New time, new readers, new Rilla.

Changes in the Finnish and Swedish translations of *Rilla of Ingleside* by L. M. Montgomery

Anna Suominen
Pro Gradu Thesis
English translation
Department of Modern Languages
University of Helsinki
November 2011
# Table of Contents

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................................................1  
1 Introduction ........................................................................................................................................2  
2 Literary context: L. M. Montgomery and the *Anne Shirley* series.....................................................4  
  2.1 L. M. Montgomery and the *Anne Shirley* books ..............................................................4  
  2.2 *Rilla of Ingleside* and the translations .................................................................................6  
    2.2.1 ROI and its characters .................................................................................................6  
    2.2.2 Lilla Marilla and kotikunnaan Rilla ...........................................................................8  
3 Methodology ......................................................................................................................................9  
4 Translating for young readers – adaption vs. ethics..........................................................................11  
  4.1 Defining children’s literature ............................................................................................11  
  4.2 Omitting, abridging, adapting – when, why and for whom? .............................................13  
5 Genre ..............................................................................................................................................19  
  5.1 Definition and categorisation ........................................................................................19  
  5.2 Genre in *Rilla of Ingleside* and the *Anne Shirley* series ................................................23  
6 Adapted Rilla – modifications and omission .....................................................................................29  
  6.1 Traces of Lilla Marilla ...................................................................................................29  
  6.2 Shift in ideology – from post-war patriotism to Nordic neutralism ...................................33  
    6.2.1 Finland’s position in the 1960’s ............................................................................33  
    6.2.2 Sweden and WW1 .................................................................................................35  
    6.2.3 Changes in the translations .................................................................................35  
  6.3 Shift in target audience – from Canadian girls to Nordic preteens .......................................42  
  6.4 Other changes ................................................................................................................44
7 Conclusions .................................................................................................................................. 46
Bibliography .................................................................................................................................. 52
Abbreviations

KR  Kotikunnaan Rilla; Kerttu Piskonen’s translation of Rilla of Ingleside (1989) [1962]

LM  Lilla Marilla; A G:son Söllberg’s translation of Rilla of Ingleside (1992) [1928]

ROI Rilla of Ingleside by L. M. Montgomery (1992) [1921]
1 Introduction

I am one of those thousands of Finnish women who grew up reading Lucy Maud Montgomery’s books, grew up with her heroines, who fell in love with them as child and cannot seem to let go of them even in adulthood. One of my favourite Montgomery novels has always been *Rilla of Ingleside*, the last novel in the *Anne Shirley* series. That is why it came to me as a shock when a few years ago I realised that *Kotikunnaan Rilla*, the Finnish translation of my dear *Rilla* book, was actually abridged. Of course I had to immediately acquire the original in its full length to see what I and so many other Finnish readers had been missing. Reading the original version for the first time, I felt I found new levels in the book and the characters, and fell in love with it all over again. It also turned out that the translation was not only abridged but some other changes had also been made. For example, violence and political attitudes had been substantially toned down.

All this lead to me choosing *Rilla of Ingleside* (later referred to as ROI) as the subject of my Master’s Thesis. I wanted to examine the reasons and the results of the changes in the translation. Although L. M. Montgomery (1874–1942) was a revered writer in her own time, by 1970’s her stature in the academic world had sunk. Yet, starting from the 80’s, the academic world began to rediscover her, and during the past ten years there has been a lot of Montgomery research, both internationally and in Finland, including Master’s Theses by Taru Karonen (2007) and Hannariikka Hiivala (2005) studying the Finnish translations of *Anne Shirley* books and a Master’s Thesis by Vappu Kannas (2010) studying Montgomery’s journals which was nominated the best English Philology Pro Gradu of the year in the University of Helsinki (University of Helsinki 2011).

While Karonen (2007) focused on *Anna ystävämme* (the Finnish translation of *Anne of Avonlea*), the second book in the series, Hiivala compared the omissions in three different
books, including *Kotikunnaan Rilla* (later referred to as KR), the Finnish translation of ROI. She studied the possible reasons for omissions in the three books and concluded that most of the omissions in KR were either passages that had “no contribution to the plot” or subjects considered unsuitable for children (Hiivala 2005, p. 93). While she found that the source text for *Annan nuoruusvuodet* (*Anne of Avonlea*) was the Swedish translation of the novel, she did not think that the omissions in KR were made using the Swedish version, *Lilla Marilla*, as a source text (Hiivala 2005, p. 28).

While the target of Hiivala’s study was to see how the usage of omissions had changed in time, besides the omissions I am also interested in the other changes in KR, and wish to go deeper into the reasons behind the changes and omissions, to see how a new situation, a new decade, culture and target audience may affect translations. As Hiivala already studied the omissions to some extent, I will mainly focus on other changes although some omissions will be discussed as well.

Since ROI is a novel about war and war is about politics and ideologies, I could not help but think that these themes might also have played a role in the omissions and other changes, whether this was conscious or not. Therefore I will also discuss the changes in the context of the political atmosphere at the time of the translation. I will also study how a new, Nordic and possibly younger target audience has affected the translation.

