-2)

On the other hand, *The Borrowers* offer an adult reader a glimpse of a child's point of view. In older literature, the miniature people of *The Borrowers* have several predecessors in the dwarfs of the fairy tales, the shrinking Alice after she has drunk the magic liquid and the Lilliputians in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, a book, which was intended to be a political satire, but which ended up being read by generations of children. Tiny characters have always fascinated children, because like the readers themselves they are so much smaller than adults. (Rees 1990, 4) Norton builds a bridge between children and adults in *The Borrowers*, just like Boston's *The Children of the Green Knowe*, where the main character is searching for connections between the past and present. (Reynolds 1994, 39) Pearce, also, links both the generations and the time periods. Some authors of the Second Golden

Age follow in Edith Nesbit's footsteps, because, for example, the fantasy books of Boston and Pearce offer a similar interaction between the past and present as Nesbit's works. (Hollindale & Sutherland 1995, 267) In several respects, the Second Golden Age fantasy fiction therefore itself leans on the old tradition, while at the same time seeking new alternatives and solutions.

New alternatives are seen particularly clearly in the radical changes in the values which dominate society. Fantasy literature in the 1930s¹⁶ did not change them, but, on the contrary, it even strengthened the traditional approach, which is seen, for instance, in Tolkien's books, where a reader can notice the rigidity of social relationships. (see Zipes 1979, 155) There are several cultures in Middle-Earth; the hobbits, for example, live in an agricultural society, while the dwarfs are miners. The different groups also speak different languages¹⁷. (Swinfen 1988, 84-5) Thus, Tolkien's Middle-Earth is a class society, where boundaries cannot be crossed. Travers' *Mary Poppins* books, too, take place in a class society; the Banks family has several servants and middle-class manners mark their behaviour.

However, new fantasy fiction offers fresh options. Norton's *The Borrowers* can be analysed as a fine example of the changing values. Lois R. Kuznets considers it an emancipation story of the family's daughter, Arrietty. (Kuznets 1985, 201-2) In Margaret Thomas' opinion, she is offered two opposite feminine roles by her mother Homily and Aunt Lupy. Later, Norton also introduces two different candidates for Arrietty's husband; Spiller, practical but not much of a thinker, and his opposite Peagreen. In the end Arrietty, who is both practical and a thinker, chooses her own way. (Thomas 1992, 43-7) The major characters are representative of the working class, though other social classes also exist. (Rees 1990, 5)

After a few decades of regression, fantasy fiction regained its position in Britain after the Second World War. The new children's fantasy fiction of the Second Golden Age flourished, especially in the 1950s. This time, however, the stress was not only on British, but also on translated, fantasy literature. While in Britain the tradition was renewing itself,

elsewhere the works of the Golden Age had just been discovered. Marcus Crouch has stressed, in his study on children's literature from 1962, *Treasure Seekers and Borrowers* that some of the best post-war fantasies came not just from the Continent but from the Nordic Countries. He especially praises Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi Longstocking* (Pippi Långstrump 1944; translated in 1954) and Tove Jansson's Moomin books (translated from 1950) (Crouch 1962, 18), which were among the first signs of the flourishing of Finnish children's fantasy fiction.

2.6. Connections between Victorian Children's Literature and Modernism

Along with the renewal of British children's literature, it is time to discuss the change that the First Golden Age caused in the field of modern literature. The links between Modernism and children's literature have, in fact, a long tradition. In Jay Livernois' opinion, the entire concept of Avant-Garde grew from a childlike spirit. In several respects, Avant-Garde artists tried to return to the time before Rationalism (Livernois 1989, 137-40), which for its part was, paradoxically enough, the era when the new concept of childhood was created. Livernois mentions Arthur Rimbaud and Alfred Jarry as writers, who were inspired by children's fiction, but she also notes that Guillaume Apollinaire was the first Avant-Garde author who wrote for children. She particularly stresses the child-like characteristics of Dadaism, and considers Gertrude Stein an impressive childlike writer. In 1939, Stein wrote a children's book called *The World is Round*. It tells about an imaginary journey of a little girl called Rose. In the narration, Stein broke the conventions of syntax in order to create a rhyming, fantastic effect. "Rose is a Rose is a Rose" is a well-known sentence in modern literature, but it is very rarely connected with children's literature. (Livernois 1989, 137-140)

In Britain, the most significant authors of the twentieth century have been involved in the creation of connections between Victorian children's fiction and modern literature. T. S. Eliot's poetry has significant intertextual connections with Carroll's Alice, but they have also been traced between Eliot's poetry and Burnett's *Secret Garden* (see White 1972, 74), or Burnett's book and D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. (see Plotz 1994, 15) More essential examples can be found, however, from the works of writers who also

actually wrote children's fiction. Virginia Woolf wrote her own parody of early Victorian moralist tales called *The Widow and the Parrot*¹⁸. It is a story, full of black humour, where the widow's supposed greediness is first punished by her home being burnt down and, finally, by the death of the two title characters. Nevertheless, *The Widow and the Parrot* has no intertextual references to the representatives of the Golden Age as do Woolf's novels for adults.

Juliet Dusinberre has noted that Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, *Freshwater*, and *The Voyage Out*, for instance, have significant links to Carroll's Alice. *Freshwater*, for instance, presents Watts' - whose *Divine Songs* cannot be ignored, when we approach Alice - and Tennyson's imaginary conversation to the reader. This is connected to the discussion between Alice and Humpty Dumpty in *Through the Looking-Glass*, where the characters argue about the difference between the meaning and significance of a poem Alice has read. Alice defends the practical view, while Humpty Dumpty approaches the language in a poet's terms. In Dusinberre's opinion, the mad metaphors of Wonderland's grown-ups and Alice's inability to understand them partly encouraged Woolf's generation to rebel against the Victorian morals and its lessons, which were often taught using complex metaphors. The young writers wanted, however, to revitalise the language and to open new windows on unknown experiences. The discussion between Alice and Humpty Dumpty blurred the limits between literal and literary, and offered new alternatives to the writers. (Dusinberre 1987, 108, 187-8, 158, 223, 277)

Joyce's texts, too, had intertextual references to Carroll and children's fiction. Joyce, like Woolf, is not too well-known as a children's author. In 1936, however, he wrote, a story called "The Cat and the Devil" for his grandson Stephen. It is based on a legend about a bridge over the River Loire. Janet E. Lewis has noted some differences between the old tale and Joyce's version. In the story, the Devil demands that the narrator cross the bridge first and give his life as a tax to the Devil. The Lord Mayor of Beaugency, however, appears with a cat, which he chases across the bridge with a bucket of water. Joyce has replaced the lord mayor with Dubliner Alfred Byrne, who was at the time his colleague. The Devil that Joyce has created speaks mostly Bellsybabble, a language also mentioned in *Finnegans*

Wake. Bridges have their own, special meaning not only in "The Cat and the Devil", but also in *Finnegans Wake*. (Lewis 1992, 812-3, 805-6)

These are not, however, the only connections *Finnegans Wake* has with children's fiction. Grace Eckley has noticed that there are also references to fairy tales. For instance, the cat theme of "Dick Whittington and His Cat" has similarities to the story Joyce wrote for his grandson. (Eckley 1985, 94) Eckley links *Finnegans Wake* with nursery rhymes, but stresses the role of Carroll's Alice. The most evident reference to Alice in *Finnegans Wake* is the importance of Humpty Dumpty and his way of interpreting and recreating the language. Joyce's interest in Humpty Dumpty inspired him to call his hero, who has a rounded figure, Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker. We should note, however, that Humpty Dumpty appears in nursery rhymes, with which *Finnegans Wake* also has intertextual relations. Joyce was very attracted to Carroll's riddles and other linguistic games. The Mad Hatter's¹⁹ unanswerable riddle "Why is a raven like a writing desk?" is related to the impossible questions in *Finnegans Wake*. (Eckley 1985, 85-6, 68, 82, 73) In some respect, the paradoxical but strict logic of nonsense also appears in Joyce's works. Bonnie Kime Scott has mentioned that the connections with classic mythology in Joyce's works were interpreted as representations of order by both Eliot and Woolf. (Scott 1995, 146) Humphrey Carpenter, for his part, has described Carroll's Alice as a representative of Classicism instead of Romanticism, because its order and logic are extremely strict (Carpenter 1985, 58). Like Alice, Joyce's books, too, maintain their strict classic order, which in itself is as paradoxical as in Alice.

Only a limited number of the connections between Alice and Joyce's complex masterpiece have been mentioned here. As Eckley has remarked, Joyce's approach to the adult matters of the Alice books shows a positive attitude toward the problems of growing up. (Eckley 1985, 68) In this sense, the world of *Finnegans Wake* approaches children's ideas about the world.

Tracing the connections between Victorian children's fiction and modern literature may seem difficult, perhaps even futile. It is, however, important to introduce them before

moving onto the field of Finnish literature, because the interesting connection between the two fields of British literature appeared in Finland during the same decade. This is not only a coincidence, but a new bridge between them, which gave birth to the Finnish expression of fantasy fiction.

3. Breakthrough

3.1. Pre-war Contacts between British Literature and Finnish Culture

When fantasy fiction had already become a significant part of British literature, it was still rather controversial in pre-war Finland, where some critics were hostile towards it. Fantasy was considered subversive literature, which gave children a deceptive world view. Mandi Granfelt's striking criticism regarding Peter Pan gives us an image of the most cutting contemporary ideas about the genre:

This book is evidence of the sad fact, how little writers understand that even a young child needs nutrition for his soul and has a right to such. It is a product of a limitless imagination where people, animals, fairies, Indians and pirates are combined in a strange mixture resembling a confusing dream. A grown-up provided with common sense can find no leading idea or meaning in the book. Beautiful thoughts and noble action, so necessary for a child's sensitive mind, are almost completely lacking. The illustrations, though, are good and plentiful. (Granfelt 1922, 111; M. S's translation)

Unlike fantasy fiction, fairy tales were considered a significant part of national folklore, and thus their reception was usually more positive.¹ Representatives of foreign fantasy literature, like Hoffmann's *The Nutcracker*, Selma Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* and the English classics of the Golden Age, were all still translated into Finnish.

It should be noted that, in spite of Topelius' views, the hostile approach towards fantasy fiction was not present in Swedish-speaking literary circles in Finland. Carroll's works inspired the Swedish-speaking authors in Finland before other Nordic writers in the 1920s and 1930s. This is no wonder, since *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was translated into Swedish (1870) decades before Swan translated it into Finnish (1906). (Aejmelaeus 1996, 36-7)

The Finnish author, Lisa Cawén-Heikkinen writing in Swedish is considered the first Nordic nonsense writer (Aejmelaeus 1996, 36-7). She reuses Carroll's tradition in her *Ulla, Museman och negertrollet* (1926, Ulla, Her Mouse and the Golliwog), where the journey to the secondary world is as sudden as in Alice. Margit von Willebrand-Hollmerus, in turn, wrote *Filurer i päls* (1934, Woolly Rascals) and *Filurer på resa* (1936, Rascals on a Journey) following in Milne's footsteps. Solveig von Schoultz, too, entered the toy world in

Nalleresan (1944, *The Teddy Bear Journey*). (Lappalainen 1979, 92-3)

The importance of nonsense was strong in the works of the contemporary Swedish-speaking authors (Aejmelaeus 1994, 44), but like another novelty in the Finnish literary field, modern free-verse poetry, nonsense did not enter literature written in Finnish properly before the late 1940s. Thus only Tove Jansson's works, which clearly are products of the post-war thinking (see Chapter 5.1), can be connected with Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s, although several humorous examples from earlier literature written in Swedish can be found. They uphold the tradition of the British Golden Age, but their ideas, because they are expressed in Swedish, represent a different way of thinking to that of contemporary Finnish-speaking literary circles.

Though Finnish children's fiction itself had particularly strong ties to the German *Märchen* tradition, the translations of the latter half of the nineteenth century strengthened the position of English fiction. Thus, it was able to challenge German literature. Riitta Kuivasmäki states² that of all children's literature published between 1851 and 1899 in Finnish 26.3% was of German origin, while 26.5% was English. Other languages, like Swedish (3.7%) or Russian (0.2%) were left far behind. The figure for original Finnish³ children's literature was 21.2%. (Kuivasmäki 1990, 94-5) The total number of children's books published was, however, rather low (955 books in almost 50 years), which may make the statistics unreliable. The number of children's books published varied from year to year.

The importance of English literature itself, though, is not a surprise. The idea of the significance of German literature has been greatly exaggerated, as German culture had a strong influence in Finland. English literature was noted, however, as early as J. V. Snellman's writings, published in the first half of the nineteenth century. He praised both the American J. F. Cooper and Charles Dickens of Britain⁴ (see Karkama 1989, 67-8, 242-3) and his ideas maintained their significance even well after the Civil War. Hence it is no wonder that English literature was also appreciated.

Some of the literature written in English was, of course, originally British, while some was American. Eija Eskola has studied the translations purchased for Finnish libraries between 1880 and 1939. Her study concerns literature for both adults and children. The statistics show that, as early as the 1880s, of all the translated literature bought for public libraries, 23.7% was of British and 10.5% of American origin. In the 1890s, the position of both British (3.9%) and American (9.8%) literature declined drastically, but translations of British origin regained their position in the next decade (20.4% *versus* USA 2.3%). British literature maintained its strong position in the 1910s (23.1%), 1920s (17.4%) and 1930s (15.4%), while the importance of American literature grew (15.4%, 12.9% and 18% respectively). In comparison to translations from English, the translations from German simply could not compete (the highest number ever was 11.4% for the first decade of the nineteenth century studied). The position of Swedish literature was, however, rather strong (on average 16.5%), but could not compete with English. (Eskola 1991, 26, 29, 47, 58, 75, 92)

According to these numbers, the translations from English became rather successful. All kinds of English literature was translated and purchased for libraries, but realistic children's stories were preferred by critics over fantasy literature. Eskola notes that in the *Arvosteleva kirjaluettelo* literary reviews for libraries between 1903 and 1909, Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Coolidge's *What Katy Did*, Sewell's *Black Beauty* and Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* were mentioned as examples of good literature for children. None of the books on Eskola's list belong to the genre of fantasy literature. It is also concentrated on American literature, which continued its triumph in the next decade.

British fantasy literature was not seen to be suitable. When Carroll's Alice was translated into Finnish (*Liisan seikkailut ihmemaassa*) in 1906 by the famous children's author, Anni Swan, it was not a commercial success. Although Granfelt reviewed the translation of Barrie's *Peter Pan* unfavourably in 1922, it was still purchased for libraries. In Eero Salola's review of Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* (*Vellamon lapset*, translated in 1931 by Lyyli Vihervaara) and Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* (Nalle Puh, translated in 1934 by Anna Talaskivi) both books are criticised as too difficult and too intellectual for children. (Eskola

1991, 45, 59) Salola, however, gives Kingsley's book some credit, because, in his opinion, it has some similarities to Topelius' works:

The ABCs of understanding the numerous phenomena of nature, especially those which take place in water, are presented in Kingsley's book in the form of a fairy tale. Simultaneously, the author makes a powerful effort to mould the infant's personality. One can almost find Topelius' spirit in this book. (Salola 1931, 100; M. S's translation)

Milne does not earn this kind of praise, because Salola considers his book boring for children. Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* was almost the only representative of fantasy literature, which received a positive review in *Arvosteleva luettelo*. In some other reviews, like those in *Valvoja*, it was praised for its splendid description of the Nordic countryside (Erich 1907, 415-7; Suolahti 1908, 647-8), which has always been an important element for Finns. At this point, we should note that the writers of *Valvoja* were not too keen on stressing the contemporary ideas of the harmful effects of fantasy fiction on a child's development, and thus the critiques of fantasy literature were more positive in *Valvoja* in general than, for instance, in *Arvosteleva luettelo*. In the latter, some German books also received discouraging reviews (for example, Kyllikki Nohrström's critique of Wilhelm Busch's *Max and Moritz*, originally published in 1865, Kalle Väänänen's translation from 1918). (Eskola 1991, 55, 72, 76, 73, 91) In several cases, the criticism towards both British and German literature, unlike American children's books, was negative. British literature gained, nevertheless, more fame and readers than the German, and thus won a place in the hearts of the Finnish readership.

Alice and the essence of nonsense also interested Finnish critics in the post-war era. Yrjö Niiniluoto stressed the Englishness of nonsense in his article about Alice in *Valvoja-Aika* in 1936. In his opinion, the famous English common sense is turned into illogical nonsense in the depth of Englishmen's souls. He stresses that nonsense is essentially present in most of the English culture, and examples of it can be found in Shakespeare's plays as well as in music halls. (Niiniluoto 1936, 172, 174) Thus nonsense unites both the elite and popular cultures. Niiniluoto's remarks did not arouse great interest in the genre, and it took more than a decade before nonsense started to be successful in Finnish literature. When it did, the nonsense features were very well presented in the literature of the period.

Some of the most significant representatives of the Golden Age literature were not, however, translated before 1949, when both *The House at the Pooh Corner* (Nalle Puh rakentaa talon, translated by Annikki Saarikivi) and *The Wind in the Willows* (Kaislikossa suhisee, translated by Eila Piispanen) were introduced to the Finnish reading public. The critics approached them rather differently. Kyllikki Nohrström praised Grahame's *Wind in the Willows* in *Arvosteleva kirjaluettelo* as a book written by a true lover of nature and stressed its humanity. (Nohrström 1950, 31) Kauko Kula, in his positive review in *Valvoja*, considered it a masterpiece, which was primarily written for children, but which also gave pleasure to grown-ups. (Kula 1950, 237) In her review in *Arvosteleva kirjaluettelo*, Anja-Kaija Kärävä paid attention to the intellectual characteristics in *The House at the Pooh Corner*, and considered them too difficult for a child to understand. Simultaneously she gave credit for the humorous text and illustrations. Kärävä also praised it as a book, which was a great experience for both an adult and a child reader, when read aloud. (Kärävä 1949, 58-9)

Similarly as translations of British literature gained, albeit temporarily rather controversial, publicity in the pre-war era, the interest in British culture was growing. The relations between Finland and Britain were, after all, rather close. Erja Saraste has mentioned that in addition to Germany, pre-war Finland had strong economic ties with Britain, and thus the cultures of these two countries were admired. (Saraste 1994, 86) At the same time, the contemporary situation in Finland was followed in Great Britain.⁵

The interest in British literature grew partly from the shaping of the national identity in Finland after the founding of the new republic. Language had a significant role in this process. In patriotic circles, the importance of Finnish was stressed, while at the same time there were attempts to diminish the significance of Swedish. International relations were also considered important. Therefore, there was a growing interest in the English language. Elsa Enäjärvi (1901-51), a folklorist and Anglophile, suggested in 1929 that compulsory Swedish should be replaced by English in schools. In Enäjärvi's opinion, the importance of German was weakening, and learning English would be a fine opportunity for Finland to

create firmer relations with the rest of Europe. She justified her ideas with several international examples; according to Enäjärvi, the interest in the English language and culture had already established its position in Sweden, Norway and Germany. She suggested, however, that German should still be taught in schools (Enäjärvi 1929a, 5-8) - obviously because it was supposed to be favourable for Finns for political reasons. Such an opinion, replacing compulsory Swedish in schools by English, was also more commonly present among the Tulenkantajat (Torchbearers)⁶ group with which Enäjärvi was involved.⁷ Her idea was, nevertheless, to bring Finland into contact with the Anglo-Saxon culture, and thus mould it into a modern country. In some respects, she denied the historical status of the Swedish language.

Enäjärvi's ideas concerned the contemporary literary field, and she stressed the great amount of high quality literature written in Britain and North America. (Enäjärvi 1929a, 5) The success of translations from English in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; show, however, that the importance of English literature had been discovered long before Enäjärvi's pamphlet. At any rate, her role as a guide to English culture and literature is undeniable. In her writings, Enäjärvi mentioned modernist texts, which would not be translated for several years, and some sides of English culture, which were rather unknown to Finns in the 1920s.

In her travel book *Vanha iloinen Englanti* (1929, Merry Old England) Enäjärvi presented her views about England more widely. She vigorously attacked the idea traditional in Finland about England as an old-fashioned, backward country. On the contrary, she believed England was a fascinating mixture of old and new, and the leading country for modern culture. Enäjärvi, involved with the Modernist Tulenkantajat movement, particularly stressed the modern, cosmopolitan aspects of London. Her praise of the London Underground compared to the other European metros (Berlin, Paris) almost reaches futurist heights. She used the word "cubism" in her description of the East End and emphasised the multiculturalism of the area.

Interestingly, Enäjärvi accentuated the role of England as the leader of modern literature.

She drew attention to E. M. Forster and Virginia Woolf, and, while ignoring James Joyce's Irish origin, Enäjärvi raised him to the role of the pioneer of modern literature in England. (Enäjärvi 1929b, 7-8, 43, 81-2, 99, 106, 35, 357-8) Unlike the author Aino Kallas, who describes Joyce in her diary, after meeting him in the Pen Club in London, as mentally insane (Kallas 1978, 467-8), Elsa Enäjärvi had a positive image of Joyce. She concentrated rather on Joyce's works than his looks. In her travel book, *Vanha iloinen Englanti*, she calls Joyce the pioneer of Modernism. She also compares Virginia Woolf's texts with Joyce's works and wished that she could have met both Woolf and Forster on her journey to England. (Enäjärvi 1929b, 35, 357-8) Although Enäjärvi introduced these writers to the Finns in her books as early as the 1920s, they did not awaken much interest in Finland. In fact, their works were translated very late into Finnish. Forster's *A Passage to India* was translated in 1928, but *Howard's End* as late as 1953. Joyce's *Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man* was translated in 1946, but both *Ulysses* (1964) and *Dubliners* (1965) had to wait their turn until the 1960s, when the young poet, Pertti Saarikoski, seized the task. Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* was translated in 1956, but the rest of Woolf's works were not available in Finnish before the 1980s. This does not mean, however, that Finns would not have read them in English.

Enäjärvi considered England as a leader of modern literature, and stressed the rising importance of American literature (Enäjärvi 1929a, 5), while Olavi Paavolainen and Lauri Viljanen also wrote critical reviews about American literature⁸. Typically only entertainment literature, like the novels of Edgar Rice Burroughs or Zane Grey were translated, but more serious literature was available in English. (Koivisto 1992,48-50) Paavolainen praises American poets and novelists, like Ezra Pound and Sinclair Lewis in *Nykyaikaa etsimässä* (In Search of the Modern Time), but, in the case of drama, he considers America the world leader because of Eugene O'Neill. (Paavolainen 1990, 142) It was, however, still French literature, which was considered the most significant in pre-war Finland.

Though Enäjärvi's interest was evidently concentrated on modern literature for adult readers, she also made some remarks about children's stories. Enäjärvi paid attention to J.

M. Barrie as a playwright, and describes both the play about Peter Pan and the character's statue in Kensington Gardens. (Enäjärvi 1929b, 236, 10-2) Her remarks about Barrie can be linked with her interest in English children's theatre. She introduced the topic to Finns with a positive tone in the magazine, *Suomen Kuvalehti*, in December, 1927. In her article, Enäjärvi paid attention to both the traditional "Punch and Judy" shows and modern theatre performances for children. (see Enäjärvi 1992, 133-6) In addition to Peter Pan's Kensington Gardens, she also praised the English garden in general and described it as an ideal milieu (Enäjärvi 1929b, 10-2), which approached the ideas often presented in Golden Age fiction.

Enäjärvi was not, however, the only Finnish Anglophile, who was willing to share her experiences of pre-war England with the reading public in her country. Several other Finns visited Britain as well. Aino Kallas, Seere Salminen, Sirkka Gustafsson and the famous traveller, Olavi Paavolainen, were among them. Elmer Diktonius, a modern Swedish-speaking poet, described London after his visit as a terrifying place because of its commercialism, but he also found the seeds of Modernism and the opportunities for progress in its chaos. (see Karkama 1992, 208-9) Kerstin Bergroth and Laura Soinne, both well-known writers of books for the young, joined the travellers' club, and Tyyni Tuulio, who was of great importance to children's and adolescent's literature both as an author (for instance, *Marja-Liisa harjoittelee* 1943; *Marja-Liisa practises*) and translator (for example, Finnish translations of Barrie's *Peter Pan* in 1922 and Travers' *Mary Poppins* in 1936), also had an opportunity to become familiar with British culture.⁹ Tuulio is, however, better-known as a translator of French literature.

One of the most important visitors to Britain in relation to children's fiction, was, nevertheless, Helmi Krohn (1871-1967), who had inherited her interest in children's literature from her family. She was the daughter of Julius Krohn, who wrote the first selection of *Kunstmärchen* in Finnish (see Chapter 1.3). Helmi Krohn's brother, Kaarle was a significant folklorist, and her sisters Aune Krohn and Aino Kallas translated children's literature just as she did. Helmi Krohn also edited the children's magazine *Pääskynen* (The Swallow) together with children's author Anni Swan from 1907 to 1923. Helmi Krohn and Aino Kallas, who is even better known as an author, were both also Swan's personal

friends.¹⁰

Helmi Krohn's wide knowledge of English culture was basically due to her journeys there. Aino Kallas, married to an Estonian diplomat, lived in London. She kept a diary where one can learn that her sister visited her at least in May 1926, May 1927 and November 1927, when she participated in a breakfast, which was arranged by Kallas for members of the local Pen Club¹¹. (Kallas 1978, 432, 602, 626) Krohn had, however, become familiar with English culture by then. She had visited England as early as 1905, when she participated in an English-language summer school. Her next visits were in 1922 and 1926, and her book *Englantia oppimassa* (Learning English) was based on her impressions during these visits. (Krohn 1931, 5-7) Before 1929, Krohn had only spent time in London, Cambridge and Oxford, but during the years 1929, 1930 and 1932 she toured around Britain, including Scotland, lecturing about Finland and Finnish culture. In 1946, she wrote her book *Järvien, vuorien ja sankarien maa* (The Land of Lakes, Mountains and Heroes) about this journey. (Krohn 1946, 6-7)

Helmi Krohn was an industrious writer for adults. Her children's books, the Hipsuvarvas series, should not, however, be ignored. These small stories about fluffy animals, like rabbits, mice, puppies and squirrels, take place in the heart of the forest. In most of them, animal children leave their homes because of adventures, but in the end they return. All the books in the Hipsuvarvas series were written in the 1920s, and they were among the first Finnish children's stories, which had a strong intertextual connection with British children's fantasy fiction. This can be especially seen in their relation to Beatrix Potter's works, not least because both writers concentrated on telling tales about animals in the farm yard or the forest. Potter's tales were not yet translated into Finnish, but due to their popularity in Britain and Krohn's broad knowledge of English culture it is evident that she knew them. The setting of the books of both Potter and Krohn is very similar; the animals live in a confusing world surprisingly full of dangers. (Saukkola 1996, 117) Both authors have also rewritten old fairy tales. Potter's *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* can be seen as a rewritten version of *Little Red Riding Hood* (Lane 1978, 157; MacDonald 1986, 111) and so can Krohn's *Untuvakerä* (1929, The Cotton Ball), which is a story about a little rabbit,

who is chased by an old fox. It lacks the seduction theme of Potter's story (Carpenter 1985, 149), but otherwise it corresponds to the traditional fairy tale. The world of Krohn's stories is also similar to Potter's in that moral lessons are not taught to children. For instance, in *Hipsuvarvas autiolla saarella* (1925, Tip-Toe on a Deserted Island) the main character runs away from home, but when it returns, it is celebrated as a hero instead of being punished. Such a view is also found, for instance, in *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*.

The position of the Hipsuvarvas series is, however, very difficult to estimate, because its origins are impossible to trace completely. To some extent the books in the series are adaptations from English literature. For instance, *Pupujussi Gulliver* (Bunny Rabbit Gulliver) is based on Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and *Hipsuvarvas autiolla saarella* on Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Even the illustrator behind the lovely, black and white drawings has stayed anonymous. The original publisher, a small company called Lasten tarulinna (Children's Fairy-tale Castle) could not guarantee their fame, but, in 1942, one of the leading publishing houses in Finland, WSOY, reprinted the whole series. This brought them fame, and might have even encouraged contemporary children's authors to move towards fantasy fiction. At any rate, new editions of the Hipsuvarvas series are still being constantly published.

Helmi Krohn, like other members of her family, was a keen translator of children's fiction. Her first translation was of F. H. Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Pikku lordi*) in 1892. It was followed by translations of, for instance, Wilde's *The Happy Prince* (*Onnellinen prinssi ynnä muita kertomuksia* 1907) and Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (*Intian viidakoista I ja II*, 1898 and 1909). Her work as a translator was not limited to English literature, because she also translated, for instance, Topelius' historical novels (1896-7), Andersen's stories (1905) and the Grimms' fairy tales (1927).

Enäjärvi, Krohn and other writers mentioned in this chapter were not the only guides to English culture and literature in Finland, though Krohn's significance regarding children's fiction should be underlined. They are, however, examples of the pre-war Finnish Anglophiles, who made British culture better-known in Finland and thus helped build the

intertextual relations between the literatures of the two countries. Their work explains, at least partly, the growth of Finnish interest in Anglo-Saxon culture.

3.2. Changes in the Finnish Literary Map in the 1950s

3.2.1. Disappointment and Despair

The Second World War drastically changed the intellectual atmosphere in Finland. The losses in the war not only caused a depression, but also awoke dreadful fears because of the destiny of the other European countries, which had either been allies of Germany or had a common border with the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the pre-war ideals had lost their value in people's minds; they were no longer reassuring, but caused ironic amusement and frustration, as some of the contemporary books, Olavi Paavolainen's war time diary *Synkkä yksinpuhelu* (1946, Gloomy Monologue), for instance, show. Kai Laitinen describes the contemporary Finnish situation as an inflation of values (Laitinen 1967, 125). The rest of the Finnish literary map naturally also reflected this despair in many respects.

The crisis can also be seen in the field of children's literature. Pre-war literature for the young was usually linked with older traditions. Children's fiction was strongly connected with German *Kunstmärchen*, and fairy tales were dominant in the literature for younger children. In the early 1940s, however, the quality of the fairy tales began to decline. Realistic children's stories were on the rise, while, at the same time, fairy tales started to be predictable and uninteresting. (Lappalainen 1979, 149) It was only a few years, however, before fairy stories started to rise again. The first significant milestone was Yrjö Kokko's (1903-77) *Pessi ja Illusia* (1944, The Earth and the Wings¹²), which is a love story of two extremes, a little pessimistic forest troll and an utterly optimistic fairy from the rainbow. Kokko wrote the first version, when he was an army officer and sent it to his children as a Christmas gift from the battlefields. Later on, Kokko corrected this version and illustrated it with his nature photographs in order to publish it. Kokko's book is connected with the tradition of poetical nature description, typical of Finnish literature, especially of Topelius' and Swan's stories (Lappalainen 1979, 117).

As a text *Pessi ja Illusia* is modern in the sense that it differs from all the children's stories

written before in Finland. The narration does not resemble a traditional fairy tale in any sense, but instead presents the entire circle of life by means of an imaginative story. As a veterinarian, Kokko had his own, particular way of approaching nature. He considers nature itself to be the theme, not just a setting or an object of poetical description as it had earlier been. He is as much a biologist as a poet. Kai Laitinen has connected Kokko's later nature book *Laulujoutsen* (1950, *The Swan*) - also illustrated with the author's impressive photographs - directly with the heritage of *Pessi ja Illusia* (Laitinen 1981, 482). Laitinen has also remarked that, in spite of the connections to international trends, Finnish literature of the 1950s in general bound itself to Finnish culture by describing the local rural landscape with its forests and fields (Laitinen 1967, 200). Kokko's modern children's story, *Pessi ja Illusia*, published as early as 1944, was already part of the trend.

The new way of describing nature was not the only novelty Kokko's novel brought to children's fiction. Its image of the world and the connections with the contemporary situation also distinguished it from earlier children's books in Finland. The world of *Pessi ja Illusia* is, at the same time, full of wonderful miracles of nature and the terrors of war. It is a dualist entity, where human evilness represents the dark side, while the wisdom of nature represents hope and the future. Different layers make its world more interesting, convincing and real. Such multi-facetedness is a typical characteristic of new fantasy (Swinfen 1984, 122), which makes Kokko's work an exceptional pioneer of modern fantasy. In many respects, it is ahead of its successors, which still clung to the models of the First Golden Age. *Pessi ja Illusia* is an exception, because it is a product of war, as will be later emphasised. It was not only created to entertain young readers, but to unite different age groups and social classes as an antidote for the war. (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2000, 266)

Kokko's novel differed significantly from earlier children's literature. Though fairy tale novels, like Aili Somersalo's *Mestaritontun seikkailut* (1919; *The Adventures of the Master Elf*) had been published before, Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* is something different. It does not have British characteristics typical of the Golden Age, which can be found in later children's fiction, nor does it follow the pattern of a fairy tale either. It is a fantasy story

with a plot of its own. Similarly to contemporary British fantasy fiction, Kokko's book reflects the author's ideas of the political situation. This, too, was a relatively new phenomenon, since, as Eija Eskola has noted, previously literature with politically strong opinions was generally rejected by the critics in Finland. For instance in the 1930s, books both defending and criticising the Third Reich were rejected by the literary critics. (Eskola 1991, 88-9) Kokko's book does not give strong opinions, but rather reflects contemporary feelings. Whilst doing this it does not, however, stay neutral in its attitude towards the war.

In *Pessi ja Illusia*, there are three kinds of stories: the love story between the major characters, the small stories about nature inside the framework of the narration, and the story of the war. Kokko's book in no sense escapes the harsh reality, but instead makes an effort to stress the rare beautiful things left in the chaotic situation. It emphasises the trauma instead of running away from it, which was another approach to the depressing situation. The writer himself has noted in his memoirs, *Sota ja satu* (The War and the Fairy Tale) that his book needed the extreme conditions of war in order to be created:

The reader might think it very strange that I created a story about a fairy and a troll under the circumstances of war. Ordinarily people think, tourists are sometimes even made to think, that a poet wrote his verses "Sua lähde kaunis katselen..."¹³ (I am looking at you, beautiful fountain) sitting by a spring, and perhaps hurried afterwards to a hill in order to write the verses of "Kalliolle, kukkulalle rakennan minä majani..."¹⁴ (On the cliff and on the hill I will build my cottage) in his notepad.

As a civilian, I often thought that I should write a children's story about nature, which was, as I then thought, a familiar topic for me. It is, in a way, very strange that my fairy tale needed a church destroyed in the war, a greyish-brown bunch of prisoners with no hope, a frosty night, the booms and the muzzle flashes of the guns before its philosophical and lyrical tone was born.

/.../ Before I started to write, I decided that the events of the book would be situated on the war front. A troll and a fairy on the front! I was a pessimist, but I was still constructing all kinds of hope, how the Finnish people could be rescued by the surprising fate. But how could I bring the war and the soldiers into a story book? That question was not easily solved. Everything should come naturally instead of deliberately and jerky. I had to find the troll and the fairy such as they were hiding in the depths of my fellow soldiers' souls. (Kokko 1964, 43, 73; M. S's translation)

Kokko's memoirs reflect the same experiences of the war, to which he had given poetical

expression in *Pessi ja Illusia*. The bond between these two works is undeniable, and thus the latest of the two films based on *Pessi ja Illusia*, especially, uses material from *Sota ja satu*.¹⁵

Yrjö Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* is a lovely novel, where reality, no matter how hard it is, lives on the edges of the fantasy world. It brought hope in the middle of destruction and, at the same time, also showed children's literature a new direction. Along with it, Anglo-Saxon literature, especially British fantasy fiction, started to consolidate its position in Finland. The phenomenon was also seen elsewhere. The tradition of the German *Kunstmärchen* had intertextual connections with children's literature in pre-war Finland, while post-war German readers chose a similar literary direction to the Finns. According to Hans-Heino Ewers, English fantasy classics, in particular, were popular in Germany after the war, but paradoxically enough, in comparison with earlier phases, Nordic literature, particularly Astrid Lindgren's and Hans Pettersson's books also had a significant position. (Ewers 1996, 741) Nordic authors no longer followed German examples, but approached British fantasy fiction, and were thus also read in Germany.

There has always been significant differences between Swedish and Finnish literature, but traditionally changes in Swedish literature were followed by those in Finnish. The 1940s was a decade of forceful change in Swedish children's fiction. Realistic children's stories lost their position to fantasy literature. Gösta Knutsson's *Pelle Svanslös* (Tail-less Peter), already published in 1939, pioneered this trend. Lena Kåreland connects Knutsson's story about a cat society to Beatrix Potter's tradition. (Kåreland 1994, 75) But Lindgren's Pippi Longstocking, and Jansson's Moomin books, as representatives of Finnish literature, also joined the fantasy movement. (Barnbokens väg 1987, 22-3) In Lena Kåreland's opinion, modern children's literature started in 1945 with Lindgren's and Jansson's works mentioned above, because both neglect didactic ideas. Instead they stress a strong child figure.¹⁶ (Kåreland 1995, 34) Kåreland's idea might be exaggerated, but it works with the Nordic children's fantasy fiction written after the Second World War. Jansson's position as a bridge builder cannot be exaggerated, because as a Swedish-speaking Finn, who had also lived and studied in Stockholm, she smoothly adapted the changes in Swedish children's fiction

to Finland. Thus the phenomenon of Finnish children's literature approaching English fantasy fiction was not unique, but part of a larger development in several countries.

Disappointment and despair were present in the entire literary field in Finland in the 1940s, as well as the following decade. The following chapters will present some fascinating example of children's literature in the 1950s, which also function as indicators of the sceptic atmosphere as do some adults' books. They skilfully reflect the disappointment of the period, but also offer hope.

3.2.2. New Road towards Anglo-Saxon Modernism

The pre-war era had been, on the one hand, a period of enthusiasm about the new, modern world, while, on the other, still linked to the old tradition. Modern poetry, which had entered the Swedish-speaking field as early as the 1910s (e. g. Edith Södergran, Elmer Diktonius, etc.), did not enter Finnish-speaking literature before the turn of the 1940s and 1950s. Though the Tulenkantajat group spoke up vigorously about Modernism and changed the form of their poetry, their image of the world was still rather conventional. Literary connections with German culture were then still more noticeable than the importance of modern English literature (Lappalainen 1990, 80-1), though English fiction was rather popular in Finland. In some respects, modern ideas had already been introduced to Finnish readers by authors from neighbouring Nordic countries - Ibsen and Strindberg, who, along with the German Modernism, were a good generation ahead of the Anglo-Saxons in this matter (Bradbury & McFarlane, 37), but German Modernism was very different from Anglo-Saxon Modernism, which attracted attention in the 1950s.

In the 1920s, Expressionist characteristics coloured Finnish Modernism. The Modernist movement, after the Civil War, started with the journal *Ultra*, which resembled a pamphlet in its avant-gardist essence. Two different literary movements were created: the internationalist Tulenkantajat group and the nationalist expressionists (e. g. Toukokuun ryhmä/ The May Group). The Expressionist concept of art was an idea typical of both groups, but, especially after the mid-twenties, the ideas of Nationalism and Internationalism divided literary circles into two separate camps. (Lassila 1987, 84-6, 93,

97-8)

Pre-war modern literature was thus avant-gardist Expressionism and differed greatly from the post-war approaches towards Anglo-Saxon Modernism. In the pre-war era, the starting point was usually an idea about the modern life style. Instead of renewing the form of writing and thinking, it concentrated on introducing new ideas about modern life and politics. Pertti Lassila stresses the extraordinary nature of the trend by emphasising the lack of criticism. Instead of being criticised by the dominating circles of the cultural life, usually a characteristic typical of the avant-garde, the representatives of the trend were considered the first generation of poets of the independent nation and hence welcomed as ambassadors of the future. They also commented on the contemporary political atmosphere, which was not done by the Modernists a few decades later. (Lassila 1987, 109-10)

Though America was seen as a modern nation and, to some extent, economic and even cultural relations with Britain were close (Saraste 1994, 86), both American and British literature mainly stayed in the shadows, because the models of the Expressionists were often German. English

Modernists Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, Lytton Strachey, James Joyce and even T. S. Eliot were briefly mentioned in the *Tulenkantajat* review, but this was mostly due to Elsa Enäjärvi's work; other young writers involved with the group often ignored or even mocked English culture and literature for its old-fashioned characteristics.¹⁷ In addition to the importance of German culture, we can also note the significance of French literature, since Finnish writers usually went to Paris in order to seek the essence of Modernism in the 1920s (cf. Lappalainen 80-1).

