

Children, war, and the rhetoric of remembrance: The stories of Finland's war children

Sue Saffle

In 2001, while living in Finland, I became fascinated by stories about the mass evacuations of Finnish 'War Children' during the "Winter" (1939-1940) and "Continuation" Wars (1941-1944) fought mostly against the Russians, Finland's historical oppressor. It was then I collected my first accounts of War Child experiences. I learned that, although other child transports during wartime (from Central Europe to other countries during 1919-1922; from Spain to England and the USSR in 1937; from London to the English countryside during World War II; and so on) had been amply researched and written about,¹ the evacuation of Finland's War Children remained relatively little-known. The purpose not only of the present article, but of my research overall, is to investigate the stories told by Finnish War Children in terms of their significant shared features; I also seek an explanation of those features, as well as ways of evaluating individual stories within the larger context of world-wide war victims who have sought to share their early experiences near the ends of their lives.

Finland and Finnish War-Child Experiences: The Winter and Continuation Wars of 1939-1944

As soon as the Winter War (1939-1940) broke out between Russia and Finland, Sweden launched an initiative to have Finnish children below a certain age transported to Sweden out of harm's way. The first reaction on the part of Finnish authorities was a refusal to accept material help in any form except that of weapons or money. Soon after, Swedish authorities contacted influential people in Finland, however, and some 9,000 children were sent to Sweden, as well as 3,000 mothers and elderly people. Although Finnish children were also sent to Denmark and Norway, they were returned when those countries came under German attack. With the commencement of the so-called "Continuation War" (1941-1944), this time fought by Finland with Germany against Russia, Sweden again applied pressure on its neighbour to send them those 'remaining' children still in danger—'remaining,' because most of the children sent during the first wave of evacuation were still in Sweden. In 1941 Finland's Minister of Social Affairs accepted amid controversy.²

The goals and results of the ensuing massive evacuations—it is estimated that, ultimately, some 80,000 Finnish children were sent to Sweden—were complex. An example: During the Winter War, Finns from the eastern region on the Russian border known as "Karelia" were forced to evacuate their homes and live with Finnish families in other parts of the country.³ At the end of the Winter War a few months later, however, and after Finland regained Karelia, the Finnish government felt that sending Finnish children to Sweden would simplify the return of Finnish families, especially large families, to Karelia. Furthermore, when the Continuation War began, Finnish authorities believed that hostilities might last no longer than six months; consequently, it was anticipated that the separation of parents and children would be anything but catastrophic. Finally, Finnish authorities hoped that transporting children to safely would also help relieve wartime shortages at home.

To counter parental fears of losing their transported children permanently, the Finns asked Denmark, and especially Sweden, for written agreements guaranteeing safe passage and return. Nevertheless, some 15,000 War Children never did return to Finland. In many cases, Finnish families were unable to pay for the return of their offspring, especially when one or both parents had died. Lawsuits were also brought in 1945-1946, and these by both biological and foster parents struggling to retain or retrieve "their" children. In many cases, too, Finnish War Children who had achieved majority chose to stay in Sweden. This was scarcely surprising: since, by the end of the Continuation War, more than a few War Children had all but forgotten their native country, parents, and language.⁴

In 2005 the plight of Finland's War Children was publicly recognized when, in apparent acknowledgement of wartime mistakes made by both countries, Sweden's King and Finland's President presided jointly over the

installation of a statue named Separation on the Finnish-Swedish border, where the majority of the Finnish War Children crossed to safety.⁵ More recently, a documentary film entitled *Äideistä parhain* (“Mother of Mine”) has stimulated international interest in Finnish War-Child experience.⁶ It is the stories told by Finland’s surviving War Children, however, that constitute an historical, psychological, and rhetorical treasure-trove of information: one little-known to European scholars, much less to British and Americans. Only during the past fifteen years, and especially during the last five years, have more than a handful of these Children come forward to tell their stories.⁷ War Child societies have been established in both Finland and Sweden, which actively encourage the sharing of stories. Indeed, one such society, has enlisted the aid of an instructor to teach members how to write their memoirs.⁸

The stories of Finland’s War Children may have been neglected and even suppressed, at least until quite recently, for several reasons. First, during the Cold War years of the 1950 - 1980s, Finns were officially discouraged from discussing their Winter and Continuation War experiences because they feared the possibility of Russian reprisal. The stoic philosophy of the Finns encapsulated in the word *sisu* may be another reason for Finnish silence. In addition, for decades after the wars of the 1940s Finns struggled with enormous personal and material loss. Finally, many War Children may have kept their stories to themselves because they considered their own sufferings unimportant in comparison with those of their parents and other family members.