In addition, comparing the omissions of the Swedish and Finnish versions of ROI, I came to the conclusion that *Lilla Marilla* must have had some sort of role in the translation of KR; see chapter 6.1. Consequently I will also compare the changes in the Finnish and the Swedish translations of ROI.
2 Literary context: L. M. Montgomery and the Anne Shirley series

To give the readers an idea of the larger textual context of the studied book, I will first give some background information about *Rilla of Ingleside*, the *Anne Shirley* series which it is a part of, the author of the series L. M. Montgomery and her audience.

2.1 L. M. Montgomery and the Anne Shirley books

Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874–1942) was a Canadian writer who published over 20 books and hundreds of short stories and poems (Ahola & Koskimies 2005, pp. 12–13, 380–381). Montgomery was born on Prince Edward’s Island on the east coast of Canada, and although she later moved to the mainland, most of her books are situated on the Island.

Probably the most famous of Montgomery’s novels is *Anne of Green Gables* published in 1908. The book became enormously popular; by the end of the year it had sold 19 000 copies (Ylimartimo 2008, p. 14) and was soon translated into several languages. The Finnish translation of *Anne of Green Gables*, *Annan nuoruusvuodet*, was published in 1920, and by October 2011, 21 editions have been printed (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011).

During 1909–1921 Montgomery wrote five sequels to the novel: *Anne of Avonlea* (1909), *Anne of the Island* (1915), *Anne’s House of Dreams* (1917), *Rainbow Valley* (1919) and *Rilla of Ingleside* (1921). After ROI, she hoped to finally say goodbye to Anne Shirley, but in the mid 1930’s her publisher asked her to fill the gaps in Anne’s story, and reluctantly...
she consented and wrote *Anne of Windy Poplars* (1936) and *Anne of Ingleside* (1939) (Gillen 1975, pp. 78–79). The original six novels were all translated into Finnish in the 1920’s except for ROI, which was translated much later, in 1962; the two last sequels were translated into Finnish only in 2002 (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011).

The day Montgomery died her publisher received a manuscript of a final Anne book, *The Blythes Are Quoted*. This was not in any way a traditional *Anne Shirley* novel but a compilation of poems and short stories. The poems are “written by” Anne and her son Walter; the short stories are not about Anne and her family but people who know them. Blythes are only mentioned and “quoted” in them. A shortened, rearranged version of *The Blythes Are Quoted* was published in 1974 named as *The Road to Yesterday* (the Finnish translation: *Tie eiliseen*, 1976) and the book in its entirety did not see daylight until 2010. (Epperly 2010, p. 9.)

The novel series tells the story of a peculiar, red-headed orphan girl called Anne Shirley who by chance finds a home on Prince Edward’s Island. During the novels this imaginative and talkative girl grows up to be an interesting, talented woman who studies in university (not very common for women at that time), works as a teacher, and finally marries her childhood friend Gilbert Blythe. In three of the novels the focus is on Anne and Gilbert’s children – Jem, Walter, Nan, Di, Shirley and Rilla – and their friends. Chronologically the last book of the series is *Rilla of Ingleside* (excluding the short story collection *The Blythes Are Quoted*). (Ahola & Koskimies 2005, pp. 373–376.)

Montgomery’s books are often associated with the words optimism and romance (e.g. Kannas 2009; WSOY 2011), but there are also darker shades in them, and perhaps this is what makes them so interesting to adult readers as well, as one reader says on an Internet discussion forum:
Kotikunnaan Rilla on hyvä kirja - vaikka Walter-paran kohtalo saa minun aina melkein itkemään silmät päästä. Oikeastaan koko sarja on (positiivisydestä huolimatta) super-itkettävä! Melkein joka kirjassa kuolee joku, eikä lapsiakaan säästetä. :( Mutta se onkin yksi syy, miksi rakastan Anna-kirjoja, se että kirjailija uskalsi kirjoittaa niistä muutakin kuin vaaleanpunaisia päiväuni-höttöjä. (RumaLullabye 2011)

Kotikunnaan Rilla is a good book - although the death of poor Walter almost makes me cry my eyes out every time. Actually the whole series is (despite its positivity) super sad! In almost every book somebody dies, and children aren’t spared either. But that is one of the reasons why I love the Anne books, that the writer dared to make something else out of them other than pink daydream fuzz. (Translation by A.S.)

Religion has also always been very much present in Montgomery’s books. The main characters and their families are regular, good, church-going people although the heroine’s views on God and religion may not always be the most traditional ones. The previous books in series also have some political references. For example, the battles of liberals and conservatives are described humouristically, although politics are not discussed to the same extent as in ROI.