The characteristics of the modern culture were often emphasised, for instance in journalism. One of the qualities stressed most was the urban lifestyle. Tuija Takala has stated that in the 1920s the concept of urbanism was mentioned in all possible, and even in impossible, connections in cultural journals. Often this enthusiasm was very naïve. It was

full of childish eagerness to find a new way of expression, almost like the child-like spirit of DADA, which was described to Finns in the 1920s by Olavi Paavolainen in a passage from his book, *Nykyaikaa etsimässä*:

DADA - it is a sweet, international word, which reminds us of other similar words like "Papa" or "Mama". You have to become children once again in order to find the beauty of the world and to learn to approach everything humbly that exists there. Learn to be naïve again. (Paavolainen 1990, 116; M. S's translation)

Paavolainen was, however, one of the very few writers, who also noticed how superficial and naïve the ways of approaching Modernism often were. Although he still praises the fever of Modernism of the 1920s in his reminiscences of the poet Katri Vala in 1944, he had, nevertheless, criticised it much earlier, in his collection of essays *Nykyaikaa etsimässä* (1929, In Search of the Modern Time). He argued there that most Finns, especially the Finnish-speaking ones, do not even understand the true meaning of the word "modern". (Hapuli 1995, 9) Even later the terminology remained hazy, and one of the leading literary critics of the time, Lauri Viljanen, continuously criticised the inexact meaning of the terms "modern", "Modernism", and "Modernist" in his writings of the late 1940s and 1950s (Lappalainen 1993, 164).

The eagerness to change and renew the cultural field in the 1920s was fierce. Due to the national trauma caused by the Civil War in 1918, Modernism was welcomed because it represented a new start. (Takala 1990, 59,56-7) Traumas caused a need for change, and though one does not wish to draw accidental parallels between one age and another, the situation after the Second World War accelerated the progress. Unlike before, during and even shortly after the War, when some voices rose (for instance Olavi Paavolainen¹⁸) to criticise the contemporary situation, the aim in the late 1940s and early 1950s was to find new literary forms.

After the war the situation started to change. The generation gap began to widen, and the first signs of it were seen particularly in poetry. In the 1950s, two camps were formed on the literary scene and the most controversial debates between them took place in 1951, 1956 and 1957. The older generation of writers was led by Matti Kurjensaari, who stressed the national mentality and social criticism. V. A. Koskenniemi, too, belonged to this camp.

The younger ones, with Tuomas Anhava as their spokesman, wanted to write poetry, which would be considered purely as literature: texts avoiding social commentary and emphasising internationalism. A collection of T. S. Eliot's poems in Finnish translation (1949) had a particularly strong importance for younger poets. Some critics, like Lauri Viljanen, even thought that the writers were enchanted by Eliot, and hence he wished to question the situation. (Viljanen 1954, 280; Viljanen 1955, 239) Representatives of the older generation, like Paloheimo, the writer of *Tirlittan*, accused Anhava, ironically, of misleading the innocent, young poets (Paloheimo 1960)¹⁹ and only a very few writers of the younger generation, like poet Pentti Saarikoski, silently questioned Eliot's dominant position and Anhava's passion for Eliot's poetry. Saarikoski, who started as a poet in 1958, noticed at an early phase of his writing career that the idols of the Finnish Modernists were considered dusty traditionalists by the contemporary young writers in England. However, he supported Anhava and his ideas on the renewal of poetry (Tarkka 1996, 243), though he later turned towards Joyce's works, translating some of them into Finnish.

Two significant representatives of Finnish modern poetry in the 1950s were Eeva-Liisa Manner and Kirsi Kunnas (1924-), who was also very important in children's literature. Kunnas started her career writing poetry for adults, but soon turned towards children's poetry and fiction, not least because of her significance as a translator of English children's literature. Kunnas has mentioned that when Inka Makkonen from the publishing house, WSOY, suggested in 1954 that Kunnas could translate *The Tall Book of Mother Goose* (Hanhiemon iloinen lipas) into Finnish, she asked Kunnas to translate the translatable verses and to write the rest in whatever way she wanted. Kunnas followed the advice (Kunnas 1985, 85), which probably had a significant role in the development of her career.

Kai Laitinen has stated that Kunnas' poetry for adults, e. g. *Tuuli nousee* (1953; The Wind is Rising) and *Vaeltanut* (1956; The Wandered), represents, in general, an unexaggerated, "traditionally modern" style, where the musical elements of the language are given attention. However, children's poetry represents fantasy literature. (Laitinen 1967, 164) It differs from Kunnas' texts for adults significantly. Her children's verses and stories have intertextual references not only to nursery rhymes, but also to nonsense texts. In poems like

"Haitula" or "Haitula ja nappi" (Haitula and the Button), the narrator leads the reader to expect a great event, which will not occur. Both poems have an open ending and their story is not at all clear. "Haitula" ends, when the title character decides to leave the scene; "Haitula ja nappi", when it stops raining. Events are rather meaningless, while playing with language is important. No wonder Kunnas knew Carroll's Alice books well - she even translated them later, in the early 1970s, together with Eeva-Liisa Manner²⁰ and for this reason the importance of Alice in her works cannot be ignored.

Manner did not write literature for children, but her texts have, however, firm intertextual connections with the Golden Age of children's fiction. Some of them are due to her interest in T. S. Eliot's works. Anna Hollsten has noted the intertextual connections between Manner, Carroll and Eliot, just as Elizabeth Sewell has compared Eliot's poetry to Carroll's nonsense. Hollsten links for instance "The Addressing of Cats" in *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*²¹ to *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* with a parodic approach to the traditional saying present in both texts: "Don't speak till you are spoken to". She continues the chain of texts with Manner's *Kamala kissa* (1976; A Horrible Cat) and *Kamala Kissa ja Katinperän lorut* (1985; A Horrible Cat and Verses from the Moggy's End), which she considers new interpretations of Eliot's work. Manner's poem, "Mörö", for its part, refers to Carroll's Alice in several places.²² The main character's name, Liisa, refers both to Alice's Finnish translation and the author herself. Madness is present as a theme as commonly as in Carroll's text. Chess, the basic structure of *Through the Looking-Glass*, is also mentioned.

In addition to *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, Hollsten also connects Manner's works with *The Waste Land*. The presence of a hippopotamus, in particular, links Manner, Eliot and Carroll together. The latter only mentions such an animal in the gardener's song of Sylvie and Bruno, but in Eliot's *The Waste Land* there is an entire poem dedicated to the animal. Manner referred to these clumsy animals in a collection of prose poems *Kävelymusiikkia pienille virtahevoille* (1957; Walking Music for Little Hippopotamuses), a short story "Hippopotamus", in which the animal character is a keen reader of Eliot, and the poem "Virtahevonen" (Hippopotamus) in the poetry collection *Tämä matka* (1956; This

Journey). In most of these texts Manner takes part in the linguistic nonsense game, which connects her to the tradition of Carroll and Eliot. (Hollsten 1995, 28-37) In her article on modern poetry, Manner writes about losing her way in the Eliotist fog and finding it again by emphasising intelligence and order instead of emotions. (Manner 1994, 9-10) It is also worth mentioning that music and numbers play an important role in Manner's works. (Itkonen 1991, 60) Manner thus similarly uses the idea of mathematical order to organise the chaos just as nonsense writers, like Carroll, use grammar.

Manner was also interested in English children's fiction as a translator. She did not, however, translate in the 1950s the Golden Age texts, with which this study is concerned; instead she translated Potter's *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin* (Nokkela ja Vikkelä) and *The Tale of Mrs Tiggy-Winkle* (Rouva Siiri Sipinen) in 1967. As mentioned earlier, she also translated Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* together with Kunnas in 1974. Children's fiction thus formed one part of her vast knowledge of literature, which she acquired during her career as a translator, well-known literary critic²³ and author.

At this point, we cannot pass Aila Meriluoto, who was also one of the leading poets of the time. Her first work, *Lasimaalaus* (1946, Stained Glass) was, exceptionally, praised by both the reading public and the critics. It is not written in free verse, but in some poems we can find efforts to liberate the poem from the strictest demands of rhyme (e. g. in "Toukokuulta", From May) The poems in the book reflect the feelings of youth after the sufferings of war. Meriluoto's work does not attack the old values, but instead tries to restore them. Hence the Modernism in her works was often questioned by leading figures of the trend in the 1950s, because she represents an older generation. (Kunnas 1981, 72-4)

Meriluoto's children's novel *Pommorommo* from 1956 is, however, something different. It is a story about children spending their summer holiday at their grandparents' place in the countryside. The story combines linguistic games typical of nonsense, and streams of thoughts, which are from a child's point of view. A child's voice in the narration links the story with Nesbit's tradition, but the connections with nonsense also link it to the tradition

of the Golden Age with Modernism. In *Pommorommo*, there are two narrating voices: those of a child and an adult. They are distinguished from each other by different sized fonts. When the narrator changes, the style also changes. Such typographic means remind us of early avant-gardism.

The best-known examples, internationally, combining children's fantasy fiction with Modernism can be found in Tove Jansson's works. Riikka Stewen has paid particular attention to Tove Jansson's picture book *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My* (Hur gick det sen? 1952; translated from Swedish by Kingsley Hart in 1953), which, in Stewen's opinion, could not have been created without the Modernist experiments at the beginning of the century, the polyphonic poetry of T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, the Cubist period of Picasso and Braque, and Russian Constructionism. It is also a typical Finnish text of the time. It does not rely on long stories with a closed ending anymore, but instead it locates an idyll next to a catastrophe. It has references to Tuomas Anhava's poetry and to its way of alienating expressions from everyday language. Jansson's book also has similarities to the various inner levels of Marja-Liisa Vartio's poems (e. g. "Vilukko" in *Seppäle* [Grass of Parnassus in The Wreath]) and Eeva-Liisa Manner's paradoxical verses. *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My* refers ironically to different genres of children's fiction, such as folk tales and moral stories. It also has references to T. S. Eliot's poetry and to his attempts to produce several levels and interpretations. (Stewen 1992, 21, 28) Jansson's little masterpiece shows a special ability to connect traditions and combine them, leading to the creation of an exceptional trend.

Jansson's book is also one of the early examples of metafiction in children's literature. The importance of the essence of the book is emphasised in both text and illustration, which is not only based on pictures, but also on holes through which a reader can see the events of the coming pages. On the back-cover, Jansson has drawn a serious-looking gentleman, who holds a pair of scissors. The drawing is provided with a text, which says that the holes have been cut by the publishing company. Similarly, the author is included in the world of the story. It is thus consciously literary, because the fact that it is fiction shows so clearly. Geoff Moss stresses the self-conscious questioning and the knowing of the literary tradition

in relation to children's metafiction (Moss 1992, 46), and both these characteristics are very clearly present in Jansson's book. The qualities of metafiction and texts, very rare in children's literature of the period, also appear in Jansson's other works for children. (see Chapter 6.2.)

The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My was very significant for contemporaries. Like the main characters of Jansson's book, the title person in Oiva Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* also travels on the edges of an idyll and a catastrophe. Textual qualities also link *Tirlittan* to the same trend which *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My* or Kunnas' tales represent. It combines elements familiar from older literature with a modern image of the post-war world. Paloheimo created his story around a nursery rhyme and thus his book continues the tradition of nonsense. Each chapter starts with a few lines of a rhyme, which gives a condensed account of the events of the next few pages. Although Paloheimo uses the Victorian tradition of nonsense, his post-war story takes place in a modern, confusing dream world. The old tradition is thus adapted to a new situation.

The texts did not follow Victorian ideas despite adopting the tradition of the Golden Age of British fantasy fiction. On the contrary, Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s reacted to the contemporary literary and aesthetic debates, and reflected its own age and society. The combination of the Golden Age tradition and modern features underline its nature and essence as modern, contemporary literature. Kunnas and Manner were two representatives of the younger generation of the poets, who united the traditions of Victorian children's literature and Anglo-Saxon modernism together in an extraordinary way following in T. S. Eliot's footsteps. Meriluoto, as a representative of the older generation, joined them with her *Pommorommo*, just as Jansson and Paloheimo, who also combined the two trends together. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to claim that these writers gave children's fiction of the 1950s its particular essence.

In Britain, modern literature rebelled against the Victorian views, but the Golden Age tradition of children's fiction offered them new alternatives for their literary expression. Thus the bridge between Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction and modern literature

is undeniable. In Finland, however, writers mainly discovered both the Golden Age fantasy fiction and Anglo-Saxon Modernism as late as the post-war era.

3.2.3. Cultural Atmosphere of the 1950s

The 1950s was a decade of change in many respects in Finland. Certainly the 1940s had turned everything upside down, when men had to go to the battlefields, while women were struggling on the home front. Although the war ended in 1945, the latter part of the 1940s was still characterised by its consequences. The late 1940s was a period of fear; Finns were terrified by the destiny of other Eastern European countries, when the Soviet Union took them over. The situation was calmer in the next decade. Peace had continued for years giving people security. Even the economic situation started to improve. Rationing ended in the early 1950s, which had a strong influence on the life of ordinary people.

The coin had another side, however. Not everyone had recovered from poverty, and the position of the workers was still rather miserable. Such problems came to a head in the general strike of 1956. Other strikes were also fairly common. Economic growth was not assured, either. In the late 1950s, for instance, Finland went through both an economic slump and a devaluation, which did, eventually, boost exports and helped the economy to a new height.

To a large extent, the 1950s was a decade of returning to normal after the war, a decade when building the new society started. 1952 celebrated the new beginning. In that year, the last train carrying war reparations left Finland for the Soviet Union. In the same year, two other remarkable events took place which came to symbolise the beginning of a new era. Miss Finland, Armi Kuusela, was elected the most beautiful woman in the Universe. Without doubt, this was the best medicine for the inferiority complex Finns had suffered from after having been depicted as Mongols during the earlier decades of the century by other Europeans. In 1952, the Olympic Games, too, were held in Helsinki. They should have been held in 1940, but the outbreak of war caused them to be postponed. The Olympic Games were much more than just a sports event, because they also brought a glimpse of internationality to Finland. The opening of the new Helsinki airport

strengthened this feeling.

Along with the rest of society, the position of children was also improving. Contemporary children's literature presented extraordinary rebels, a new kind of child figure, who did not exist in reality. Finnish children of the 1950s were still supposed to be obedient and well-behaved, not too extrovert and bold. The war, however, changed the position of children. New ideas on education and raising children started to arrive in Finland. At the same time new methods of teaching, like Montessori, Steiner and Reggio Emilia gained a stronger foothold elsewhere in Europe. The 1950s was also the decade when youth culture came to Finland, which also liberated younger children to some extent.

The development naturally had an impact on arts and culture. In this respect, the 1950s was a lively decade. Two great cultural debates took place during it: the battles between the traditional and the modern, and light entertainment and educational purposes. The former first concerned poetry, then prose. New winds were blowing from abroad, mostly from the Anglo-Saxon world, and they especially inspired young poets, who had a very different view of poetry compared to their predecessors. The battle between high and low culture was more general, and so films and popular music were also involved. The so-called Rillumarei (Trala-lala-lalaa) humour was popular among ordinary folk, but despised by educated people. The issue of popular culture was also an omen of the coming invasion of American culture. Popular culture of the 1950s was home-grown in Finland to a large extent, but American cultural products were growing ever more popular. Meanwhile, at the same time as high culture was undergoing change, low culture challenged it in popularity.

The entire cultural field was changing along with children's literature, which was trying to find a new form, but its progress also correlated with the changes described above. It established relations with both elite and popular culture, and examples of these connections can be found in all the children's literature of the period. But it also went through a unique development. Modern Finnish fantasy literature in the 1950s was an interesting combination of foreign influences and domestic tradition. Consequently, the entire concept of children's literature was undergoing change; traditional fairy tales, which usually had a

clearly educational message, lost their popular position to modern fantasy fiction, which aimed at amusing and feeding a child's imagination. A comparable development had happened in Britain almost a century before, but now its fruits were imported to Finland to be refined into a more modern form. The elements of British fantasy fiction were also used by some modernist poets, like Eeva-Liisa Manner (1921-1995), which also built a bridge between children's fiction and other representatives of the contemporary culture.

The term "children's fantasy fiction" may evoke in the reader's mind an idea of a genre isolated from contemporary reality. Children's books of the 1950s were, however, to a large extent reflections of the contemporary atmosphere. They often mirrored the experiences of the previous decades, as did the realistic novels for adults, like Väinö Linna's famous war narrative, *The Unknown Soldier*, published in 1954. Children's fantasy books, too, like Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* or Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Puuhiiset* were portraits of the contemporary confusion. True, a decade had passed since the War, but the traumas were still there. Hence, the 1950s was a decade of recovering from, and discussing, these traumas. Perhaps for this reason the scars of Finnish history - both the Civil War and the Second World War - were also studied by historians in the 1950s. (Kallio 1982, 42)

Walter Benjamin has discussed the experiences of the First World War in his essay "The Storyteller". In his opinion, the experiences were first repeated orally, but then, ten years later they were poured out as war novels. Benjamin does not rate these later interpretations too highly in comparison with the oral stories, because a story-teller communicates with his or her audience and surroundings, while the novelist works in an isolated state. In oral story-telling, the memory creates a tradition, which passes important knowledge and tales from one generation to another. (Benjamin 1970, 84, 87, 98) Neither the modern children's fantasy fiction nor the adults' books of the 1950s served as collective memories but as instruments of individual experiences because of their literary nature. They did, however, analyse the feelings of the age and individual memories just like the novels mentioned by Benjamin.

Interest in international models and Modernism was seen in the cultural atmosphere of

the 1950s. Still closely linked to the culture of the previous decades, there were, however, attempts at renewal. Just as the form of Finnish poetry was recreated in the 1950s in order to be used in future decades (Kunnas 1981, 195-7), modern fantasy fiction for children also started its triumphal invasion during the same era. The contemporary fantasy fiction in Finland was, however, woven together with the older Finnish children's literature. By concentrating on its past in Finland and especially abroad, it can be noted that it forms one part of the vast cultural net, where nothing is completely new. Everything is connected to everything. Hence, the past of children's fantasy fiction lies in the past of the older genres. Defining the modern essence of the genre requires a great leap into the past: into the history of fairy tales and folklore.

4. Importance of Popular Culture

4.1. Finnish Popular Culture and Children's Books

The success of popular culture in Finland started to challenge the privileged position of the elite culture in the 1950s. The coming of popular culture was seen especially clearly in areas, which were then considered marginal (e. g. the film industry). The older art forms also started to create connections with popular culture, which was mostly supposed to be aimed at ordinary folk.

Finnish entertainment was flourishing especially in the 1950s. Numerous evergreens were created in popular music, but literature, too, was involved. Although Väinö Linna's *Tuntematon sotilas* (1954; *The Unknown Soldier*, translated into English in 1957) was not a typical example of popular literature, the novel and Edvin Laine's film version of it (1955) became very successful by interpreting the feelings of ordinary soldiers. Pauli Manninen has noted that its sense of humour, sometimes coloured with very dark shades and originating from the war time, is very similar to the Rillumarei films. Both the novel and the films have ordinary country people in a main role. Rough humour is also typical of both. (Manninen 1996, 85, 87-8, 92) The Rillumarei films, in turn, are a series of comical, even vulgar adventures of the rural folk heroes - or possibly anti-heroes. The events are not woven into the dramatic scenario of the war like *The Unknown Soldier*, but are mostly just humorous. This is why *The Unknown Soldier* has never been connected with Rillumarei humour. The war seemed to be far too serious a topic to be linked with the entertainment of the 1950s. (Manninen 1996, 85)

Such cultural products as *The Unknown Soldier* or the Rillumarei films are typical of the era just as modern poetry is, though it is a case of two extremes. The Rillumarei films just had more significance among ordinary people than the new poetry. Hence, Matti Peltonen describes the 1950s as equally the era of the breakthrough of Anglo-Saxon Modernism and the era of Rillumarei humour. This odd situation caused a conflict, which can be even described as a cultural war. The strong attempts to censor entertainment for the ordinary people and thus improve their taste, and the popularity of the Rillumarei films and other such cultural products formed the two camps in the war. (Peltonen 1996, 7-9) Cultural

commercialisation was also seen as a threat, especially by the former side, which is referred to in *Toiset pidot tornissa* (Another Banquet in the Tower)¹, an edited conversation of the contemporary cultural leaders. Popular culture, or the entertainment industry, as it is called in the discussion, was supposed to be producing low-quality, commercial products. They were supposed to be consumed by the man in the street, who did not have such a sophisticated taste. The participants in the conversation emphasised the controversial position of popular culture in relation to the elite culture, and considered it, in fact, a novelty, which had not appeared before. (*Toiset pidot tornissa* 1954, 117-21, 92-3) Its significance is not denied, but the Rillumarei culture, especially, is considered unilaterally tasteless:

Mr. Doctor: /.../ Another, even more irritating narrow-mindedness, is seen in the comical horror of the devotees of the elite culture, living in their ivory towers, when they realise that The Fighting Capercaillies, the Rovaniemi Market film and other such horrible things really exist. Or, in other words, the masses, these hordes of folk and the supporters of culture, provide themselves with art at their own level, perhaps even with scholarship like that of Konsta Pylkkänen. /.../ Eliot and others of his kind should appear, but in addition to them - if we now stay at the Finnish level - artists like Waltari, Merikanto and Gallen-Kallela, who speak to almost all the people, are needed. (*Toiset pidot tornissa* 1954, 92-3; M. S's translation)

Popular culture soon replied and started to mock the elite culture. Sakari Heikkinen mentions Helismaa's film *Hei Rillumarei!* (Hey, Trala-lala-lalaa!) as an example; all forms of Modernism from music to literature and from theatre to visual arts were classified as pretentious games in the film. (Heikkinen 1996, 315)

The controversial situation did not suddenly appear, but had a long history. Popular culture was not born in the 1950s as was commonly thought. It flourished especially powerfully during the war, when, according Maarit Niiniluoto, entertainment was considered a necessary change from the depressing reality of the soldiers and the home front. (Niiniluoto 1994, 121, 134) In the late 1940s, the attempts to improve people's taste appeared. It was seen especially in the publication of art magazines, like *Taiteen Maailma* (The World of Art), which was published between 1945 and 1953. Its purpose was to help ordinary people discover culture and educate themselves on their own terms. (Mäkinen 1998, 169, 179-181) The entertainment industry had to face many problems such as the entertainment tax,

moralising ideas and discouraging reviews. However, it maintained its firm popularity among the masses so steadily that even the flood of American entertainment in the next decade did not push it completely aside. (Niiniluoto 1994, 137-8)

The inevitable arrival of American popular culture was, however, predictable in the 1950s. Finns admired American culture, and so much attention was paid to films, music and fashion, especially among teenagers. Finnish society had become urbanised in the 1960s, but the first signs of this trend were seen in the 1950s. One of these early signs was the success of pop culture, both Finnish and American. Industrialisation had already started to speed up and rural unemployment, caused by the new machinery becoming ever more common each year, drove people to the towns and cities, though the mass movement did not really get underway before the 1960s. Antti Alanen notices that the change from traditional folklore to modern pop-lore happened at this time. Thus it preceded the final changes in the social structures. (Alanen 1991, 19-22) Finnish entertainment of the 1950s often seems to represent traditional folk culture, but it was produced, however, by professionals instead of romanticised folk. In the 1950s, however, both Finnish and foreign entertainment was purely pop-lore because of its industrial origins.

The cultural war between entertainment and elite culture separated the two camps, but marginal areas, such as children's fiction, had connections with both sides. In addition to Modernism, children's fiction also had several characteristics in common with popular culture. Children's literature did not have to choose its side in the battle, because it had a marginal position. Though it had the special task of educating children, it was very rarely considered important enough to be the main target of the critics. Art critics were more concerned about the new forms of popular culture such as comics, which had their own golden age in the 1950s, than about children's fiction itself, as this passage from *Toiset pidot tornissa* shows:

Mrs. Author: I would wish to return to the question of morals. Entertainment for children is the most immoral form of the entertainment industry. And it is a widespread and active form. Those miserable comics. What a large number of them exist, if you have not seen children devouring them, you would not even suspect it. And how horrible the comics are! Their language is completely dreadful. All kinds of brutal exclamations, which can even frighten an adult. And the children learn and

adopt them to a surprising extent. And no-one can say that children could sublimate their violent feelings by looking at these pictures. No, they really want to try to see how it feels to hit someone in the face.

(The Poet: What shall we do? - Mr. Manager: Have Mrs. Author and the others of her age read any Indian books?) The Indian books are a completely different thing. For instance, Cooper's books are works of pure art. But the suggestive marketing of comics, for example, in daily papers - the children greedily read these advertisements, which tell them to ask their father or mother to buy them comics! And the influence of the advertisements on children is amazing. That is what I call immoral! (*Toiset pidot tornissa* 1954, 133; M. S's translation)

Children's fiction did not choose its side. It sometimes referred to popular culture, but it also both followed the ideas of the elite culture (see previous chapters) and mocked its representatives. A parody of a pompous dramatic play in Tove Jansson's *Moominsummer madness* (1954) is a splendid example of this. The Moomins, encouraged by the old theatre rat Emma, become interested in elite cultural theatre and decide to write and perform a play without actually knowing anything about the subject:

Moominpappa was rewriting his play. Misabel was crying.

"Didn't we tell you that we both wanted to die in the end!" exclaimed the Mymble's daughter. "Why should only she be eaten by the lion? The Lion's Brides, we told you. Don't you remember?"

"All right, all right," Moominpappa answered nervously. "The lion shall devour, first you and lastly Misabel. Don't disturb me, I'm trying to think in blank verse."

"Have you got the family matters right now, dear?" Moominmamma asked worriedly. "Yesterday the Mymble's daughter was married to your runaway son. Is it Misabel who's married to him now, and am I her mother? And is the Mymble's daughter unmarried?"

"I don't want to be unmarried," the Mymble's daughter said at once.

"They can be sisters," cried Moominpappa desperately. "The Mymble's daughter is your daughter-in-law. I mean mine. Your aunt, that is."

"I doubt it," remarked Whomper. "If Moominmamma's married to you, then it's impossible for your daughter-in-law to be our aunt."

"It's all the same to me," cried Moominpappa. "There'll never be any play to perform, anyway!"

"Easy now, easy now," said Emma with unexpected understanding. "Everything's going to be all right. And anyway the audience won't understand a word". (Jansson 1955, 120-1)

The passage from *Moominsummer Madness* distinguishes the different groups of the cultural debate in Finland in the 1950s. Emma is a critic, who is willing to educate the people and to shape their taste. Moominpappa, in his turn, is a modern poet, enchanted by the idea of the new form of poetry, which, however, he does not understand. His character

can also be interpreted in an opposite way; the tragic turns of Moominpappa's play resemble opera librettos, which are often considered old-fashioned, pompous and elitist by ordinary people.² The audience, the small beasts of the forest, are uneducated folk, who would like to see the sweet story of Sleeping Beauty, but instead they are watching a tragedy, which they do not understand at all.

Kirsi Kunnas, too, has commented ironically on elite culture and modern poetry in her rhymes for children. In "Haitulan laulu" (Haitula's song) from *Tiitiäisen satupuu* Kunnas writes: "jos muistuttaisin Tuomasta/ lakkaisin lauluja luomasta" (If I resembled Tuomas, I would stop creating songs). Her comment refers to Tuomas Anhava, who vigorously criticised old-fashioned poetry and its rhymes. According to the critic Pekka Tarkka, who mingled in the same artistic circles as Kunnas and Anhava did in the 1950s, the rhymes were born in a debate between the two poets in a café. (Tarkka 1996, C1) Kunnas mocks Anhava using the rhymes he has criticised. Her poem questions the presumed superiority of modern poetry, typical of the age, and asks, whether it should be preferred to jolly rhymes. The poem also concerns herself, and is thus a personal declaration of her choice:

Veisaisinpa virsiä
jos muistuttaisin Kirsiä. (Kunnas 1988, 43)

(I would sing hymns,
if I resembled Kirsi. [M. S.'s translation])

This idea has been justified by Kunnas' statement, where she called the character Haitula her inner voice, who interrupts the most philosophic feelings of the writer by saying something rude and unsuitable. (*Kirsin satupuu* [Kirsi's Fairy-tale Tree] 1997) The fictional character of Haitula helps the author disagree with the dominating literary ideas around her.

Connections with films, mainly considered entertainment in those days, built a bridge between children's literature and popular culture. The humour in some of the contemporary children's texts has similar lines to the films of the 1950s and the connections between children's literature and the film industry were, in fact, rather significant during the period.

Film versions were made of some children's books (for instance *Pessi ja Illusia*, directed by Jack Witikka in 1954; *Tirlittan*³, directed by Maunu Kurkvaara in 1958) and the topics of both children's fiction and the family films of the time had similarities.

Examples of similar topics to the film industry can be found for instance in Marjatta Kurenniemi's works. Her *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* (1954) introduces a gallery of amusing types, who are also present in the Rillumarei films. For instance, Siiri Angerkoski's Mimmi, the comical caricature of a dominating mature woman in the films is replaced by Sarana-Saara in Kurenniemi's books. Both women are also obsessed with getting married.⁴ Päivi Lehto-Trapnowski finds similarities between the exaggerated world of comics and the most famous Rillumarei film, *Rovaniemen markkinoilla* (Rovaniemi Market), in her analysis, which also creates a link between popular culture and children's literature. In Lehto-Trapnowski's opinion, the whole pattern of the film can be compared to Disney's *Donald Duck* comics. The heroes of the film are like the brave boy scouts Huey, Dewey and Louie fighting against the Beagle Boys. The female figures in the film find their models in Daisy Duck (Hulda of Kemijärvi), Magica de Spell (The Beautiful Sylvi) and Mad Madam Mim (Mimmi of Muhos). (Lehto-Trapnowski 1996, 147) While Lehto-Trapnowski's idea is exaggerated, we cannot deny the fact that the simple setting of the film resembles the genre of comics to a great extent. Random similarities between Rillumarei films and Disney comics can also be found. The Rillumarei films belong to the 1950s, and publication of the Donald Duck comics started in Finland in 1951. As the passage from *Toiset pidot tornissa* shows, comics were considered dangerous entertainment for children. Rillumarei films, too, were seen as poison for the development of good taste. Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* (1954) composes the traditional battle between good and evil with humorous characteristics. It resembles the ones in comics, another (partly) literary genre read by children.

More references to contemporary popular culture can be found, however. A direct link to the film industry can be seen in Marjatta Kurenniemi's *Puuhiset* (1956), where Suhusiina Yyliö, the femme fatale of the story, decides to move to Pine Goblin Land in order to become a film star. The continuous change of roles, typical of several films in the 1950s, is

also present in *Puuhiiset*: Mari's and Ari's shadows take on opposite sex roles, the servant Yyliö appears as the head of the country and Prince Plintti as a common boy, though not deliberately. Such changes are typical of nonsense and resemble the events in Alice (see Chapter 5.5.3), but they also refer to contemporary Finnish films, where changing roles is a typical theme. Lehto-Trapnowski has found such a change of roles in, for instance, *Rakas lurjus* (1955, Beloved Rascal) and *Laivan kannella* (1954, On Deck), where a woman appears as a man, and *Pekka ja Pätkä Puistotäteinä* (1955, Pete and Runt as Park Nannies)⁵, where men play women. In addition to the change in sex roles, a character also often pretends that he or she comes from a different social class; the Rillumarei hero, Severi Suhonen mingles among the upper class in *Hei Rillumarei!* (1954, Hey Trala-lala-lalaa!) and in *Lännenlokarin veli* (1952, Mr. Coolman from the Wild West), while the aristocratic main characters of *Kaksi vanhaa tukkijätkeä* (1954, Two Old Lumberjacks) or *Siltalan pehtoori* (1953, The Siltala Foreman) do hard physical work (a society girl as a hostess of a lumberjack cabin and an aristocratic gentleman as a farm foreman of a large manor). In the end, the characters return to their original positions (Lehto-Trapnowski 1996, 155-6), which also happens in *Puuhiiset*. Of other similarities to films, we can also mention Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, where a typical character of contemporary films (e. g. in *Tyttö ja hattu* 1961; The Girl and Her Hat), a circus director, a bit ridiculous in expressing his own ideas of continental charm, because of his greedy lust for money, encourages the heroine to perform as a trapeze artist "The Golden Bird"¹⁶.

The themes, too, had similarities. This is partly due to the origin of Finnish film scripts; they were usually either based on a literary work, or written by well-known novelists, like Mika Waltari. For this reason, literary works and film scripts were often in a continuous intertextual process. The connection between Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, and Toivo Särkkä's film *Pikku luutatyttö* (The Little Girl with the Broom) is a fine example. The première of Särkkä's film was in late autumn, 1958, only one month before the première of *Tirlittan*'s film version. In the same year, Nissinen's children's book *Lammenpei*, a story very similar to *Tirlittan*, was also published. *Pieni Luutatyttö* is a story about Liisa, who is sent to the city by her evil step-father to sell brooms. Liisa experiences all kinds of adventures and danger in the city, but finally she is adopted by good, childless people. The theme of the

search for a home and family is evident, and it can also be found in a third children's film of the age, Jorma Nortimo's *Pikku Ilona ja hänen karitsansa* (Little Ilona and Her Lamb, 1957), where the sufferings of an orphan girl are finally rewarded by giving her her very own family. The significance of an ocarina can be mentioned as another example of the similarities. In *Pieni Luutatyttö* and *Tirlittan* (both in the book and the film) both girls also bring happiness to their lives by playing their ocarinas. Nissinen's *Lammenpei*, where the fairy-tale girl brings magic and happiness to her own and other people's lives by playing her flute, can also be connected with these works. In addition, Paloheimo mentions *Broom City*, where *Tirlittan* finds a job in a circus. (Sihvonen 1987, 76-7)

The literature of the period, which pleased ordinary readers, also had connections to children's fiction. Linna's *The Unknown Soldier*, for instance, offers examples of mutual characteristics with children's fiction of the day. Pauli Manninen has studied the characters of Linna's novel and noticed that the ordinary soldiers, who are considered most sympathetic by the majority of readers, are usually ordinary rural people. The officers, however, represent towns and cities. (Manninen 1996, 91) The characters, who represent the countryside, the most familiar environment for the majority of contemporary Finns, were thus felt to be the most interesting ones. The case is quite similar in children's fiction. Major characters are usually from the countryside, or the events take place there (e. g. in the case of the animal or fantasy characters).

The characters in Linna's novel also express the feelings Finns had during the war towards their enemy. When *The Unknown Soldier* was published in 1954, Finland already had neutral, officially even friendly, political relations with the Soviet Union. Linna's characters, created after the war, however, reflected the feelings ordinary Finns still had in the early 1950s. The war, though lost, had not yet been forgotten, and the image people had of the Soviet Union was not always very friendly. Instead, people were rather critical and bitter. Kurenniemi's *Puuhiiset*, too, is a critical representation of the relations between the two neighbouring countries (see Chapter 5.3). The bridge between *The Unknown Soldier* and children's literature should also be noted here: the Rillumarei entertainment and its sense of humour.

When approaching the position of children's fiction in the 1950s as its own entity in literature, which, in general, had no role in the canon of Finnish texts, it can be seen, however, how significantly it was involved with the coming of Modernism. This does not diminish its connections with the popular culture. The products of the entertainment industry carried on the inheritance of the war and continued both escapism from reality and cheerful criticism of contemporary events. The war was over, but its wounds were still open in the depressing reality surrounding the Finns. Children's fiction served the same task in the minds of the young as popular culture did for grown-ups. Children, too, needed entertainment, which helped them face the harsh reality. Children's literature no doubt performed the task of developing the young readers' taste but its humour and motifs can refer as well to the intellectual jokes of nonsense, typical of Modernism as to the flourishing folk humour of the day. Because children's literature was marginal, it was possible to follow modern poetry and pop culture simultaneously. Children's literature represented a rare case, which could connect two extremes in the cultural wars of the 1950s.

4.2. American Representations of British Texts

During the same period, when British Golden Age fantasy fiction started to inspire the Finnish children's authors, Anglo-American culture started its invasion. Nevertheless, it did not conquer Finland at once. Finnish popular culture had gained a strong position especially during the war, and it successfully continued during the next decade. (Niiniluoto 1994, 134) The success of American culture could already be seen in the 1950s, though it made its definite breakthrough in the next decade. Oddly enough, even British literature was often connected with American culture in Finland because of its American representations. For instance in Tauno Karilas's introduction to Barrie's *Peter Pan* in his book of children's writers, *Robinsonista Muumipeikkoon* (1962; From Robinson Crusoe to Moomintroll), the page is illustrated with a scene from the Disney film, *Peter Pan*, (1953). (Karilas 1962, 134)

In many cases both America and Britain were interpreted in the same way both culturally

and politically for Finns. Karilas refers to both countries as "the Western democracies". (Karilas 1962, 5-6) They were connected, not only because they were the victors in the Second World War, but also since they were seen as the opposites of Germany and the Soviet Union, the former being first an ally, then an enemy and the latter an enemy in the war and still feared in Finland. Britain and America were not only connected in children's fiction, but in other cultural areas, too. The two cultures had actually always been linked together for linguistic reasons. British and American literature had been classified in Finland as one entity, English literature. They represented the America Finns admired.

Interest in British and American culture was already strong in the 1940s. Antti Seppänen and Matti Kauppi have noted that even during the war, when Britain had declared war on Finland, the Finnish music magazine YAM (published in Swedish) encouraged youngsters to listen to the BBC, because it played fashionable swing. This was only culturally significant, because the musical circles surrounding the magazine otherwise showed their loyalty to the Finnish government (e. g. by playing swing in the war hospitals). Britain, and especially America, were admired in spite of the political circumstances. (Seppänen & Kauppi 1996, 138-9) Britain was often seen merely as a bridge to the USA, and ordinary Finns did not thus clearly distinguish between the two cultures.

The 1950s was a decade of growing consumerism in Finland. Rationing ended and the advertisement business started to grow. American advertisements were considered models, though the British ones, too, gave some inspiration. (Niskanen 1996, 37-8) Cultural relations with overseas countries were often connected with the media, while direct ones were very rare. The man in the street usually experienced foreign cultures, especially American, through teen fashions and popular culture. Finns, like Swedes and many other Europeans, longed for a modern life-style, which was symbolised by material possessions. Contemporary Finland was still mostly rural and thus in a different position in terms of modern culture than some other European societies. The modern Western life-style was, however, a promise of happiness for Finns of the 1950s. (Eskola 1994, 27, 46-7)

This promise of wealth and material was, thus, also seen in Finnish children's literature. Kirsi Kunnas has mentioned that the picture in the Persil washing powder advertisement with its *mise-en-abyme* structure inspired her. In the drawing, there is a housewife doing her laundry with a packet of Persil, which has a picture of a housewife with a packet of Persil and so on. In Kunnas' poem "Haitulan hattu" (Haitula's hat) the main character buys a hat, which contains a never-ending string of rabbits. (*Kirsin satupuu* 1997) One can only wonder did the rabbits and Persil packets also represent faith in the growing wealth of the 1950s.

Finnish products still dominated the cultural market of the 1950s in terms of both films and literature. (Eskola 1994, 31) However, the enthusiasm for American products was strong. In some cases, it led to the production of Finnish adaptations. For instance, Finnish hit carousel films of the 1950s and 1960s can be mostly interpreted as tamed modifications of American rock 'n' roll movies of the time. (Hietala 1992, 8) These films were not in any sense copies, but instead national adaptations. In some respects interest towards Anglo-Saxon literature inspired authors in the same way. The stories created had intertextual relations with the British texts, but they also had typically Finnish features. (see Chapter 8)

While Golden Age texts interested Finnish authors, Americans offered easier inspirations for the wider audience. Among other products, Walt Disney's comic books arrived in Finland in the late 1930s. (Eskola 1991, 90-1) Unlike in Britain (see Crouch 1962, 56), critics did not reject them out of hand. They were, in fact, recommended for libraries because of their cheerful sense of humour. (Eskola 1991, 90-1) The Disney film *Snow White* arrived in Finland as early as 1938, and in the 1950s, for instance, *Peter Pan* (1953) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959) had their premières. Although Disney films are not always connected with the British Golden Age fiction, their popularity raised interest in fairy tales and fantasy. As Jack Zipes has remarked, Disney is not usually faithful to the older versions of the story, but adds his own elements. His versions are essentially American instead of those cosmopolitan fairy tales. (Zipes 1994, 81, 83, 87) We can say the same of his adaptations of British fantasy fiction such as Barrie's *Peter Pan*, Travers' *Mary Poppins* and Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Compared with the original texts, the Disney versions are

more superficial not usually plumbing the story's depth. On the other hand, they are not supposed to, because they differ so drastically from the original texts that they can be considered to be stories of their own. Very often they also attract the intended audience easier than the books, and thus make the literary story better-known. So, they managed to introduce British literature into Finland in the post-war era and, to some extent, encourage people to read fantasy fiction.