However, the explanation I find most compelling for the decades-long public silence maintained by Finland’s War Children is that of personal trauma. Although mortality rates among these Children were lower than those who remained in Finland, and although conditions at home proved more favourable than expected,⁹ it is now widely accepted that virtually every War Child, whatever his or her circumstances, was scarred for life.¹⁰ An entire generation of Finns—especially those War Children who had lost both their biological and (after repatriation) their foster parents, as well as their native Finnish and acquired Swedish languages—are known to have suffered disproportionately from alcoholism, suicide, high divorce rates, and attachment disorders of various kinds.¹¹

Finnish War-Child Stories and the Rhetoric of Remembrance

The stories of Finland’s War Children testify to lifelong struggles against the psychological traumas of childhood separation from family, friends, and homeland. As she wrote of her own experiences after decades of personally imposed emotional repression, Ann-Maj Danielsen found herself “confronted with memories that [had]. . . been dormant for over fifty years,” memories that suddenly “created an almost unbearable chaos and confusion in [her] life.” She writes, too, that for a long time, I was convinced I was getting ill and that I was even about to lose my mind. Without understanding the reasons, I slipped into a surreal parallel world that, aside from the usual life with work, family, and spare time, also contained nightmares robbing me of my night’s rest. Also, there were all these scary glimpses and memories that wouldn’t let go, but very vividly made me understand that these weren’t just nightmares sprung from unreal fantasies. . . . Despite the fact that I made my utmost effort to . . . push away what I didn’t want to see and experience, one painful memory after another rolled up like a movie from my subconscious mind. When I finally realized that I couldn’t get away from nightmares or flashbacks, I instead forced myself to try to finally understand what all of this meant.¹²

Once Ann-Maj¹³ began to tell her own story, her memories “came crashing down” on her. All of it: her ‘banishment’ at age five from Finland, the five ‘disoriented’ years she spent with her caring foster parents in ‘paradise’ Sweden, and her forced return—in and of itself a ‘second banishment’—to an extremely hard post-war life in the Finnish countryside. There, she lived with her “family” in a wooden shed with newspaper on the walls, lice, little food, no heating or plumbing, and a tyrannical father who had been psychologically damaged during the war. As we shall see below, her story is in many respects typical of Finnish War-Child experiences, even as it differs from them in the details of her own history and her own response to the traumas she suffered both at home and abroad.

Decades ago, Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham argued that all children separated from their families, languages, and cultures experience similar psychological and social trauma.¹⁴ My own work-in-progress, specifically with the stories told by Finnish War Children, involves identifying characteristic elements in each story as well as comparing the substance, form, and self-assessed significance of such stories ‘overall’ with the narratives of other World War II child evacuees. Such comparisons require both identifying the events (“kernels” and “satellites”), characters, settings, temporal relationships, themes, and other facets in each narrative;¹⁵ and evaluating these same narrative aspects (events, characters, themes, etc.) in terms of individual (narrator-oriented) and social (culture-oriented) relevance.¹⁶

Each War-Child's story is distinctive, each a 'history' in and of itself. Some stories are positive in tone and outcome, while others are negative; some reflect "successful" experiences abroad, while others deal with "unsuccessful" experiences; some speak of social adjustment, while others speak of maladjustment; and so on.¹⁷ On the other hand, Finnish War Children also speak of similar experiences in similar ways. These rhetorical (which is to say, narrative) "kernels" or motifs include

- initial banishment
- disorientation
- enslavement or paradise
- second banishment
- repatriation trauma

As we shall see, Finnish stories are especially distinctive insofar as what I call the 'second banishment' (or return-to-Finland) and 'repatriation trauma' kernels are concerned.