As an entity, the enthusiasm towards American culture also led Finns towards British literature. Admiring the Western life-style can be connected with the same phenomenon. However, no direct conclusions can be drawn. The awakening of interest in British Golden Age fiction was born out of the elements of both the elitist and popular culture. The invasion of American culture was, at any rate, a drastic change influencing contemporary culture on numerous levels.

5. The 1950s as Golden Age of Finnish Children's Fantasy Fiction

5.1. The World of Tove Jansson

Finnish children's fantasy fiction started to acquire more connections with British children's literature in the 1950s. There were some similarities to contemporary British fantasy, and thus the Second Golden Age, such as references to the political situation and to problems of society, but most links referred to the First Golden Age. This was not least because its representatives were highly appreciated in Finland. Tauno Karilas did not compile his *Robinsonista Muumipeikkoon* until 1962, but since the book presents the 50 most loved authors of children's fiction, it also reflects the atmosphere of the 1950s. In his book, Karilas presents British children's literature as an example of superior fiction:

The reader may notice quite soon that the majority of authors introduced are either British or American. This is primarily because juvenile literature was valued early on in these countries. In addition people provided with literary talents were often inspired by the atmosphere of British books, which, according to Chesterton led readers to adventures. The sweet, homely, warm atmosphere of the Victorian period also helped contemporary literature to advance. /.../ Children's literature is still in the position of a stepchild here. In the great Western democracies, however, the writers of children's fiction are as highly appreciated as the authors for adults. (Karilas 1962, 5; M. S's translation)

Karilas introduces, for instance, J. M. Barrie, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Lewis Carroll, Kenneth Grahame, Charles Kingsley and A. A. Milne among the 50 authors. The creation of secondary worlds is a dominant theme in their works. Thus, the feature also became part of the stories of the Finnish authors in the 1950s.

Undeniably, the best known of the post-war Finnish children's authors was Tove Jansson, the creator of Moominvalley. Her stories have a remarkable number of connections with British Golden Age children's books. Boel Westin compares the snowy, icy Moominvalley of *Moominland Midwinter* (Trollvinter 1957, translated by Thomas Warburton in 1958), which is strange and frightening to Moomintroll with Wonderland in Carroll's Alice. The nightmarish surroundings of *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My* are, in Westin's opinion, also related to it. (Westin 1988, 256, 221) Later, as Lena Kåreland and Barbro Werkmäster have noted, Jansson acquired new intertextual connections with Alice in *The Dangerous Journey* in 1977 (Den Farliga Resan, translated from Swedish by

Kingsley Hart in 1978) by creating a story of a journey to a foreign and threatening world, which is very different from Moominvalley, where the journey eventually leads. (Kåreland & Werkmäster 1994, 116)

Jansson's books, however, offered a gentle route away from despair. The author knew Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia*¹, but instead of enclosing the fantasy world in the contemporary reality, she approached traumas in her own way and thus brought new life to children's fiction. Jansson created a new land, Moominvalley, which is an Eden, to where both the author and readers can escape. (see Ørjasaeter 1987, 72) When a comet is threatening the whole world in *Comet in Moominland*, Moomintroll can still return home from his journey to the chaotic world surrounding his home valley, and meet his mother, as peaceful as ever, decorating a "Welcome Home" cake for her dear son. Moominvalley does, however, change along with the rest of the world. In Marcus Crouch's opinion, the Moomin books have a link to the real world of the reader. The events in Moominvalley reflect the things which happen in our own world. (Crouch 1972, 136) It is tempting to think that the fear of a comet in *Comet in Moominland* or a flood in *Moominsummer Madness* are linked to the political happenings of the 1940s and 1950s. Moominvalley is, nevertheless, a comforting world in comparison to our own. During post-war rationing and poverty, the Moomins had cakes and jam with their afternoon coffee, and the years, when the Finns feared for their future after losing the war against the Soviet Union, the Moomins concentrated on playing hide and seek, or sailing trips. The Moomin world is an alternative world and their philosophy, which stresses a liberal, tolerant approach to things, functioned as an opposite to the harsh reality of contemporary society (Laitinen 1981, 482).

Although Moominvalley itself is a safe Eden, the dangers of the surrounding world are still able to enter it. Relations can be found between the Moomins and Tolkien's Hobbits. Both live in pre-industrial paradises, which they have to protect against the surrounding evil forces. (Blount 1974, 279) The frightening world of Tolkien's Hobbit could not have been created without the horrors of the First World War (Carpenter 1985, 210-1), while Jansson's Moomin books, too, needed the Second World War to be created. They have typical characteristics of modern fantasy fiction, like the creation of a pseudo-reality by

presenting maps of the secondary world. (Swinfen 1984, 75) But more importantly, they reflect memories of the pre-war era, and the hopes for a better, peaceful future after the Second World War. In this respect, they can also be connected to the tradition of the British Golden Age. Moominvalley is the childhood Eden, while the adult world waits outside with all its dangers and challenges. Thus Jansson's Moomins, as representatives of fantasy literature, give a glimpse of a new era in Finnish children's literature.

When approaching the Moomin stories in the generic sense, we may note that they take place between fantasy and mythic tales, like Tolkien's Hobbit world or Lewis' Narnia books. (Westin 1988, 112, 99, 104) Margaret Blount connects the Moomins with the Hobbits, because both creatures populate a pre-industrial Eden, which they must protect from the evil surrounding it. (Blount 1947, 279) In the first Moomin books, *Småtrollen och den stora översvämningen* (1945, The small trolls and the great flood), *Comet in Moominland* (*Kometjakten* 1946, translated from Swedish by Elizabeth Portschi in 1951) and *Finn Family Moomintroll* (*Trollkarlens hatt* 1948, translated from Swedish by Elizabeth Portschi), which are written in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Moominvalley is described as an exotic paradise with blooming flowers, animals like monkeys and enormous shells on the beach - all untypical of Nordic nature. If we look at Finnish literature of the past, we may note that such elements were typical of the exotic visions of the Modernist writers as early as the 1920s. The first few Moomin books, like the early representatives of modern literature in Finland (see Lassila 1987, 122-3), escape to childhood and the exotic Edens of the south.

Later Jansson's paradise started to resemble the Finnish landscape. Although Moominland looked very ideal even then, it was also real to some extent. Instead of an exotic paradise, Moominland is Finnish nature by the sea. Catastrophes, however, may be borrowed from foreign surroundings. In *Moominsummer madness* (*Den farliga midsommaren*, translated from Swedish by Thomas Warburton in 1955) the catastrophe, a flood, is caused by a volcano, which has never been seen in Finland. Later in *Moominland Midwinter* (*Trollvinter* 1957, translated from Swedish by Thomas Warburton in 1957), even the disasters became more familiar. The strange thing does not have to be a comet or a flood

anymore - only winter, which Moomintroll has not experienced may feel like a catastrophe at first, but soon he learns how to cope with it.

Like Tolkien's works, Jansson's books comment on the contemporary situation. Like the situation in our own society, the balance of Moominvalley may be shaken by something dangerous or disastrous. Jansson does not, however, show the face of the evil as Tolkien does. The comet in *Comet in Moominland* presents a faceless threat, which is the war, not the enemy. Later Jansson concentrated on consoling her readers, who were surrounded by harsh reality, which lasted for years after the war: the fear and uncertainty about the future, and the lack of basic, everyday goods. Moomins brought joy to the life of the readers, but, under the surface, their survival stories in the middle of catastrophes also contained a seed of hope. In *Moominsummer Madness* and *Moominland Midwinter*, the Moomins also have to cope with natural disasters, the volcano and the flood, and the winter cold, while in *Finn Family Moomintroll* the threat is the unknown magician, who, at the end of the story, they find to be just a lonely, sad man. Similarly, Moomintroll understands at the end of *Moominland Midwinter* that instead of a disaster, winter was a great adventure which he had to survive.

In Marcus Crouch's opinion, a connection between life in Moominvalley and the ordinary world can be distinguished. (Crouch 1972, 136) This characteristic later developed to become very typical of Finnish children's fantasy fiction. Fantastic things do happen, but in an environment resembling the place where we live. The development of Tove Jansson's Moomin books played an important role in the progress of this phenomenon. In Jansson's books, the elements of fantasy fiction travelled from the colourful land of the imagination to Finnish nature over the course of time. Similarly the events, and even the catastrophes, became smaller and easier to understand. Realism had entered the fantasy, while fantasy had arrived to bring joy to reality.

5.2. Oiva Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*

In addition to Tove Jansson's works, Oiva Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* was one of the most faithful adherents of the paths of British Golden Age fantasy fiction. Though it is a Finnish

representative of its own era, it still has many connections to Victorian and Edwardian children's books. *Tirlittan's* world is a nightmarish nonsense world, like Wonderland in Carroll's Alice, but there are clear parallels leading to the primary world as well. Like other representatives of the children's fiction of the day, Paloheimo's story also keeps up a continuous dialogue with the contemporary world. This feature connects Finnish children's books of the 1950s with both the First and Second Golden Ages in British children's fantasy fiction. Imaginary secondary worlds are typical, but, instead of Edenic idylls, they are more often confusing nonsense lands created in Carroll's footsteps or animal communities following Potter's tradition.

Oiva Paloheimo's multidimensional work *Tirlittan*, was published nine years after *Pessi ja Illusia*. The author's son, Matti Paloheimo, presents, in his father's biography, the idea of *Tirlittan* as a farewell letter to Paloheimo's children during his second divorce (Paloheimo 1985, 167), but as a story of a little orphan girl's adventures in a strange and frightening world it also meant something more. *Tirlittan* wanders from one house to another, but unlike Topelius' children in "The Birch and the Star", she gets tired and never finds her original home, which has vanished in a dreadful thunderstorm. *Tirlittan* is a modern character, who differs from Princess Adalmina, the lonely wanderer created by Topelius. The difficulties Adalmina confronts during her wandering improve her nature and make her humbler, but *Tirlittan* stays a proud individual, who is sometimes dishonest and always full of vanity about her lovely, golden locks.

The situation in *Tirlittan*, though undeniably very similar to Paloheimo's own second family, was the mental, in some cases even practical, situation in early post-war Finland. Paloheimo evidently approaches the trauma of the Second World War as he had previously showed his childhood scars from the Civil War in his book for adults *Levoton lapsuus* (1942; Restless Childhood). *Levoton lapsuus* is a realistic novel with many references to Paloheimo's own life, a description about how he, as a child, experienced the Civil War, while *Tirlittan* is its substitute for his children's generation. It tells of a child's experiences in a confusing world. Thus, it is more general than *Levoton lapsuus*. *Tirlittan*, unlike *Levoton lapsuus*, does not concentrate on a particular child's view, but the main character

has features borrowed from all three of the author's children from his marriage with Sirkka-Liisa Kahiluoto, as his son Martti Paloheimo has noted. (Paloheimo 1985, 167) So *Tirlittan* is a story about an imaginary child instead of a real one. Fantasy elements illustrate the story instead of realistic events. The author's aim does not seem to be to emphasise real events, but to describe the real feelings the children had with the help of fantasy literature.

Tirlittan also offers a new kind of mental landscape, which can be compared with that of its contemporary, Astrid Lindgren's Pippi Longstocking. Klaus Doderer has stated that Pippi Longstocking was created to express the liberty and individualism in the middle of the situation, where people all over Europe, not the least in Sweden, which was neutral during the war, but whose neighbouring countries were either invaded or fighting for their independence, were frightened and shocked by the terror of the Third Reich. (Doderer 1980, 43) In a way, *Tirlittan* is Pippi's younger sister, whose independent spirit and limitless self-esteem declares her individualism in every sense. She has even been interpreted as a Finnish version of Pippi. (Sihvonen 1987, 118)

Some significant differences between Pippi and *Tirlittan* can be found, however. Firstly, *Tirlittan* was clearly created after the war, which can be seen in the doubtful, at times even pessimistic, way of describing her wandering. Secondly, unlike Pippi, whose Vilekulla is considered by Doderer a safe island or fortress against the dark forces (Doderer 1989, 44), *Tirlittan* wanders in a confusing world, where safety can be only reached by reuniting the surviving members of the family. Her wandering has connections with Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *The Little Prince*, another searcher created along with the iron storm, which was blowing over the whole of Europe (Le petit prince 1943; translated into Finnish in 1951 by Irma Packalén). (Sihvonen 1987, 118; Lappalainen 1979, 167) Both the main character of *The Little Prince* and *Tirlittan* are lonely wanderers, who wish to find a happy place to live, but instead they meet strange and selfish adults, whose values are twisted.

The traditional image of the world, typical of the pre-war era, has disappeared in Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*. Its world is full of dangers and nothing can be taken for granted. Everything can be questioned, even God. *Tirlittan* speaks to God in a highly disrespectful

manner, which also has connections with nonsense fiction and Alice's mockery of Christianity. This could not have been possible in Finland before the war, but the disaster had fed the doubts about God's goodwill and even his existence. Eija Komu has studied such writers for adults as Mika Waltari, Helvi Hämäläinen and Paavo Rintala, and concentrated on their works of the 1950s. She has noticed that the contemporary literature discussed and commented on the active, even radical theological conversation of the age. In the contemporary fiction, Christian thoughts are often present, but they are questioned vigorously. (Komu 1995, 175) *Tirlittan* was written in the same era as Waltari's *Johannes Angelos* (1952; *The Dark Angel*) or Hämäläinen's *Kolme eloonherätettyä* (*The Resurrected Three*) and though it is superficially very different from these books for adults, nevertheless, it discusses the same topics. It is a story about losses and fear, and it even has existentialist characteristics: the reader meets a lonely individual, who is thrown by a coincidence into the stream of life by a terrible thunderstorm. *Tirlittan*, though its story about an orphan girl is timeless, belongs to a certain era by its questioning ideas and vision of God, who dominates a mad world. Religion and the relationship to God had interested Paloheimo ever since his childhood (Paloheimo 1985, 37), and hence it is no wonder that he participated in the theological conversation of the day.

As in Wonderland in Carroll's Alice, *Tirlittan*'s world is populated by adults, who lack the child character's common sense, and follow rigid rules and ridiculous beliefs. Unlike Carroll, Paloheimo has replaced the animal characters by human grown-ups, whose substitutes can be found by adding some caricature features to adult stereotypes. The saleswoman at the market place is greedy, the leading police officer is a strict bureaucrat and the farmer's wife is like an efficient household machine. Though the adults in *Tirlittan* may even have, though rather rarely, goodwill, they are only able to mess up things badly enough to force the orphan girl to continue her wandering in order to find safety. In nature *Tirlittan* can live peacefully:

Tirlittan slept the following night under a stook. It is actually a very good place to sleep, if you are very tired. Tirlittan certainly was, because she had been crying and walking the entire night before, then been to prison and ran far away into the countryside. That will make one tired, even though one was Tirlittan. It was warm in the stook, and one could smell the homelike aroma of bread. Therefore, Tirlittan decided to make the stook her home. She did not have a home now, after the

thunder had hit the table with its fist and, therefore, she had to organise these things herself. True, the stook was rather small and there was neither a reading light nor anything to read. But the golden sheaf was such a sweet bed that she did not need anything else. She hugged the sheaf and imagined it was her mother. /.../ - Good night, said the crow. It, too, was a lonely orphan. But so was nearly everyone here. Its whole philanthropic family had been killed because of a horrible misunderstanding even though crows were the farmers' friends, because they ate snails and worms in the fields. But the farmers had made a mistake, and thought that snails were grain, and so had started shooting. Now the fields were full of horrible caterpillars and cockchafers, but there was only one crow. And even it was an outlaw. Speciality is loneliness, thought the crow, and put its head under its heavy wing. -Good night, Tirlittan mumbled in the stook.

Then the silent night came. Quietly, it spread its insubstantial blue veil over the field and started to sleep.

It was completely silent, because it was August, and both Tirlittan and the crow were sleeping. And the August night thought happily: They say it so beautifully and tenderly, 'good night'. Nothing in the world is as blessed as the night. (Paloheimo 1986,25-6; M.S's translation)

Grown-ups, however, present a threat:

The farmer's wife came into the combined living-room/kitchen very angry. She stamped her feet on the floor like a wether and shouted, shouted very loud:

- Out, away, away, otherwise I'll call the police, Out, out!

The farmer and Tirlittan went out, out, but on the threshold Tirlittan could not stop herself from saying

- By all means.

Tirlittan did not know what "by all means" meant, but at any rate she was convinced that she had managed to be very ruthless. (Paloheimo 1986, 35; M. S's translation)

- Why are you here? asked the [other] farmer's wife, who was surprised for a second.

- I'm looking for a home, Tirlittan said lukewarmly.

- What, and on top of everything else you have lost your dress and your apron. There is no home here. Go away, out, out. /.../ Simultaneously, she heard the nice farmer's wife screaming:

- Caroline, bring some caustic soda, we can't get rid of it otherwise.

Tirlittan was really frightened. She forgot her tiredness and the heartache, and she vanished like rain in the garden and ran to the forest. That nice woman was going to murder her with caustic soda. A terrible person. /.../

However, the nice farmer's wife did not mean Tirlittan, but the tar stain. (Paloheimo 1986, 30; M. S's translation)

Such scenes manage to create a confusing atmosphere in *Tirlittan*, which reflects the

feelings of the 1950s in Finland more generally. Kaarlo Marjanen, a literary critic, discussed both the individual and collective anxiety, angst, in his essay on modern Finnish poetry of the 1940s and 1950s. In his opinion, it had been the central theme of modern literature since the end of the nineteenth century. As late as the 1950s, some kind of peace of mind, resembling the fulfilment of an individual's religious crisis, had appeared. The earlier pessimism and confusion was, according to Marjanen, due to both existentialist thinking, where everything depends on the individual, and world-wide catastrophes, like war. After the disaster, individual or universal, the human being, now more humble, starts to search for peace of mind in an almost religious way. (Marjanen 1958, 224-5)

The image of the world in *Tirlittan* has similar characteristics to the ones in modern poetry. Like a lonely existentialist, Tirlittan wanders in the cold world, but in the end, after her suffering and doubting discussions with God, she finds her happiness, which is the love and care of her mother. The happy ending does not, however, refer to the spiritual growth of the human race. The world stays as ruthless as ever and an individual cannot trust anyone except the members of her own family, if even them, because Tirlittan's father disappears for good and leaves his children all alone.

At this point, Aila Nissinen's *Lammenpei*, which is in many ways a new interpretation of *Tirlittan*, should be considered. It is linked both to the tradition of Alice and *Tirlittan*, though it is more positive. Like Alice or Tirlittan, the title character of *Lammenpei* wanders in a world, where she meets extraordinary people. Just as in *Tirlittan*, the events take place in a world, which resembles our own, but which also includes characteristics of a nonsense world, as in Alice. However, the major character is usually warmly welcomed among the people after their first shock over her fairy-like appearance. The world of Nissinen's book, too, is slightly more imaginary than the one in Paloheimo's work. Actual secondary worlds, like the sea god's kingdom, have a direct connection with the world people live in, because in the world of *Lammenpei* such imaginary worlds really exist in human minds. Fairy tales are an inseparable part of thinking and thus their existence is self-evident. Therefore, the world government even needs a minister of fairy tales. The surroundings of *Lammenpei* are not as dangerous as *Tirlittan*'s milieu or Alice's Wonderland. If a thunderstorm damages

Tirlittan's home and takes her to frightening, unknown surroundings, so the wind cloud transports Lammenpei safely to the capital at her own request. Lammenpei meets, however, both strange adults and animals, who actually behave like human adults. She is thus, like Tirlittan, Alice's heiress, but while *Tirlittan* reflects the depressed feelings of the post-war period, *Lammenpei* rather warns about the disappearance of imagination in the modern world.

Books like *Tirlittan* and *Lammenpei* are post-war, Finnish interpretations of the chaotic world of *Alice*, though as individual literary works they also reflect their own period and society. They are, for this reason, links between the British Golden Age children's fiction and the blossoming of Finnish children's literature.

5.3. Marjatta Kurenniemi's Fantasy Novels and Stories

Marjatta Kurenniemi, who has been one of the most productive children's authors in Finland, uses the elements familiar from British Golden Age fantasy fiction. Her works vary from nonsense stories to novels, which take place in the Finnish countryside.

For this reason, all kinds of secondary worlds can be found in her books. Her novel *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* (1953, *Once There Was an Elf Called Onnimanni*) takes us to the world of the forest, which is ruled by a limitless suspicion towards the human race, also present in Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*. *Onnimanni* is a tale about an elf, who runs an animal hospital in the middle of a big forest. The book tells of the adventures of Onnimanni and his animal friends, but even more importantly about the circle of life and the natural order of the forest. Here human beings are seen as destructive threats to this order. The questionable progress and greediness of the human race lead to the loss of the ecological balance, from which the animals suffer most:

- I didn't create myself, the adder replied. - And a more timid creature than me does not exist. I run away from human beings, but when they surprise me once in a while, I have to defend myself with the only means I have. And only very rarely do any of us bite a man, but as soon as a human being sees a glimpse of a snake, he is ready to kill.

- They say that a snake once betrayed a human being and caused him to sin, said Onnimanni.

- I can see that even you are on their side, said the adder sadly. - I think I'll move to The Wasted Woodland, where no man wanders. Maybe there I can be alone. Because that is the only thing I want. (Kurenniemi 1990, 93-4; M. S's translation)

The same aspect is typical of Potter's works. Patrick Richardson has stated that the human characters in Potter's books are utterly evil and threatening. The only exception is Lucy in *The Tale of Mrs Tiggy-Winkle*, and she is more like a doll than a living child. (Richardson 1976, 175) Moreover, Onnimanni's world is as confusing as the animal lands in Potter's tales. Frogs eat flies and cuckoos lay their eggs in other birds' nests. A happy ending is not guaranteed for everyone. Survival in nature, however, follows certain laws, while a human-being's actions can only disturb them. During her career as a children's writer, now lasting for half a century, Kurenniemi has returned to ecological themes several times, for instance, in *Onneli ja Anneli ja nukutuskello* (1984, Onneli and Anneli and the Sleeping-Clock), in *Putti ja pilvilaivat* (1987, Putti and the Cloud Ships) and in *Putti Puuhkajasaarilla* (1989, Putti on the Tree Eagle Owl Islands).²

Kurenniemi's secondary worlds do not always represent the same type. *Kuinka-Kum-maa on kaikkialla* (1954, How-Wonder-Land is Everywhere) and *Puuhiset* (1956, The Tree Goblins) both introduce nonsense worlds, which are based on the play on linguistics and grammar, and paradoxical rules of logic. The former is a tamer adventure story than the latter, which humorously parodies the contemporary political scene in Finland. *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* tells about a little boy called Pau, who has to stay in bed because of his illness. Bored Pau finds a new world in his room after he has met Princess Lilaloo, whom he earlier thought was only part of the flower pattern on the wallpaper. By repeating the magic verses Lilaloo tells him, Pau is able to travel to her two-dimensional world, which is partly familiar to him - it is, after all, his own room - but also partly completely new. There he meets both wall paper patterns and pictures which are people. Pau can even step inside a printed copy of Albert Edelfelt's painting "Queen Blanka" (1877), which he has always admired. Edelfelt based his painting on Topelius' historical tale "Rida ranka" (1871, Queen Blanka's Little Rider), which tells about little Prince Haakon, who rides on his mother's knee. The fairy tale, in turn, is based on a Swedish nursery rhyme "Rida rida ranka". Both Topelius' story and Edelfelt's painting are mentioned in Kurenniemi's text.

Pau's passage to the two-dimensional world resembles the jumping into pictures in Travers' *Mary Poppins* books. In the second chapter of *Mary Poppins*, the major character goes into a chalk drawing in the street to spend her day off work and have some afternoon tea with her friend, and in the third chapter of *Mary Poppins Comes Back*, she rescues Jane from the painting of an antique bowl, which is actually its own world with a family living there, who do not want to let Jane return to her own world. In *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkiällä*, the central plot is, nevertheless, a detective story. Pau and Lilaloo attempt to solve a chain of thefts: valuables have been stolen from the inhabitants of the kingdom of Lilaloo's father, and even the princess' crown has been taken. Kurenniemi was evidently rather attracted to this structure, because in her story "Kuka varasti paperirouvan kakun?" (Who Stole the Paper Lady's Cake?) in *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja* (1954, *Andy Caroline and Other Funny Fairy Tales*) the major character, Leena, jumps into the picture she has drawn and manages to solve the thefts committed in its world.

In both Kurenniemi's short tale and the fantasy novel, the solution is rather similar. Restless Pau has thrown his cough medicine at the wall, and the stain has come alive and turned into a robber. Leena's little brother Mikko had drawn an ugly monster on his sister's picture. This steals and eats all the delicious cakes the Paper Lady has baked. In the fifth chapter of *Mary Poppins in the Park*, the logic is rather similar. Jane has built a miniature park for poor children, but its peace is disturbed by a disgraceful creature, who is, after all, just the leftovers of Jane's Plasticine. Her name, Matilda Moo, is familiar from a nursery rhyme, which also advises how to get rid of her. Similarly, Leena erases Mikko's monster and Pau draws a prince, who fights the robber. Best of all, Pau's mother is understanding enough to cover the stain with a new piece of wall paper.

During his adventures with Lilaloo, Pau learns to interpret both the language and visual images in a new way. In Lilaloo's world, a pattern on wallpaper may be a princess, or a cough medicine stain a robber. By travelling to the new world, Pau has to adapt to its rules and laws, because it is the only way to cope there and understand its inhabitants. So his journey resembles Alice's adventure. The secondary world of *Kuinka Kum-Maa on*

kaikkialla is a nonsense land, but *Puuhiset* from the same author offers, however, an even stronger example. It tells about Mari, whose shadow was accidentally switched with Ari's shadow, when the children were babies. Ari's shadow is bored with its role as a girl's shadow, so decides to run away. Shadows running away is a familiar theme from the sixth chapter of *Mary Poppins in the Park*, where they travel to their own parties on Halloween night, which causes their owners to search for them. Disney has used the same idea in the Mickey Mouse comics. *Puuhiset* also refers directly to Barrie's *Peter Pan*. In Kurenniemi's book, the main character, Mari, reads Barrie's novel after losing her shadow in order to find a solution to the situation, because she knows that Peter, too, suffers from the lack of a shadow. Just as Wendy fastens Peter's shadow in its right place with a needle and thread in *Peter Pan*, Mari's mother, too, sews a silk shadow to the heels of Mari's socks.³

At night Mari receives a message from her shadow via the tree goblin Plintti, who guides her to the land of the maple tree goblins. This situation is very similar to the one where Peter leads the Darling children to Never Never Land. In the goblin land, Mari runs into paradoxical logic and twisted rules, both typical of Alice. Like Alice, Mari learns to question and reinterpret the rules of the goblin land. She also manages to defend herself in a linguistic argument and to find advantages in the tree goblins' peculiar way of thinking. The secondary world of *Puuhiset* is not, however, an eternally subversive and paradoxical world like Wonderland, but the rules, which are in contrast to common sense, have been created by its lazy and greedy leader. Hence, the chaotic order can be improved by good will and common sense.

Though *Puuhiset* has a continuous intertextual dialogue with the representatives of the Golden Age of British fantasy fiction and its heirs, it also has firm links to the contemporary situation. The maple tree goblins are scared to death of the pine tree goblins, who are strong and violent. They agree with anything the pine tree goblins demand, for instance to exchange the precious maple syrup for worthless pine needles (though later, when they have to struggle for their independence, the needles are used as an efficient weapon) in order to avoid conflicts. The pine tree goblins watch the maple continuously, but the maple tree goblins are not even allowed to look at the pine tree.

It is clear that *Puuhiiset* is Kurenniemi's commentary on the political situation: the maple represents Finland, while the pine is the Soviet Union. Being forbidden to look at the pine tree, for its part, had a very concrete counterpart in the contemporary reality. When the train from Helsinki to Turku crossed the Porkkala area, which was leased for military purposes by the U.S.S.R (1944-1956) following its demands in the peace negotiations after the Second World War, the train windows were covered in order to stop passengers from seeing the area. Soviet troops, however, were able to look across the Finnish border.

Many of the trade contracts were also silently criticised, as were the war reparations, which many thought were very unreasonable. However, the Finns successfully managed to pay them on time. Kurenniemi, who had had right-wing, anti-Soviet sympathies in the pre-war era (Kurenniemi 1979, 8), criticised the humble oppression of Finnish politicians in *Puuhiiset*, but she also made fun of the Finnish bureaucracy, which was very similar to the complexity of the tree goblins land.⁴ So *Puuhiiset* not only offers a comparable secondary world to British fantasy, but also illustrates the atmosphere in Finland in the 1950s. The satire was noted in the contemporary literary critical reviews, and it was criticised even in politically neutral publications, because such topics were not considered suitable for children (see, for instance, the critical review about *Puuhiiset* in the newspaper *Turun Sanomat* on Oct 24, 1956).

Marjatta Kurenniemi is one of the most interesting Finnish children's authors for her diverse works. In her fantasy novels and stories, which formed her work in the 1950s, we can find both animal lands and nonsense worlds, even with a glimpse of political satire. She is also one of the most keen Finnish writers to cherish the tradition of the British Golden Age children's fiction by using elements familiar from Carroll's Alice or Beatrix Potter's little animal tales. She also belongs, however, to the most important Finnish children's authors who brought two traditions, Finnish and British, together.

5.4. Kirsi Kunnas' *Tiitiäinen* Books

Most Finnish children's authors, who were writing fantasy fiction in the 1950s, concentrated on prose. There is, however, an exception. Kirsi Kunnas, who was also well-known as a modern poet writing for adults, combined both prose and poetry in her *Tiitiäinen* books, which are still read today by new generations of children.

Due to the form of her children's poetry, Kirsi Kunnas' secondary worlds are often nonsense lands, which are chaotic, linguistic universes. Language is an important element in Kunnas' poems; almost anything can happen in her secondary worlds, because language does not set restrictions. The poem "Muusa ja Ruusa" in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* introduces two pigs, whose names are in the title, and King Barbarossa⁵, who turns into a pig during the course of the narration in a way similar to that in which the royalty in Alice go through continuous metamorphoses: a queen turns into a sheep or both the king and queen become playing cards. In other respects, too, the world of the poem resembles the nightmarish Wonderland of Alice. Unlike the many right-minded kings in fairy tales, King Barbarossa is a dictator, who rules his country similarly to the playing card and chess royalty of Carroll's masterpiece. Like them, he completely lacks a sense of humour. But as in the Wonderland, everything is also possible in Barbarossa's kingdom.

A limitless imagination dominates the narrative poem "Lypsymatka" (The Milking Trip) in the same book. Cows and cats can fly, and the moon is full of milk. The poem is written using ordinary rhymes instead of typical nonsense characteristics (like invented words), and thus the nonsense is present in the events rather than the language. The story's world belongs to the category of nonsense lands, so instead of Carroll's *Alice*, it is similar to P. L. Travers' *Mary Poppins*. In such a universe, however, everything is possible. Moral lessons are not taught ("Muusa ja Ruusa" only accentuates the importance of a sense of humour) and the whole story is composed of extraordinary events.

Nevertheless, nonsense worlds are not the dominant type in Kunnas' works. Nature is important, too. The world of the poem "Vanha vesirotta" (The Old Water Rat) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* is a picturesque environment similar to *Wind in the Willows* with which it also has

further similarities as will be seen later (see Chapter 5.6.3). "Siilin kuutamo" (The Hedgehog's Moonlight) in the same book presents a very similar environment, surrounded by willows. "Peikko ja kuu" (The Troll and the Moon) takes place in a very different landscape, which is a typical Finnish forest with spruce and swamps. As such, it has much in common with Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* setting. In some cases, Kunnas does not locate the events of her verses in fantasy worlds. They take place in an ordinary setting and no supernatural elements appear. In these cases, they often have connections with the texts of the British Golden Age. These connections are usually due to the linguistic nonsense characteristics, as in the poem "Kattila ja perunat" (The Saucepan and the Potatoes) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*, where sounds of boiling water and cooking potatoes are included in the verses.

Tiitiäisen tarinoita (1958, Tiitiäinen's stories), which is mainly written in prose, offers more defined descriptions of its secondary worlds. Some of its stories, like "Harakan aarre" (The Magpie's Treasure) or "Kvaak-kvook" take place in the Finnish countryside. Some happen in a fairy tale land, like "Pallo Pyöriäinen" (Roller the Ball), "Punni", or "Ensimmäinen pieni" (The First Little One), which all have kings and princesses. The latter two, however, are connected to animal lands; they both tell about Punni the bunny, who, like Potter's rabbits, has adventures in a forest and garden.

Characters familiar from the poems of *Tiitiäisen satupuu* appear in the prose stories of *Tiitiäisen tarinoita* as well, like Haitula, whose surroundings are a mixture of primary and secondary world. Haitula himself is the only supernatural character, but the story is still connected with the Golden Age tradition, due to the nonsense characteristics. In "Haitulan keskiviikko" (Haitula's Wednesday), the main character meets Miss Hurlpula, who is a spiritual cousin of Carroll's White Rabbit, Paloheimo's strange adults and Jansson's Fillyjonk, who first appeared in *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My*. Her life is a continuous fuss and worry for no reason at all. Another nonsense story, which is worth mentioning in this connection, is "Petterin kirahvit" (Peter's Giraffes), where linguistic play is as important an element as the various metamorphoses. The names of the giraffes change all the time, but the animals themselves can also take on different appearances. They

shrink, become invisible and turn into trees. The story is explained, however, as a child's imaginary game. Hence no true nonsense world exists here. Explanations for the existence of nonsense worlds are, however, very frequent in literature; for instance, it is hinted in Kurenniemi's *Kuinka Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* that Pau imagines his adventures just as at the end of *Puuhiset*, Mari wakes up from her thrilling dream. Dreams are thus explanations for the extraordinary events, not the topsy-turvy logic of an unknown world. However, in this study such an ending is interpreted as the author's way to lead the reader back to the primary world. The secondary world does exist as the frame of the story, but, in the end, the significance of the imagination is underrated in order to finish the narration according to adult logic.

As the works of Kunnas, or Jansson, Paloheimo, Nissinen and Kurenniemi, show, Finnish fantasy fiction of the 1950s held up the British Golden Age and its successors as its model. The strict pre-war ideas about the subversive nature of fantasy fiction had lost their position and fantasy had gained in importance. Nevertheless, British fantasy fiction was not copied blindly, but the authors made their own interpretations, which were linked with the culture and the situation. Secondary worlds dominated the fantasy of the 1950s, but they are not only linked with their literary examples, but also with the surrounding situation. The cultivated gardens of British literature, too, were often replaced in Finland by wild forest and its untamed nature, which was more familiar to the writers than sophisticated landscapes.⁶

5.5. Nonsense and Intertextual Relations to Carroll's *Alice*

5.5.1. Jansson and the Chaos of Wonderland in Moominvalley

One of the most important links connecting Finnish fantasy fiction of the 1950s with the British Golden Age was, undeniably, the popularity of nonsense fiction. It partly came along with the success of Modernism and T. S. Eliot, and was present in literature both for adults and children. This granted it fame and acceptability. But, on the other hand, nonsense had already been discussed years before Eliot's poetry came to Finland.

Firstly, Jansson's works have several intertextual connections with Carroll's *Alice*. This is

partly due to Jansson's knowledge of Carroll's works; she knew Alice from her childhood, but as an adult she also illustrated not only it, (Swedish translation in 1966 and Finnish translation in 1983), but also the Swedish translation of *The Hunting of the Snark* (*Snarkjakten* 1959). Jansson was familiar with British culture, and even lived in London for a few years, when she started to draw Moomin comics for the *Evening News* in 1953 (this was, however, after the publication of several Moomin books). The previous chapter contains references to several scholars' remarks about the links between Moominvalley and Wonderland, but other connections with Carroll can also be found. Boel Westin compares the trial in *The Finn Family Moomintroll* with the same kind of scene in Alice. (Westin 1988, 181) The language used by the two accused, Thingummy and Bob, or Tofslan and Vifslan in Swedish, also has nonsense characteristics:

Hur är det fattsla? undrade hemulen.
 Mårran komslar! viskade Vifslan.
 Mårran? Vem är det? sa hemulen och blev lite skrämmd.
 /.../ Grymsla och hemsksla! sa Vifslan. Stängsla dörrslan för Mårran!
 /.../ Men vi har ju bara nyckel till källardörren, sa mumintrollets mamma bekymrad.
 Sådär är det alltid med utlänningar. (Jansson 1987, 116)

"Mot's the watter?" asked the Hemulen.
 "The Groke is coming!" whispered Bob. "Groke? Who's that?" asked the Hemulen, getting a bit frightened.
 "Tig and brim and gerrible!" said Bob. "Lock the door against her!"
 "They say that a big and grim and terrible Groke is coming here. We must lock all the doors to-night."
 "But I don't think any of the doors have keys, except the cellar," said Moominmamma in a worried voice. "Dear me! It's always the same with foreigners." (Jansson 1950, 128-9)

The nonsense language Thingummy and Bob use, differs from normal language, but at the same time it is based on it. Words, all derived from ordinary language, remind us of the extraordinary words Humpty Dumpty uses in *Through the Looking-Glass*, when he tries to explain to Alice the meaning of the strange poem, "Jabberwocky". In the Swedish passage we can note, however, that their language always has a link with their names. Most words have the letter combination "sla" at the end, just as in the names of the characters.

As characters, Thingummy and Bob also resemble Tweedledum and Tweedledee, who are

both familiar from *Through the Looking-Glass*. Like them, Thingummy and Bob are also identical twins and difficult to distinguish from one another. They are always together, and rather form one person than two separate individuals. Their original Swedish names, Tofslan and Vifslan, are also similar to each other as are the names of their English cousins.

The Moomin's logic follows peculiar paths, which are also typical of Alice's Wonderland. The numbers and calculation might be correct, but mathematics are interpreted in their own way:

"I think it would be better if the trousers got older here", he [Snufkin] said. "They aren't my shape yet."

"Oh dear," said the old lady [the shop-keeper]. "What a pity! But perhaps you'd like a new hat?"

However, this idea only filled Snufkin with alarm and he pulled his old green hat farther down over his ears and said: "Thank you, but I was just thinking how dangerous it is to load yourself up with belongings."

"The Snork had been sitting all this time writing in his exercise book, and now he got to his feet and said: "One thing to remember when you are escaping from a comet is not to stand about too long in village stores. I suggest, therefore, that we continue our journey. Hurry up, and finish your lemonade, Sniff."

"Sniff tried to gulp a lot and of course most of it went on the floor.

"He always does that", said Moomintroll. "Shall we go?"

"What does all that come to, please?" the Snork asked the old lady. She began to count up, and while she was doing so Moomintroll suddenly remembered that they hadn't any money with them. None of them even had pockets except Snufkin, and his were always empty. Moomintroll nudged him, making desperate signs with his eyebrows, and the Snork and his sister looked at each other in horror. Not one of them had a single penny!

"That'll be 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for the exercise book, and 3d. for the lemonade," said the old lady.

"The star is 5d. and the looking-glass 11d. because it has real rubies on the back. That will be 1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. altogether."

Nobody said anything. The Snork maiden picked up the looking-glass and laid it on the counter with a sigh. Moomintroll started unpinning his medal, the Snork wondered if exercise books cost more or less after you have written in them and Sniff just thought about his lemonade, which was mostly on the floor anyway.

The old lady gave a little cough. "Well now, my children," she said. "There are the old trousers that Snufkin didn't want; they are worth exactly 1/8d., so you see one cancels out the other, and you don't really owe me anything at all."

"Is that really so?" asked Moomintroll doubtfully.

"It's clear as day, little Moomintroll," said the old lady. "I'll keep the trousers".

./../ "But there's $\frac{3}{4}$ d. over," said Sniff. "Don't we get that?"

"Don't be mean," said Snufkin. "We'll call it even." (Jansson 1986, 120-3)

The new pair of trousers, owned by the shopkeeper, are rejected by Snufkin. Somehow this incident gives the Moomin children the amount of money the trousers cost, and they use the sum for buying other things. Sniff, the greedy little creature, even wants the change, but Snufkin wants to be fair and call the sum even. The mathematics of the Moomins are very close to the nonsense logic of Alice if we compare the Moomin logic, for instance, with the conversation between Alice and the White Queen in *Through the Looking-Glass*. They discuss the jam that Alice will get every other day for her wages if she works as a lady's maid: yesterday and tomorrow but never today. Such logic suits the White Queen, who as a representative of Wonderland may take advantage of the situation, but not Alice, who does not know the principles of the conversation. In Moomin logic, the sum is made to fit the situation, even if it makes the logic peculiar in our eyes.

Salme Aejmelaeus disagrees with the idea of the connections between Alice and the Moomin books, and rather links them with the tradition formed by *Winnie-the-Pooh*, *The Wind in the Willows* and *Mary Poppins*. She considers Moomintroll a psychological relative of Winnie-the-Pooh, and finds similar nonsense characteristics from the poems and songs of Winnie-the-Pooh, Too-Ticky and Snufkin. (Aejmelaeus 1994, 44) Connecting Jansson with Milne's tradition can be justified logically. Finnish children's authors writing in Swedish knew Milne as early as the 1920s, and as a member of the Swedish-speaking minority Jansson knew this tradition, though her own works differ from it in their modernity. Jansson has also illustrated, for instance, Solveig von Schoultz's *Nalleresan* (illustration in 1944), which clearly belongs to Milne's tradition (see Chapter 3.1). Both Milne and his successors were familiar to Jansson. The relation to Travers can be explained by the note by Kåreland and Werkmäster about Little My flying with an umbrella in *The Book of Moomin, Mymble and Little My* in the same way as Mary Poppins. (Kåreland & Werkmäster 1994, 19) These details support Aejmelaeus' idea about Jansson's connections with Milne and Travers, but her major argument against the intertextual relations to Alice - events taking place in a dream world in Alice and in the awake world in Moomins (Aejmelaeus 1994, 44) - is questionable, because the Moomin books offer dream-like scenes, for instance, in *Moominland Midwinter*, where Moomintroll enters the strange,

dream-like salon, which is drastically different from its appearance in summer (Westin 1988, 262).

The connection between Alice and the Moomin books seems to be even more evident, if we take a look at the significance of metamorphosis in both Alice and the Moomin books. *Finn Family Moomintroll*, in particular, offers splendid examples of metamorphosis. In Alice, the main character succeeds in changing her size by eating and drinking: a bite of a cake makes her grow bigger, while a sip of a magic liquid makes her smaller. There are continuous metamorphoses in Alice; a baby can turn into a pig or the White Queen into a sheep. These things seem to happen haphazardly, but Alice consciously controls her size. The phenomenon is called teleological metamorphosis, and examples of it can already be found in folklore. According to James P. Carse, the trickster figure in Native American tales changes his appearance in order to accomplish certain missions, which can either be a trick or a seduction. (Carse 1987, 226) In *Finn Family Moomintroll*, the metamorphosis usually concerns the whole appearance of things: sea water can be changed into raspberry squash, egg shells into cotton ball-like clouds and Moomintroll himself into an ugly beast. In most cases, the change is temporary. It is due to a great magician's lost hat, which is found by the Moomin children. The change is also mechanical, and does not happen by surprise as in Alice, though the teleological metamorphosis also exists in Alice in the drinking and eating scene.

In Nissinen's *Lammenpei*, we can find a similar kind of mechanical change of things. The title character changes her own appearance and the nature of things (e. g. by making the evergreen trees grow exotic fruits or changing stones into sandwiches) with her magic flute, which is a similar kind of magic object to the hat in *Finn Family Moomintroll* - the Moomin family just does not understand the power of the hat in the beginning. In *Lammenpei*'s case, we could speak of teleological metamorphosis, but, after all, she is rather a sorcerer from fairy tales, who casts spells on things. Or, she is a product of the imagination and so are the results of her witchcraft.

It should be noted here that metamorphosis is not only a characteristic typical of nonsense,

due to Alice, but of the entire field of fantasy literature. Both Rosemary Jackson and Jean-Luc Steinmetz mention metamorphosis as one of the major themes of fantasy and fantastic literature. (Jackson 1081, 49) Steinmetz considers it the most efficient means of the genre. (Steinmetz 1990, 29-31) In Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s, however, metamorphosis is not used very frequently. If it is used at all, it usually refers to Alice.

5.5.2. *Tirlittan* and Alice - Two Wanderers?

In many respects, Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* can be considered a new interpretation of the themes of Alice. Its subtitle, "the orphan girl in the human Wonderland", stresses the connection. *Tirlittan*'s world is a chaotic nonsense land, where strange creatures, typical of Alice, are replaced by even stranger human beings. The two journeys in these Wonderlands resemble each another remarkably. The major characters travel from one strange event to another completely accidentally. Alice wakes up from her nightmare in the end and so does *Tirlittan*. She has been wandering as an orphan from one adventure to another, but finally she sees her mother's calming figure next to her hospital bed, where she landed after the fatal accident as a circus primadonna.⁷

The girls' personalities are very similar. Though Alice goes down the rabbit-hole voluntarily, and *Tirlittan* is thrown into her adventures by a dreadful thunderstorm, they are both immensely curious. They also like to question authorities. Humphrey Carpenter has argued that as a literary work Alice mocks the Christian God. In Carpenter's opinion, Alice's "Eat me" -cake and "Drink me" -liquid are a parody of the sacred elements of the Holy Communion, the body and blood of Jesus Christ. (Carpenter 1985, 66-7) Carpenter's ideas naturally can be questioned, but in *Tirlittan* the traditional image of the Christian God is replaced by the orphan girl's more critical vision:

- Oh, you dear Heavenly Father, what on earth have you done again, she [*Tirlittan*] lamented continuously. (Paloheimo 1986, 8; M.S's translation)

- Oh, you dear Heavenly Father, you are behaving in an entirely impossible way, *Tirlittan* snapped in a hurt manner. (Paloheimo 1986, 30; M. S's translation)

Tirlittan's main character has a very close and personal relationship with God. She does not hesitate to criticise Him and even shows her anger towards Him. The book, thus, shows

critical attitudes towards Christian dogmas by questioning the traditional view of God.

Similar ideas are typical of Paloheimo's other works, too. In his short story, "Ongelmatyttö" (The Problem Girl), Paloheimo introduces Siina, who questions the authority of God as thoroughly as Tirlittan. In Siina's opinion, God cannot see everything if it is a cloudy day. She also prefers her uncle Jaakko to God:

Elina felt herself very touched by the miracles of the sky [the moon and clouds] and sighed.

- I love the Heavenly Father so much.

Matti agreed with her.

- I like him very much as well.

But Siina took her thumb out of her mouth and said with a very convincing voice:

- At least I prefer Uncle Jaakko. (Paloheimo 1953, 10-1, M. S's translation)

Paloheimo's other child character, Pekka in the poem "Auttamaton Pekka" (Helpless Pekka), gets into an argument with his mother by stubbornly calling a poodle "a lion", and searches for a justification for his opinion from God. Antero in the short story, "Kasvata sydämesi unelmalle" (Grow Your Heart for a Dream), calls with his toy telephone to both God and Father Christmas, who are thus seen as equals. One of Paloheimo's poems, "Pöytärukous" (Pray for a Meal), seeks help from Jesus for an unfortunate child, who has to eat unappetising fish soup. The prayer's attitude in the poem is defiant. He does not feel thankful for his daily bread, only self-pity because of the bad taste. This poem, like all Paloheimo's works mentioned above, tells of a child's way of approaching God. It is completely different from the way of grown-ups. Children speak to God and ask help from Him in order to solve their little tragedies. They do not, however, show Him respect, but rather they show how discontent they are about the circumstances He has got them into. In Paloheimo's stories, He is thus a rather powerless imaginary person, similar to Father Christmas.

Paloheimo's world in *Tirlittan* is a scary entity, where children have to live on adults' terms. War has created a situation, where children are afraid and God does not help them. Nevertheless, Paloheimo's writings do not mock God like Carroll's do, but they question His whole existence.

Linguistically *Tirlittan* has several nonsense characteristics. Like Alice, *Tirlittan*, too, uses poems, which resemble nursery rhymes. They are utilised in order to give a chapter its theme. In Alice, nursery rhymes or well-known English poems are usually re-interpreted. Paloheimo created new poems for *Tirlittan*. Phonetically the verses usually have a simple form, typical of nursery rhymes, as the examples below show:

Tirlittan meni torille,	(Tirlittan went to the market-place,
Tirlittan varasti,	Tirlittan stole,
Tirlittan vietiin vankilaan,	Tirlittan was taken to gaol,
Tirlittan karkasi.	Tirlittan escaped.)

(Paloheimo 1986, 15; M. S's translation)

Tirlittan meni sirkukseen,	(Tirlittan went to the circus,
Tirlittan taiteili,	Tirlittan performed,
Tirlittan tanssi nuoralla,	Tirlittan danced on the rope,
Tirlittan tipahti.	Tirlittan tumbled.)

(Paloheimo 1986, 84; M. S's translation)

Paloheimo has also interpreted typical Finnish sayings in a literal way, where they are distinguished from their real significance. For instance, the Finnish saying "Varkaudella on lyhyet jäljet", "The theft has short footprints" has been changed into "Varkaalla on lyhyet jäljet", "The thief has short footprints", referring to Tirlittan's small feet. Her name is continually changed from Tirlittan to nattiIriT, which refers to *Through the Looking-Glass* and the extraordinary way of writing words backwards in the secondary world of the novel.

5.5.3. Kurenniemi: Rewritten Version of *Alice* and Nonsense Land in the Wallpaper

Of all authors, who were writing fantasy fiction in the 1950s, Marjatta Kurenniemi perhaps favoured the nonsense stories most. In an interview in 1979, however, she called her nonsense stories "absurd fairy tales". Most of them were published in the 1950s, but some were created years after the interview, in the 1990s⁸. In the same interview, she stated that although, as a writer, she prefers to approach the Finnish countryside and folk tradition, these stories clearly have connections to Anglo-Saxon texts. (Kurenniemi 1979, 16) The importance of such references, no matter what the author's own preferences, is remarkable in her works. Carroll's significance among them can not be stressed too forcefully.

Sirkka Kurki-Suonio has stated that Kurenniemi's story "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa" from 1954 ("Alli in the Upside-down-land"; in *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja*) reuses Alice's themes (Kurki-Suonio 1966, 28). This study would go even further and call it a new, concentrated interpretation of Alice. This is not, for its part, an extraordinary phenomenon. There are almost two hundred parodies, sequels and imitations of Alice, among which we can even find political or social parodies (e. g. Hector Hugh Munro's *The Westminster Alice* 1902 or Edward Hope's *Alice in the Delighted States* 1928) and feminist commentaries (e. g. Anna Matlock Richard's *A New Alice in the Old Wonderland* 1885). (Sigler 1996, 55)

Kurenniemi's interpretation is, however, a tame short tale with a didactic tone. In her story, a little girl called Alli, (her name refers to Alice), sees her reflection in a pond, understands that another world is waiting for her on the other side, and jumps through the pond. There she meets her guide Illa, (the girls' names are opposites), and starts her journey. During the trip, she discovers that the entire logic of the Upside-down-land is the opposite of hers. Cats behave like dogs and vice versa, children go to school in summer instead of winter, and the face is washed with dirty instead of clean water. Sex roles are also reversed, as wives work as bread-winners and husbands take care of the house.

Alice, too, travels to another world through a looking-glass and finds a world very opposite to her own. In Carroll's work, however, the different logic works in a more sophisticated way, while Kurenniemi's story offers a more practical and concrete alternative. The rule systems in Upside-down-land have their own, firm logic, which is typical of nonsense, but in spite of the few exceptions, like Alli's and Illa's names or the poem describing the qualities of Upside-down-land, the language of the story does not carry nonsense characteristics.

Four years later, Kurenniemi utilised the idea of things turning topsy-turvy in her story "Mökki metsässä" (A cottage in the forest) in *Kuu omenapuussa*, which tells about a troll called Päinvastoin, (On-the-Contrary). He has the carpet on the ceiling, gives Father Christmas presents instead of getting them and so on. The troll's cottage in itself is its own

world, where ordinary logic does not work. The story represents the genre of nonsense to some extent, but like "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa" its approach is didactic, which is untypical of nonsense. Both stories aim to teach their readers respect for common sense and order. Alli is taught how important it is to keep her room in order, help her mother and do her homework. Maijakaija, who meets the extraordinary troll in the forest, learns that she should obey her mother and not act contrariwise. When her mother tells her to wear ordinary clothes, Maijakaija should not take her best frock out of the wardrobe and when she is told to go to bed, she should not stay up.

Stories with nonsense characteristics can be found particularly in Kurenniemi's *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja*. In addition to Alli's story, there is, for instance, a tale about a kitten called Kurri-Mirri-Miuku-Mauku-Pirrinpoika-Puks (the syllables of the name imitate a kitten's voice). In Kurenniemi's fantasy novels, the nonsense is usually more polished. The title of *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* has a double meaning. The Finnish title can be either translated "How-Wonder-Land is everywhere" or "how wonderful it is everywhere". Princess Lilaloo, an inhabitant of the secondary world, has different names for things than Pau from the primary world, but Lilaloo's explanations have their own topsy-turvy logic. A ceiling lamp is the funny tree, its light is the dazzling bird and the switch is the button mountain. A literal way of interpretation, emphasised by Lecercle (Lecercle 1994 63-6) is present in Kurenniemi's text. When the children investigate the thefts, Pau says that they should try to search for clues, which is '*johtolanka*', a leading thread, in Finnish. Lilaloo only tries to find actual threads on their quest.

The names are also re-interpreted. Herra Oksanen, Mr Treebranch, whom Pau had previously considered to be a knot on the wall, is called Visapää⁹, Blockhead, by the children. This reminds us of the scene, where Alice meets Humpty Dumpty in *Through the Looking-Glass*. He criticises Alice's name because of its lack of meaning. In his opinion, his own name gives an image of his appearance. Mr Treebranch's nickname describes him both physically and psychologically; in many respects he resembles Humpty Dumpty in his self-sufficiency and limitless self-esteem. He also wonders, which is the right side of a meatball, and is the other side then the wrong side, which is a typical nonsense problem.

The literal interpretation of the opposites right/wrong and right/left represents an example of a linguistic play on words.

Puuhiiset is the most evident example of Kurenniemi's nonsense books. The land of the maple tree goblins has a lot in common with Alice's Wonderland, because ordinary common sense is present neither in its chaotic politics nor in its bureaucracy. Rules work according to different terms compared to the primary world. For instance, thumbing one's nose, which would be interpreted as an insult in the primary world, is a typical way of greeting. Alice's trial is replaced by a police investigation, where the main character Mari ends up:

The inspector looked at Mari severely. - Name, date of birth and profession, he asked. - Mari, born on the thirteenth of December and, and... - What profession? the inspector asked again, even more severely. - If I have understood, Mari is not a tree goblin? - No-o, I am a human being, she stuttered. She had never been to a police investigation before. - Profession: a human being, the inspector said and wrote it down in his notebook. - And what does the human being Mari know about the things that happened? - Do I have to tell everything from the very beginning? Mari asked. - Us tree goblins usually begin from the end, which is, of course, the only sensible and natural way. But considering the fact that Mari is only a human being, she is allowed to use this topsy-turvy way and start from the beginning. (Kurenniemi 1956, 32; M. S's translation)

In Mari's cross-examination, as in Alice's, a witness becomes the accused. The roles are continuously changing. The difference is that Alice's trial criticised the contemporary British juridical system, while Mari's questioning rather mocks the Soviet witch-hunt of politically suspect people in post-war Finland. Shortly after the war, trials to establish war guilt took place on Finnish soil, but not completely according to Finnish law. They were adapted in order to achieve the required result because of Soviet pressure. So Mari's cross-examination is far more closely connected to contemporary society than, for instance, the trial in Nissinen's *Lammenpei*, which only follows Alice's footsteps by placing the juridical system in a ridiculous light. The trial of *Lammenpei* is not, however, more typical of Finland than of Britain or any other country. It is short and has no symbolism in it. The chapter only declares that miracles and play are often disapproved of by adults, who have lost the joy from their lives.

The language used in *Puuhiiset* mocks the ridiculous characteristics of the political situation. The leader of Maple Tree Goblin land is called Yyliö, which is a word unknown in Finnish. It is presumably formed similarly to the way Humpty Dumpty creates a new vocabulary, when he explains the poem "Jabberwocky" to Alice. Yyliö can be constructed from the words "yli"/"head" and "ääliö"/"idiot". Yyliö has also created his own language, which is far too complex to understand, and stunningly resembles the speech used by politicians and civil servants. It amazes Mari, who is soon given an explanation by the tree goblin Plintti:

It is a kind of yyliö language. Yyliö himself has invented it. No one else in the whole country can speak it. At least not as well. (Kurenniemi 1956, 32; M. S's translation)

Plintti's name, too, is part of the linguistic game. It goes back to the baby language of nonsense and the Modernist movements, for instance Dadaism. (Livernois 1989, 137-40) At the end of the story, orphan Plintti's origin comes to light; he is, after all, a prince (Finnish word "prinssi"), who was not able to pronounce his title correctly as an infant. Actually he is not an orphan at all, because the king has been sleeping for decades in the most distant tower of the castle. This is a parody of the classic fairy tale "Sleeping Beauty".

Oli ennen Onnimanni... belongs more to animal fantasy than nonsense in terms of a genre, but it, too, offers interesting details, which connect Kurenniemi's works even more closely with the tradition of Carroll and nonsense. The most important of them is its beginning, which starts with the first verse of the poem "Onnimanni". The nursery rhyme originates in folklore and its age or composer are impossible to trace. It was written down in *Kanteletar* by Elias Lönnrot along with some other children's rhymes. It is related to English nursery rhymes, which have had a significant role in the formation of the nonsense genre. (Lappalainen 1980, 67)

"Onnimanni" is a never-ending poem, which can be continued as long as the players want. It is formed purely of a play on words and its relation to nonsense literature can be easily explained. Both the beginning and name of the major character of Kurenniemi's book are taken from it. In *Onnimanni's* prologue, Kurenniemi's narrator meets the green elf of the

forest:

Once upon a time there was an elf called Onnimanni...

Your mother has certainly read you that ancient poem, when you were very young and did not want to finish your porridge or stay under the blanket in your bed. And, of course, you began to wonder, who on earth is Onnimanni.

But I know the answer...

When I went to the forest for no special reason at all, and my mind was full of nice, funny thoughts, I saw a fallen birch trunk, on which a tiny man with a green coat was sitting. He was only a few inches tall and he was smiling cheerfully and swinging his legs.

- Oh, there you are, I said with a very surprised tone in my voice, because I had always hoped to see a little man with a green coat in the forest, and there he was.

But the man, too, looked very surprised.

- Can you really see me? he asked, and stopped swinging his legs. - Of course, I replied. - You are the tiny, green-coated man, whom I always hoped to see, aren't you?

The little man nodded solemnly.

- All right. In that case I know who you are. You are the kind of person to whose World of Funny Thoughts I belong.

- You do exist, don't you? I asked, though it certainly was a silly question.

- Of course I exist, since you can see me, the tiny man said with a bit of irritation in his voice. - But do you know my name?

No, I really do not.

- I am Onnimanni, the Green Man of the Forest. (Kurenniemi 953, 5-6; M. S's translation)

In this prologue of Onnimanni, the narrator meets a character familiar from a nursery rhyme in the forest, which is very similar to the situation in *Alice*, where the protagonist meets Humpty Dumpty, Tweedledum and Tweedledee. In a children's book with nonsense characteristics, the reader, too, can dive into a literary reality, and meet familiar characters, who usually live in the textual world of the nursery rhymes but now have adventures in a nonsense story. In this respect, Nissinen's Lammenpei is also a fascinating character if we compare her to Onnimanni, or Tweedledum and Tweedledee. She is not a real girl, but a fairy tale, which has been imagined by the fairy tale minister of the world. He has not, however, finished the story and hence Lammenpei is left alone in the world to find her creator and destiny. She is a textual creature, who enters the primary world of the story.

Metamorphosis, a phenomenon familiar from *Alice*, can also be found in Kurenniemi's books. In *Kuinka-Kum-maa on kaikkialla*, Pau turns into a tiny two-dimensional creature,

when he repeats a rhyme taught to him by Lilaloo. In *Puuhiiset*, Mari becomes smaller and is thus able to enter the land of the maple tree goblins by saying the magic words. In Kurenniemi's later books, such as *Onneli ja Anneli* or the Putti series, the scenes of form shifting borrow the methods of Alice rather more directly.¹⁰ But in *Puuhiiset* the roles, too, are continuously changing (see Chapter 4.1). A boy's shadow turns into a girl's shadow and vice versa, a prince becomes an ordinary boy, and a servant starts to rule the country as a bureaucrat.

Kurenniemi's works contain a significant number of references to British nonsense literature and Carroll's Alice. They are, however, skilfully adapted to Finnish culture. They brought linguistic games and other nonsense characteristics to stories, which took place in an ordinary landscape in the Finnish countryside or forest.

5.5.4. Kunnas: Nonsense and Nursery Rhymes

In Kirsi Kunnas' *Tiitiäisen satupuu*, the most evident nonsense characteristic is the use of nursery rhymes. Kunnas' poems have similarities with the British nursery rhymes she translated, but instead of folklore, the origins of her poems are literary (unlike the roots of many well-known nursery rhymes). She has borrowed characters typical of folklore for her poetry, but the poems themselves are inspired by British nursery rhymes. Very often Kunnas' verses are narrative, and tell a story (see Chapter 5.4), but word and grammar games - typical of nonsense - are also essential to them.

Kunnas' poems are written in rhyme, but were not always composed of words known in the Finnish language. Instead, she sometimes created new words, which is a characteristic typical of nonsense. The new words are often associated with children's ways of creating animal language. Animals do not necessarily communicate with such phonemes, but children usually simplify the animal language into a few words, which are supposed to resemble the way animals communicate. In Kunnas' poems, this means is used in several poems with animal characters, like "Villit ratsastajat" (Wild riders), which imitates the sound of a galloping horse or "Muusa ja Ruusa", where pig language is imitated in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*. "Jansmakko erikois" (Andsfrog special) in the same book has several

plays on words, but it also imitates frog language:

Marjan pikku sammakko
 Jansmakko Erikois
 sanoi silloin kvo kvo kvo
 kvo vadis vadis kvo kvo kvo /.../ (Kunnas 1988, 30)

(Marja's little frog
 Andsfrog special
 then said kvo kvo kvo
 kvo vadis vadis kvo kvo kvo [M.S's translation])

Kunnas' children's poetry has clear connections to British nursery rhymes, and the nonsense genre. Plays on words and topsy-turvy logic of the narration are the most evident examples of it. To some extent, Kunnas' verses may seem to have more similarities to Lear's nonsense than Carroll's sophisticated novels, but such an image is false. Intertextual references and word games can be found, even with classic material, as the passage above shows with its phrase "Kvo vadis" (Quo Vadis?).¹¹

Kunnas' narrative verses are also related to the little tales in Alice like "The Walrus and the Carpenter" (in *Through the Looking-Glass*), which is told her by Tweedledum and Tweedledee. It parodies the moral tales, which played a significant role in nineteenth-century children's literature (see Chapter 2.1). As in them, the ending of Carroll's story is horrifying, but unlike its predecessors, it also finds the funny, even the ridiculous, side of the story. Cruelty is not, however, avoided. Kunnas follows the same pattern. For instance, the poem "Herra Pii Poo" (in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*) is a splendid example of the phenomenon:

Herra Pii Poo	(Mr. Pii Poo
oli taikuri.	was a magician
Hän huusi: hii hoo!	He shouted: Hii hoo!
ja maata polkaisi	and stamped the earth
ja taikoi:	and conjured up
rusinoita	raisins
mansikoita	strawberries
omenoita	apples
perunoita	potatoes
porkkanoita	carrots
prinsessoita	princesses
makkaroita,	sausages,
siis	in other words

herra Pii Poo
oli noita.

Mr. Pii Poo
was a sorcerer.

Kerran
herra Pii Poo
kulki Espalla.
Hän huusi: hii hoo!
ja maata polkaisi
ja sitten vespalla
hän ajeli.

Once
Mr. Pii Poo
was walking along Espa.
He shouted: Hii hoo!
and stamped the earth
and then drove
a Vespa¹².

Se oli herra Pii Poon
suuri erehdys

That was Mr. Pii Poo's
great mistake

Näes, noidan mahti
ei pysty koneisiin
ei moottoriin
ei mutteriin
ei polkimiin
ei vaihteisiin
ei kytkimiin

You see, a sorcerer's power
does not work with machines
nor with motors
nor with bolts
nor with pedals
nor with gears
nor with clutches

kerta kaikkiaan:
koneella on koneen tahti

all in all:
a machine has the rhythm of an engine.

No niin,
herra Pii Poo
ajoi asemalle.
Hän huusi: hii hoo!
ja vespaa polkaisi
ja jäi junan alle.

All right,
Mr. Pii Poo
drove to the station.
He shouted: Hii hoo!
and stamped the Vespa
and was run over by a train.

Kuolen,
huusi Pii Poo
liian aikaisin!
Hän huusi: hii hoo!
ja kuoli myöhemmin.

I die,
cried Mr. Pii Poo
too early!
He shouted: Hii hoo!
and died later.

(Kunnas 1988, 36-7; M. S.'s translation)

Kunnas' poem has encouraged generations of children to discuss, whether the poor witch died instantly after he had said "Hii hoo" or years after it, but it also covers several details typical of the nonsense tradition. Firstly, it follows the model of Carroll's stories. The little oysters are punished for their curiosity in "The Walrus and the Carpenter", and similarly Mr. Pii Poo gets into trouble because he wants to try new things that witches are not supposed to try. The poem, however, takes place in contemporary Finland, instead of a

secondary world, the readers can imagine a map of Helsinki in front of them. Interestingly Kunnas, who has set her poem in a modern city, seems to consider technology an enemy of magic, which Mr. Pii Poo represents. Perhaps this was also a comment against the coming of technology and urbanisation, which reached its peak in the following decade. The modern lifestyle with efficient technology does not necessarily offer the best possible environment for magic and imagination.

Secondly, as a children's poet Kunnas upholds the tradition of nursery rhymes, but like other nonsense poets, she reuses it by moulding it according to the extraordinary logic of the genre. A continuous linguistic game, typical both of nursery rhymes and nonsense, is an essential element of Kunnas' poetry like her animal poems, where the voices of different animals are imitated or the poem about the saucepan and potatoes, where the few words used are repeated so frequently that they give the impression of boiling potatoes going up and down in the saucepan.

In *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*, the nonsense characteristics are in prose form. In "Punni" and "Ensimmäinen pieni" Kunnas introduces Punni the Bunny, a typical animal of nonsense literature like Carroll's White Rabbit or March Hare. Its name is derived from the English word "Bunny". Such linguistic relations are also typical of nonsense. Punni's way to count the carrots it has eaten is extraordinary. The Princess decided that Punni has to go on a diet, and so it can only eat its first small carrot. Punni counts the sixteen carrots it eats as its first small carrot, but it promises, however, that next day it will only eat every other carrot of its first small one. Punni's logic is similar to the White Queen's thinking in *Through the Looking-Glass*, where she promises to give Alice some raspberry jam every other day by saying that every day can be counted as the other day. Punni explains its logic to the beetle, however, by admitting that it is a bit crazy.

"Haitulan keskiviikko" (Haitula's Wednesday), too, is a nonsense story. Its other character, Miss Hurrpula, is related to some other nonsense characters, like Carroll's White Rabbit, by her nervous, fussy behaviour. The logic of the story also follows the ideas of nonsense. A magnifying glass is enough to transform a little bread crumb into a big loaf, which satisfies

the hunger, and a rain drop to an enormous lake, where one can swim. Miss Hurlpula's slippers, in turn, are big enough to hide rope ladders, a packet of coffee and a key. They are, in this respect, similar to Mary Poppins' magic suitcase, which contains everything from her personal accessories to a tent bed.¹³

The most evident allusions to Alice can be found, however, in Kunnas' story "Lissukka ja kenkä" (Lizzie and the shoe). It is a conversation between a little girl and an old shoe, who imagine that they are chatting by a magic well. On the other side of the world, there is supposed to be another well, another girl and another shoe, which are almost identical to the ones here, only slightly different (for example, the shoe goes on the other foot). The well, like the rabbit hole in Alice, leads to another world. If there is water in the well, it also has a reflecting surface, which works like the mirror in *Through the Looking-Glass*, or the pond in the Finnish example, Kurenniemi's "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa". Lissukka's name is a nickname for Liisa, which was Swan's Finnish translation of Alice's name. Kunnas also used the name Liisa in her translation of Alice sixteen years after the publication of *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*. There is no journey to another world in "Lissukka ja kenkä", however, and so Kunnas' tale only uses the elements of Alice without making a new adaptation of the story, like Kurenniemi.

In the 1950s, writers like Jansson, Kurenniemi and Kunnas flavoured their works with nonsense characteristics, while Oiva Paloheimo mainly used them in *Tirlittan*. Some other authors also experimented with language in the nonsense tradition. One of the most interesting of these is Aila Meriluoto and her *Pommorommo*, which does not directly follow the paths of the British tradition to a great extent. A child's voice in the narration plays with the language and follows the ideas of nonsense by composing new words and creating an extraordinary logic. The word 'Pommorommo' in the title is, in fact, the name of an imaginary creature, which the children are looking for. Such a scene is familiar from Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, where the toy animals are searching for the North Pole, but, in this respect, *Pommorommo* is also linked to Swedish fantasy and Lindgren's Pippi; she, too, is looking for a creature, whose name "spunken" ("a squeazle" in the English translation) she knows, but not how it looks in *Pippi in the South Seas* (*Pippi Långstrump i Söderhavet*

1955, English translation in 1967).

Alice inspired the Finnish children's, and even adults', authors of the 1950s to a significant extent. Most of the nonsense characteristics have intertextual connections with Carroll's little masterpiece, and even direct allusions can be found. Nonsense, for its part, is one of the most important characteristics, which links Finnish post-war fantasy fiction with the tradition of the Golden Age of British children's literature. Thus, Alice was of great importance in relation to Finnish literature of the 1950s. Without Carroll's book, the quality of the literature of the era would be hard to imagine.

5.6. Animal Fantasy in Finland

5.6.1. Roots of Finnish Animal Fantasy

Animal fantasy is an inseparable part of Finnish children's fiction. This is partly due to the essence of the Finnish folk tale. All types of fairy tales have been collected in Finland. Among them are *Märchen* or *Zaubermärchen*, which have similar elements to their international relatives, and so-called short-story *Märchen*, which do not have supernatural elements. There are also fairy tales, resembling Christian legends. But for some reason animal tales, resembling international fables, have been particularly popular in Finland. (Virtanen 1988, 182-6) Hence their significance in the Finnish fairy tale tradition has often been stressed. Even written fables were published as early as the eighteenth century, when children's books were still a highly unusual phenomenon in Finland. (see Lehtonen 1981, 92-3) But fables and animal characters in *Märchen* were an important part of oral tradition, too. (see Apo 1986,266) Thus, it is no wonder that animals were very popular in fantasy fiction, too. Foreign models, such as British animal tales (e. g. Potter's) only strengthened the trend.

The flourishing of the *Kunstmärchen* tradition in the nineteenth and early twentieth century prepared children's fiction for the development of animal fantasy. Both Topelius and Swan, who were the most successful writers of Finnish *Kunstmärchen*, admired, romanticised and mythologised nature in their stories. Significant symbols were also connected with nature in the process of developing the national consciousness. (see Chapter 1.3) But nature is also

the place where animals live, and so the most obvious environment for animal fantasy. Finnish children's fiction, especially Kurenniemi's short tales (e. g. "Kurri-Mirri-Miuku-Mauku-Pirrinpoika-Puks" in *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja*) are sometimes located in a farm house or in a yard, but the events more take often place in an untamed landscape, such as a forest. Instead of the cultivated gardens or small woods of British fiction, the paradise is given its embodiment in the wild forest in Finnish children's literature. This is a typically Finnish feature, which shall be focussed on later (see Chapter 8).

Although the starting points of Finnish animal fantasy can be found in the domestic tradition, the British connections cannot be ignored. Helmi Krohn introduced the British tradition in her Hipsuvarvas series as early as the 1920s. Her works bear a remarkable resemblance to Beatrix Potter's tales, and nature, in particular, is sketched in the same way. Both authors offer their reader an exhausting visit to the forest, where natural laws rule. The fear of becoming eaten by bigger animals or losing a home in a natural catastrophe is always present. Human beings are rarely present in Potter's tales, and never in Krohn's stories. The position of Krohn's books is difficult to estimate, because some of her stories are loosely based on English classics like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* or Crusoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The origin of Krohn's stories is thus not completely clear. They have, however, been popular ever since 1942, when the publishing house, WSOY, reprinted the entire Hipsuvarvas series. They quickly spread and thus introduced the audience to the typical characteristics of British animal fantasy, which were adapted to Finnish circumstances.

Yrjö Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* also has an important position in the development of modern animal fantasy. It has no obvious connections with the British Golden Age, because its way of characterising nature was entirely unique in its day. The observations of a biologist are composed with a poet's way of praising nature. Kokko's beloved children's book does not just concentrate on fluffy, hairy animals in a traditional way, but it communicates the whole fauna from insects to crustaceans. We should note, however, that examples of animals, which are traditionally thought to be repulsive, can also be found in the works of the Golden Age; both Grahame's Toad and Potter's Jeremy Fisher are not characters that

children would wish to cuddle. The success and fame of *Pessi ja Illusia* may have, nevertheless, turned Finnish animal fantasy from Krohn's fluffy rabbits and squirrels to a more comprehensive way of approaching nature.

5.6.2. Kurenniemi's Onnimanni and the Laws of Nature

Marjatta Kurenniemi's works offer the most enchanting examples of Finnish animal fantasy in the 1950s. *Oli ennen Onnimanni...*, in particular, is a remarkable example of animal fantasy with references to Beatrix Potter's tales. Onnimanni's forest is a similar dangerous community to the woods of Potter's tales, but Kurenniemi's animals are even more realistic. They have feelings, which are traditionally considered typically human, like friendship and faithfulness, but they also behave like ordinary representatives of their species. Frogs eat flies, adders chase baby mice and in spring all the animals concentrate on finding their mates. This emphasises the natural laws particularly forcefully. During summer and winter the animal children grow up, and now it is up to them to continue the species.

Unlike most of Potter's characters, Kurenniemi's animals do not wear clothes, and they are selected in an atypical way in the tradition of Kokko; the major characters are a sympathetic frog Sam and a lizard Sisi, whose names also connect the book to the linguistic game of nonsense fiction. A frog is "*sammakko*" in Finnish, and so every other frog is called Sam and the rest Makko in Onnimanni's forest, because the frog families are far too large for the parents to be able to name each child individually. A lizard is "*sisilisko*", and, similarly, male lizards are named Sisi and females Lisi.

Though Kurenniemi's Onnimanni favours nonsense and its use of language as a tool of expression, it is also an extraordinary example of rather realistic animal fantasy. Children are rarely told how nature really works without hiding its cruelty and dangers. In Onnimanni, a glimpse of reality is easier to swallow with the sweetness of fantasy.

5.6.3. Kunnas' Tiitiäinen Books and the Tradition of the Fables

Like Marjatta Kurenniemi in Onnimanni, Kirsi Kunnas, too, has written a conversation between a lizard and a frog. "Sisiliskot" (in *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*) presents the reader with

two lizards, Brother Sisi and Sister Lisi. They, thus, have the same names as Onnimanni's characters, which were introduced five years earlier. Kunnas' animal story returns to the genre of fables. It is far simpler and the description of nature is not important. This is partly due to the genre; instead of novels, Kunnas wrote short stories and children's poetry. She was, however, very familiar with English nursery rhymes and nonsense fiction. Hence, Kunnas' stories often have connections to Golden Age fiction due to the characters instead of the description of actual animal lands. Several other examples can also be found. Poems like "Nimetön elefanti" (An Anonymous Elephant), "Muusa ja Ruusa" or "Tikkalaulu" (Song of a Woodpecker) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* are all narrative nonsense poems about animals. Linguistic games are a significant element in all of them.

There are also more direct links. The rat in Kunnas' poem "Vanha vesirotta" (The Old Water Rat) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* bears a remarkable resemblance to the character of Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*. The link is, in fact, undeniable, because the poem contains a reference to Grahame's novel:

Kaislaranta kahisee,	(The willows are rustling,
suviheinä suhisee,	the summer hay is sighing,
rapakossa rahisee:	the puddle is splashing
Kuka tuolla tuhisee?	who is there sniffing?
(Kunnas 1988, 4; M. S's translation)	

The Finnish translation of the novel, in 1949, is called *Kaislikossa suhisee*. The title is embedded in the two first lines of the poem.

"Lypsymatka" in the same book refers, in turn, to Travers' Mary Poppins and its story about the dancing cow. In Travers' book, Mary tells the children about a cow, who cannot stop dancing, because a star has stuck in its horn and so it has to jump over the moon in order to get rid of it. Kunnas' cow flies to the moon voluntarily to milk it. It is accompanied by a cat, which, again, has a significant role in Travers' series. Like the cow, the Mary Poppins' cats visit the Royal Court in *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (Chapter 3). They also have adventures in the sky, because they live on the Cat Star (Chapter 3 in *Mary Poppins in the Park*).

Many of Kunnas' animal stories in *Tiitiäisen tarinoita* refer to the genre of fables instead of the works of the British Golden Age. Nevertheless, they often include poems, which resemble nursery rhymes with nonsense characteristics, like the poems "Harakan aarre" (The Magpie's Treasure") or "Kanan kaupunkimatka" (The Hen's Trip to Town). Punni the Bunny in "Punni" and "Ensimmäinen pieni", however, is a rascal, who resembles Potter's Peter Rabbit. It enjoys eating carrots, and invents all kinds of tricks in order to get them. As the Princess' bunny, however, it is allowed to eat them peacefully and is not threatened by danger, unlike Peter. Like the other animal characters in Kunnas' tales, Punni, too, does not wear clothes. So it and the other animals in Kunnas' stories, have significant differences in comparison with animals of the Golden Age. The British characters are usually dressed and very human, while Kunnas' animals are animal-like with characteristics typical of their species like those of Onnimanni's forest.

In most of Kunnas' poems about animals, the image of the world connects them with the Golden Age. Their world has very many nonsense characteristics. The logic is usually topsy-turvy, and the narration based more on describing odd details than in telling long stories. The linguistic game, too, is significant. It often borrows elements from animal language, as such as children imagine it to be (see Chapter 6.2). Therefore, Kunnas' animals are less human than the characters of the British Golden Age children's literature. Instead of behaving and talking like human beings, they maintain their animal manners and, though imaginary, an animal way of communicating.

Partly due to the tradition of the *Volks-* and *Kunstmärchen*, Krohn's significance and Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia*, Finnish animal fantasy of the 1950s presents rather a realistic description of nature in the tradition of Beatrix Potter. The fantasy elements are often created by adding human characteristics to the animals' behaviour, or by locating imaginary creatures in the landscape such as the elf, Onnimanni, or his beloved, the spring fairy Valpuri, whose name refers to St. Valborg's Night at the turn of April and May, which has traditionally been considered the end of the Nordic winter. Krohn's animals were more human than Kurenniemi's or Kunnas', but, for instance, living toys did not enter fantasy fiction written in Finnish very much at this stage. In Finnish children's fiction written in

Swedish, they were present as early as the 1920s and 1930s (e. g. von Schoultz's *Nalleresan*), but the toy fantasy did not properly enter modern children's fiction written in Finnish until the 1970s, when Elina Karjalainen's living teddy-bear, Uppo-Nalle, started his triumphant career.

6. Prose or Poetry?

6.1. Modern Poetry Meets Children's Fiction

The 1950s was, as noted in Chapter 3, a period, when modern English poetry was discovered by Finland. The situation influenced the entire literary field, including children's fantasy fiction, which was not the only form of prose literature in the 1950s. On the one hand, there were plenty of books in prose form, such as adventure novels and short stories with fantasy elements, while, on the other hand, poetry for young people was flourishing. If Marjatta Kurenniemi's or Oiva Paloheimo's works are mainly based on the prose form, Kirsi Kunnas' books tell tales in verse.

The importance of the mixture of prose and poetry is typical of the most significant texts of Finnish children's literature of the period, and the phenomenon can be explained by both the British intertexts and the spirit of the period's literary field. But how and why do poems and verses connect children's books with Modernism? The phenomenon is partly due to the free form a children's book offers its writer. Because of its marginal position in literature, it is more open to experiments. An interesting case in point is the change to Modernism in prose literature, which did not appear as rapidly as it did in poetry, where the Swedish-speaking authors had presented new ideas as early as the second decade of the century. Even the Finnish-speaking poets had found the new form and expression by the late 1940s and early 1950s. In prose, the changes came during the latter decade, when the trail blazed by the poets was followed. (Niemi 1995, 12-3) Children's fiction often follows literature written for adults, but, in this case, the changes happened simultaneously, perhaps in some cases (e. g. Jansson, Paloheimo) even earlier than in texts for grown-ups. Children's texts, partly because of their readers, cannot experiment too adventurously with language and narration, but they experiment wildly with imagination and logic. The image of the world is thus very often more daring and more modern than in texts for adults. Form, too, can be challenged. Poems can be composed together with prose, and modern with traditional. The boundaries are not so precise.