One valuable hypothesis employed in comparative rhetorical studies such as mine, and a hypothesis increasingly acknowledged in professional publications, is that of "survivor rhetoric." According to this hypothesis, an examination of the ways in which abused women and other victims "engage in a process of remembering and mourning" are forced through pain "into a state of pre-language because intense pain unmakes language"; remembering and mourning, however, they themselves are capable of remaking language and alleviating suffering.¹⁸ Reminiscence, itself a kind of "mourning" as well as "remembering," has helped the war children of several nations deal with the experiences of past decades by (re)creating those experiences rhetorically. In other words, wounds and injuries need to be told, just as they need to be healed through other means. Survivors need "to tell their stories, in order to construct new maps and new perceptions of their relationships to the world."¹⁹ This need shapes reminiscences in startling ways. For example, wounded individuals such as War Children tell their listeners/readers "not what you want to hear but what I know to be true because I have lived it. This truth will trouble you, but in the end, you cannot be free without it."²⁰ The rhetorical stances adopted by individual War Children and other wounded storytellers embody or indirectly reflect this "trouble," just as they sometimes deny that difficulties exist. Narratives of illness and suffering are fascinating in part because they are "spiritual autobiographies, stories of becoming a man or a woman."²¹ The narratives told by Finnish War Children are themselves spiritual autobiographies: stories of the banishment and repatriation (itself often a 'second banishment') experiences that powerfully influenced the ways in which they, too, grew to become men and women.

Individual Finnish War-Child Stories

Since 2001 I have established contacts with nearly forty War Children, living today in Finland, Sweden, Australia, Canada, the United States, and elsewhere. What I have learned from these contacts is reflected in the stories below: stories that have shaped my own notions of War-Child rhetoric as outlined above. In the pages that follow I reproduce and briefly examine a very few of these accounts in terms of the rhetorical kernels identified above, especially enslavement, paradise, second banishment, and repatriation trauma—experiences characteristic especially of Finnish War-Child reminiscences. The stories told by Finnish War Children differ from those told by English evacuees, for example, because the Finns sent their children to foreign countries where they were forced to learn new languages and, often, where they forgot their own. Important to remember, too, is that, although some Finnish War Children encountered virtual slavery in Denmark and Sweden, others experienced paradise on earth. For these latter children it was their 'homecoming' that felt like a second banishment, often far more traumatic than the first.

Consider repatriation trauma: In addition to the sudden initial banishment from their homes and families, followed inevitably by a profound sense of disorientation—as well, in many cases, by sufferings imposed upon them through subjugation to 'foreign' masters abroad, or by paradisaical experiences in a 'new world'—the eventual repatriation of a substantial majority of Finnish War children proved in and of itself intensely traumatic. Sometimes it proved more traumatic than the initial banishment that made it necessary. The forced return of Finnish War Children to their "homes" was especially difficult for those boys and girls who departed as infants or very young children. In Sinikka Almgren's collection of war stories titled *Krigsbarns erinran* ("War Children Recalling Memories"), one author who identifies herself only as "Anja" describes how, at 2½ years of age, she was sent to Sweden and was abused by her mentally ill foster mother before being reassigned to loving foster parents with whom she bonded. In the "hope of adopting [Anja]. . . they never told [her]. . . about [her]. . . biological mother

and siblings,” so that after seven years in Sweden, “the shock was great when a letter came from Finland where [her]. . . biological mother wrote that she wanted [Anja]. . . back.” Imagine going from a loving family and a large farm to a “home consisting of one room where seven people lived”²² who did not speak her language.

Pertti Kaven, himself also 2½ years old when sent to Sweden, has written about the special trauma of his own repatriation, and one so common to many Finnish War Children: the inability to speak in his ‘native’ language with his biological parents after his return to Finland. In Kaven’s case his own trauma was linked to his parents’ feelings of guilt for having sent their son away. “I did not want guilt,” Pertti writes, but “only to know and understand” the reasons why he had been banished from his home and homeland. “It is sad,” he says, “that we have not been able to grieve over this matter together.” Instead, he recalls that “As a child, I felt that. . . my brother had a closer relationship with my parents than I, and I felt myself to be an outsider.”²³ Upon his return to Finland after a happy Swedish experience, Pertti felt he had “lost the status of being the only child, as I had been in Sweden.” No wonder many former War Children have struggled with debilitating insecurities and attachment disorders. In experiences like Kaven’s, banishment, disorientation, and repatriation trauma come together to shape personality and experience as well as the rhetoric of individual War-Child reminiscences.