Though the idea of children's literature as a bridge between prose and poetry is bold, Finnish children's books of the 1950s brought the two forms together, and so had a chance

to transport new ideas to more traditional genre, too. Connecting the two forms was not, of course, new in literature, not even in children's fiction. For instance, Topelius' fairy tale "Rida ranka" combines the genre of a historical tale for children with a nursery rhyme. Numerous comparable examples can be found in the works of the British Golden Age: the nursery rhymes in Carroll's Alice, the squirrels' rhymes in Potter's *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin* or Winnie-the-Pooh's little songs and poems in Milne's novels. Poems combined with prose were, however, typical of the contemporary literature for the young as a strong trend, which gives an essential stamp to the entire decade.

Regarding poetry, as in many other respects, Finnish children's literature of the 1950s was a combination of tradition and novelty. It was inspired by English nursery rhymes, but simultaneously, as in the case of Onnimanni, which originally comes from the *Kanteletar*, it was linked to the international heritage of children's poems. Nursery rhymes, which are part of folklore (see Chapter 2.1.1.), are usually repeated aloud. They are often very musical, many of them having a simple melody. In some cases, they also have a moral tinged with horrifying, brutal details. (see Chapter 2.1.1.) As representatives of folklore, they are connected to lullabies, which were created to reflect both the relationship between mother and infant, and the atmosphere of the situation in which they are presented. (Saukkola 1996, 18-9)

6.2. Tove Jansson and the Landscape of Feelings

In Jansson's Moomin books, the prose is flavoured with poetry. Too-Ticky's or Snufkin's songs are, to some extent, similar to Winnie-the-Pooh's little poems. (see Aejmelaeus 1994, 44) In many ways, they are descriptions of the mental landscape. Boel Westin has described them as metatexts of the main texts. They both comment on the textual framework inside which they are located, and express the creativity of the fictional characters. (Westin 1996, 38) In *Comet in Moominland*, for instance, the title of the jolly song "All small beasts should have bows in their tails" describes the carefree feast before the dreaded doomsday. In *Moominsummer Madness*, the same song follows a catastrophe and is sung in the middle of misery, but this time Little My performs it, when she recognises the familiar melody in unknown surroundings:

Snusmumriken tog fram sin munharmonika och började spela mumintrollets gamla visa om "alla små djur slår rosett på sin svans".

Lilla My vaknade genast och tittade fram ur fickan. Dendär kan jag! skrek hon. Och så sjöng hon med myggligt gäll stemma:

...slår rosett, ja rosett, ja rosett på sin svans,
 alla hemuler bär krona och krans,
 homsan ska dansa när månen går ner,
 sjung lilla Misa och sörj inte mer!
 Röda tulpaner kring mumrikens hus,
 viftar i morgonens härliga ljus,
 sakta forsvinner en strålande natt,
 Mymlan går ensam och söker sin hatt!
 (Jansson 1992, 73)

Snufkin produced his mouth organ and began to play his and Moomintroll's old song, "All small beasts should have bows in their tails".

Little My awoke at once and put out her head.

"I know that one," she cried. And then she sang in her shrill and gnat-like voice:

All small beasts should have bows in their tails
 Because now the Hemulens are closing the jails:
 Whomper'll dance to the moon and rejoice.
 Blow your nose, little Misabel, and laugh at the noise!
 Look at the tulips, how happy and bright
 They're shining in morning's wonderful light!
 Slowly, oh, slowly a heavenly night
 Is fading away like an echoing voice!
 (Jansson 1955, 83)¹

The melody reminds both characters of the happy atmosphere of the Moomin house, and all the merry parties they have enjoyed there with friends. Those moments are very different from the one Snufkin and Little My share and for that reason the song is an echo of better days, comforting the children in the midst of a catastrophe.

The following song in *Comet in Moominland* expresses the depressed feelings of the wandering children, who are still far from home and its safe atmosphere:

Villerivallare,
 natten blir kallare
 klockan är fem.
 Du vandrar allena,
 på trötta små bena
 och hittar ej hem. (Jansson 1992, 96)

Higgely-piggely,

The path is so wiggely,
 The time is past four.
 Almost dead beat
 On tired little feet;
 No friendly door. (Jansson 1986, 130)

The song is filled with sadness and pessimism. The Moomin children do not know if they have just experienced their last party and whether they will ever find their way to their destination, the Moominhouse.

In *Moominland Midwinter*, Moomintroll performs an angry song to winter, which he wishes to fade away and let the sun come out. The emotional poem reflects Moomintroll's fear of the new experience, winter, and his frustration about the long wait for the distant summer. Too-Ticky's rhymes in the same book, however, are very narrative. They may tell about a squirrel, which was frozen to death, or declare that spring has finally come:

Jag är Too-ticki
 som har vänt ut och in på sin mössa!
 Jag är Too-ticki
 som vädrar varma vindar i sin nos.
 Nu kommer de stora stormarna.
 Nu kommer de mullrande lavinerna.
 Nu vänder sig jorden
 så att allt blir annorlunda
 och alla kan ta yllebyxorna av sig
 och lägga dem i ett skåp. (Jansson 1987, 108)

I am Too-Ticky
 And my cap's turned inside out!
 I am Too-Ticky
 Catching warm winds in my nose!
 Great blizzards are drawing near! Great avalanches roar!
 The great earth revolves
 And everything is changes these days
 Including people's winter woollens. (Jansson 1958, 135)

Boel Westin describes Too-Ticky's poems as sketches, which characterise important glimpses of the seasons and life itself. Thus, the poet has a continuous dialogue with the natural powers that rule the world. (Westin 1996, 43) Such a sophisticated way of illustrating a human's relationship to nature cannot even be found in the works of the British Golden Age. Instead, these poems may have a link with the poetic descriptions of

nature introduced to Finns in the *Kunstmärchen* of Topelius and Swan.

Describing the mental landscape in poetry also connects children's literature to Modernism. It is no wonder it is seen so clearly in Jansson's works, because the Swedish-speaking authors were the first to bring both Modernism and mental landscapes into Finnish literature. Such writers as Edith Södergran or Rabbe Enckell were pioneers of the trend. Södergran's poem "Autumn" (in *Dikter/ Poems*, 1916) represents the new way of describing the inner self:

De nakna träden stå omkring ditt hus
och släppa in himmel och luft utan ända,
de nakna träden stiga ned till stranden
och spegla sig i vattnet.
Än leker ett barn i höstens gråa rök
och en flicka går med blommor i handen
och vid himlaranden
flyga silvervita fåglar upp. (Södergran 1990, 35)

The naked trees stand around your house
and let in sky and air without end,
the naked trees stride down to the shore
and mirror themselves in the water.
A child still plays in the grey smoke of autumn
and a girl walks with flowers in her hand
and near the sky's edge
silver-white birds fly up. (Södergran 1984, 62)

As in many other things, authors writing in Swedish also captured the ideas of modern poetry before their Finnish-speaking countrymen. The modern movement in literature written in Finnish was also first seen in poetry, but this happened more than three decades later. Kirsi Kunnas, an author well-known for her children's books, was one of its representatives. So was Eeva-Liisa Manner, a poet and translator of Potter's tales and Carroll's Alice books (with Kunnas). Both Kunnas' and Manner's modern poetry for adults often emphasises the importance of music. (see Chapter 6.2) Colours and the mental landscape are also stressed in their works. Colours play a particularly important role in, for instance, Kunnas' "Aamut putoavat sinisiinä virtoina" (The Mornings Drop as Blue Streams) and "Musta, valkea, punainen" (Black, White, Red) in *Villiomenapuu*, or in Manner's "Bach" in *Tämä matka*, where deep colours illustrate the solemn music. The

landscapes these two poets describe are often also sketches of human feelings. For instance, Manner's "Kaupunki" (The City) in *Tämä matka* is not only a description of a hectic city, but also about urban anxiety. In Kunnas' "Sataa" (It is Raining) in *Villiomenapuu*, the rain is a metaphor for tears, and the poem is a story about sorrow.

Poems played an important role in Finnish prose literature for children in the 1950s, but the importance of children's poetry should not be ignored, either. Regarding them, Tove Jansson's significance cannot be stressed too much. Though most of her Moomin books were in prose, in the 1950s she also published *The Story of Moomin, Mymble and Little My*. As a picture book, it is aimed at smaller children, but as poetry it is a splendid example of modern ideas. The book tells of a trip, but under the surface its scary atmosphere also refers to the existentialist ideas of the post-war era. The story is written in rhyme, but in itself it is not at all traditional. It is a parody with intertextual relations to folk tales and children's moral stories, to mention just some examples. It has an open ending, or in a traditional sense, no proper ending at all. To get a jugful of milk safely back home is Moomintroll's quest, but by the end of the book the milk has turned sour and Moominmamma decides that the family will drink juice from then on. Thus, the great quest lead nowhere. (Stewen 1992, 23-8) Like some modern novels or poems, Jansson's picture book is rather an adventure in the mental landscape: a dive into Moomintroll's fears and anxiety.

Music is continuously involved in the poetry of the Moomin books, especially in the books' songs. Snufkin's or Too-Ticky's songs are musical representations situated in prose texts, which may, for instance, accentuate the festive feeling of the parties. Their form is rhythmic and they are supposed to be sung by the characters in the stories. Hence, it is no wonder that Jansson's works have continuously inspired composers.² The heirs of the lullabies are also present, like "Higgely-Piggely" in *Comet in Moominland*, which tells in sad tones about tiredness after a big party.

6.3. *Tirlittan* and the Concentrated Plot in the Nursery Rhymes

In Oiva Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, the significance of the poetry is very different compared to

Jansson's books. The verses of the nursery rhyme about Tirlittan, which start every chapter, although written by Paloheimo himself, work as a model for the structure of the novel. In a way, it is a concentrated version of the plot. There is a dialogue between the prose text and the poem in such a way that each passage of the poem gives the narrator's external description of the events, while the prose text concentrates on Tirlittan's point of view. A passage of a poem gives the theme to each chapter, which then in a more detailed form. The second chapter starts as follows:

Tirlittan meni torille,	(Tirlittan went to the market-place,
Tirlittan varasti,	Tirlittan stole,
Tirlittan vietiin vankilaan,	Tirlittan was taken to gaol,
Tirlittan karkasi.	Tirlittan escaped.)

(Paloheimo 1986, 15 [M. S's translation])

The prose text that follows tells about the chapter in more detail: about Tirlittan's hunger, which makes her steal a tomato and the nice policeman, who gives her sandwiches. The other chapters follow the same formula.

Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* also emphasises the importance of music. The orphan girl's ocarina, which is all she has left of her home and family, reflects her state of mind, and whether she is happy or sad. So, too, in Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* music is connected with the mental landscape. The ocarina has a significant role in the film version as a musical element uniting the different scenes. Other examples can also be found. One scene takes place in a forest, where the wandering Tirlittan ends up. She is depressed about her destiny, and thus sings the sad words of a hymn:

Sun tarhassasi, Herra, on	(Lord, there are numerous
niin paljon paljon puita.	trees in your garden.
Mä yksin lienen toivoton	I alone am hopeless
ja kuihtuneempi muita.	and more withered than the rest.

(Paloheimo 1994, 44 [M. S's translation])

Tirlittan first tries to play the hymn sadly on her ocarina, but the sound of the instrument cheers her up, and she starts to play the melody more joyfully. The merry music is in sharp contrast to the sad atmosphere of the words, which Tirlittan, therefore, questions. The words appearing in the hymn are similar to a well-known spiritual children's song "Mä

taimi olen sun tarhassas" (I Am a Seedling in Your Garden), where the atmosphere is completely different. It is a hymn about a child, who trusts in God and His good will and who feels safe, unlike the orphan girl in Paloheimo's novel. Similarities can be also found between Tirlittan's hymn and another well-known children's hymn, "Ystävä sä lapsien" (Lord, the Friend of Children), which is a prayer, in which God is asked to protect the little children on Earth.

6.4. Kurenniemi: Keys to the Secondary Worlds

In several cases, short poems and nursery rhyme-like verses connect the text with the characteristics of British nonsense books. Such is, especially, the case in Marjatta Kurenniemi's books. Her poems in *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla*, *Puuhiset* or "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa", are not only poems, but also either instruments, which transfer the main character to the secondary world, or declarations of the extraordinary logic, which rules the new world. They are located amidst the prose text, and are also considered poems inside the world of the text. They do not represent the typical way of speech in the secondary world. Their purpose is often to clarify the logic of the new world that the reader has entered. A song from "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa" serves this function:

Ylösalaisin-maassa	(In Upsidedown-land
on kaikki toisinpäin.	Everything's the other way round.
Ylösalaisin-maassa	In Upsidedown-land
tehdään niin eikä näin.	things are done this way not that way.
Puut kasvaa latva alaspäin,	Trees grow from the top downwards,
on takaperin eteenpäin.	and backward is forward.
Ja kaikkein tyhmin viisain on,	The silliest is the wisest
on onnellisin onneton.	and the happiest the saddest.
Ja ikäväkin hauskaa	And dull is funny
Ylösalaisin-maassa on.	in Upsidedown-Land.)

(Kurenniemi 1954, 106; M. S's translation)

A poem may also be the start of a story. In Kurenniemi's *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* a nursery rhyme from the *Kanteletar* works as the story's theme. Unlike *Tirlittan*, it does not give the story a pattern - as a never-ending poem it hardly could. It does, however, work as a theme in a way typical of nonsense. Just as Alice meets Tweedledum, Tweedledee and Humpty Dumpty among others in *Through the Looking-Glass*, so the narrator meets Onnimanni in

the prologue. In Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni*, a character from the nursery rhyme, thus a structure of the text, has been intertextually transferred to another text. The character has thus given the theme to the story, while the poem itself does not have a deeper significance.

Kurenniemi's poems, too, are often sung inside the framework of the text. Their function is not to move the plot forward, but to introduce a musical element. In some of Kurenniemi's works, such as *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* or *Puuhiset*, the rhymes have an essential task in relation to the plot. They are not interpreted as music, but rather as magical words: the rhymes are a combination of a few simple words, and are capable of transferring a character to a secret world. Kurenniemi's stories are often less musical than the works of her contemporaries in the 1950s. In her children's novels, characters rarely sing or play musical instruments. Poetry is treated more as a key to the magic world than as music. Verbal lines are thus not supposed to be combined with a melody as in some other authors' texts.

6.5. Kirsi Kunnas - Queen of Finnish Children's Poetry

For generations of Finns, Kirsi Kunnas may be the most loved Finnish children's poet. However, poetry also marks her children's prose stories. *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*, for instance, includes poems in animal stories to describe the animal's nature. In "Harakan aarre", the magpie's lust for shiny objects, its boasting nature and its laughter-like voice, are clarified in a poem. The song, sung by the magpie, is partly composed of the bird's laughter and partly of the names of shiny metals, like silver, iron and tin. But a poem inside the story's framework can be an important part of the plot, too. In some cases, such as "Pallo Pyöriäinen", a poem is used to explain the events of the prose story.

Kirsi Kunnas' *Tiitiäisen satupuu* is a splendid example of children's poetry, where British nonsense characteristics are composed with the modern influences of the decade. Her children's poems are written in rhyme, while her adults' poetry is in free verse. The children's poems often tell tales, but instead of concentrating on long stories with closed endings, they rather show glimpses of atmospheres and describe accidental occurrences. In this respect, they are similar to Jansson's *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My*.

(see Stewen 1992, 21, 28)

Kirsi Kunnas' children's poems are often small stories. They have a narrative essence, and can as well tell about a little troll going courting ("Peikon kosioretki" in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*) as about an old rat's flu ("Vanha vesirootta" in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*). They often have, however, a musical structure and may be even called songs or lullabies (e. g. "Tiitiäisen tuutulaulu", "Tiitiäinen's lullaby" in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*). Music was, in fact, an essential element of Finnish poetry in the 1950s and Kunnas used it in her adult poetry, too. For instance, *Villiomenapuu* starts with the poem "Huilunsoittajan laulu" (The Flautist's Song), while the sea sings "Kehtolaulu" (The Lullaby) for a person in the same book. The child-like human being is not very different from his imaginary successor, the forest troll Tiitiäinen in "Tiitiäisen tuutulaulu". In addition to these poems, *Villiomenapuu* has plenty of poems, whose names refer to music, like "Myrskylaulu" (The Storm Song) or "Hymni" (The Hymn). The same trend continues in *Vaeltanut* (1956), where Kunnas presents a new lullaby, "Kehtolaulu". Again, the human is lulled to sleep by the sea. The lullaby theme is also present in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* in "Nuku nuku", which, in its content, is a traditional representative of its genre.

Like Kunnas, another modern poet of the 1950s, Eeva-Liisa Manner is well-known for her musical poems, which may either concentrate on music as a theme or follow musical patterns. In her early collection of poetry, *Tämä matka* (1956, This Journey) poems called "Kontrapunkti" (Counterpoint) and "Kontrapunkti II" (which is dedicated to Mozart) and "Bach" can be found. Later on, the same composers were present in her prose texts. In her short story "Hippopotamus" in *Kävelymusiikkia pienille virtahevoille*, for instance, the hippopotamus plays Bach on its spinet.

In Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s, narrative elements were most often presented in prose form, except in some cases, such as in Kunnas' little tales, which were often written in rhyme. Poems, for their part, represented musical elements (Kurenniemi's *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* and *Puuhiiset* are exceptions). Such elements are connected to the contemporary modern poetry. Nonsense, too, is an essential element of both trends in

literature of the 1950s. The form, however, differs drastically between Modernism of the 1950s and the contemporary children's literature. New adult poetry was in free verse, while children's verses were in rhyme. So, they rather follow the route dictated by Victorian nursery rhymes and nonsense poems (e. g. Carroll) than adult poetry. This is no wonder, because, for instance, Kunnas translated English nursery rhymes.

Similar themes also unite children's literature and modern poems. The mental landscape of the lonely wanderers (for instance in *Tirlittan* and *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My*) resembles Finnish poetry written in Swedish in the early decades of the twentieth century (e.g. Edith Södergran's poems), but are similar to Eliot's *The Waste Land* and its successors, especially regarding the atmosphere. The form itself, the rhymes, is partly given because the readers are children. On the other hand, it is also due to personal choices. In some cases, writers of children's poetry were either also writing for adults (e. g. Kunnas) or were well aware of the changes in the literary field (e. g. Paloheimo). Hence the form was also due to a conscious, personal choice. Kunnas' verses of "Haitulan laulu" in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* declare that the author would rather stop writing than follow the dominant trend led by Tuomas Anhava.

Finnish children's literature of the 1950s was an extraordinary combination of prose and poetry. The stories, mostly told in prose form, both became the unforgettable stories of the post-war era and continued its tradition. Poems, for their part, gave the stories deeper significance. Instead of a chain of events, the narration contained detailed descriptions of the atmosphere and mental landscape. The musical elements of the poetry also linked the stories to modern popular culture. They gave a glimpse of the coming era, when stories were not only presented in written form, but as plays, films and music, too. Numerous tales from the post-war era were later also presented in a new form, where music had a significant role³.

7. The Values of Finnish Children's Fantasy Literature

7.1. Importance of Family in Finnish Society

7.1.1. Nuclear Family and Motherhood: Jansson's Moomin Books

The post-war age was a complex phase in relation to values. On the one hand, many things had changed in Finnish society during the war, but, on the other hand, traditional values were still idealised. Finnish culture itself was not a coherent entity. It was constructed of several different levels and groups, which all had their own ideas about art and entertainment. This was, in fact, one reason for the lively cultural debates of the time (see Chapter 4.1.). Hence, numerous Finnish mentalities should be discussed instead of a national identity. This multifaceted nature of society was not, however, reflected in the children's fiction of the period in all aspects. Certainly there were stories, which could either take place in a city or the countryside, among workers or the upper class and there were stories, which either aimed to entertain or improve the young readers' minds. But however different the texts themselves were, their values usually followed the same pattern. Middle-class ideas about the family dominated them and the woman's place was often seen to be in the kitchen.

The importance of the family was stressed in Finnish literature of the 1950s as forcefully as in the works of the British Golden Age. This is due to similar ideas in their background. Although the two text groups were very distant historically, the opinions of the same thinkers echoed in them. The ideas of Campe and Hegel were clearly seen in Golden Age texts (see Chapter 2.3), and the same ideas had been rooted in Finnish soil through the views of Snellman and Topelius. They had also kept their position very well over the course of time.

Happiness in both British fiction and Finnish texts could not be found without a family. In British children's fiction, the middle-class family was described as a "haven", "a secure little plot" and "The Garden of Eden". An orphan, who did not have a family, was described like a refugee without a state in contemporary British children's fiction. (Inglis 1981, 84) The same pattern can be found in Finnish children's books.

In Finnish literature, there was a long tradition of glorifying the middle-class family. F. M. Franzén, for instance, as early as the late eighteenth century described the happiness and warmth of the nuclear family in relation to the coldness of the surrounding world. Topelius considered the importance of the family a political issue. (Häggman 1994, 145,178) He stressed its importance in many stories he wrote for children, such as "The Birch and the Star", where the family and fatherland are equated or in "Skogsbjörn" (1848, The Forest Bear), where a little boy called Björn has adventures as a sailor on the Seven Seas in order to return to the Finnish coast to find happiness at home. In the twentieth century, Anni Swan used the idea especially in her children's novels. *Iris rukka* (1916, Poor Iris) or *Ollin oppivuodet* (1919, Olli's Learning Years) both tell about children, who have lost their families one way or another, and who search for them during the course of the stories where finding a family means finding happiness.

In addition to the British literary models, the contemporary societal situation also stressed the importance of the family in Finnish children's fantasy. In the 1940s and 1950s, the nuclear family successfully regained its importance, at least at the official level. Väestöliitto (The Family Federation of Finland) was founded in 1941 to help citizens marry and start a family. (Jallinoja 1984,50)¹ After the war, women were encouraged to return home, while men took their jobs. (Haavio-Mannila 1984, 175-6) Home was, again, seen as a woman's natural environment. Päivi Keronen has noted that sex roles were redefined after the war, which happened, to a great extent, on the same terms that had dominated nineteenth-century society. Keronen calls the phenomenon of family centredness "familism". Within its framework, adult roles in the family were described very traditionally. In the books of the day that dealt with social behaviour, the woman was supposed to gracefully create a lovely atmosphere at home, while the man worked as a breadwinner preferably in an office. Children were supposed to be obedient as in the previous century, but now parents also had to earn their children's respect. Families were considered the primary structure and the best future for society. (Keronen 1996, 123, 125, 127) Therefore, it is no wonder that the image of a family differed little from the visions presented during the British Golden Age.

The idea of a middle-class family is perhaps most obvious in Jansson's Moomin books. It is the most important element of happiness, but also continuously threatened. In some books, the happy family is together at the beginning of the story, but a dreadful catastrophe separates them. In *Comet in Moominland*, written in the 1940s, Moomintroll and other children experience frightening adventures on their journey back home. When they arrive home, they meet the warmth of the family. Moominhouse is unchanged, and thus represents the ideal middle-class home. In *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My*, the story has a similar structure. The surrounding world is full of danger, but Moominhouse is a haven, or Garden of Eden, where happiness is eternal. Jansson used the same idea decades later in *The Dangerous Journey*, where Susanna finds the happy paradise of her dreams, Moominvalley, after a dangerous quest.

In *Moominsummer Madness*, the situation is relatively similar to, for instance, Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*. A catastrophe, this time in the form of a flood, separates the family members from each other, and the Moomin children have to wander on their own in a world, which is sometimes quite hostile. They support each other and thus are not totally alone like Tirlittan. Thus, they resemble the children in Topelius' "The Birch and the Star". They do lack, however, a home and nuclear family. Finally, the whole family returns to Moominvalley, where they can live happily again. The situation itself is less balanced than in *Comet in Moominland*, where Moominmamma already waits for the children and is so sure of their arrival that she bakes a delicious cake for the celebration. In *Moominsummer Madness* the whole family are scattered around the world, and for some time even their home is not save from the disaster.

Moominland Midwinter is a more complex interpretation of the same theme. Moomintroll, who usually sleeps during the winter, wakes up, but his mother does not and so he has to face the new, frightening situation without the support of his family. Again, the situation resembles Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*. Moomintroll has to cope by himself in the cold, strange world. He meets new creatures. Some of them, like Too-Ticky, are friendly, and some, like the Hemulen, are as strange as the adults, who Tirlittan meets. Others, like the Lady of the Cold, winter and death herself, are extremely frightening. At the end of winter,

Moomintroll rescues Little My from the breaking ice and catches a cold. Moominmamma wakes up then and takes care of her precious child.

Mothers, like Moominmamma, were, in fact, in a key position in descriptions of the families. Even though times were changing, the mother figure stayed unchanged, and a feeling of security surrounded her. Her appearance was in many ways similar to the ideal described by Campe and even Rousseau. Campe described creating the warmth of the home as the task of a happy middle-class woman, and as her true way to serve the nation. Taking good care of children and giving them love was stressed by Rousseau. (Hägman 1994, 172-4) These ideas maintained their values even in the post-war era, as we can note from surprising sources. Such characteristics, which are essential for an ideal woman of Campe's or Rousseau's writings were also emphasised in the popular life-style books of the 1940s and 1950s in Finland, as Keronen has noted. (Keronen 1996, 127)

In British Golden Age fiction, such mothers rarely appeared. Irene's grandmother in George MacDonald's Princess books has characteristics typical of the image, but after all she is not the child's real mother. (Carpenter 1986, 75) For some reason British fantasy fiction did not favour the character, which was often sought in realistic children's fiction (for instance in Dickens's works). This might have links with the idea of a paradise for children only (see Chapter 2.1.3), but it might be, at least partly, because middle-class children were often taken care of by nannies during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. (see Chapter 2.3) The mother of the Darling children in *Peter Pan* goes to a ball and leaves the children with the nanny, and is thus very distant to them. After the Golden Age, P. L. Travers continued the tradition in her Mary Poppins books, where the Banks children have a closer relationship to their nanny than their mother. She is not, however, an ideal woman of the era in her self-love and vanity, but rather a protest against the demands. However, completely contrary to Campe's ideas, the nanny has replaced the natural mother.

Still, the image of an ideal woman, whoever she happens to be, is very caring and virtuous in Victorian children's fiction. Claudia Nelson has noted that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the image of a middle-class child was often connected with the

development of the image of women in literature, and so children, too, were often described as angelic creatures, who melted even the iciest heart. In Nelson's opinion, the image of both girls and boys in the Victorian era was drawn in this way, whereas in the Edwardian era, the sexes were already distinguished according to their future roles as men and women, husbands and wives. (Nelson 1991, 2, 6-9, 19, 30)

In post-war Finnish children's fantasy fiction, the sex roles had some connection with the British Golden Age, but German connections ensured the importance of Campe's ideas. Such views had also been significant for Snellman and Topelius. The Finnish middle-class had, even in the nineteenth century, fewer servants than the British used to have. Taking care of children, at least to some extent, had always been natural for Finnish mothers in all social classes. Campe's ideas of an ideal woman were thus still more evidently present in Finnish fiction in the post-war era, when the ideal of a family was also on the rise. Examples of the phenomenon can be easily found. For instance, Jansson's *Moominmamma* is a middle-class woman, who creates warmth in her home. She is saintly and patient, never losing her temper². *Moominmamma* always has sweets in her handbag for cheering up her children, and plasters to heal their wounds. She spoils her husband with tenderness and attention. She mainly lives for other people. Such a mother is, of course, every child's dream, but it was difficult to realise in post-war Finland, where women often had only a limited time to spend with their children because most of it was spent working on the farms where they lived and in housekeeping.

7.1.2. Tirlittan - the Orphan Girl

In post-war children's fiction, the theme of orphan-hood was especially controversial. Many children had lost their fathers in the war. During the most crucial years, some had also experienced separation from their natural parents on being evacuated to Sweden. Some children's books, like Aili Konttinen's *Kirsti Comes Home (Inkeri palasi Ruotsista 1947*, translated in 1961 by Oliver Coburn and Ursula Lehrburger, who - for some reason - decided to change the main character's name), were written about the subject in the 1940s, but the theme was, however, still controversial in the early 1950s. Children's films too, like *Pikku Ilona ja hänen karitsansa* (1957, *Little Ilona and Her Lambkin*) utilised the theme.

(see Chapter 4.1.) It was first planned to be filmed in the early 1940s, but the war prevented the project, and the script was thus used in the following decade. In *Pikku Ilona*, the young protagonist faces several dreadful experiences after the death of her mother in the bombing. Finally, her dear father is lost on the front. In the end, however, she is adopted by a wealthy family, where she finds happiness. Ilona even says so at the end of the film.

The same kind of story can be found in *Pieni Luutatyttö* (The Little Girl with the Broom, 1958), which starred the same child actress, Riitta Hämäläinen, who played Pikku Ilona³. War is not part of the story, but orphan-hood and the search for a real home are again the theme. The main character, Liisa, wanders alone in the dangerous city and tries to sell her brooms, until a kind policeman and his wife decide to adopt the poor girl and to offer her the happiness of a middle-class nuclear family. (Sihvonen 1987, 75, 81)

The most obvious example of books emphasising the topic is Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*. A sudden thunderstorm, as unexpected as the sufferings of war, has separated Tirlittan from her family. During the story's narration, she wanders alone, an outsider in the cold world. She has no family and thus belongs nowhere. Finally, she finds her family: her mother, sisters and a brother. This links Paloheimo's book with the contemporary context. Although Tirlittan finds the happiness of family life again, she does not find the nuclear family, which had been praised by political speakers from the time of Snellman and Topelius. She has lost her father, perhaps for good.

Matti Paloheimo, the author's son, thinks that Tirlittan having no father is due to a divorce, like his own fatherless childhood. (Paloheimo 1985, 167) But, on the other hand, she could have lost her father in the war like so many other children in the 1940s. Tirlittan cannot be interpreted as a book about certain children, like *Levoton lapsuus*, which has biographical references to the author's own childhood, because Tirlittan represents a child of an era of confusion, and her loneliness and homelessness are important themes in the book. Happiness can come, when the confusion is over, and things can return to normal, but never to the way they used to be.

Not much is told about Tirlittan's mother. She does not even appear in the novel until the last few pages. Her character is, however, very angelic. Mother's appearance by Tirlittan's bed makes the girl feel she has arrived in Heaven. One cannot question her mother's goodness. She is almost like an angel, and in this respect similar to the women of British fiction during the Victorian era. Together with Moominmamma, Tirlittan's mother fulfils Campe's idea of an ideal middle-class woman.

7.2. Boys and Girls

7.2.1. Briskness and Vanity in Jansson's Moomins

In addition to a woman's gentle and patient role as a mother, the models for women are also seen in the girls of the period's literature. During the Golden Age, for instance, children's fiction had the task of teaching children their roles as adults, men and women. (Nelson 1991, 1) In other words, the kind, well-behaving girls and active, adventurous boys of children's literature were supposed to teach real children how to act. To some extent both pre- and post-war Finnish fantasy fiction also shares this task. Boys and girls are given ready roles to follow so as to learn how to behave as adults. A girl should, according to these models, be soft, feminine and vulnerable, while a boy may be adventurous, extrovert and outgoing. In the 1950s, however, there were exceptions to the rule. Times were beginning to change.

Little My first appeared in Jansson's book *The Book about Moomin, Mymble and Little My* in 1952, and continued her fictional life later in the 1950s in *Moominsummer Madness* and *Moominland Midwinter*. She is a real rebel. Her games and actions are often outrageous. She is fearless and is not frightened of anything, which can easily scare boys. Not even if she should be. She is not frivolous about her looks, but she is very proud of her courageous nature.

Little My's character is contrasted by Snorkmaiden, who represents the traditional idea of femininity. She is Little My's complete opposite. Snorkmaiden is very interested in her looks and jewellery. Moomintroll, her boyfriend, has to rescue her from a meat-eating bush in *Comet in Moominland*, but in *Moominsummer Madness* Snorkmaiden insists her dearest

one play a game, where he should gallantly rob the helpless maiden.⁴

In *Moominland Midwinter*, Moomintroll tries to rescue Little My from the breaking sea ice. Little My does not, however, consider it courageous, since, in her opinion, she can take care of herself. Indeed, she hopes that no one comes to rescue her, because she wants to experience the adventure herself. Moomintroll just does it, because he thinks he should. To some extent Moomintroll can be interpreted as a stereotype of male thinking; an idea, which guides a man to rescue a woman. But such an interpretation would be exaggeration, because the sex of the rescued person does not really matter during the actual danger. The example shows, nevertheless, that Little My acts very differently from the traditional sex roles.

Both Little My and Snorkmaiden are extremes. Neither offers new alternatives. Such characters had actually been present in children's books much before Jansson's time. In L. M. Alcott's *Little Women*, we can meet the two sisters, Jo and Amy. Boyish roughness dominates Jo's behaviour, while Amy's weakness is her girlish frivolity. Enid Blyton's *The Famous Five* is well-known for George, the tomboy, who wants to participate in the adventures, while Anne, the traditional little girl, prefers to prepare meals for the other members of the group. Little My and Snorkmaiden, too, are very limited characters. In themselves they offer nothing new for child readers. But if their characteristics were to be combined, a new kind of girl would be born, such as would resemble Paloheimo's Tirlittan or Lindgren's Pippi. Such a character would be free from the traditional limits applied to girls, but she could also express her femininity in a traditional way if that suited her better. Combining the elements would be important, when building a new role model for the readers.

7.2.2. Tirlittan, Kunnas' Rebel Princess and the New Girl Models

In addition to Little My, there are also other girl characters, who no longer follow the traditional patterns, but have found new roles. This does not mean an adaptation of the masculine models, but the creation of a new feminine role. As I mentioned above, the title character of Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* is a splendid example of this. She is a rebel, who

questions the old ways of behaviour. She is sensitive enough to show her feelings and tell God of her sorrows, but she is also courageous enough to dance on a rope in the circus. Tirlittan is also proud of her qualities, and so she is pleased by her beautiful appearance, especially her golden hair. Again we can find similarities between her and Lindgren's Pippi. Pippi, too, loves adventures, but she is still proud of her femininity. She is a super-girl, who wants to be a terrifying pirate, but also a fine lady on Sundays.

In Kunnas' story "Pallo Pyöriäinen" in *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*, we can also meet an active character, Princess Pallo Pyöriäinen. She is a young woman, who wants to find her prince, but on her own terms. In order to get what she wants, she does not even avoid rebelling and telling her father out loud what she thinks. Her femininity is, nevertheless, stressed in the story. Kunnas describes her as being as beautiful as the sun. Her appearance does not fit the stereotypical ideas of feminine beauty. In order to look different from her numerous sisters, Pallo Pyöriäinen eats so much that she becomes round like the sun. After she loses her temper, because her father executes all the princes eager to propose to her, she goes to sleep for an unlimited time. Unlike Sleeping Beauty in the various fairy tale versions, Pallo Pyöriäinen is not a victim of an evil witch, but an active young woman who wants to decide about her own life. Just as Tirlittan represents a modern girl, so Pallo Pyöriäinen is a fairy tale version of an emancipated young woman.

7.2.3. Kurenniemi and Traditional Sex Roles

If Jansson, Paloheimo and Kunnas found new options for the sex roles, Marjatta Kurenniemi's works offer several examples of the traditional ones. The role models for boys are also present in a more obvious way in her works, than those of her contemporaries. In *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla*, for instance, Princess Lilaloo cannot free herself after being kidnapped, but her friend Pau, a boy, must draw her a rescuer, Prince Hassunhauska (Jolly Jocular). In *Puuhiiset*, Mari cannot solve a difficult situation herself, and so asks for help from Ari, the boy next-door. The shadows of Mari and Ari, which changed places when the children were very young, represent traditional sex roles. Ari's shadow has become bored participating in girl's activities, and Mari's shadow has suffered from the rough games boys are supposed to play. Since the shadows changed

places, when the children were still babies, the text suggests that individuals are born in the traditional sex roles instead of learning them.

The same approach can be also found in "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa". Alli suffers from roles, which have been turned upside-down in the secondary world. Boys are more interested in traditional girls' games, and girls are keen on rougher games in the secondary world. The mother of Alli's friend, Illa, does the farm work, while father takes care of the housekeeping. By the end of the story, Alli is happy to return to the primary world, where things are, in her opinion, right. But though the story accepts traditional values, it also leaves some questions unanswered. What if the feminine role in Upside-down land could also work here? What if women were responsible for earning a living and men did the housework? Does Kurenniemi join the same group as Jansson, Paloheimo and Kunnas by presenting ideas, which question the prevailing system, this time by defending a woman's right to work outside the home?

In the 1950s, such ideas were already common in Finland. Most married women still stayed at home and traditional values prevailed, but the situation was not so simple. The country was still mainly agricultural and women often had significant roles on the farms. During the war, many women had also found jobs in the cities outside their own home. At the end of the war, many of them had to quit in order to give their jobs to men, who were returning from the front. Not all did this, however, and so there were many working women in the late 1940s and 1950s. The number of married working women was also growing continuously: in 1950 it was 35%, while in 1960 it was as high as 45%. (Jallinoja 1983, 119-22) Therefore, mothers, too, had careers outside the home.

The film industry, again, offers indicators of the phenomenon. In the famous Lea Joutseno films of the 1940s, the heroine is always quick-tongued. She seems to be independent, but in fact she is dependent on men. Her position is defined by her father and her goal is a good marriage. In the 1950s, however, film heroines started to have professions and, very often, even had an academic education. (Lehto-Trapnowski 1996, 152-4) The image of a woman started to reinvent itself. It had already taken some steps in the 1920s and 1930s, but the

change, coming in the 1960s, would be something previously unseen.

In Kurenniemi's books, the role of independent women and girls was also highlighted by giving them negative opposites. Jansson's vain Snorkmaiden has a spiritual relative in, for instance, Suhusiina Yyliö in *Puuhiset*. Suhusiina thinks highly of her beauty³ and can be seen as a traditional femme fatale. She is pretty and selfish, and ruthlessly breaks boys' hearts in order to achieve her goal. Pullukka, the house-keeper, is a completely different female figure. She is very feminine and her femininity is expressed in a positive way. She is highly intelligent, and, in the battle against the pine tree goblins, she uses a traditionally feminine tool, a broom, which she makes of the sharp pine needles. But her greatest dream is, however, to marry the prince of the tree goblins, Plintti. He was earlier in love with Suhusiina, who loses his love because of her own bad behaviour. Pullukka's character is a positive opposite for Suhusiina in the terms of the 1950s. Such a situation has, however, two sides. On the one hand, Pullukka is a positive role model, but on the other, the hostile relationship between the two girls suggests an eternal conflict between women. A similar setting can be found in Kurenniemi's "Satu tavattoman tavallisesta prinsessasta" ("A Fairy Tale of an Extraordinarily Ordinary Princess) in *Kuu omenapuussa*. Princess Liisa, who has a typical Finnish name of the period, is described as an ordinary girl. She is interested in house-keeping and other things, which were considered suitable for girls in the 1950s. Her natural charm and vivacity help her conquer the prince's heart, who, for his part, is fed up with vain, and thus boring, princesses.

The ideal of a natural, modest girl is very similar to L. M. Alcott's ideal of young women in *Little Women* or in *An Old-Fashioned Girl*. Such a model was discussed by Finnish youth themselves in *Nuori Voima* (Young Power), a magazine in the 1920s, compared to the vain, modern jazz-girl. A fashionable girl was disapproved of, and an energetic young woman, keen on helping her mother, was appreciated. Contemporary novels for girls also supported the image. (Kaarninen 1995, 177-8) The ideal was maintained for decades. In the 1950s, ideal girls, like Anni Polva's Tiina (first book published 1956), were energetic and courageous, but also warm-hearted and helpful. Pullukka and Princess Liisa represent the same type.

The 1950s was a decade of change in terms of the position of women and girls in Finnish children's literature. Women were supposed to be good mothers, but also needed to be more independent, because, in some cases, they had to bear the entire responsibility for taking care of the family. Society was changing and both traditional and radical role models were present. In children's literature, women of tomorrow, that is the girls, were presented as softly feminine types as well as radical and adventurous. Often the change was not profound, and so the lively, energetic, but, simultaneously, traditionally feminine, girl types were frequently presented in children's fiction.

A man's position was not as controversial, and thus adult men, or fathers, often stayed in the shadow in children's fiction. Men with war traumas were far too difficult a topic for children's fiction. Fathers do not often even appear in children's stories, unlike mothers, who offer children safety. If fathers appear, however, as in Jansson's Moomin books, they are distant, complex and so unapproachable for children, unlike the warm mother figures. The description of boys, too, did not change. They either stayed innocent children (like Pau in Kurenniemi's *Kuinka-Kum-maa on kaikkialla*) or followed in the footsteps of their fathers as active and decisive warriors (like Ari, who plans strategies in the battle against the pine tree goblins in Kurenniemi's *Puuhiiset*). The position of girls was controversial, while the masculine patterns of growing up were not questioned.

7.3. Forgotten Minorities and Exotic Curiosities

In the 1950s, very few foreigners lived in Finland. Finnish culture was not, however, a homogenous entity. Foreign influences had travelled to Finland for centuries. Invaders, first Swedish, then Russian, had transferred some characteristics of their own culture to the country they ruled. But, in addition to the invaders and their descendants, who had lived in Finland for generations, there were also other ethnic minorities living inside the Finnish borders. The Sàmi culture, for instance, differs considerably from Finnish culture, partly for linguistic reasons. The Gypsy culture has often been in a controversial position throughout Europe in relation to the dominant culture.

We can imagine that the various minorities living in Finland might have been able to give children's literature its own, special stamp, which would make it different, for instance, from British children's books. Finnish children's literature presented, however, a very unified image of the country in the 1950s. Only one minority, the Swedish-speaking Finns, were well represented, partly due to Tove Jansson. The Swedish-speaking culture also had had a significant position in Finnish culture for centuries because of its dominant position as the language of the upper social groups. It was also the language in which Topelius, the first great story-teller for Finnish children, wrote his tales.

Other minorities were only mentioned very briefly. Sàmi had, in fact, no role in children's fiction of the 1950s, even though the Finnish film industry eagerly used the romantic ideas linked with them in the 1950s in such films as *Aila - Pohjolan tytär* (1951, Arctic Fury) or *Valkoinen peura* (1952, The White Reindeer). Gypsies, too, were almost forgotten. The Gypsy culture was favoured as a topic in such contemporary films as *Kulkurin valssi* (1941, The Vagabond's Waltz), *Kaunis Veera* (1950, Beautiful Vera) or *Kuningas kulkureitten* (1953, Vagabond King), while children's fantasy literature of the 1950s tells about them in only one book. In Nissinen's *Lammenpei*, the main character meets some Gypsies, who are rather friendly to her, but they are soon stamped by preconceptions. When the Gypsies discover the value of the little girl, who can do miracles with her flute, they first suggest to each other that they rob her. Dishonesty is thus connected with them in *Lammenpei*. Even the positive stereotypes in *Lammenpei* are rather exaggerated.

Russian immigrants do not even appear in Finnish children's fiction of the 1950s. This is probably due to political correctness, linked with the post-war situation. In the pre-war period, Russians were described, for instance in the adventure stories for boys, as stupid and nasty. The preconceptions towards Russians were also connected with anti-Semitic ideas, because, as strange as it may sound, socialism and Jews were often associated together. (Immonen 1987, 215, 232, 236, 188-9) Russians described in these books are usually citizens of the Soviet Union instead of immigrants, who, for their part, often faced jealousy in Finland because of their property and other negative feelings. (Karemaa 1998, 110-1) The post-war political situation forced writers to soften their attitudes towards

Russians and, along with them, Russian immigrants. Hence, the group does not even exist in children's books of the 1950s.

Thus Sàmi, Gypsies and Russian immigrants do not exist in Finnish children's fiction of the 1950s, where Finland is presented as the fatherland for ordinary Finns, the majority. In this respect, the situation was rather similar to books of the British Golden Age. Children's literature was written for the representatives of the majority and, as such, was supposed to transfer approved values to the young readers.

In British fantasy fiction, one of the most striking values was the rejection of ethnic minorities, especially blacks. This is not as typical of Golden Age books as it is for their successors in the twentieth century, such as Enid Blyton's fantasy books for young children. The image of blacks is very negative in them. The same concerns Finnish fantasy fiction of the 1950s, where black people are presented as funny and silly. Kurenniemi's story "Kuinka Petteriannien hallitsijasuku nousi Murjaanian valtaistuimelle" (How the Ruling Family of Petterianni Rose to the Throne of Black-a-moor Land?) in *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja* is an example. There two Finnish children happen to travel to the heart of the African jungle by aeroplane. They meet a black tribe, whose members are described as ridiculous, but evil:

He [Mur-Mur-Marmatus] sat on his luxurious throne; it was an old bath-tub, which had been turned upside-down and Negro slaves were waving tennis rackets above his head. Mur-Mur-Marmatus himself was a very impressive sight. He wore a red hair-drying helmet, usually used at the hair-dresser's, on his head. In his right hand he had a torch, true, the battery was dead, and in his left, a football. He wore pink pyjamas with a rosebud pattern, and two empty cigar boxes on his feet. All of them were precious objects, because they had been stolen from white travellers. Mur-Mur-Marmatus was widely feared as a cruel, ruthless thug.

- Who are these white dogs, who dare disturb my peace, Mur-Mur-Marmatus yelled in an angry voice. (Kurenniemi 1954, 54; M. S's translation)

Helga Sjöstedt's illustration stresses the view. The country itself is called Murjaania, Black-a-moor Land, which has a racist tone. The dictator of the tribe is, as well as being silly, also evil and cruel. In the end, he dies from stomach-ache got by eating aeroplane soup the children cooked for him. The tribe is happy and relieved over his death and chooses the children, presented as superior creatures, to rule them as their new royalty.

Though the story sounds utterly racist, it does not speak of actual matters, which concerned contemporary Finnish children. Rather, it shows ignorance. Few black people were seen, even in Helsinki, in the 1950s. The year of the Olympic Games, 1952, offered an extraordinary opportunity for some inhabitants of Helsinki to meet foreign people for the first time, but elsewhere in Finland, black people were more or less imaginary creatures. Therefore, most Finns had neither knowledge nor experience of black people, who were considered exotic and unreal. In the childhood culture, blacks were connected with the pictures on liquorice and chocolate boxes, or with caricature toys, such as the popular children's playing-cards of the time, *Musta Pekka*, Black Peter. So, the black people in Kurenniemi's story are modelled more after imaginary creatures than real people. That image was, still, very racist, but had been created somewhere where black people were actually together with whites. The Finnish interpretation was only a distant echo of it. Armand Lohikoski's film, *Pekka ja Pätkä neekereinä* (1962, Pete and Runt as Negroes, 1962) presents an interpretation, which is very similar to the view in Kurenniemi's story. Their similarities are not surprising, because the complete *Pekka ja Pätkä* film series was very popular in its day even among children, perhaps because it was easy to understand even for very young viewers, as Peter von Bagh has noted:

Otherwise [Pete and Runt -] series is a kind of chronicle of the period, experienced through a child's brain. There are plenty of subjects, typical of the magazines of the time, present like marvelling at foreigners (*Pekka ja Pätkä neekereinä* is an astonishing summary of this view) or television, or the attitudes of the man in the street or, for instance, urban neighbourhood culture... (Bagh 1992, 215; M. S's translation)

Pekka ja Pätkä neekereinä presents a childish idea of the racial differences. In the film, a can of black shoe polish is quite enough to create an exotic appearance. A white man can turn into a black man, and back to white by this simple trick. After all, the racial differences do not really matter, because no one has ever really seen a black man in Pete's neighbourhood, anyway. Differences are thus only an imaginative game.

Similar examples can be found in other Nordic countries as well. Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi in the South Seas* has characteristics similar to Kurenniemi's story. There, too, the white

people, who are considered superior, though Pippi herself is very much superior indeed in comparison with anyone, black or white, travel to exotic surroundings. Black people are described as nice, funny but helpless. They are not evil like the white robbers, but are incapable of taking care of themselves. Thus, they are happy to let Pippi's father, Captain Longstocking, rule as their king. Pippi, too, is welcomed as an admired, white princess, but she chooses rather to be her splendid self. The landscape and people of Pippi's South Seas are, nevertheless, very far from reality.

Pippi in the South Seas and "Kuinka Petteriannien hallitsijasuku nousi Murjaanian valtaistuimelle" are fantasy stories. They have very few connections with reality, as very few Finns or Swedes had ever met black people. Neither country was in this respect very multicultural. So the twisted idea about black people in Kurenniemi's story and Lindgren's book reflects the ignorance in Nordic societies in the 1950s. In the worst cases, such ignorance was to change to racist anger four decades later, when, for instance, Somali refugees fled to the North. A children's book was then used as a tool for teaching positive attitudes. In Elina Karjalainen's *Uppo-Nalle ja Kumma* (1994, *Uppo-Nalle and the Stranger*), for instance, the teddy-bear, Uppo-Nalle, defends his girlfriend, a black teddy-bear, Kumma, from racist attacks. The book speaks of friendship between different people from different cultures. But, again, Karjalainen's *Uppo-Nalle ja Kumma* was written in a society very different from the agricultural Finland of the 1950s.

Racist remarks about black people in children's fiction of the 1950s can be easily explained by ignorance. The ignorance about local minorities is a more complex issue. It was probably partly due to racist ideas, and partly to the weak position of the small minorities, especially in the case of Sàmi. The Gypsies, for their part, have always been discriminated against because of their life-style, which was very different from that of the majority. The Russian minority had confronted hostile attitudes as early as the pre-war period. After the Second World War, they often wanted to hide their origin, because defeat in the war did not improve the opinions ordinary Finns had about Russians.⁵ The idea of national identity might also have played a significant role. After the war and the fear of experiencing the same destiny as the Eastern Bloc countries, the idea of a coherent cultural entity might have

been a comfort.

We should note that the same idea had been present in Finnish children's literature ever since Topelius' time. Though Topelius paid attention to Sàmi as an ethnic minority, he still spoke of the one Finnish national identity and its development. The purpose was after all to unite the Finns. The idea remained its strong position, particularly in the prewar era, when Nationalist forces were on the rise. It is stressed in children's fiction, such as Mary Marck's Eeva series, which being school novels are very different from Topelius' stories. Mary Marck, who was in fact Kersti Bergroth hiding behind a pseudonym, emphasises patriotic love for the fatherland, though she adds a drop of irony:

/.../ Listen Eeva, as soon as it's possible, I'll leave Finland [Hertta said].

- Don't you love Finland, then? asked Eeva.

- I love Finland terribly much, said Hertta, - I love Finland so much that sometimes in summer I have to climb on the cellar roof to sing the Pori March. And of course I will return. (Marck 1982, 30; M. S's translation)

After the war, many things had changed drastically. The ideals taught to children, do not, however, change as rapidly as the political situation. In many cases, traditional ideas also give comfort. The war and the changes following it had ruined the Nationalist ideas of the 1930s, but they had also stressed the importance of being an independent Finn. Finnish children's literature in the 1950s was thus still developing in the footsteps of Topelius. In this respect, its ideas had their roots in more or less the same period as the literature of the British Golden Age. Hence, the values of Finnish children's fiction are in many ways similar to their British models. The Finnish population was usually presented as one people, having only one national identity. The reality, though, was very different, but children's literature does not correspond to it. Rather it mirrors the ideals of the period.

8. Characteristics of Finnish Culture in Fantasy Fiction of the 1950s

8.1. Kureniemi's Books and Reflections of Contemporary Society

All literature is linked to the society in which it is created. Inspirations stream from everyday life, even though the literary work itself might emphasise the supernatural. Literature reflects contemporary values in one way or another, by supporting or criticising them. British children's fantasy fiction can be seen as a splendid example of this. The Golden Age books both escaped and criticised the hard contemporary reality on the one hand, but, on the other, expressed ideas typical of the period (for instance, traditional sex roles, ideas of class society, etc.). Similar characteristics can be found in Finnish children's books of the 1950s, which have many intertextual connections with their British models, but, as products of the Finnish society, they reflect its essence. The values and political situation of the age can be traced in these books, which also powerfully mirror Finnish culture. British links do not prevent this.

Unlike the highly industrialised British society of the turn of the century, Finland was still an agricultural community in the 1950s. Eventually, it went through a vigorous structural change in the next decade, when urban living became predominant in the Finnish life-style. The war speeded up this progress. Erja Saraste mentions three new employers brought about by the war, which all developed Finnish industry: the war reparations industry, accommodation for the evacuees and former soldiers, and reconstruction. (Saraste 1994, 98) We should note that half the working population still won its bread from agriculture or the forest. The number decreased in the 1950s by 200,000 people. The change would soon occur. Antti Alanen considered the 1950s to be an overture of the radical changes, which were going to affect the concepts of work, industry and agriculture. At the beginning of the 1950s, Finland was still an agricultural state receiving monetary aid from the World Bank, such as generally given to developing countries. Horses were typical at the beginning of the decade with twice as many horses as cars in 1955. At the beginning of the next decade, however, the number of cars and other vehicles had multiplied and tractors had replaced horses in the countryside. Farm workers, too, had moved to towns and cities and become factory workers. (Alanen 1991, 19-22)

During the 1950s, a vast change also took place in the Finnish mentality. Kari Immonen defines the 1950s as the decade when a modern mentality developed, dominated, in his opinion, by a belief in the future. As the situation changed, novelties no longer shocked people because they took them for granted. Changes had become an important part of everyday life. (Immonen 1996, 123-5) This attitude clearly arrived in Finland in the late 1950s, though the Olympic year, 1952, gave a glimpse of the new thinking. In the first half of the decade, the agricultural society was still full of confusion and anxiety. Many things were going to change but everyday life, as a whole, did not differ from previous years. Thus, art and literature for most of the 1950s do not mirror the rapid changes. Instead the traditional, agricultural society is stressed.

The countryside was thought of as essentially Finnish, and is present in, for instance, the most successful Finnish films of the time, like the Niskavuori series. Children's literature, too, was inspired by the Finnish landscape, which partly reflects the authors' ideals about nature, inherited from Romanticism through both *Kunstmärchen* and British fiction. But it was also the natural environment in which a Finnish child lived, and it made sense that fictional adventures should take place there. As Katarina Eskola has noted, all Finns, even children of the towns and cities, had strong connections with the countryside through their relatives or as the place where summer holidays were spent (Eskola 1994, 47). Hence, children's fantasy fiction did not repeat the mistake that, for instance, Finnish documentary films describing children's lives had made previously. Vappu Ikonen and Marketta Saari have noted after watching a selection of the documentaries of the 1930s that instead of concentrating on a typical Finnish child's life of the day, who lived in the countryside, the films stayed in the cities. (Ikonen & Saari 1993, 72) Fiction, two decades later, approaches children by describing them in the environment they know best. It was more likely the countryside, where the reading public lived than a town or city.

Therefore, children's fantasy books are often set in the countryside. In this respect, they resemble the modern literature of the 1950s in general: it followed international trends, but also took place in the Finnish countryside. (Laitinen 1967, 200) The importance of the countryside is particularly powerful in Marjatta Kurenniemi's works, such as the story,

"Alli Ylösalaisinmaassa". It describes a rural community, where agricultural work is a natural part of the life-style. Even though the sex roles and the natural laws have been turned upside-down, the secondary world still mirrors the society, where the story is written:

- Don't you consider our house cosy and beautiful? whispered Illa to Alli. - Father is such a skilful house-keeper.
- Back home my mother takes care of it, whispered Alli to Illa.
- In the Upside-down-world, father cooks the meals and cleans the rooms, said Illa.
- Mother, for her part, sows and ploughs and does all the farm work. (Kurenniemi 1954a, 107; M. S's translation)

In the stories "Kaivonvinttisatu" (A Sweep Well Tale) and "Pekkapaimen ja Pilvipaimen" (Peter the Shepherd and the Shepherd from the Clouds) Kurenniemi does not describe life in her contemporary countryside, but the environment of the past. The first one is a tale about a humanised sweep well, which escapes from the farm yard, where it belongs. Life on the farm refers to the previous centuries, or the beginning of the 1900s instead of the 1950s.

In "Kaivonvinttisatu", the events take place during the summer. The farm is populated by several workers, very uncommon after the war, who amuse themselves by dancing folkdances. It is a pastime, which is often present in Finnish films, describing country life during the old days (e. g. *Rob the Robber* 1949, *At the Edge of the Canal* 1949, *Ten Men from Härmä* 1950, *The Young Miller* 1958). We have to remember, though, that as a fantasy tale Kurenniemi's story is not set in any particular place or time, but in the world of fairy tales. The sweep well's final destiny, marriage with a proud queen, underlines this. The story has, however, characteristics, which can be linked to an essentially Finnish way of approaching rural life.

"Pekkapaimen ja Pilvipaimen" tells of a lazy shepherd's unusual summer day. Pekka's task, shepherding the sheep may sound like a pastoral, but, above all, it refers to the older children's task of watching the cattle in the pasture during the summer. The job still existed in the 1950s, but it was certainly not as typical as in the earlier decades. Sheep, too, were no longer so common in the 1950s, though due to the wool shortage they had been more

common during the war. So this story can also be interpreted as a journey to the countryside of the past, which no longer existed in the 1950s.

The concept of the invented tradition also works here. Even though Finland was still a rural society in the 1950s, it had progressed radically through the historical changes, such as equal suffrage at the beginning of the century, the crofter reform after the Civil War, and the Second World War along with the evacuation of Karelia. For all these reasons, the class society in the countryside had started to crumble and so the real farms in the 1950s were essentially smaller than the big farms with numerous workers, which are present in both books and films. The dominant tradition describing the countryside in the 1950s was to concentrate on the big farms of the past. Though the image given was false in many respects, it was not questioned. If we use Eric Hobsbawm's term, we may call it an invented tradition to describe the countryside in a romanticised way. Because the tradition seemed to be powerful, it is no wonder that the image can be also found in children's fiction.

The invented tradition describes the ideal of the contemporary Finns. The countryside was considered a positive environment, while the city lacked the same flattering definition. Past and tradition were respected, because elements essential for history are brought to a genre, which was seeking novelties by establishing connections with Modernism and internationalism. This can be seen as one element of the Finnish contemporary mentalities, and links the texts of contemporary children's fiction essentially with Finnish culture. It also connects children's literature with the rest of the period's literary field. (Laitinen 1967, 200)

The events set in the countryside are not enough to link the story with the Finnish national consciousness, however. The importance of farm work and the countryside maintained its position in Finland until the 1960s, but as Matti Peltonen has noted, the situation was rather similar in most European countries. He also remarks that the rural culture has been often used as an explanation for all social development in Finland, though the differences between the separate groups may have been significant. The rural culture of the past in

Finland, though often referred to as a homogeneous entity, was anything but. The countryside was populated by groups differing drastically from each other, such as land owners, crofters and workers. A mentality could not be born thus based on their living conditions. (Peltonen 1992, 130-3) Hence the rural idyll of Finnish literature and films did not have its roots in the mentalities of a heterogeneous countryside of the past, but in the ideals and thus also mentalities of Finns living in the 1950s. The tranquillity of the past before the horrors of war, the innocence of nature and the eternal summer, often present in both films and books, mirror the dreams Finns had in the middle of a changing situation.

This Finnish mentality is essentially present in some children's books of the time. Marjatta Kurenniemi's books offer fine examples. The importance of nature, both as a livelihood for many and as a living environment for Finns, is stressed forcefully. A person lives with nature on their side, and thus has to cope with it. Nature is also respected rather seriously. Therefore, nature protection and environmental problems were already an issue in children's literature of the 1950s.

Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* emphasises the important issue of nature protection. The main character's animal hospital represents an ideal society, where everyone is protected and no one gets eaten. Outside *Onnimanni's* idyllic home, however, the natural laws dominate the behaviour of the races. A child, even though he or she might consider these rules utterly cruel, has to accept them, because they do not disturb the balance of nature, unlike the actions of people. *Onnimanni* warns the new generation about the mistakes made by the older generation and about the ignorance towards nature:

Sisi seemed to have found a dead beetle. *Onnimanni* bent over it worried.

- But that's my old friend, the Forest Beetle, he said, with his voice full of sorrow. - It was only yesterday when I last met it, and it was happily telling me about his nest building tasks.

- What has happened to it, since it is so very crushed now? asked Sisi, blinking its black pearl eyes.

- Someone has stepped on it, said *Onnimanni*.

- That someone must have had an enormous foot, wondered Sisi, looking at its own, little webbed feet. - I wonder who it was?

- A human being, replied *Onnimanni* with an angry voice. - No one else walks so blindly without seeing anything, as a human being. I can't understand what they do

with their eyes and brains, since they don't see or think anything. Mumbling and scolding to himself, Onnimanni moved the late Forest Beetle beside the path and buried it under the yellow leaves. (Kurenniemi 1953, 81; M. S's translation)

The protection of nature in this passage presents a certain ideal of Finnish thinking in children's literature. It, and the entire worship of nature in children's fiction, has its roots in the same ideas as children's literature itself at least to some extent. The importance of nature was already stressed in Topelius' poetical *Kunstmärchens*, which had inherited some of their views from both Rousseau and the ideas of Romanticism. The presence of nature in Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s is also seen, however, from a more practical point of view. Fields, forests and cattle are part of nature, but, at the same time, provide a necessary source of income for most Finns. The Finnish concept of nature has, in some respects, been alienated from the high ideals of Romanticism, and adapted in a practical way to the local lifestyle and culture.

Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s comes essentially from an agricultural society. The landscape is often from the countryside, and even the towns described are more often small centres of commerce instead of big industrial cities. This is also a characteristic typical of children's fantasy fiction, which describes almost eternal holidays in idylls. But when we approach later Finnish fantasy books, like Kurenniemi's *Onneli ja Anneli ja nukutuskello* (1984) or *Putti Puuhkajasaarilla* (1989), we can point out the difference in thinking, at least in her texts. In both these books, an ecological catastrophe caused by the rapid progress of industry or construction threatens the idyllic peace. In the 1950s, Finnish children's fantasy books reflected the reality of an agricultural society, while the urban lifestyle managed to find its way into fiction along with the progress.

Children's fantasy fiction in Finland not only reacts to the contemporary society and life style, but also reuses the elements of local folklore. This is partly due to the earlier phase of development in Finnish children's literature, *Volks-* and *Kunstmärchen*, but, at the same time, it also shows enthusiasm about using domestic elements in a genre, which had originally foreign roots. Finnish children's fantasy fiction is a national adaptation of the genre. Its elements are more generally known to be typical of British fiction, but the text is

given characteristics, which connect it with local culture and tradition. Intertextual references to older Finnish literature, like fairy tales, are naturally present, but elements of folklore are used as well. In this way, even earlier translations of British stories were adapted for Finnish readers. The Finnish translation of Kingsley's *The Water-Babies - Vellamon lapset* (Vellamo's children) by Lyyli Vihervaara is such an example. The British story has a neutral title, which refers to the environment where the events take place. In the translation, it is changed to a title, which links the foreign book with ancient Finnish mythology and its goddess of sea, Vellamo, familiar from *The Kalevala*. The current ideas might question such a way of making an adaptation instead of a translation, but *Vellamon lapset* was given credit for its skilful translation by a contemporary critic. (see Salola 1931, 100)

Adaptations have always been common in translating children's fiction, because this way texts have been made easier for children to approach. The names of the characters and places have often been translated or changed to more familiar ones. However, the translations of British Golden Age books went further. *Vellamon lapset* links Kingsley's book with the ancient mythology presumably unknown to the author, but Anni Swan's translation of Alice (*Liisan seikkailut ihmemaassa*) approaches the ideas of adaptation, too. Alice is changed to Liisa, a name more familiar to readers of the period. Carroll's adaptations of well-known English nursery rhymes and poems have been replaced, too, by Swan's adaptations of common Finnish verses. In Riitta Oittinen's idea, each translation of Alice is, according to Mikhail Bakhtin's term, a polyphonic entity, where, in addition to the author's voice, the translator's voice is present as well. In this way, a children's classic lives its own life separated from the original text in each language into which it is translated. (Oittinen 1997, 17) Richard Bamberger has also noted that the original language does not matter to child readers, who mainly become interested in the book because of its plot and story. As we can see, translations have, in a way, become part of the national literature for children. (Bamberger 1978, 19) *Vellamon lapset* or *Liisan seikkailut ihmemaassa* are thus as familiar books to Finnish children as the works of Kunnas, Kurenniemi or Jansson. They have all been part of a Finnish childhood for a long period.

The relation to national culture is more complex than in translations in the case of the Finnish stories. In translations, the British stories are given Finnish characteristics during translation, while the Finnish stories themselves combine typically domestic elements with intertextual references to British texts. This all happens inside the borders of a genre, which has been mostly formed on British soil. The structure of the story, the plots and motifs can thus be similar to the ones in British fiction, but some characteristics can only be found in Finland.

Characters are one of the most typical representatives of the phenomenon. Creatures familiar from folk stories and beliefs are often used in modern children's fiction. This is not, however, a characteristic only typical of Finnish children's fiction. According to Maria Nikolajeva, Irish authors especially favour it (e. g. Patricia Lynch's *The Turf-Cutter's Donkey* series, 1934-9, where fairies have a significant role). The phenomenon is also typical elsewhere. Dragons (e. g. in C. S. Lewis' *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* or in J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit*) and witches (e. g. Margaret Embry's *The Blue-Nosed Witch* 1956) are often used, and their role may differ significantly from the ones in folklore. So, for instance, witches in modern children's fiction are usually kind or at least harmless instead of the horrifying creatures of folk stories. (Nikolajeva 1988, 56-7) Characters of well-known mythologies, like classic fauns, are also present in the representatives of modern fantasy fiction (see e. g. Lewis' *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*). A journey to another world also appears in folklore, for instance, in the tradition of the shamans¹, but such a voyage has few or no connections to the fantasy fiction with the 1950s, which rather follows the British models.

Ancient gods of Finnish mythology are rarely present in children's fiction, but here Nissinen's *Lammenpei* makes an exception. We may meet both the ancient gods of the sea, Vetehinen and Vellamo, and the god of the forest, Tapio. Like *Lammenpei*, they are also described as fairy tale creatures, which have been created by a human story-teller. Thus their mythological status has diminished. They are, in fact, only fairy tale creatures, whom the main character meets on her journey.

In Finnish folklore elves, or *tomtens*, maintain their environment. They may live as well in the forest as the stables, or in the house as well as the sauna. These characters interested children's authors at a very early stage, like Topelius' "Tomtegubben i Åbo Slott" and Aili Somersalo's *Mestaritontun seikkailut* show. In the 1950s, Marjatta Kurenniemi was especially interested in elves. *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* introduces the forest elf Onnimanni and his cousin Sylvester, who watched over a house and its inhabitants. These two elves take care of their traditional tasks as good spirits of their surroundings, but the main character of Kurenniemi's story "Tonttu Tohelo ja maailmanjärjestys" (Tomten Butterfingers and the World Order) in *Antti Karoliina ja muita hassuja satuja* is hardly capable of even taking care of himself. Tonttu Tohelo's role can be compared to the changed position of witches in modern children's fantasy fiction. Instead of a reliable and wise elf of the folk beliefs, he is rather their caricature or opposite. Tonttu Tohelo is unable to take care of his traditional tasks, and instead of maintaining and cherishing his environment he creates a terrible mess. Onnimanni is more closely linked to the old beliefs, while Tonttu Tohelo is a humorous creature and as such a more modern modification of an elf's character. In his ridiculous essence, he cannot be respected or feared, like the old, wise spirits of folklore, but only laughed at. Hence, he resembles the helpers of Father Christmas more than their ancestors.

The idea of elves as humorous helpers of Santa Claus had also become successful by the 1950s in Finland. Ever since the 1930s, a popular radio show for children, "Uncle Markus' hour for children" presented the idea of Father Christmas living in Korvatunturi, Finland with his elves. In 1948, a short children's film, *Santa's Workshop*, was also made about the topic. It was based on Usko Kemppi's little-known children's story, "Kirje Joulupukille" (A Letter to Santa), which was later published in *Seikkailu satumetsässä* (1955, An Adventure in the Fairy Tale Forest). Markus Rautio, better known as Uncle Markus, was involved in the making of the film as narrator of the story, but the ideas he had established in Finnish children's minds were slightly changed in the film (for instance, the workshop is in Haltiatunturi instead of Korvatunturi). The film, which received quite negative reviews from critics, was made to strengthen the growing idea of Finland as the land of Father Christmas, and about elves as his helpers instead of ancient spirits. The latter view was,

however, still present as examples like Kurenniemi's Onnimanni show. Thus, in the 1950s, an elf was given two roles: a respected maintainer of its surroundings and a humorous helper of Father Christmas. Kurenniemi's Onnimanni presents the first type while Tonttu Tohelo falls inevitably into the latter category. Both groups have, nevertheless, their origins in the same beliefs.

Goblins, too, are characters typical of Finnish folklore, though they are also more generally present in European beliefs.² Kurenniemi's *Puuhiiset* gives them and their cousins, the *vetehiset*, who live in lakes and the sea, substitutes, whose empire is the forest:

- A tree goblin, repeated Mari after looking at the creature for a while. - What is that?

- Haven't you ever heard of tree goblins? asked the creature morosely. - All right, I have always thought that our tourist bureau advertises the tree goblins very poorly abroad. Have you ever heard of ordinary goblins or water goblins?

- I certainly have, answered Mari. - They are some kind of spirits, I suppose.

- That's right, said the tree goblin. - We belong to the same tribe. But because we live in trees, we are called tree goblins. Do you understand me now?

Mari nodded.

- In which tree do you live?

- We, the maple tree goblins, live in maples. But there are several others, too. Rowan, alder, willow, and even, the tree goblin lowered his voice to a whisper and looked carefully around him, pine tree goblins! (Kurenniemi 1956, 18; M. S's translation)

Kurenniemi's tree goblins have symbolic connections with contemporary Finnish politics - the timid maple tree goblins represent the Finns, while the hostile pine tree goblins are Soviets. Her story "Menninkäinen Penninkäinen" (Goblin Penniful) in *Kuu omenapuussa* also uses an imaginary character, a goblin, to mock contemporary politics, in this case inflation and devaluation.

The characters' appearance is borrowed from folklore. The tree goblins behave, however, more like the creatures of modern fantasy fiction than their ancestors, who tricked human beings. Like human beings, they are emotional and live in a society similar to our own. Thus, they can be compared to other imaginary characters of fantasy fiction, like the hobbits. Like them, the tree goblins also live in their own secondary world and do not communicate much with other creatures, though Mari's shadow brings her accidentally into co-operation with them. Their origins are, however, in Finnish folklore as the passage

above mentions.

Trolls, too, are imaginary creatures in Nordic folklore, though they are present in foreign tales as well. Pessi in Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* is a well-known example of the trolls of modern children's fiction, but such creatures can be found in Kurenniemi's works of the 1950s as well. "Mökki metsässä" (A Cottage in the Forest) in *Kuu omenapuussa* introduces the troll On-the-Opposite, whose logic works upside-down in relation to the ordinary way of thinking. The story has strong connections to Kurenniemi's "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa", and its structure is very similar, too: both Alli and Maijakaija are taught how things should be done properly. (see Chapter 5.5.3.) The presence of the troll connects the tale, nevertheless, with the national adaptations of children's fiction in Finland.

Finnish texts with British characteristics are also very often connected to traditional, well-known representatives of older Finnish children's fiction. This gives them an essentially national quality. Kurenniemi's *Oli ennen Onnimanni...* offers a splendid example of such a phenomenon. The title refers to a never-ending children's poem from the *Kanteletar*. Irja Lappalainen connects it with English nursery rhymes (Lappalainen 1980, 67), which makes its position interesting to define. A continuous poem, part of the written canon of Finnish folklore, gives the text several nonsense characteristics (see Chapter 5.5.3), which also connect it with the British Golden Age tradition. The *Kanteletar* rhymes thus bind Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni* to both the Finnish and British traditions, and make it one of the most interesting examples of national adaptation.

The use of fairy tales, too, is a means of adapting fantasy fiction to the Finnish tradition. *Märchen* or fairy tales formed a major part of Finnish children's fiction before the Second World War, and thus were thought of as essentially Finnish. The significance of Yrjö Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* in the post-war conversation about children's literature also gave importance to fairy tales during the post-war period and encouraged the new authors to use its elements.

The trend was often fostered by referring to the inheritance of the great story writers,

Topelius and Swan. Their way of poetically describing the beauty of nature was often especially remembered. Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia*, though, brings new elements to it by approaching nature in a scientific way in addition to the traditional poet's way. Kurenniemi's *Onnimanni*, too, combines the two different views by bringing spring fairies and the changing colours of nature poetically into the story, and by explaining the rough laws of nature as well. *Onnimanni* is thus both the heir of Topelius and Swan, but, to a larger extent, it is a follower of Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia*. The links with the earlier examples like Topelius cannot be, however, underrated, because Kurenniemi herself has referred to them in connection with her later works³, which shows her knowledge of the history of Finnish *Kunstmärchen* and its significance to her work. Topelius is also mentioned in *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* in connection with the painting of Queen Blanka, about which he wrote the story "Rida Ranka".

The relation of the contemporary children's fantasy fiction with the fables is much less complex. They were already present as a very early form of children's literature (Lehtonen 1981, 90-5) and their didactic narration served the educational purposes of children's fiction. Hence their tradition, paradoxically enough, continued in children's fantasy fiction, which had its roots in the British Golden Age that attempted quite eagerly to separate itself from the moral purposes of earlier children's fiction. Certainly the British Golden Age, too, was referring to the fable genre, which is seen, for instance, in Beatrix Potter's tales, but their moral is often rather extraordinary and only stresses the art of surviving. Some representatives of Finnish children's fantasy fiction, nevertheless, try to teach their child readers good behaviour and manners. Kurenniemi's stories "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa" ja "Mökki metsässä" have human beings as their major characters, but the structure is, however, very similar to the one in traditional animal fables. The human protagonist does not follow her mother's advice in the beginning and strange events in an unfamiliar environment teach her a lesson.

The international representatives of fairy tales are often present in Finnish fantasy fiction of the 1950s. Kurenniemi's "Satu tavattoman tavallisesta prinsessasta" (A Fairy Tale of an Extraordinarily Ordinary Princess) in *Kuu omenapuussa* is an opposite version of H. C.

Andersen's classic story. Kurenniemi's version is also a parody; pretentious, snobbish manners are criticised by presenting a healthy, energetic princess, who is preferred by the prince over the weak caricatures of the feminine types.

More than any other children's writer of the day, Kurenniemi used various methods to make the genre of fantasy literature familiar to Finnish readers. For this reason, her stories are interesting meeting points for literature and folklore, Englishness and Finnishness. As such, they have helped the genre of fantasy fiction develop its own, special stamp in Finland.

8.2. Kunnas' Tiitiäinen Books and Folklore

Kirsi Kunnas, too, has coloured her fantasy texts with Finnish characteristics. The troll Tiitiäinen in Kunnas' collections of nursery rhymes, *Tiitiäisen satupuu* and *Tiitiäisen tarinoita*, borrows its appearance from Finnish folklore, for instance. In the poem "Tiitiäisen tuutulaulu" (Tiitiäinen's Lullaby) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*, Kunnas describes the goblin's appearance:

Tiitiäinen metsäläinen
 pieni menninkäinen,
 posket tehty puolukasta,
 tukka naavatuppurasta
 silmät on siniset tähdet. (Kunnas 1988, 30)

(Tiitiäinen from the forest,
 the little goblin.
 His cheeks are made of lingonberries,
 and his hair of beard lichen
 His eyes are blue stars [M. S's translation])

In addition to Tiitiäinen, Kunnas has created numerous other characters, who had their origins in folklore. In "Peikko ja kuu" (The Troll and the Moon) in the same collection, a sweet troll character very similar to Tiitiäinen is introduced. It has adventures in an essentially Finnish forest landscape with spruce and swamps. The tiny man, Haitula, in Kunnas' poems "Haitula", "Haitula ja nappi", "Haitulan hattu" and "Haitulan laulu" (in *Tiitiäisen satupuu*) also lives in the Finnish countryside. It resembles an elf or *tomten*, but its origins are not completely Finnish. It is more of a character from nonsense poetry than

Tiitiäinen or Kunnas' other trolls.

Kunnas' "Pallo Pyöriäinen" in *Tiitiäisen tarinoita* represents an active princess, who wants to find her prince on her own terms. The story has several references to the genre of classical fairy tales. The king is worried, because it seems that his tale is not going to have a proper fairy tale ending, and the princess knows that six new heads will grow from the dragon's cut neck, because they have both read fairy tales. The princess also deliberately parodies other fairy tales. She is so fed up with her father's way of tricking the princes, who come to propose to her that she decides to protest by going to sleep. She intends to sleep at least one hundred years and so she is very different from the princess in "The Sleeping Beauty", who is a passive victim of the witch's revenge.

Kirsi Kunnas' animal stories also rebel against the conventional patterns of narration. They have allusions to fables, which are similar to moral tales with no happy ending. Kunnas' stories do not, however, follow their terms, but rather trace Carroll's tracks. Fables told in Alice, like "The story of the oysters", are absurd interpretations of fables and do not even try to persuade children to follow given rules. Instead her stories only mock them. Kunnas' animals experience a destiny, which is simultaneously both sad and amusing. The elephant in "Nimetön elefantti" hurts its trunk by doing something it not supposed to do: sucking nectar from roses. The proud, vain billy goat in "Kilipukin uudet vaatteet" (The Billy Goat's New Clothes) in *Tiitiäisen satupuu* is laughed at by the narrator, but though it is ridiculous, it is not taught a moral lesson.

Kirsi Kunnas' poems and stories skilfully combine different traditions: the British tradition of fantasy fiction, and Finnish folklore and *Märchen*. Therefore, it is no wonder that all her books are still read and loved by new generations.

8.3. Jansson's Moomins and Eternal Summer

Tove Jansson, too, reused folklore in her Moomin books. Her books created a bond between the ancient Nordic troll beliefs and modern fantasy fiction for children. The nonsense characteristics, philosophical approach and image of the world are all modern

qualities in Jansson's books, but their main characters are, however, trolls.

The appearance of the Moomintroll family is rather exceptional; instead of little woolly creatures like Kokko's Pessi or Kunnas' Tiitiäinen, they resemble hippopotamuses. A hippopotamus, in turn, is a typical animal of nonsense fiction and modern literature with nonsense characteristics. It is present in the works of both Eliot and Manner. (see Chapter 3.2.2.) (Hollsten 1995, 32-8) In addition, traditional trolls, also, populate Moominvalley. The little beasts of the forests are rarely actual animals in Jansson's illustrations. Instead, they resemble the typical image of trolls.

Another characteristic linking Jansson's books to the country of their origin is the idea of an eternal summer. The admiration of the idyllic summer is not only typically Finnish, but is also generally present in Nordic thinking. This has a practical basis. Summer is more essential here than elsewhere after the cold winter. It also means a return to nature (practically, for instance, by moving to the summer cottages) and the revival of the Romantic ideas. Janina Orlov mentions that a summer idyll, such as is presented in Jansson's Moomin books, has become a concept in Swedish-speaking children's literature in Finland. It can also be found in very different texts, like Carpelan's *Anders på ön* (1959, Anders on the Island). (Orlov 1996, 29, 31) The views in children's literature written in Swedish differ very often, though, from the ideas presented in fiction written in Finnish. Even in the 1950s, Swedish-speaking children's authors often presented the landscape from the point of view of the wealthier summer guests, while the Finnish-speaking more often described the life of people living in the countryside. The idyll itself has thus similar characteristics, but the viewpoint is different between the two groups.

Like Kurenniemi and Kunnas, Jansson, too, refers to international fairy tales. *The Moominsummer Madness* emphasises the dramatic version of "The Sleeping Beauty" as a positive opposite to the pompous tragedies of western drama. Jansson has already referred to the same folk fairy tale in *Finn Family Moomintroll*, where the castle is replaced by the Moomin house covered with exotic flowers and the sleeping princess by Moominmamma, who is woken up by her son. (Westin 1988, 169) *The Moominsummer Madness* in which

Anna Makkonen has found references to both Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Makkonen 1991, 11-3) is, however, a more complex case. *Finn Family Moomintroll* has references to the story of the sleeping princess, but *The Moominsummer Madness* uses it as an element of a parody, in the same way as it uses operatic librettos and classic tragedies. (see Chapter 4.1.) *The Moominsummer Madness*, like Kurenniemi's story about the ordinary princess or Kunnas' "Pallo Pyöriäinen", is a text about texts.