Other Finnish War Children were moved several times, in effect experiencing several successive repatriation traumas. Occasionally, they were transferred from one foster family in Denmark or Sweden to another. Bodil Soderberg, now living in Michigan, remembers that just as she was getting over her home-sickness and developing a fondness for her Swedish mother, her new family “took the steamboat to Uddevalla one day. At the boat dock was a strange lady and a little girl whom [she] had never met. This was how they had planned to do the transfer to the other family!” Bodil writes that she had a sort of meltdown and screamed and cried so hard that her first foster mother said Bodil could stay with her after all.

Pirkko Karvonen, another Finnish-Canadian, was nine when she left for Sweden, so she not only understood the reasons for her leaving home but was able to comfort younger children en route. Three years later, however—when she received a letter from a lawyer, stating that her parents had been divorced and that she would live with her father—she found the news difficult to take. At this point in her life, she writes, “I could not speak any Finnish. . . . It was quite a shock . . . [like having the rug pulled from] under your feet.” Pirkko had never been contacted by her Finnish parents during her three years in Sweden, and she had come to believe her family had forgotten her. Her repatriation itself became the principal trauma of her War-Child experiences. Later, with her alcoholic father, she moved from place to place; her father’s perpetual drunkenness lost him many jobs, making her childhood one of perpetual banishment.

Rauno Juntenen, another of my correspondents—and, like many of them, the author of ‘reminiscences’ that remain unpublished—experienced similar feelings of envy and alienation from his biological parents upon his forced return to Finland: “In Sweden I got love and care from my foster parents,” Rauno writes, but explains that, in Finland, “I many times watched how my five-year-old [younger] brother could climb and sit in our father’s arms. . . . I wondered why I couldn’t be treated the same way: sit and hug.” Like Kaven, Rauno suffered powerfully from repatriation trauma: never again did he feel as close to his Finnish parents as he did to his foster parents. Moreover, his living circumstances in post-war Finland were primitive in comparison to wartime Sweden. For him, Sweden had been a kind of paradise—and one, fortunately, to which he was eventually able to return. Writing of his final departure from Finland, Rauno says, “I was not sorry at all leaving the house which had been my home for two and a half years.”

Veijo Paine, now living in Minnesota, remembers crying himself to sleep every night after having been sent to Sweden at age 6½ in 1942. But his feelings altered radically when, in 1950 (eight years later), his Finnish mother came to collect him before sailing to America to begin a new life. In describing his departure from Sweden, Veijo twice broke into tears. Between sobs he explained how his Swedish “Mama” and “Papa” spent an entire evening, begging Veijo’s mother to leave him behind and promising her that, one day, Veijo would inherit their family farm. Unhappily for him, Veijo’s mother held firm. When the time came to say goodbye the following morning, Veijo’s normally undemonstrative foster father crushed the 14-year-boy to his chest, weeping. Then, with equal force, he pushed Veijo away toward the door, a memory that haunts Veijo to this day. For many years it also fed Veijo’s searing hatred of his mother. For him, reunion with his biological mother became the trauma from which he never fully recovered; for him, too, his Swedish farm life and experiences with “Mama” and “Papa” remain a paradise lost to him forever.

Sirpa Kaukinen, now living in Ontario, recalls that upon her and her little sister's return to Finland, neither parents nor children recognized one another. Her parents had to read and reread their name tags. Sent to Sweden in early 1942, it was not until March 1945 that a single letter arrived from Sirpa's mother. Sirpa had been making paper dolls when it arrived, but as her Swedish foster mother read her the letter, which expressed the desire for the girl's return to Finland, "to the amazement of myself and everyone around me," Sirpa says, "I [started] ... cutting and cutting until the good tablecloth fell to either side in two pieces." Back in Turku, Finland, Sirpa found herself missing paradise: her "room in Sweden, the spaciousness of it all, the fields, the food. . . the certainty of it all." Having forgotten much of the pain and disorientation she suffered on account of her original banishment to Sweden, Sirpa remembers the second banishment and subsequent disorientation of her return to the country where she was born as, by far, the greater of the traumas she suffered.

Not all Finnish War Children encountered paradise in Sweden. Marja Liisa Bell, the first War Child I met in Helsinki, was sent to Sweden at age eight. Her foster father was a dentist who insisted in showing off Marja Liisa's "good Finnish teeth" to visitors, as though she were a sale horse. And, although her mother had sent her to Sweden in a brand new coat, her entire wardrobe—coat and all—were burned, a common precaution taken by Swedes against lice and diseases. Afterward, Marja was put into clothes that were much too small. Humiliated and angry, she began a letter campaign to her mother, begging to be returned to Finland, which eventually she was. For her, Sweden was a terrible place, her years there a kind of slavery.