In spite of the international origins of the fairy tales referred to, they link Finnish children's fiction of the 1950s with the pre-war tradition of the *Märchen*. Attention was not really paid to the international origin of the fairy tales mentioned, because they were seen as classic fairy tales in general, also representing the local tradition of story telling. In the case of "Sleeping Beauty", it should be also noted that Topelius' version of the story was most widely known in Finland, and as a Finnish author writing in Swedish, Jansson thus refers to the literary heritage of her own linguistic minority. Both Jansson's Moomin books mentioned above were written in the 1950s, but the fairy tale gained popularity as early as 1949 following the Finnish film version of the story. *Sleeping Beauty*, directed by Edvin Laine, was based both on Topelius' and the Grimms' versions, but its primary source was the children's play by Topelius of the same title. At the end of the 1940s, Laine's film received much attention, and the critics' attitudes were almost completely positive. It maintained its popularity for decades, and it still has a special position in the history of Finnish children's films. Hence, it is not an exaggeration to argue that its existence was a modern link between the traditional *Märchen* and fantasy fiction in contemporary Finland.

Finnish children's fantasy fiction of the 1950s was not an isolated phenomenon. It has much in common with the British Golden Age, but simultaneously it is also closely linked to the local culture with references to folklore or earlier Finnish literature. Folklore and literature are not always referred to directly, but in some cases the popular culture of the period forms a bridge between the older culture and literature for the young. Examples presented in this chapter attempt to show the extraordinary nature of Finnish children's fantasy fiction. One cannot explain all its elements simply by connecting them to British

models, because many essential elements have their origins in Finnish culture. Fantasy fiction of the 1950s is not just a Finnish adaptation of the British Golden Age, but much more. It presents its own kind of fiction, which combines foreign with domestic, and new trends with the familiar and traditional. It applies the Finnish tradition in a new way, and thus also reuses the well-known foreign material on its own terms.

The most important fantasy texts, which are coloured with essentially Finnish characteristics, can be found in the work of Kurenniemi, Kunnas and Jansson. Paloheimo did not favour the Finnish characteristics in *Tirlittan* in a way that can be clearly seen. He did though, describe the Finnish environment. The adventures of Paloheimo's *Tirlittan* partly take place in towns, while others happen in the countryside. Salespeople in the lively market-place, town police officers, hay stacks and lonely villas are all mixed together, where the heroine can easily change from one environment to another. The children of Travers' *Mary Poppins* cannot travel as easily in the vast city of London, which is their primary world. The structure of *Tirlittan*'s story has a significant role in this matter, but the situation also partly mirrors the composition of the Finnish landscape of the time. Towns were usually small and they lived cheek by jowl with the countryside. Thus, they were not very urban. The countryside was nearby, which had a special influence on the lifestyle in both towns and the countryside.

Literature has often been referred to as a mirror reflecting the essence of society. However, in this study Finnish society is considered to be a collection of cultural texts, which are referred to in the literature on the level of intertextuality. The Finnish life-style in the 1950s, local folklore and old fairy tales gave Finnish children's fantasy fiction some special characteristics, making it different from its literary models created during the British Golden Age.

9. Development of the Tradition after Its Creation

9.1. Strengthening Position of Anglo-Saxon Culture and Literature in the 1960s

The roots of Finnish fantasy fiction can be traced to several different traditions. They were partly connected with local folklore, literature and culture, but links to German fiction can be also found. Shortly after the Second World War, relations to British Golden Age fantasy were created. This mainly took place in the 1950s. During this time, a base was created for a new kind of children's literature. Simultaneously, the rest of Finnish literature also developed radically. All the changes in the literary culture of Finland were a part of a larger process moving the country in a more international direction. International relations had existed throughout Finnish history, but now mass culture was marketed more effectively than any other phenomenon ever. The invasion of American culture was not completed before the 1960s, but started its triumph a decade earlier.

In the 1960s, Finnish culture began to have many connections with that of America. Music aimed at teenagers was only one example of the phenomenon, because fashion also followed the trend. American novelties, like jeans, made a complete breakthrough and the local dress code began to be loosened. In the 1950s, Finnish films were still flourishing: in relation to the number of films premiered (30 new films), 1955 was its victorious year. But when television came in the 1960s, the collapse of the Finnish film industry started. American television shows attracted audiences more than Finnish films. (Knuuttila 1988, 291) The number of comics gradually increased in the 1950s, when many of them were also of European origin (e. g. Italian) though their events often took place on American soil. (Riikonen 1992, 138-9) In the 1960s, they lost some of their popularity, because of the advent of television. They were also more often of American origin. (Kaukoranta & Kemppinen 1982, 207, 209)

As the leading country of popular culture, America showed other cultures the way. American products were admired and so they were copied. The results of the imitations were, however, more like national adaptations. Italian comics about the heroes of the Wild West¹, popular in Finland as early as the 1950s, or the so-called Spaghetti Western films were Italian adaptations of American culture. (Riikonen 1992, 140)² Such examples can be

found all over Europe. In Finland, tame adaptations of American rock'n'roll films were produced (Hietala 1992, 8) and rock'n'roll lyrics were often censored in the local adaptations of hits. Finnish films representing the Western genre were also made, like *Villi Pohjola* (1955, *The Wild North*), though the success of the Ostrobothnia and lumberjack films, both having an adventurous spirit, rendered them less popular. (Bagh 1992, 221)

To some extent, American culture also had a significant role in the importation of the British Golden Age tradition (see Chapter 4.2), but until the 1960s the modern fantasy fiction had stabilised its position in the field of Finnish children's literature. The tradition of the British Golden Age was still praised (e. g. in Karilas's *Robinsonista Muumipeikkoon*, published in 1962), and new translations of the works of British authors were published, like the translations of Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin* and *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle* or Nesbit's *The Railway Children* (*Rautatielapset*, translated by Laila Järvinen in 1962). Their position in Finnish fantasy fiction was strong. Books, which had intertextual connections with their, or their contemporaries', tradition, formed the Golden Age of Finnish children's fantasy fiction in the 1950s. So the British tradition had already been moulded and adapted as part of the Finnish culture in the 1950s.

The importance of American culture certainly did not diminish the interest in British children's literature, but, on the contrary, strengthened it by making the audio-visual adaptations of them available for Finnish children. In addition to the spirit of the time and the growing interest in the social problems of an urbanising society, American juvenile literature brought its own contribution to Finnish literature for the young. More realistic subjects were often favoured, but fantasy still maintained its position, but was just more often adapted to the everyday world. This trend was especially strong, for instance, in Marjatta Kurenniemi's works, like the *Onneli ja Anneli* -series, partly written in 1960s.

The arrival of American culture with its realistic stories, like Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951, *Sieppari ruispellossa*, translated into Finnish in 1961 by Pentti Saarikoski), was not all bad news for fantasy literature. In fact, though it is not usually categorised as a children's book, it offered a new way of approaching the adult society from an adolescent's

point of view. Holden Caulfield is a distant relative of Tom the Water-Baby or Peter Pan in a spiritual sense. He does not want to grow old and he is isolated from the adult world. His character inspired children's authors, too and this was one of the numerous reasons why fantasy literature started to increase in America (Carpenter 1985, 21, 4-5).

As Humphrey Carpenter has noted, Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* helped the depressed Vietnam War generation escape to the secondary worlds of fantasy fiction. (Carpenter 1985, 16-7) Tolkien's trilogy started a new movement in America, where children's literature was to become part of the campus culture. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* was soon favoured by young adults³. Their success soon found a foothold in Europe and Finland, where the phenomenon was given some local colour by making Jansson's Moomins part of the campus culture. This was, to some extent, because Jansson's books from the 1960s were far more philosophical than their predecessors. Moomin books written in the 1940s and 1950s are adventure stories, full of magic. *Moominland Midwinter*, written in 1957, is generally considered the turning point. It, along with its successors, cannot be classified purely as a children's book anymore. The narration still partly entertains children, but it is more philosophical. Moomin comics, too, strengthened their popularity among young adults. Unlike in the Moomin books, family members meet beatniks, smoke marihuana and travel abroad.

The situation posed the critics of children's literature an important question, which is still in the air: how can the limits between children's and adults' literature be defined? New Criticism as a new way to approach literature had begun several decades ago, but did not arrive in Finland until the 1960s. It, too, would have offered fertile starting points for the discussion about children's fiction as literary texts. The topic never arose, however, and the campus culture only concentrated on a few children's classics. Therefore, the position of children's literature was not profoundly discussed anew, and stayed on the sidelines. Campus culture had, nevertheless, opened up new avenues to approaching children's literature which are still under discussion. It had also created a link between British children's literature and American juvenile culture, and introduced this relationship into Finland.

In the 1960s, the position of fantasy literature was established in Finland. The Golden Age of Finnish fantasy fiction was in the 1950s and during that decade a strong tradition was created. The next decade brought new winds from the west, but their appearance did not invalidate the significance of fantasy literature. Afterwards, in the 1970s, fantasy even faced vigorous criticism, because realistic stories were preferred by some educators. Fantasy literature was still written. The invasion of Anglo-Saxon culture in the 1960s brought Finland in closer and more concrete contact with the west than earlier, and this also broadened the field of children's literature with new translations. Though Finnish children's literature had originally had many connections with British culture, it had found its own essence during the previous decade. To some extent, it had several connections abroad, but the foreign links were adapted to local culture by adding essentially Finnish elements to the story. The same phenomenon was seen in the other cultural fields, too. Intertextuality was not plain imitation, but instead the construction of a new entity from both foreign and domestic elements.

9.2. Finnish Tradition of Fantasy Fiction

Later on, Finnish children's fantasy fiction followed the same tracks. The local tradition was a significant base, but elements of the Golden Age fiction have been combined with it. American influence has also spiced it. Changes have happened along with the development of fantasy literature in general. The new kind of fantasy literature has been translated and, thus, the mysterious worlds of the new fantasy have also entered Finnish children's fiction.

Marjatta Kurenniemi, who has continued writing from the late 1940s to the 1990s, has combined Finnish tradition with intertextual references to the First Golden Age through her long career. Between 1966 and 1984, she wrote her *Onneli ja Anneli* -series. Afterwards Kurenniemi continued with the *Putti* books. All these books represent low fantasy. They are set in the primary world, where supernatural events appear. In the *Putti* books, however, the events transfer the characters from the primary to the secondary world: the journey starts in the home town of Onneli and Anneli but leads to the world above the clouds, or the ecological paradise of the Tree Owl Islands. (see Saukkola 1996, 105; Saukkola 1998,

97) Kurenniemi also continued her career as a writer of nonsense stories. For instance, *Marjatan satuja* (1992) contains short tales, which honour both the British Golden Age tradition and Finnish children's fiction of the 1950s. The stories are, however, adapted to the contemporary situation by adding references to society or commercial culture. (Saukkola 1996, 191; Saukkola 1998, 175)

Kirsi Kunnas, too, successfully continued her career. Her *Tiitiäinen* series continued with two books of children's poetry, *Tiitiäisen pippurimylly* (1991, *Tiitiäinen's Pepper Mill*) and *Tiitiäisen tuluskukkaro* (2000, *Tiitiäinen's tinderbox*). But she wrote poems on other topics as well. *Puupuu ja käpypoika* (1972, *Treetree and the Cone Boy*), illustrated by her thirteen year-old son Martti Syrjä, who later gained fame as a rock musician, continues the chain of Kunnas' fantasy poems, which are often very musical in their rhythmic essence. Most of the poems of *Puupuu* take place in the forest. Trees and wild animals form the book's theme. *Kani Koipeliinin kuperkeikat* (1979, *The Somersaults of Rabbit the Legful*), too, is set in the wild forest, but otherwise is an exception in Kunnas' production. It is written in verse, but instead of the play on words or other nonsense characteristics, it emphasises the telling of fables. In almost every chapter, the clever rabbit manages to trick big, dangerous beasts, like the wolf or fox. The poetry is typical of Kunnas, but otherwise *Kani Koipeliini* is composed of traditional fables, which have merely gained a more modern linguistic form in Kunnas' writing. *Sirkusjuttuja* (1985, *Circus Tales*) is a rather different book because of its theme, but the significance of the narration is stressed in it, too. Each poem or chapter tells about a different artist or animal from the circus. So both *Kani Koipeliini* and *Sirkusjuttuja* are works where Kunnas leaves the British inheritance and Finnish tradition of the 1950s aside. She returned there, however, in *Tiitiäisen pippurimylly* and *Tiitiäisen tuluskukkaro* which resemble their predecessors, though they are clearly products of the current society.

Kaarina Helakisa (1946-1998) started her career in 1964 aged eighteen with *Kaarina Helakisan satukirja* (*Kaarina Helakisa's Story Book*), which continues the strong *Kunstmärchen* tradition. She was a productive writer publishing over thirty books. Many of them cherished the inheritance of fantasy stories. *Ainakin miljoona sinistä kissaa* (1978, *At*

Least One Million Blue Cats) is an enchanting example of an intertextual children's book with an obvious sub-text. Elements from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, such as characters called Ariel or Caliban, are present. They have, however, changed. Ariel is still a spirit of the wind, but Caliban is replaced by a fierce leader cat, Kalivan, and a cat-fur salesman, Kalipainen. Very often Helakisa has also connected everyday life with fantasy worlds. In *Olena ja Vassuska* (1979, Olena and Vassuska), the controversial topics of contemporary society, such as the threat of conflicts during the Cold War or the changing position of women, have been presented to children in the form of a fantasy tale. These aspects connect Helakisa's works with the new fantasy fiction. Like Tolkien or Norton, Helakisa, too, comments on contemporary reality in her text. *Olena ja Vassuska* is not, however, a story following the paths of the British Golden Age, but its structure and motifs rather resemble the Russian wonder tales or *Märchen*. In *Olena ja Vassuska*, Helakisa introduces the youngest brother, who at first always seems to be beaten in all areas of life by his elder brothers, but finally wins the princess and the kingdom with the aid of his mysterious helpers. All these characteristics are also typical of traditional wonder tales (see Propp 1975, 25-65), but the independent life the intelligent Olena lives stresses modern feminist ideals.

Helakisa also continued the tradition of Finnish children's poetry. In her poetry she often travelled in realistic surroundings instead of a fantasy world. In *Posetiivi* (1976, *The Organ Grinder*) she returns, however, to the imaginary worlds of nonsense. In such poems as "Krokotiili Herbertti" (Herbert the Crocodile) or "Lehmäserenadi" (A Cow Serenade) there is a story written in rhyme, in Carroll's or Kunnas' footsteps. The latter one even tells about cows, who are dancing in the moonlight, and thus has connections with Travers' *Mary Poppins* or Kunnas' poem about the cow and the cat and their milking trip to the moon (see Chapter 5.6.3). "Tavut" (Syllables) is a poem about syllables and the words we can make from them. Thus it is an entirely linguistic children's poem and as such it is part of the play on words so typical of nonsense. Helakisa's verses are, however, connected to the contemporary society of the 1970s, and so, for instance, Mervi meets a little witch in "Kaappinoita" (The Closet Witch), while her mother, a single parent, is working night shift.

In 1977, Elina Karjalainen's (1927-) first Uppo-Nalle book was published. Currently, there have been more than fifteen Uppo-Nalle novels, but the first few are without doubt the best in quality. The story of Uppo-Nalle is about a French teddy-bear, which has been thrown in the sea by its furious little owner. Finally, it comes ashore in Finland, where its new little mistress, Reeta, welcomes it into her home. Uppo-Nalle's character has several connections with Michael Bond's Paddington Bear, which in turn points to - though as a practical bear it is a very different character from the poetic Pooh - the toy fantasy of the Golden Age, which has Milne's animals as its most significant examples. Uppo-Nalle writes and recites poems, and thus it also has direct connections with Pooh. But it also refers to the Finnish tradition. The stories mainly take place in Finnish surroundings, which is similar to the contemporary primary world. In *Uppo-Nalle ja kultahippu* (1989, Uppo-Nalle and the Gold Nugget), for instance, the events take place in mysterious Lapland. (Saukkola 1996, 100-1, 161)

Other writers, too, like Raili Mikkanen (1941-), favoured toy fantasy. Her *Histamiini* series (1982-8), stories about a little marionette horse, take place in a safe fantasy world, which is very close to Milne's Hundred-Acres-Wood in its idealisation. *Histamiini* itself is a jolly, friendly, but very simple character, who enjoys singing songs, just like Winnie-the-Pooh. Its world is, however, typically Finnish. It lives in rural stables with its friends, Tomten Rämäkkä and Witch Unelma Anelma. Like other witches in modern fantasy fiction, Unelma Anelma, too, is a sweet, friendly character. (see Nikolajeva 1988, 56-7) Its roots are, however, in the old Finnish folklore as are the origins of Tomten Rämäkkä. The Finnish horse Liisa visits at the stables in *Histamiinin hiihtoretki* (1983, *Histamiini's* skiing trip), works as a forceful contrast to the toy-like marionette horse. Studies of Finnish children's fiction have ignored Mikkanen's *Histamiini* books, but they have a significant role in relation to this subject. They both cherish the British Golden Age tradition and its Finnish modifications from the 1950s. Mikkanen has also published children's poetry in *Kettu tahtoo ystäväksi* (1980, *The Fox Wants to be Your Friend*). Her poems often take place in the Finnish outdoors, but Mikkanen has also created secondary worlds with playful dragons, silly witches and dancing fairies. Like the poems of Kunnas or Helakisa, Mikkanen's verses, too, tell humorous tales or join the linguistic play of nonsense in the

tradition of British children's fantasy fiction.

Most of the modern Finnish children's writers, who follow the tradition of fantasy literature, are women, but Jukka Parkkinen (1948-) is an exception. His *Korppi* (Raven) books are also rather exceptional in the field of fantasy fiction. They are humorous tales about a bunch of birds, who have to face the ridiculous human world, even out in the wilds, where they live. The *Korppi* books can be characterised as nonsense tales, and, in some respects, Parkkinen follows purely in Carroll's footsteps. The *Korppi* books are full of linguistic games and new versions of well-known poems, which are not Watts' spiritual hymns this time, but ironic approaches to contemporary hits and evergreens, or to respected poetry of the day, like Paavo Haavikko's works in *Korppi ja korven veikot* (1979, *The Raven and the Gang of the Woods*). Just as Carroll commented on Victorian culture in *Alice*, Parkkinen comments on the atmosphere of the 1970s. Parkkinen's woods are, however, very different from Carroll's *Wonderland*. They are a forgotten area, which has been populated by ravens, but modern culture and the thoughtlessness of humans are threatening its tranquillity. In *Korppi ja korven veikot*, the army begins combat manoeuvres in the forest, and so accidentally destroys many animals and their homes. The tone of the book is humorous, but its message resembles that of a modern British fantasy classic, Richard Adams's *Watership Down* (1973).

Again, the Swedish-speaking authors were ahead of the Finnish-speaking ones in terms of development. Irmelin Sandman Lilius (1936-) wrote her first stories, which take place in the mythological secondary worlds in the early 1960s. She had written her memoirs about childhood summers in 1959, but her first fantasy novel, *Enhöringen* (*The Unicorn*, translated by Ian Rodger, 1964), was published in 1962. In the few books that followed, such as *Maharadjan av Scha-scha-scha-slé* (1964, *The Maharadjah Adventure*, translated in 1966) the writer composed fantasy elements with realistic surroundings. Later on, she wrote her *Fru Sola* trilogy, *Gullkrona Gränd* (1969, *Gold Crown Lane*, translated in 1980), *Gripanderska gården* (1970, *The Goldmaker's House*, translated in 1977) and *Gångande grå* (1971, *The Horses of the Night*, translated in 1979), which all take place in a secondary world. It has several similarities with the primary world. The trilogy is mostly about the

battle between good and evil. The books in the series have characteristics typical of quest fantasy, and their mythological world view links them more to the tradition of Lewis and Tolkien than the representatives of the First Golden Age. *Kung Tulle* (1972, King Tulle) and *Tulles resa till sunnantill* (1975, Tulle's Journey to the South) have also similarities to the British authors. King Tulle's appearance with his birch-bark crown is like the Northern mythologies, *The Kalevala* and *Edda*. (Turja 1995, 220) The references to mythology are as evident as the links with *Beowulf* and other epics in Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. (see Toijer-Nilsson 1981, 66, 71; Ray 1982, 140) An odyssey-like sea journey, too, not only connects *Tulles resa till sunnantill* with Greek mythology, but also with modern fantasy fiction. Lewis' *The Voyage of Dawntrader* represents a similar kind of story type in children's fiction. Fantasy such as Sandman Lilius has written did not appear in the literature written in Finnish this early. The appearance of Sandman Lilius' books foretell the coming of the books written in Finnish representing new fantasy a few decades later, like the publication of nonsense books in Swedish happened more than two decades before the Finnish ones. They also reflect the international situation, as do the coming of Ursula Le Guin's Earthsea books.

Finnish children's fantasy fiction marched in the footsteps of the British Golden Age for decades. It did not, however, simply continue the tradition, but rather followed the path that had been laid by their predecessors in the 1950s. This was partly because the same writers, who had created the pioneering works of the 1950s, continued their careers in the following decades. But as the example of Karjalainen or Mikkanen shows us, the new writers, too, chose the same route. This route was full of colourful options from nonsense poetry to secondary world adventure stories. The field of children's literature started to grow, and so the authors and books mentioned here are only selected examples of the development. In some cases, however, the development was not so rapid. Mythological fantasies, which had their origins in the Second Golden Age of British children's fiction, did not appear in children's fiction written in Finnish before the 1980s and 1990s. Some of them, like Tuula Kallioniemi's (1951-) *Ritari Artturi ja haarniska-allergia* (1987, Knight Arthur and the Armour Allergy), which refers to Arthurian myths, are humorous in their essence. Others, like *Unohdettujen metsän salaisuus* (1983, The Mystery of the Forest of the Forgotten) by

the same author, have characteristics similar to Tolkien's quest fantasies. Some authors, who had begun their career in the 1950s, were even experimenting with the new forms of fantasy fiction: Aila Meriluoto, author of *Pommorommo*, created a quest fantasy adventure in her *Vihreä tukka* (1982, Green Hair), where a green-haired little girl, half human, half fairy, is searching for her roots. In fact, the most impressive examples of mythological fantasies are even now appearing in Finnish children's fiction, like Taru and Tarmo Väyrynen's *Vuorileijonan varjo* trilogy (The Shadow of a Mountain Lion), which was published between 1996 and 1997. Unlike the pseudo-medieval worlds of the categorisation of Boyer and Zahorski, (Boyer & Zahorski 1982, 59-71) it takes place in pseudo-antiquity⁴. It represents a humourless, smile-less battle between good and evil.

Reasons for the rather late arrival of the trend are various. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy was translated into Finnish between 1973 and 1975, and gradually had an enormous success. *The Hobbit*, too, was translated in 1973. American representatives of the genre, Ursula Le Guin's The Earthsea books, too, have been translated into Finnish from 1976. There were, however, other reasons as well for the rise of quest fantasy. The example of Finnish authors writing in Swedish encouraged their creation, but typically, the Swedish books also had a great significance. Again, a pioneer of the genre was a case in point. Astrid Lindgren's *The Brothers Lionheart* (*Bröderna Lejonhjärta* 1973) and *Ronia, the Robber's Daughter* (*Ronja Rövardottern* 1981) brought the depths of the mythological worlds to Finnish readers and encouraged Finnish writers to create their own fantasy lands. The interest in quest fantasy also grew along with changes in the cultural atmosphere. In the 1980s, role games started to invade Finland. In many, but not all, cases they bore a marked resemblance to quest fantasy stories, which also guaranteed the popularity of the genre.

Finnish children's fantasy literature has its origins in a foreign tradition. Its development is, however, woven into the fabric of works from Finland and neighbouring Sweden. So, all these types of literature together form an intertextual net, which has connections with several traditions. Past and present are thus linked together. Links with British fantasy literature were mainly imported in the 1950s, but the development goes on continuously.

Hence, the intertextual connections of our contemporary fantasy fiction are impossible to trace. International relations have created a situation, where too many strings are woven together. The current situation, therefore, no longer offers clear connections, just pale hints.

Conclusions

In twenty-first century Finland, it is hard for children to imagine what people of their age did for hobbies fifty years ago. The world has changed dramatically, as can be seen very clearly in the things children do. Television, videos, internet and computer games - to mention just a few examples - often successfully compete with children's fiction. English has a firm position both in education and entertainment. The continuous stream of popular culture in English cannot be avoided in twenty-first century Finland.

It is also self-evident that the original language of most of the translated books is English. This, too, has not been a surprise for years. Even in my childhood in the 1970s, books translated from English were well represented on the children's library shelf. For these reasons, I find the situation of the 1950s very enchanting. Culturally, the decade was a period of change and much of its heritage is still to be seen today. The position of English is easiest to see, but, by reading new Finnish children's books, we may catch another important piece of heritage. In numerous children's books written in the 1990s, or even at the dawn of the new millennium, we can distinguish several features of fantasy literature. Very often, they can be easily compared with the old, British classics, whose tradition was admired and adapted in Finland in the 1950s.

Hence, I see the 1950s as the decade, when a bridge between British and Finnish children's fiction was built. In Britain, fantasy fiction has a long tradition - almost a century longer than in Finland. The roots of fantasy fiction are, however, in folk tales, or, as the German say, *Volksmärchen* and their successors, *Kunstmärchen*, which are literary fairy tales. Unlike *Volksmärchen*, which were originally thought to be oral fairy tales, collected later by the folklorists, the *Kunstmärchen* are fairy tales written by an individual author.

Before the late eighteenth century, the fairy tales were adult entertainment with plenty of violence and sexual references. They have often been playfully referred to as the soap operas of their time. In seventeenth century France, the fairy tales started to interest aristocratic ladies, who found in them a means of expressing their own feelings and of protesting against the oppressed position of contemporary women. In this phase, fairy tales

were still not aimed at children. It was not until the eighteenth century that they were used as instruments of teaching in both France and Germany. In the latter country, the nineteenth century was the Golden Age of fairy tales. They were first collected from oral sources, but, later on, the nursery shelves were filled with fairy tales, which were either severely altered or brand new, made-up fairy tales, *Kunstmärchen*.

In England, fairy tales were often seen as subversive and unsuitable for children. The new ideas about childhood, presented by Rousseau and his spiritual successors, demanded, however, the creation of children's fiction, which would feed their imagination. Fantasy fiction was one answer. It got its first embodiment in Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, both written in the 1860s. During the next seventy years, the great classics of British children's fantasy fiction were created: J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, A. A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* -books and Beatrix Potter's enchanting, little animal tales. They were all connected with each other because of the use of imagination and the creation of fantasy secondary worlds. It is for this reason that the period is often referred to as the Golden Age of British fantasy fiction.

Later on, in the 1940s and 1950s, British fantasy fiction started to comment on contemporary society in books like J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Ring* -trilogy or Mary Norton's *The Borrowers*. Meanwhile, in Finland, the situation was very different. Until the Second World War, fairy tales had been the most dominant form of children's literature. Writers like Anni Swan or Raul Roine kept alive the tradition created by Zachris Topelius in the previous century. Following the Second World War, the situation changed. Before cultural relations with Germany had been more than tight. This was seen, for instance, in the popularity of fairy tales, which had their roots in the traditions of German *Volks-* and *Kunstmärchen*. The interest in British and American cultures started to awaken, however. Literature translated from English was very popular and many writers travelled to England to learn about the new literary trends. In relation to children's literature, the most influential of them were Elsa Enäjärvi, who was eager to tell the Finns about everything in British culture from Virginia Woolf to Barrie's plays, and Helmi Krohn, who wrote a series of

Hipsuvarvas children's books, which are like imitations of Potter's animal tales.

After the Second World War, Finnish children's literature started to change. Some writers brought reality and imagination together, like Yrjö Kokko, who describes the war through a love story between a troll and a fairy. Some looked to modern poetry for inspiration, like Kirsi Kunnas, who wrote modern poetry for adults and nursery rhymes for children. The latter were often traditional in form, but their inner world was anarchistic and confusingly modern. Then there were writers, who either mocked, or were influenced by, contemporary popular culture, which educators disapproved of as being unsophisticated, even brutal. For instance, Tove Jansson refers to the cultural war of the time between elite and popular culture in her Moomin books.

Very many contemporary children's authors looked for inspiration from the British Golden Age, which was a unifying factor amongst them. In the 1950s, British fantasy fiction was admired by Finnish authors and this finally strengthened its position in Finland. The phenomenon is very clearly seen in the contemporary Finnish texts. For instance, Eeva-Liisa Manner, a poet writing for adults, referred to Carroll's *Alice* in her texts. It was naturally seen more clearly in children's fiction, which is full of similarities, references and parallels to the texts of the British Golden Age. Marjatta Kurenniemi, one of the most industrious children's writers of the period, wrote a new version of *Alice* in her story "Alli Ylösalaisin-maassa", created secondary worlds resembling Alice's Wonderland in her *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla* and *Puuhiiset*, and refers directly to Peter Pan in *Puuhiiset*. Oiva Paloheimo, too, refers directly to *Alice* in the subtitle of his *Tirlittan*, which is a story about an orphan girl's adventures in a strange world, which is - unfortunately - our own. Tove Jansson, Kirsi Kunnas, Aila Meriluoto and Aila Nissinen, too, paid homage to the same tradition by inserting numerous inter-textual references to the British Golden Age in their books.

The Finnish fantasy stories of the 1950s were not, however, merely pale imitations of the British texts. In many respects, it was the decade of the Golden Age of Finnish children's fantasy fiction, or the decade, when the basis of modern, Finnish fantasy fiction was

created. In addition to adapting the British influences, writers also gave their texts a Finnish essence. This was done by placing the story in a typically Finnish environment, such as the Finnish countryside in *Tirlittan*, by connecting the story with Finnish folk poetry as in Kurenniemi's *Oli ennen Onnimanni...*, where the main character is described as the same as in an old, Finnish nursery rhyme, or by linking it with older, Finnish children's fiction, as with Kurenniemi who refers to Topelius's story "Rida Ranka" in her *Kuinka-Kum-Maa on kaikkialla*, to mention just a few ways.

After the 1950s, Finnish children's literature developed remarkably. Commentary on social phenomena or modern forms of fantasy, like quest fantasy, entered Finnish children's fiction. Today, it looks entirely different from the early days. There are books, which look like scripts for of the live role games or books, where the innocent child's imagination - admired both in Rousseau's days and still, to some extent, even fifty years ago - has been replaced by dark humour. Some roots of modern fantasy fiction, nevertheless, date back to the 1950s. Denying this would be to ignore history, and the traditions created along with it.

Inter-textuality has an important position in my study. I have tried to explain how and why British texts became a part of the Finnish literary tradition. The task has been challenging, because the author does not always refer to a certain text consciously. Often it is done unconsciously. Reading one text does not only help to know it, but it also gives glimpses of other, unknown texts. My purpose has been to trace the British texts behind the Finnish ones, and then define, how they have affected the building of Finnish children's fantasy fiction.

By making this study, which covers one part of Finnish children's literature, I wanted to complete the task of writing the history of Finnish children's fiction. It was also time to raise the position of the children's literature of the 1950s, which should be seen as a source of modern Finnish fantasy fiction. Instead of being forgotten over the course of time, the masterpieces of the 1950s deserve to be rediscovered by new readers.

In my study, which covers one aspect of Finnish children's literature, namely the British

influence in Finland, I have tried to shed light upon a neglected area in the writing of the history of children's literature. It seems to me that it is also time to raise the position of children's literature of the 1950s, which should be regarded as a source of modern Finnish fantasy fiction. Instead of being forgotten over the course of time, the masterpieces of the 1950s deserve to be discovered by new young readers.

REFERENCES

Introduction

¹ Italics appear in the English translation of Kristeva's original text.

Chapter 1

¹ The terminology of folklore and literature concerning fairy tales, folk tales and the *Märchens* has been shaped in a very problematic direction over the course of time, probably due to the wavering essence of their categorization itself. Murray Knowles and Kristen Malmkjær have traced the origins of the term "fairy tale" to Old French and the word *faerie*, meaning "enchantment" or "magic" (Knowles & Malmkjær 1996, 157). Alan Dundes, however, vigorously criticises the term, because fairies are very rarely met in them, and he prefers "folk tale" instead. (Dundes 1989, 264) James M. MacGlathery shares Dundes' view, but for different reasons. According to MacGlathery, the term "fairy tale" has its origins in the genre of the magic romance. Its themes are connected with love and marriage. Thus Perrault's "Donkey Skin" is a fairy tale, while "Jack and the Beanstalk" or "Hansel and Gretel" are not. They are supposed to be of German origin, and, thus, they may be called *Märchens*. (MacGlathery 1991, 1-2) Leea Virtanen connects supernatural elements with the *Märchen* or *Zauber Märchen*, while, - in her opinion, - a so-called short story *Märchen* refers to a fairy tale with no supernatural elements (Virtanen 1988, 182-4) The *Märchen*, in turn, can be divided into *Volks-* and *Kunstmärchen*. The former are supposed to be folk tales collected from an oral performance, while the latter are written by an author. Elizabeth Cook calls *Kunstmärchen* "invented fairy tales" (Cook 1976, 46), though, according to Göte Klingberg, E. T. A. Hoffmann called his stories *Fantasiestücke*, and Jean Jacques Ampère christened such stories *contes fantastiques* in 1828 (Klingberg 1980, 14-5). I intend to use a specific term if the connection between the story and a certain tradition is clear, but in some cases using common sense is more practical in order to cope with the jungle of terminology. Thus, I sometimes use the term "fairy tale" as a general word expressing the genre.

² Though the *Volksmärchen* was considered a part of German mythology in shaping of the national identity, a tale or a *Märchen* can, in most cases, be distinguished quite clearly from a myth. Marie-Louise von Franz stresses that while a myth is always local or national, the language of a fairy tale is universal (Franz 1996, 26-8). In many cases this is not, however, quite true. As Alan Dundes has argued, several fairy tales that we consider universal, are, in fact, of Indo-European origin. (Dundes 1989, 264) Fairy tales may often travel across national borders, while myths would not be understood in any other cultural context. The purpose of fairy tales also differ from the significance of myths. Fairy tales, folk tales and fables are about human behaviour in the world of magic, while myths tell about the creation of things. (Cook 1976, 1) In Mircea Eliade's opinion, knowing a myth meant learning the secret about the origin of things. A myth was considered to be a true story, not a tale. (Eliade 1964, 13-14, 1) In nineteenth-century Germany, however, the Grimms' stories had a very similar position concerning Teutonic mythology. Paradoxically enough, knowing the Grimms' tales meant knowing the German past and the origins of the national culture.

³ Rousseau's attitude towards children's reading was negative, since, in his opinion, books

only ruined the infant's natural innocence. The only book, which he appreciated, was Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, because it taught, how to cope in nature. (Käreland 1995, 28)

⁴ *The Kalevala* and selections of its verses have been published in many translations and editions. The first English translation was by John Martin Crawford. It was published in New York in 1888 and the following year in London. The next translation, *Kalevala. The Land of Heroes*, was written by an Englishman, W. F. Kirby, and published in 1907. Though it has been followed by many other translations, it has still retained its popularity, and, for instance, the children's edition of *The Kalevala* is based on it. *Kanteletar* has not been translated into English. However, a selection of its poems, *I Will Sing of What I Know*, translated by Keith Bosley in 1990, is available in English.

⁵ The first *Arvosteleva kirjaluettelo* (The Critical Book Catalogue), or as it was then titled *Arvosteleva luettelo* (The Critical Catalogue), was published in 1902 by The Society for Culture and Education (the present-day KVS-Foundation) in order to help librarians select suitable material for public libraries. Its model came from abroad, mainly from the U.S.A. In 1908, the same society founded *Kirjastolehti* (The Library Journal), which started to take care of the task. In the beginning, *Arvosteleva kirjaluettelo* stressed the importance of moral education in fiction, but over time objectivity became a more valued criterion. In 1989, its title was changed to *Kritikos* and a commercial company, Kirjastopalvelu, started to publish it. (Eskola 1991, 34-6)

⁶ Mandi Granfelt wrote continuously to *Arvosteleva luettelo suomenkielisestä kirjallisuudesta* and was thus an influential critic. Her strict opinions about fantasy literature were often highly valued. In other reviews, like *Valvoja*, the critics presented more liberal views. Granfelt often considered fantasy literature to be a bad influence on the moral development of children, while the critics of children's fiction in *Valvoja* (for example, M. W. Erich, Hilja Haahti and Maria Jotuni) focused rather on the aesthetic aspects.

Chapter 2

¹ According to Gillian Avery and Margaret Kinnell, the second printing of *Mother Goose's Melody* was made in America in 1794. The exact year of the first printing in England is not known, however, but it was supposedly in the 1780s. (Avery & Kinnell 1995, 62, 65)

² Though childhood was idealised in nineteenth century Britain, the idealisation mostly occurred on a hypothetical level. Robert Leeson has noted sarcastically that the first national organisation for the prevention of cruelty towards animals was founded in England fifty years before the organisation protecting children's rights. Laws were as strict for children as they were for adults, and, until 1875, child labour was permitted. Thus, childhood was reserved only for children, who belonged to the upper social classes (Leeson 1985, 48). In the 1830s and 1840s, however, there were several initiatives aimed at improving children's education. They led to the Education Act and the founding of several Government schools in 1876 (Ellis 1969, 14, 83), which naturally also improved the position of children.

³ The Pears' soap commercials by the Pre-Raphaelite painter, Millais, are typical examples of

the commercialisation of both childhood and Pre-Raphaelite art. They present an idyll of childhood, which is sketched using Pre-Raphaelite mannerisms, but their basic idea is, however, to sell the product. (Kline 1995, 52-3)

⁴ The character of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle has relatives in early twentieth-century literature. Maria in James Joyce's short story "Clay" (in *The Dubliners*, 1914) is also a washerwoman. She is respected at work, although she is despised and laughed at in her private life.

⁵ Religion has been parodied in literature by the means of food as early as in the Roman period (Gowers 1993, 77, 214). Modern fiction, too, offers splendid examples of almost ritual eating, as in Joyce's *Ulysses*. In children's literature, eating has continuously played an important role. It can be a ritual, as in *Tom Sawyer*, where Tom and Becky, after losing their way in the caves, share and eat a piece of cake, partly as an imaginary wedding cake, partly as their last meal. Often the significance of food is also a way to approach a child reader. In Jansson's *Moomin* books, for instance, the characters eat dishes, which usually appeal to children: cake, jam, juice and pan cakes. (Aejmelaeus 1994, 49) Probably everyone also remembers Enid Blyton's *The Famous Five* or *The Secret Seven* with their rich and numerous descriptions of food.

⁶ Jennifer Wicke has mentioned that both consumerism and the culture of the masses started to develop at the turn of the century. Instead of the commercials, the products themselves were primarily considered to be responsible for the rise in consumption. (Wicke 1993, 597, 595) Thus, Potter's *The Tale of Two Bad Mice* presents the contemporary critical attitude towards materialism, since it emphasizes the material itself, not the means, like commercials, by which goods are sold.

⁷ In *Winnie the Pooh* the major character, accompanied by his friends, attempts to find the North Pole in the Hundred Acre Wood, knowing that such a thing exists. Tucker considers this an excursion into the world of abstract concepts, made concrete by a child (Tucker 1981, 98). The chapter also links *Winnie the Pooh* with nonsense literature through its literary interpretations (see Lecercle 1994, 63-6). On the other hand it presents a parody. The search for the North Pole was a common subject in nineteenth-century juvenile and popular literature. The most dramatic example of the phenomenon is probably Jules Verne's *Captain Hatteras* (*Les voyages et aventures de Capitaine Hatteras*, 1866). H. K. Riikonen describes its main character as a monomaniac personality, who endangers his crew in order to achieve his goal, the North Pole (Riikonen 1995, 180-1). The cheerful trip in *Pooh* functions as a forceful contrast to Verne's dramatic scenes. Riikonen has also noted that *Captain Hatteras* is entirely situated in a man's world. (Riikonen 1995, 187). It is a childish dream about the adventures of grown men just as *Winnie-the-Pooh* is an adult's picturesque dream about the idyll of childhood inaccessible to adults. Roland Barthes has stated that *The Mysterious Island* is an archetype of Verne's dream world; a man, who is simultaneously a child, finds a world there, where he can shut himself away (Barthes 1994, 77). Riikonen also links this characteristic with *Captain Hatteras* (Riikonen 1995, 177). The world of *Winnie-the-Pooh* is also a small entity, where outsiders cannot enter. In addition to these remarks, one could mention Claudia Nelson's statement according to which this specific chapter in *Winnie the Pooh* is the first parody of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, the manuscript of which Milne

evidently saw. (Nelson 1990, 21-22)

⁸ *Lügenmärchen* is a folktale, whose motifs, plots and characters resemble the ones in picaresque or trickster stories. Due to the fame of the *Lügenmärchen*, which the Grimms collected, the whole genre is known by the German term. *Lügenmärchen* have been found, however, all over Europe. (Carpenter 1985, 55-6)

⁹ In Ronald Reichertz' opinion, Carroll knew Ann Taylor's works rather well, because Taylor's didactic texts are present in *Alice's Wonderland* just as, for example, Isaac Watts's *The Divine Songs* (Reichertz 1992, 24).

¹⁰ Carsten Bregenhøj approaches carnival masks as a play. His example is the former Finnish *Nuuttipukki* tradition, where groups of young men wearing masks and dressed up as goats, wander from one house to another begging for beer, spirits and food. The tour officially ended Christmas in the rural society on the thirteenth of January. According to Bregenhøj, wearing masks creates a guessing game. There are two teams involved: the masked and the maskless one. In small communities, masked people were usually familiar, which offered the opportunity of recognising their faces behind the masks. (Bregenhøj 1981, 39) A similar play can be found in carnivals in a more universal sense as well. In *Alice*, metamorphoses work as masks, which partly creates the carnival-like game of the Wonderland.

¹¹ Reynolds emphasises children's fiction written between 1880 and 1910, which partly represents the same period as my study.

¹² Both Edith Nesbit and her husband were supporters of the Fabian movement, which had many well-meaning, but unrealistic ideas. The Fabians attempted to renew their lifestyle. In several cases, this was connected with superficial things like clothing or interior design. Julia Briggs mentions that this both amused and fascinated Nesbit. (Briggs 1987, 66) Fabian Socialism attempted to create imaginary worlds and imaginary societies to fill them. Such ideas had strong connections with William Morris's thinking. (Briggs 1995, 177) In some respects, they could only come true in children's fantasy literature, such as Nesbit's works, which have been criticised, however, for their class-consciousness in a bourgeoisie sense.

Nesbit was also working in the Fabian Women's Group, which aimed at connecting the Fabians with the Suffragettes. (Briggs 1987, 66) Attempts at improving the position of women are, for some reason, more evident in Nesbit's children's books than her sympathies towards the ideas of social reform.

¹³ Here I wish to stress that the situation of children's fantasy fiction did not necessarily relate to the entire field of children's literature. For instance, novels for girls mirrored more forcefully the changes in the position of women. Kimberley Reynolds mentions L. T. Meade's *A Sweet Girl Graduate* (1897) as a fine example of an emancipatory novel for girls. It tells about Priscilla, who completes a university degree in Classics. Her studies are not considered unfeminine in any respect, because Priscilla, who comes from a poor family, has to support herself. In Reynolds's opinion, Meade's book shows, how equal opportunities were a controversial matter at the turn of the century, and how women's emancipation progressed,

because new role models were offered for girls. (Reynolds 1994, 32-3) Meade had obviously a very strong feminist bent to her opinions. She attacked the weak and motherly girl type, and interpreted their dependency as immoral selfishness and empty-headed frivolity. Meade considered optional action as the only alternative to this despised attitude. (Bratton 1981, 206) Thus, Meade also attacked the dominant image of women in literature, which was also very common in fantasy fiction for young children.

¹⁴ Tolkien's trilogy, *The Lord of the Rings*, was not published before the 1950s (1954-5), but had already been written in the late 1930s. Therefore, it can be seen as a representative of the period between the two World Wars.

¹⁵ David Rees has noted that the post-war British children's books are, for some reason, often situated in either the Victorian or Edwardian eras (Rees 1990, 11). Solving its origins does not take much detection, since many of these books also have some inter-textual relations with the fiction of the First Golden Age. But in Norton's case (which Rees mentions as an example) this might also have connections with the author's childhood memories.

¹⁶ Traditional values not only concern fantasy fiction, but also most of the genres of children's literature in the 1930s. The most drastic examples can be found in Enid Blyton's detective books, which present workers as either oppressed or stupid and foreigners simply as criminals. Only the English middle-class is accepted. (Dixon 1977b, 69) The enemy is always poor in Blyton's books (Watson 1992, 19). In her later fantasy books Blyton, though, presents even more controversial opinions. *The Little Black Doll* (1966) tells about a gold-hearted black doll, whose friendliness cannot be understood by anyone before the rain washes the black paint away and shows the doll's white skin. (Dixon 1977a, 107-11) *Here Comes Noddy Again* (1951) introduces a little white doll called Noddy, whose car and clothes are stolen by bad golliwogs. Bob Dixon emphasises the racist appearance of the golliwog and stresses that a reader's empathy is forcefully manipulated on Noddy's side. (Dixon 1977a, 96, 98-9) This is very different from Bertha Upton's *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls - and a Golliwog* (1895), which, as Peter Hunt has noticed, presented the golliwog - quite clumsily - as a sympathetic character and turned the doll into a popular toy (Hunt 1994, 71). It should be noted, however, that Blyton did not invent racist children's literature. The different ethnic groups appeared in the British Empire, thus creating the unfortunate literary tradition. The most famous example of the phenomenon is undeniably Helen Bannerman's *The Story of Little Black Sambo* (1899). Hunt describes it as being, at one and the same time, as innocent, mystic, enchanting, demeaning, colonial and racist (Hunt 1994, 7-8).

The 1930's cannot be judged, however, as an entirely racist and class-conscious decade in children's literature. Eve Garnett's *The Family from the One End Street and Some of Their Adventures* (1937) functions as a complete opposite to Blyton's books at the level of attitudes. It tells about a working-class family, which is materially rather poor, but otherwise happy and content.

¹⁷ Unlike in Finnish literature, language has often been seen as an indicator of the social class in British literature. The best-known example is George Bernard Shaw's play "Pygmalion" (1916), where the role of the spoken language has been used in an ironical sense as a social

barrier.

¹⁸ Woolf wrote the story for the family paper her nephews were editing. Therefore, the exact year it was written is not known. The public was able to enjoy the story in 1988, when it was published as a book illustrated by another of the nephews.

¹⁹ Eckley mentions that Joyce's nickname at University College, Dublin, was the Mad Hatter. It does not, however, necessarily come from Carroll, since both of the sayings, "mad as a hatter" and "mad as a March hare, were widely used in contemporary English. The latter evidently referred to the behaviour of hares in the mating season, while the former originated in the fact that the use of mercury in preparing the felt from which hats were made caused symptoms of insanity in some hatters. (Eckley 1985, 76)

Chapter 3

¹ Usually fairy tales were given a lot of credit because of their presumed position as representatives of folklore and builders of national consciousness. They very rarely received negative criticism. In 1908, however, playwright Maria Jotuni described the Finnish translation of Oscar Wilde's story collection, *The Happy Prince and Other Stories*, as better than fairy tales in general. In her opinion, ordinary fairy tales often contained deliberate cruelty and excitement, which may shock a child. Jotuni stated that Wilde's stories offer a child reader examples of the wisdom of life, and irony, which does not attempt to whip and thus educate a child. (Jotuni 1908, 235-6) Jotuni's opinions may sound very ordinary in the light of the British Golden Age, but in contemporary Finland they were very untypical. Fairy tales did not receive similar criticism as in Britain, but the views concerning fantasy fiction were rather controversial. Wilde's stories reuse the material of folklore (Warner 1995, 20), but as combiners of the modern age and the fairy tale form, they represent fantasy fiction or *Kunstmärchen* rather than traditional fairy tales. Jotuni's rejection of the educational purposes is also extraordinary. In general, positive criticism of Wilde's works was not typical, either. Jotuni compares Wilde, on the basis of his personal history, with the swallow in "The Happy Prince", which dreams about warm Egypt, but dies in cold Britain (Jotuni 1908, 236). Such sympathetic ideas about Wilde were not common, because the author was not approved of in Finland. Wilde and his works (particularly *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*) were seen as extreme examples about aestheticism and decadentism by Finnish writers (for example, Juhani Siljo) who disapproved of them (Lassila 1987, 53). Maria Jotuni's very short critique of Wilde's stories thus questions both the ideals of Finnish literature and the idea of raising good Finns.

² In her study, Kuivasmäki presents very detailed statistics of all translated children's literature. She divides the books studied into different groups. In one group, the original language is completely clear, while in another it is only evident. The third and the fourth groups contain books, which are partly translated or the original language is not known. (Kuivasmäki 1990, 94-5) I have counted all these together, because my purpose for using them is not to give undeniable statistics to my reader, but to use relatively reliable statistics as examples.

³ Kuivasmäki has distinguished between Finnish literature written in Finnish and in Swedish, while I have included them together.

⁴ Snellman's admiration for British literature did not apply to all writers. He strongly criticised, for instance, Byron's *Don Juan*, and considered it as a declaration of disapproved ideas about liberty. (Karkama 1989, 242-3)

⁵ The Finnish situation aroused some interest in Britain as early as the nineteenth century. The views were not always positive, because racist ideas were very common. For instance, Edward Augustus Freeman classified the Finns as "Turanic" people in 1892, while Rosalind Travers-Hyndman considered the Finns as ugly "Mongols" in her *Letters from Finland* (1911). (Halmesvirta 1993, 110, 113, 154-5, 149, 158) Some of the arrogant ideas of the British may be linked to the uncertainty about the new nation and its presumed political immaturity. They were partly based on racist ideas stemming from Darwinism. For example, Sir Charles Dilke (1843-1911) considered the Anglo-Saxon race superior compared to the others, and stressed its responsibility in spreading civilised culture. Even between the Civil and Second World Wars, Finns were referred to as "Mongols" and thus inferior. J. Hampden Jackson, the writer of a book about Finland (1938) appreciated some Finnish arts, like architecture and music, but, for example, literature was left in the shade because of the problems of translation (Halmesvirta 1993, 52-4, 163, 175-7). Presumably, this is why the British did not, therefore, consider Finnish literature as a possible source of inspiration in the way that British literature was for some Finnish authors.

⁶ Päivi Lappalainen refers here to the Finnish writers group, *Tulenkantajat* (The Fire Carriers) founded in the 1920s by several young authors, mostly poets. Olavi Paavolainen, later known as a significant cultural essayist, is usually considered the leader of the group, though he gained his position after Erkki Vala was deposed. Katri Vala and Mika Waltari were also members of the group. As a group, the *Tulenkantajat* were extremely interested in literary Modernism and internationalism, which led them to explore the cosmopolitan cities of Europe.

⁷ The *Tulenkantajat* review included a short and provocative note addressed to Erik Kihlman, a literary critic as well as a writer for the Swedish -speaking *Nya Argus*, in their issue 4/1929:

Hello, Erik Kihlman, the young wig, who is spying on the pages of *Tulenkantajat*. Hello! *Tulenkantajat* speaking. We want to warn you about lying! Demanding a Finnish national university and English language in the schools is not nationalism. It is a demand of the age, because knowing Swedish is not enough to maintain connections between the peoples. It is not nationalist, it is rational. (*Tulenkantajat* 4/1929, 54; M. S's translation)

The writer of the text is not mentioned and the text refers to the entire *Tulenkantajat* group. Therefore, it is impossible to trace Enäjärvi's role in the publication of the message.

⁸ Paavolainen considered America as the future leader of mankind's development. Europe, in Paavolainen's opinion, was doomed to lose the race. Attitudes towards America and

Americanism divided the opinions of contemporary Finns, but Paavolainen believed in the victory of the Americans. (Hapuli 1995, 77-9)

⁹ In their book *Sinisen junan ikkunasta* (From a Window of a Blue Train), Hilpi Saure and Liisi Huhtala have collected Finnish travellers' experiences, on basis of their texts, written between the turn of the century and the Second World War (Saure & Huhtala 1992, p. 256-258)

¹⁰ The friendship between Anni Swan and the two Krohn daughters, (Helmi Krohn and Aino Kallas), becomes evident, when we read both the sisters' correspondence and Kallas's diaries (Jalava & Kallas & Krohn 1988; Kallas 1978). Swan is referred to as Anni Manninen according to her husband, the poet Otto Manninen's family name, which she did not use as an author.

The name Anni Manninen also has a role in later Finnish children's fiction. Marja-Leena Mikkola's book *Anni Manninen* (1977), is an impressive story about a little girl who admires story-telling, witches and nature. Mikkola's book is not, however, a biographic novel for children, but purely fictional.

¹¹ Elsa Enäjärvi, too, visited the Pen Club meetings in London in the company of Aino Kallas (Enäjärvi 1929b, 339). According to Enäjärvi's biographer, Ritva Sievänen-Allen, the young scholar also stayed in Kallas's house for a short period. Later on, they became good friends and Enäjärvi even started to write a biography of Kallas. The work was never completed because of Enäjärvi's early death to cancer. (Sievänen-Allen 1993, 138-9, 340-1)

¹² Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia* has not been translated into English. The films based on the book (see reference ¹⁵ in this chapter) have the simple English title *Pessi and Illusia*. The novel has been translated, however, into, for example, Swedish and Danish with the titles *Jorden och Vingarna* (by Sven and Solveig von Schoultz in 1946) and *Jorden og Vingerne* (according to the Swedish translation by Aage Dons in 1948). Based on these titles, Kokko's book has been called *The Earth and the Vings* in some English texts.

¹³ The line is from J. L. Runeberg's poem "Vid en källa" (1833) (At the fountain).

¹⁴ The line is from a Finnish folk song.

¹⁵ Two films have been made based on Kokko's *Pessi ja Illusia*. The first one (directed by Jack Witikka, 1954) is a dance film of a performance of Ahti Sonninen's ballet. It concentrates on the narration of the fairy tale. The importance of nature is not stressed, because it is filmed on a set. The latter (directed by Heikki Partanen, 1983) is composed of acting, though music - Sibelius' "The Spider", and new melodies composed by Kari Rydman and Antti Hytti - plays a significant role in it. The film emphasises war, and there are elements familiar from *Sota ja satu*. Its description of nature is particularly skillful. The casting of both films included the leading Finnish dancers. For instance, Doris Laine dances Illusia's role in the first version, while Jorma Uotinen is the spider in the latter. Both dancers are - in addition

to their skills as dancers, teachers and choreographers - well-known as leaders of The Finnish National Ballet. Partanen's films received particularly good critical reviews, and attracted attention abroad as well. *Pessi ja Illusia* has been also presented as a theatre play on several occasions.

¹⁶ Though both Lindgren's *Pippi Longstocking* and Jansson's *Moomin* books declare individualism and children's freedom, their approach to the subject is, nevertheless, very different. Jonathan Cott calls Pippi the fictional embodiment of Rousseau's *Émile*. She even has some superficial connections with the orphan girls of the nineteenth-century evangelical literature, but she breaks all the conventional traditions of describing girls and bourgeois manners. (Cott 1984, 139, 142-4) Anu-Hanna Anttila has created a bond between Pippi and a later unconventional girl character, Roald Dahl's *Matilda* (1982), who has inherited many Pippi's anarchistic qualities (Anttila 1996, 23). Pippi is a super-girl, who can manage splendidly in the adult world in spite of being an orphan. Jansson's Moomin children are happy and independent, but not quite as perfect as Pippi with her supernatural powers and fearlessness. Their power is a loving family, which supports them and, thus, provides them with good self-esteem and an ability to cope with difficult situations. Both Pippi and the Moomin children are free and independent, but their ways of being such vary significantly.

¹⁷ In 1930, the *Tulenkantajat* review published a series of Theodora Bosanquet's articles introducing modern English literature. Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio had written an introduction, and, due to her Anglophile passions, it would be logical to stress her role in getting the series published. (Bosanquet 1930a, 186-9; Bosanquet 1930b, 212-4) Enäjärvi was well-known among the *Tulenkantajat* group as an eager supporter of British culture. Therefore, Raoul af Hällström starts his ironic article on the cultural pastimes among the students in Oxford by telling that he is going to write an article, which might make the prophetess of English culture, Elsa Enäjärvi, boil with anger. Af Hällström's viewpoint differs drastically from Enäjärvi's enthusiastic appraisals. He distinguishes two separate groups in Oxford: the decadent aestheticists and the superficial athletes. He names Oscar Wilde and his literary work, very rarely appreciated in contemporary Finland, as the greatest passion among the Oxford students, and mocks the pretentious clichés of Wilde's plays. Af Hällström also wonders at the emptiness of the modern youth. (Hällström 1930, 40, 47) His opinions, which brand British culture old-fashioned and boring, had probably some supporters in Finland, where such ideas were almost typical.

Enäjärvi's ideas about modern literature were, in general, very strong and controversial. On one hand, she made positive comments on the Anglo-Saxon modernism of the age, but on the other, she was clearly supporting the nationalist wing of the Finnish Expressionists of the 1920s and 30s. This was partly connected with her marriage in 1929 to Martti Haavio, who wrote right-wing, nationalist poetry as early as in the 1920's under the pseudonym P. Mustapää. He even joined AKS (The Academic Carelia Society), and worked as one of its leading figures, supporting the political ideas of the movement.

Elmer Diktonius presented critical opinions about Enäjärvi's work in his article "Eräs 'nuorten' kapina" (The rebellion of a certain 'youth'), written in 1929 and published in the newspaper

of the Finnish Social Democrat party. Diktonius' article was written shortly after the purification of the Tulenkantajat group, where its leader, Erkki Vala, had been replaced by Olavi Paavolainen. Simultaneously, the writers were persuaded to take a nationalist direction instead of internationalist ones. Diktonius believed that Finnish Modernism was trying to please both sides. He calls Enäjärvi the priestess and the leading cook of this strange, ridiculous cuisine. Enäjärvi had previously stated that Modernism in art is not enough for the Tulenkantajat group and added the nationalist ideas there. Thus, Diktonius vigorously attacks Enäjärvi's idea of using art as a political means. (Diktonius 1929, 5)

¹⁸ Paavolainen vigorously criticised the backwardness of Finnish cultural life in his pamphlet, *Suursiivous* (Thorough Cleaning), in 1932. His journal from the Second World War, *Synkkä yksinpuhelu* (1946; A Gloomy Monologue) forcefully attacks both the contemporary political and cultural life.

¹⁹ Paloheimo was interested in Modernism, and commented on it on several occasions. In 1960, he wrote an article about Modernism, which was never published. He strongly criticised Anhava in it, but praised both Eeva-Liisa Manner and Arvo Turtiainen. In Paloheimo's opinion, Turtiainen was continuously developing as a good writer and human being, and Manner had included much of her personal feelings in her poetry. Anhava's poetry was described as empty. (Paloheimo 1960; the text "Modernismista"). Therefore, Paloheimo did not judge the new poetry and thus represent the camp of the older writers, but only criticised Anhava.

²⁰ Swan had translated *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* into Finnish as early as 1906, almost 70 years before Kunnas and Manner (1974). *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* was only translated by Kunnas and Manner in the same year as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. These translations, both entitled *Liisan seikkailut ihmemaassa*, were, nevertheless, not the only ones, because Alice Martin's translation *Alicen seikkailut ihmemaassa* was published in 1995. Oittinen emphasises that all translations reflect their own society. Swan's version comes from the agricultural society of the turn of the century, while, in Kunnas' and Manner's era, Finnish society was already drastically different and the principles of translating literature were the subject of a lively debate. Martin has kept the original names in her translation, which, in Oittinen's opinion, mirrors the international, modern society. Three translations, which vary significantly, are, therefore, three different interpretations of Carroll's original text. (Oittinen 1995, B2) All of them reflect their own age and spirit in their selection of words, objects and language. (Oittinen 1997, 47) The latest translation of *Alice*, *Liisa ihmemaassa* is by Tuomas Nevanlinna and published in 2001. Oittinen describes it as the most faithful of all Finnish translations. At the same time, she criticises it for its lack of humour. (Oittinen 2001, B2)

²¹ Old Possum was originally Ezra Pound's name for Eliot. According to Bonnie Kime Scott, it referred to some of his most typical characteristics: American origins, early admission to middle age and the evasive manoeuvres he used to protect himself. Quite soon Eliot adopted the nickname himself, and used it both in his correspondence with Virginia Woolf and in the title of *The Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*. (Scott 1995, 119)

²² Manner's poem has references to Carroll's *Alice*, but the poem itself also has connections with Kirsi Kunnas's *Tiitiäisen pippurimylly* (Tiitiäinen's Pepper Mill), which was published as late as 1991. Kunnas, who knew Manner well, wrote the children's poem "Viimeisen mörön hirmuinen elämä" (The Horrible Life of the Last Bogey-man), where the Bogey-man, or *Mörkö* in Finnish, has the main role. The nursery rhyme contains linguistic plays, and the word "mörö" is declined in several ways.

²³ Manner was a keen writer of literary criticism. Her interests concerned everything from classic Russian novels to modern plays. She focused, for instance, on Joyce and Beckett. (Manner 1994)

Chapter 4

¹ *Toiset pidot Tornissa* (The Second Party in the Tower), published in 1954, was the sequel to *Pidot Tornissa* (A Party in the Tower), published in 1937. Eino S. Repo, the editor of the latter book, considers the example of *Pidot Tornissa* significant, and calls it a classic of Finnish literature. He emphasises the importance of discussion in cultural debates, and the both books are, indeed, written and edited conversations. Poets, authors, scholars and philosophers of the age present their opinions in these texts about the contemporary situation in Finnish, European and global culture. In the first book, for instance, Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio and Tatu Vaaskivi, the author, are among the speakers. The participants of the second party are also significant cultural figures of the period; in addition to Repo, for instance, Tuomas Anhava was present. (Repo 1954, 5-9)

² Moominpappa's play in *Moominsummer Madness* contains some parodic characteristics typical of opera. Partly for this reason, the book offered some splendid material for an opera for children. Its first night was at the Finnish National Opera in December 1974. Tove Jansson wrote the libretto (which was translated from Swedish into Finnish) and designed the costumes, while Ilkka Kuusisto composed the music. The opera was directed by Heikki Värtsi, who had gained experience about children's theatre by dancing Pessi's role in Witikka's ballet film and by directing *Tirlittan*'s stage version in 1963 (see reference ¹⁵ in Chapter 3). The opera sets *Moominsummer Madness* in an extraordinary situation. The book parodies opera, but the opera is based on the book. In a certain respect, the opera thus comments on the novel and its approach to opera.

³ *Tirlittan* had entered the theatre one year before the film version, when it was performed as a school play in Kulosaari Comprehensive School in Helsinki. Paloheimo himself had made the stage adaptation. In 1963, it was performed by Kansanteatteri - Työväenteatteri (The Workers' Theatre) in Helsinki. Ahti Sonninen, composer of the ballet based on *Pessi ja Illusia*, composed the melody, which united the different scenes. The *Tirlittan* opera for children, composed by Pekka Jalkanen, was first performed more than two decades later, in 1987, in Itäkeskus, Helsinki.

⁴ Such a character is actually very typical of contemporary films. Mimmi is the best-known example, but her replacement can be found in Birgit of *Isäpappa ja Keltanokka* (1950, *The Old Man and the Youngster*), in Sofia Tissari of *Kenraalin morsian* (1951, *The General's*

Fiancée) and in Albertiina Hoikkanen of *Mitäs me taiteilijat* (1952, *Just We Artists*). (Lehto-Trapnowski 1996, 155)

⁵ All the English translations of the titles of the Finnish films appearing in the text have been taken from *Suomen Kansallisfilmografia* (The Finnish National Filmography).

⁶ *The Golden Bird* is also the title of a Finnish folk tale (*Suomalaiset kansansadut 1* 1988, 215-23)

Chapter 5

¹ Tove Jansson, author, comic drawer and artist, made the sketches, from which Kaarlo Haapanen painted the set for Ahti Sonninen's ballet version of *Pessi ja Illusia*. It premièred at the National Ballet in October 1952. Jansson also designed some of the costumes. Later the ballet was filmed in 1954 (see reference ¹⁵ in Chapter 3), but the set designed by Jansson was not used in this version. Irja Koskinen choreographed the first version of Sonninen's ballet, but in 1967 the ballet returned to the repertoire of the National Ballet with Elsa Sylvestersson's choreography. Doris Laine, the first dancing Illusia, made her own choreography to Sonninen's ballet, which was presented in 1982 by young dancers in The Swedish Theatre in Helsinki.

² In *Onneli ja Anneli ja nukutuskello* Kurenniemi describes an idyll on the brink of a catastrophe; the picturesque town, where the events take place, is about disappear under a massive motorway. Thanks to the children, who take action, the town is rescued and the plans for the motorway are postponed. *Putti ja Pilvilaivat* in turn comments on a human being's selfish action, which can shake the ecological balance. *Putti Puuhkajasaarilla* visits a hidden ecological paradise. In part, the story speaks to the saving of the rainforests and the endangered species (dinosaurs are found on the hidden islands). But, meanwhile, the home town of the major characters (the same one as in *Onneli ja Anneli ja nukutuskello*) is in danger of being submerged under an artificial lake designed to produce electricity for factories. In this case, just as in *Onneli ja Anneli ja nukutuskello* and *Putti ja Pilvilaivat*, the destruction is avoided by changing an evil person (an adult corrupted by greediness, the desire for revenge or technological thinking) into a better one. But to save the rainforests in *Putti Puuhkajasaarilla*, the story demands action from everybody. The belief in the human race is, thus, stronger than in *Onnimanni*. The improvement is seen as a possible option.

³ Disney companies filmed both *Peter and Wendy* and *Mary Poppins*. Therefore, it is no wonder that a theme essential to them has also been used in Disney comics.

⁴ Kurenniemi has enthusiastically commented on the political situation in her other children's stories. For instance, "Menninkäinen Penninkäinen" (Goblin Penniful), published in 1958 in *Kuu omenapuussa* criticises the post-war inflation and devaluation of 1957 by means of nonsense. Riitta Hjerpe has noted that before the devaluation of 1957, the international trade had started to slow down. This, and the general strike of 1956, led to a tense financial and political situation in Finland, causing the devaluation and depression of 1958, after which the economy started to grow due to increased exports following the devaluation. (Hjerpe 1988,

47). Kurenniemi's story was written shortly after the devaluation and published during the economic depression, and it does not yet see the beginning of economic growth.

⁵ The king's name, Barbarossa, has its roots in ancient German mythology, but due to the circumstances of the period it was better-known in Finland as the a code name for a military operation between Finland and Germany during the War.

⁶ There were well-known parks in big cities, like the Kaisaniemi park in Helsinki, of which Martta Salmela-Järvinen has sentimental memories just as the British authors have of their own parks:

Bushy lindens and shivering white poplars were framing the water mirror, and the pond was no cement box. In the middle of the pond, there even was a small island, where swans could rest. There were plenty of trees everywhere...Kaisaniemi was not just a place one could pass through. People went there to stay, to walk along the paths, to sit on the benches, or to sit on lawn listening how the birds sang (Salmela-Järvinen 1965, 90-1; M. S's translation)

Most contemporary Finns lived in the countryside, however, where nature was seen as forests and fields, and thus a park was a rarity.

⁷ The circus was a significant theme in Finnish literature of the 1950s. In Paloheimo's *Tirlittan*, the orphan heroine starts a very short career as a trapeze artist, The Golden Bird, which leads to a fateful accident. In Eeva-Liisa Manner's poetry and fiction for adults, the circus is also often referred to. In approximately half of the short stories in *Kävelymusiikkia pienille virtahevoille*, published in 1957, the circus motif is very dominant. Later Manner used rather similar images of cabaret in her "Kamala kissa" (1976) and the play "Kauhukakara ja Superkissa" (1982, "The Horror Brat and the Super-cat"), which express, according to Tuula Hökkä, strong self-sufficiency and joy. (Hökkä 1991, 112) These were both feelings, which were undeniably looked for in the Modernist culture of the post-war depression era. An episode in the novel *Oliko murhaaja enkeli?* (1963, Was the Murderer an Angel?), which Manner wrote under the pseudonym, Anna September, shows the other side of the coin. The main characters visit the circus at night, when it is already closed, and sadness fills the air.

The circus theme is not only a Finnish phenomenon. For instance, Lindgren's Pippi experiments with a circus artist's career, and manages much better than her Finnish colleague Tirlittan in *Pippi Longstocking*. The interest in the circus in Finland of the 1950's was partly due to the enthusiasm towards modernism. For instance, in the visual arts Picasso painted clown characters typical of circuses. In my opinion, circus themes also have some connections with nonsense literature. Hökkä defines masks, roles, circus and fairs as often being settings of grotesque narration in literature. (Hökkä 1991, 111). They are also typical of nonsense literature, which is a characteristically violent and absurd genre, very often reaching the limits of the grotesque. The circus with its clowns and their masks is often simultaneously a cruel, violent and amusing experience, and in this sense it has very much in common with nonsense books, like *Alice*. Masks, too, connect the circus and nonsense (see Blount 1974, 78, 80)

In children's fiction, the circus has also always had an important position as a symbol of freedom and fun. Later, in Finnish children's literature, examples can be found of the circus theme, for instance, in Kirsi Kunnas's (*Sirkusjuttuja* 1985 [Circus Stories]), Elina Karjalainen's (*Sapotillit* 1979) and Kaija Pakkanen's (*Hei, sirkus tuli kylään!* 1983 [Hey, the Circus Came to the Village!]) works.

⁸ *Marjatan satuja* (1992; Marjatta's Tales) is one of the most remarkable examples of Kurenniemi's later nonsense stories. Continuous play with words, linguistic jokes and poems are all typical of its stories.

⁹ The name "Visapää" not only refers to a linguistic play on words, typical of nonsense literature. Niilo Visapää (whose Swedish surname was Backberg until 1932, when he translated it into Finnish) was a significant character in the juvenile culture of the 1950's and 1960s. He had responsible positions both in the YMCA's Boy Scout division and, from 1944 to 1946, in the war orphan operations of the Mannerheim Child Protection Association. He also worked as the vice president (1957-66) and the president (1966-71) of the Finnish Children's Book Board, as well as on the International Children's Book Board (vice president 1968-70; and president 1970-74). He was a correspondent of *Deutsche Akademie für Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* in 1977. His sister, Sylvi, in turn, worked actively with the YWCA and Girl Scout Association.

¹⁰ In *Onnelin ja Annelin talvi* (1968; Onneli's and Anneli's Winter), the metamorphosis scenes remarkably resemble the changes of size in *Alice*. The miniature family Vaaksanheimo invited some guests to their Christmas party, who have to become smaller in order to enter their home, a doll house. This happens by eating a particular sweet, found inside the egg of a magic chicken:

I put the sweet into my mouth. It tasted like chocolate, marzipan, peppermint, liquorice, vanilla and something that I did not recognise all at the same time. Instantly, the room grew enormously high as did all the furniture. (Kurenniemi 1983, 140; M. S's translation)

A red sweet thus shrinks the characters, while a green one returns them to their normal size. The family also needs a miniature Christmas tree; it is arranged by watering an ordinary spruce with an elixir called minisillin. Later, when the miniature family's son Putti has turned into a giant after gulping iron tablets, he is shrunk back to his ordinary size with the same liquid. In *Putti Puuhkajasaarilla*, it has been concentrated into pills. There the metamorphosis works according to a certain mechanism: one pill shrinks, while another enlarges.

Kurenniemi's *Onneli ja Anneli* series offers even more examples of changing tastes. In *Onnelin ja Annelin talo* (1966; Onneli's and Anneli's House), the major characters are invited to visit their neighbours. There they eat ordinary-looking cake - every slice tasting completely different. A similar scene can also be found in Elina Karjalainen's *Uppo-Nalle ja Pikkuponi* (1992, Uppo-Nalle and the Little Pony) where the major character, a teddy bear, has a chocolate drink. Every mouthful has a different taste from mint chocolate to nut chocolate, and so on. In *Onnelin ja Annelin talo*, the girls are also given two eggs by the ladies in the neighbouring house. These eggs taste like the girls' favourite treats - chocolate and marzipan.

Such details may connect the story with *Alice* as well as with *Mary Poppins*, where Mary gives each of the Bank children a spoonful of medicine, which tastes, unlike medicines usually, like their favourites from strawberry ice cream to lemon jelly.

¹¹ Knowingly or unknowingly, the sentence also refers to Henryk Sienkiewicz's famous novel, *Quo Vadis?* (1896).

¹² A moped was a vehicle discussed among the poets of the 1950s. The newspaper, *Häme-Karjala*, paper, edited by Eeva-Liisa Manner and Armi Rautavuori, playfully reported in September 1954 on the triumph of the moped in the Western world. Manner was so enchanted by the vehicle that she even bought one for herself. Her friend Harri Kaasalainen thought that she was inspired by Jacques Tati's film *Mon oncle* (1958). (Hökkä 1992, 78, 90)

¹³ Such a magical object also appeared later in Finnish children's fantasy fiction, where Elina Karjalainen's Uppo-Nalle in *Uppo-Nalle ja Kultahippu* (1989, Uppo-Nalle and the Gold Nugget) unpacks all kinds of large technical tools from its rucksack. The idea has also been used in *Mickey Mouse* comics, where the space boy Eega Beeva carries all kinds of things from baseball bats to houses in his pockets.

Chapter 6

¹ Thomas Warburton's translation changes the meaning of the poem, while Elizabeth Portch, who translated "Higgely-Piggely", has been quite faithful to the original text. In Warburton's translation, the line about the Hemulens, who wear crowns and wreaths, is replaced with a sentence, which tells that the Hemulens are closing the jails. Warburton has also left out the last line, which tells about Mymble, who is looking for her hat alone after the party.

² Kuusisto's *Moomin* -opera is a fine example of the phenomenon, but the songs composed for the *Moomin* television cartoon in the 1990s undeniably gained more listeners. The songs of the TV-series were also recorded, and several other songs were added to the soundtrack. None of these songs was based on Jansson's texts, which merely worked as an inspiration for them. Kunnas's books from the 1950's have not been presented in musical form, but Juice Leskinen and Safka Pekkonen composed music to the poems of *Tiitiäisen pippurimylly* (1991). The songs were first presented in October 1992.

³ See reference ². See also references ² and ³ in chapter 4.

Chapter 7

¹ Elsa Enäjärvi, a familiar figure as an introducer of British culture into Finland, was involved with Väestöliitto from the very beginning as the first vice president. As a working mother of a big family, she was also a model for the ideas, which Väestöliitto represented; her example was used (for example, in the ladies' magazine *Hopeapeili*) to show how a successful career and a happy family could be combined. (Sievänen-Allen 1993, 289-90)

² Moominmamma, who appears in the *Moomin* books, is a saintly figure. She never loses her

temper and she always has time and understanding for her child, his numerous friends, and her husband. Jansson has mentioned in an interview that she resembles the author's own mother, who seemed to be always loving towards Jansson's tempestuous artist father. In the *Moomin* comics, created by Tove Jansson and her brother Lars, Moominmamma is less perfect. Though she is usually as tender and gentle as in the books, she might also lose her temper and sulk.

³ Riitta Hämäläinen, who was the leading little lady in *Pikku Ilona ja hänen karitsansa* and *Pieni Luutatyttö*, was one of the most beloved child stars of Finnish films. Jukka Sihvonen has compared her success with the Shirley Temple phenomenon. Ilona's story - a child's longing for her dear father and the wish of a real home - has indeed some similarities to Temple's film *The Little Princess* (1939), which is based on F. H. Burnett's novel. It was a popular film in Finland, and Hämäläinen's stardom was constructed with Temple's success in mind. (Sihvonen 1987, 86)

⁴ In the *Moomin* books, Snorkmaiden is a vain little girl, but her interest is concentrated on Moomintroll. In the *Moomin* comics, however, we meet a completely different figure. Snorkmaiden has turned into a *femme fatale*, who chases other boys at the expense of Moomintroll's broken heart. Such characteristics of Snorkmaiden do not, however, appear in the books, and so she can only be connected with Suhusiina Yyliö because of her vanity.

⁵ Kristina Schulgin's documentary film *Miksi en puhu venäjää* (Why do I not speak Russian?) surveys the reasons for the disappearance of Russian culture in Finland. According to the film, the Russians of Finland still had their own cultural events, like club meetings and parties in the pre-war era. After the War, however, the stress caused by the bitterness of the majority of the population increased, and hence the Russian minority tried to merge into the culture of the Finnish majority. Children were christened with Finnish names and ethnic traditions forgotten. For this reason, many of the descendants of the Russian minority neither speak Russian nor know the traditions of their ancestors. (Schulgin 1993)

Chapter 8

¹ For instance, in Finnish shamanism, as in some other European countries, the pupil is supposed to experience a journey to the spiritual world (Virolainen 1994, 35-6). This may have inspired the early story-tellers, but drawing direct links with modern fantasy fiction would be a too courageous act.

² For instance George MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872) can be mentioned as an example.

³ Kurenniemi has mentioned that the *Onneli and Anneli* -series, written between 1966 and 1984, was created on the basis of the author's own disappointment with Topelius's dialogue "The Red Cottage". In Topelius's text, two girls, Aina and Ruusu, dream about their own little red cottage, but abandon the dream by giving their silver coins to charity in order to help poor children. Kurenniemi's Onneli and Anneli, however, manage to buy their own house, and live happily there, which corresponds to the dreams of little girls rather than the noble behaviour

of Topelius' children. (Kurenniemi 1980, 112)

Chapter 9

¹ The success of American entertainment literature, situated in the Wild West, paved the way for Italian comics and films. J. F. Cooper's novels have been praised ever since Snellman's days (Karkama 1989, 67-8) and their more commercial successors were very popular as well. In the 1920s, the most read American authors were Jack London, James Oliver Curwood, Zane Grey and Edgar Rice Burroughs. With the exception of Burroughs, all these writers either located their stories in the Wild West or the great woodlands. (Koivisto 1992, 48-50) Therefore, the interest in the topic was quite old.

² When studying the origins of the success of the European adaptations of American themes, Riikonen has noted Puccini's opera *La fanciulla del West* (The Girl from the West), which was first performed, however, in New York in 1910. (Riikonen 1992, 140) The combination of opera and the Western theme is also an interesting composition, which built bridges between the high and low cultures.

³ Although adults started to favour Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* books as early as in the 1960s, they gained a new kind of success among mature readers in the 1990's. Pooh's ideas were humorously interpreted then as sources of deeper wisdom, and, thus, books like *Winnie-the-Pooh and Tao*, *Piglet and Te* or *Pooh and the Philosophers* were published. Pooh's statements were also introduced playfully into business circles, *Winnie-the-Pooh's Guide to Management*. Children, too, got their share of the recycling of Pooh. Disney's new products present this side of the phenomenon.

⁴ This also reflects the entertainment of the period. Antiquity, especially the Greek mythology to which also Väyrynen's book series refers, has been popularised by means of fantasy in the 1990s. There are several examples, such as the television series, *Xena the Warrior Princess*, or Disney's animation film *Hercules* (1997). Certainly, for example, Ulysses comics or film adaptations have appeared before this decade, but until now they have been more faithful to the original story and mainly aimed at adults.

The following books are studied in this thesis:

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Abstract

The Eden of Dreams and the Nonsense Land. Characteristics of the British Golden Age Children's Fiction in the Finnish Children's Fantasy Literature of the 1950s. 267 pages.

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Finnish interest in British literature began before the Second World War. British children's fantasy books – especially such representatives of the Golden Age (1860-1930), as Lewis Carroll's *Alice*, Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* or J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* – were translated into Finnish. They were, however, often considered unsuitable for young minds, because they excited the child's imagination. Fairy tales were an exception, because they were supposedly linked with the national heritage. Close, cultural relations with Germany strengthened their position.

After the Second World War, the situation changed, partly due to the redrawn political maps. Finns looked to the Anglo-Saxon countries, which led to a rise in the position of British children's fantasy fiction, which was now seen as a model. The 1950s became the Golden Age of Finnish children's fantasy literature, because the charm of the British stories was discovered by authors like Tove Jansson, Oiva Paloheimo, Marjatta Kurenniemi and Kirsi Kunnas.

Characteristics typical of British children's fantasy fiction of the Golden Age can be found in the Finnish children's literature of the 1950s: linguistic games, absurdity of nonsense literature and imaginary worlds. But the Finnish books were by no means adaptations of the British masterpieces. They were stamped with Finnish characteristics, such as elements typical of folklore or contemporary popular culture. Even political parodies can be found. Fantasy fiction established its position in Finnish children's literature in the 1950s. Later, it maintained this position by developing in a modern direction as had British fantasy fiction decades before. Such modern characteristics of children's literature, as the quest fantasy created in the footsteps of J. R. R. Tolkien or supernatural events taking place in the ordinary world, appeared, for instance, in Kurenniemi's and Kaarina Helakisa's works. During the post-war era, Finnish children's literature rejected the connections with German culture and sought new directions from the Anglo-Saxon countries. It became a mixture of international trends and characteristics familiar from Finnish folklore, fairy tales and society.