Now deceased, Marja claimed never to have spoken before about her war experiences with a living soul, including her only child. The force of her anger in relating her Swedish experience startled me and made me wonder whether more and possibly worse things had happened to her in Sweden, things she was too ashamed to share. Most of the War Children with whom I am in contact claim never to have shared their war stories, and some have found the process of telling their stories too painful to complete.

Soila Ilveskola, now deceased, was sent to Sweden at age eight in 1943. During her two years there, she lived with an elderly couple she described as "remote and cool." Soila was lonely and abused. Exploited as an unpaid labourer, she was forced to weed whole fields of sugar beet. When not working, she was allowed to play with the dolls of two grown-up daughters, but she was never "allowed to touch the best ones." Anita Lof, another Finnish War Child, was also chosen by an older Swedish couple: these 'masters' made Anita, their "Finnish brat" sleep in the kitchen and forbade her to go anywhere else in the house.

Rauni Janser was sent to Sweden at age nine. She quickly came to believe that the woman who had chosen her was a "witch." Rauni was horrified when this "Witch" wanted to undress her before bed; in Finland, Rauni and her family had slept with most of their clothes on, so that they could get to a bomb shelter quickly after the bombing began. Rauni's concern for her family back home was such that half a year later, the "Witch" found "old bread in [her] ... little suitcase which [she] ... had taken to save for" them, her family. Rauni's foster mother also treated Rauni as a servant, and also disparaged her as a "Finnish brat" over the phone to her friends.

In certain cases the rhetorical kernels found in most of the stories I have collected do not appear, or appear only in significantly reworked forms. An example is the story told by Leena Saarinen, who evidently was so alienated when she was 'banished' for the first time, and who became so thoroughly disoriented, that she lost all conscious feeling for her family and homeland. Leena was sent at age two to Sweden in 1944 and remained until she was nine with an older childless couple. Her Swedish "Aunt" proved to be "distant and aloof." However, when her biological mother sent Leena letters, the girl was not interested. "'Mother' was a word without meaning" to her, she explains. When her real mother came to visit her, Leena "tried to keep away." Likewise, when her birth father visited, she greeted him as "a complete foreigner." At age nine, her "Aunt" informed Leena that her biological mother had died, and Leena felt nothing and "did not react." One might conclude that Leena's time in Sweden was chiefly happy and that she didn't miss her true parents. During a return visit to her foster parents' home, however (this years later, after she had completed boarding school), Leena was shocked to find that her family had moved without sending her a forwarding address. To this day, Leena does not trust adults and lives only for her children. During a visit to her house in the country, only a mile or so from her former Swedish home, I was surprised to witness the depth of her emotion when she told me that her foster parents had passed on, and that they had left everything to one of their nieces. Not so much as a photograph was left for Leena. In effect, she remains forever banished both from her original home and from her foster home in Sweden.

Unquestionably, however, the most common single feature (it is more than a mere 'kernel') of Finnish War-Child stories, at least insofar as I have read and collected them, is pain. For this reason I shall conclude the present article

with an anecdote shared by Tellervo Kallstrom. The product of a traumatic early life, due to the war, it was not until age 35 that Tellervo experienced a persistent and “great” desire to “scream loud and long, so long” perhaps to free her of her odd compulsion. She never came to grips with this obsession until, as she has explained, she saw a film starring Sofia Loren about a family’s hardship during war. With bombs exploding around her, and while “holding her two children hard on her knees,” the actress “suddenly started to scream.” And from that moment, Tellervo writes, “a clear memory came to my mind.... I started to cry from deep in my heart and, as I stopped crying, my scream had vanished.”²⁴

Endnotes

- 1 See Martin Parsons *I'll take That One!* (Becket Karlson 1998); Martin Parsons and Penny Starns, *The Evacuation: The True Story* (Peterborough 1999); and Emmy Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II* (Boulder 2000).
- 2 See Annu Edvardsen, *Sota lapset* (Jyväskylä 1977); Max Jacobsen, *Finland Survived: An Account of the Finnish-Soviet Winter War, 1939-1940* (Helsinki 1961); and C. Leonard Lundin, *Finland in the Second World War* (Bloomington 1957).
- 3 See Karen Armstrong, *Remembering Karelia: A Family's Story of Displacement During and After the Finnish Wars* (New York 2004).
- 4 See Teuvo Hämäläinen, *The Children of the Winter War*, trans. [Swedish to English] Kristine Grändeby (Stockholm 1997). See, too, the article by Kaven published in the present issue of *Children in War: The International Journal of Evacuee and War Child Studies*.
- 5 The statue, entitled *Ero* ("Separation"), was inaugurated on 26 April 2005 near the spot on the Swedish-Finnish border where Finnish War Children were required to board Swedish trains. In attendance at the inaugural ceremony were Swedish King Carl Gustaf XVI, Finnish President Tarja Halonen, hundreds of former *Sotalpsi / Krigsbarnen* ("war children") currently living in Finland, Sweden, and other countries around the world, and representatives from the Evacuees Reunion Association in the UK.
- 6 Directed by Darak Hodor and starring Maria Lundqvist, Topi Majaniemi, and Michael Nyqvist, *Mother of Mine* won "Best Film," "Best Director," and "Best Actress" (Lundqvist) at the Cairo International Film Festival, as well as the Audience and Baltic Critics Awards at the Nordic Film Festival (Lübeck, Germany) and the Golden Satellite Award for Best Foreign Film by the International Press Academy. It was nominated for the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film 2006 on behalf of the "Oscars" ceremony sponsored each year by the Academic of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles.
- 7 See, for example, Sinikka Ortmark Almgren, *Du som haver barnen kär* (Sweden; 2003); *Krigsbarns erinran*, ed. Almgren (Knivsta 2003); Hilja Hautamaa Nast, *In Wartime Finland: Memories of a World War II Childhood*, trans. Richard Impola (St. Cloud 2000); and Sinikka Vesterberg, *En gång krigsbarn* (Helsinki 2004). Two somewhat earlier War Child autobiographies are Singa Sandelin, *Gäst I eget hem* (Helsinki 1982); and Pertti Kaven, *70.000 små öden* (Stockholm 1985).
- 8 Veikko Inkinen, a retired sea captain, has encouraged fellow War Children—in his capacity as chairman of the Hämeenlinna War Children's Association—to write their memoirs according to certain guidelines. I would like to thank Pertti Kaven for information about Mr. Inkinen's activities and those of the Hämeenlinna Association.
- 9 Aura Korppi-Tommola, "Hungry but not Starving: The Experiences of Finnish Children in Town and Country during the Second World War," *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times*, ed. Marjatta Hietala and Tanja Vahtikari (Helsinki 2003), 145-153.
- 10 See Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham, *War and Children* (New York 1943); and Mona Serenius, "The Silent Cry: Personal War History," *International Forum for Psychoanalysis* 4 (1995): 35-47. A response to Serenius's article by Nina Coltart ["Some Comments on 'The Silent Cry' by Mona Serenius"] appeared in the same issue: 48-49.
- 11 Described in Irene Virtala, "Identity Process in Autobiographies by Finnish War Children," *Entering Multiculturalism: Finnish Experiences Abroad*, ed. Olavi Koivukangas (Helsinki 2002): 240-247.
- 12 Ann-Maj Danielsen, *Att inte höra till: en finskt krigsbarn berättar* (Falun 2000), 10-11.
- 13 Throughout the body of the present article I identify all War Children known to me personally by first name
- 14 Freud and Burlingham, *War and Children*
- 15 Sonja K. Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice*, 3rd ed. (Prospect Heights 2004), esp. Chapter 12 ("Generative Criticism").
- 16 For information about the basics of rhetorical scholarship, see Thomas L. Charlton (eds.), *Handbook of Oral History* (Lanham 2006); Barbara Haight and Jeffrey D. Webster (eds.), *The Art and Science of Reminiscing: Theory, Research, Methods, and Applications* (London 1995); Sandra Dolby Stahl, *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative* (Bloomington 1989); and Jeffrey Webster and Barbara K. Haight (eds.), *Critical Advances in Reminiscence Work: From Theory to Application* (New York 2002).
- 17 See See Kaven, *70.000 små öden*; and Vesterberg, *En gång krigsbarn*.
- 18 Christine Shearer-Cremeau and Carol L. Winkelmann (eds.), *Survivor Rhetoric: Negotiations and Narrativity in Abused Women's Language* (Toronto 2004), 7 and 9; italics in the original.
- 19 Arthur W. Frank, *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics* (Chicago 1995), 3; italics added.
- 20 *ibid.* 63.
- 21 *ibid.*, 69.
- 22 *Krigsbarns erinran*, 52-53.
- 23 Kaven, *70.000 små öden*, 174-175. All subsequent quotations from and references to Finnish War-Child stories have been taken from letters and tape-recorded interviews collected by me between 2001-2006.
- 24 I would like to thank Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, especially the Center for the Study of Rhetoric and Society, for funding that enabled me to present a preliminary version of the present article as a paper at "Children in War," a multidisciplinary conference held 6-8 September 2006 at the University of Reading, England.

Bibliography

- Almgren, Sinikka Ortmark. *Du som haver barnen kär*. Privately printed in Sweden; 2003.
- Armstrong, Karen. *Remembering Karelia: A Family's Story of Displacement During and After the Finnish Wars*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.
- Charlton, Thomas L. et al. (eds.). *Handbook of Oral History*. Lanham, NY: AltaMira, 2006.
- Danielsen, Ann-Maj. *Att inte höra till: en finskt krigsbarn berättar* ["A War Child Remembers"]. Falun, Sweden: Wahlströms, 2000.
- Edvardsen, Annu. *Sota lapset* ["War Children"]. Jyväskylä, Finland: K. J. Gummerus, 1977.
- Foss, Sonja K. *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland, 1989.
- Frank, Arthur W. *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

- Freud, Anna, and Dorothy T. Burlingham. *War and Children*. New York: Medical War Books, 1943.
- Haight, Barbara K., and Jeffrey D. Webster (eds.). *The Art and Science of Reminiscing: Theory, Research, Methods, and Applications*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1995.
- Hämäläinen, Teuvo. *The Children of the Winter War*, trans. [Swedish to English] Kristine Grändeby. Stockholm: privately printed, 1997.
- Horne, Alistair. *A Bundle from Britain*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.
- Jacobsen, Max. *Finland Survived: An Account of the Finnish-Soviet Winter War, 1939-1940*. Helsinki: Otava, 1961.
- Kaven, Pertti. *70.000 små öden* ["70,000 Small Destinies"]. Stockholm: Sahlgrens, 1985.
- Korppi-Tommola, Aura. "Hungry but not Starving: The Experiences of Finnish Children in Town and Country during the Second World War." in: *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times*, ed. Marjatta Hietala and Tanja Vahtikari. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003, pp. 145-153.
- Krigsbarns erinran ["War Children Reminiscences"]. Knivsta, Sweden: SinOA, 2003.
- Lundin, C. Leonard. *Finland in the Second World War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957.
- Nast, Hilja Hautamaa. *In Wartime Finland: Memories of a World War II Childhood*, trans. Richard Impola. St. Cloud, MI: North Star, 2000.
- Parsons, Martin, and Penny Starns. *The Evacuation: The True Story*. Peterborough: DSM, 1999.
- Sandelin, Singa. *Gäst I eget hem*. Helsinki: Schildts, 1982.
- Serenius, Mona. "The Silent Cry: Personal War History." *International Forum for Psychoanalysis* 4 (1995): 35-47. Response by Nina Coltart ["Some Comments on 'The Silent Cry' by Mona Serenius"], *loc. cit.*: 48-49.
- Shearer-Cremean, Christine, and Carol L. Winkelmann (eds.). *Survivor Rhetoric: Negotiations and Narrativity in Abused Women's Language*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Stahl, Sandra Dolby. *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Vesterberg, Sinikka. *En gång krigsbarn* ["Reminiscences of a War Child"]. Helsinki: Karisto, 2004.
- Virtala, Irene. "Identity Process in Autobiographies by Finnish War Children." In: *Entering Multiculturalism: Finnish Experiences Abroad* [Papers from FinnForum VI], ed. Olavi Koivukangas. Helsinki 2002: 240-247.
- Webster, Jeffrey Dean, and Barbara K. Haight (eds.). *Critical Advances in Reminiscence Work: From Theory to Application*. New York: Springer, 2002.
- Werner, Emmy E. *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000.