2.2 Rilla of Ingleside and the translations

2.2.1 ROI and its characters

Although Rilla of Ingleside is a sequel to the Anne Shirley novels, it does not focus on Anne herself but on Anne’s youngest daughter Bertha Marilla, or Rilla as she is called. In the beginning of the novel, Rilla is a 14-year-old irrepressible and pretty little thing who is mostly interested in dancing and beautiful garments, “a lily of the field” as her father calls her (Montgomery 1998, p. 16). But then WWI breaks out, Canada joins in to help England, and soon Rilla sees her brothers, her friends, the boys she grew up with going to war – as well as her first love, Kenneth. The war that everyone thought would last for a just few
months stretches on for years, and so many men never return. Rilla, who says she has never been fond of little children, also ends up taking care of an orphaned war baby Jims. During the war years, we see Rilla growing up, maturing, and when the war finally ends – after many painful losses – she is a beautiful, smart, sympathetic and strong woman of 19 years of age.

ROI is in many ways very different from the other *Anne Shirley* books. Anne herself is not in the main role but more of a minor character. Also the mood of the books is somewhat different. There is a war going on, and although the book is written from the viewpoint of the home front, so there are no depictions of the actual battles, Rilla and her friend and family are living in fear, hoping their loved ones will return from the front.

The war makes the atmosphere much darker and threatening compared to the previous books. Actually, even Montgomery’s publisher complained that ROI was “too gloomy”, but Montgomery refused to make omissions or “tone down” her novel (Rubio & Waterston 1987, p. 404).

In addition to Rilla, most of the main characters in the book are strong, interesting women: Anne herself of course, now a mother in her forties; the housekeeper Susan who is almost a second mother to Anne’s children, “a plain woman”, as she herself describes her (ROI, p. 121), who yet has a lot of common sense and is very strong-willed; Miss Gertrude Oliver, teacher in the local school who resides at the Blythe’s, a smart, somewhat sarcastic woman who is implied to have a sad history behind her.

The book is situated on the Canadian home front, and these characters along with e.g. Anne’s husband Gilbert Blythe, minister John Meredith who is the family’s neighbour and friend, and cousin Sophia, Susan’s ever pessimistic cousin, are often discussing the events of the war and presenting their views on it.
Rilla is the only one of Anne’s children who gets to have her own novel, and Montgomery felt that ROI was the best book in the whole series (Ylimartimo 2008, p. 23) or possibly even the best book she had ever written (Rubio & Waterston 2004, pp. 80–81).

### 2.2.2 Lilla Marilla and Kotikunnaan Rilla

The Swedish translation *Lilla Marilla* (later referred to as LM) was published a few years after the original, in 1928, and the translator is a pseudonym “A G:son Söllberg” of whom I could find no information other than that he lived in 1896–1968 and also translated *The Jungle Book* by Rudyard Kipling and a book on English homonyms into Swedish (WorldCat Identities 2010).

While all the previous *Anne Shirley* books were translated into Finnish in the 1920s, a few years after the originals were published, *Kotikunnaan Rilla* (KR), the Finnish translation of ROI, was published much later, in 1962, translated by Kerttu Piskonen. Although the last sequel was not quite as popular in Finland as the first book, eleven editions had been printed by February 2011 (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011). KR is, as mentioned, an abridged translation, and although LM is not marked as abridged, it clearly is abridged as we will see in chapter 6.
3 Methodology

I began my research on the translations of ROI by comparing the original and the Finnish translation KR phrase by phrase, paragraph by paragraph, in order to find out what had been changed in the translation process. Next I did the same comparison with the original and the Swedish translation LM. Finally I compared the changes in the two translations and looked at the three texts side by side.

Comparing the texts I found large omissions, as expected, but also small changes that may appear minor, but in the larger context they have large effect. Nationalities have vanished, pro-Allies and anti-German attitudes have been toned down, violence and patriotic ideology had faded out; see example 1.

(1)

as he always looks when he thinks the Huns are winning (ROI, p. 235)

det gör han alltid, när hän tror att tyskarna segrar (LM, p. 261)

(Back-translation: that’s what he always does when he thinks that the Germans are winning)

niin kuin hän aina on, kun rintamalla ovat asiat oikein huonosti (KR, p. 204)

(BT: as he always is when things are going really bad on the front)

I will analyse these changes in chapter 6. My theoretical backbone in the research and analysis comprised of two branches: translation ethics – especially Oittinen’s thoughts on adaptation in children’s literature (see chapter 4) – and genre theory (see chapter 5). I analysed the changes in the light of political atmosphere and in the light of a new target audience. I asked myself, how does the new time, place, audience and atmosphere show
itself in them? What lead to the solutions? And on the other hand what do the solutions lead to? How have genre expectations affected the translations?

The Finnish translation is now turning fifty. It is often said (e.g. Mäkinen 2002, pp. 407–408; Helin 2005, p. 145) that a translation ages faster than the source text and that a text should be retranslated after 50 years. This made me also think about the book in the perspective of retranslation. I try not to make judgments on whether the translators’ choices are ‘good’ or ‘bad’, but of course I cannot help but think: could anything have been done differently? And what if it had?
4 Translating for young readers – adaption vs. ethics

In this chapter I will discuss the adaptation and abridging of children’s literature and the ethical questions related to it. But first let us take a look at what is children’s literature and how it is categorized.

4.1 Defining children’s literature

When defining children’s literature, it seems there are as many views as there are readers. For example, Oittinen (1995, p. 19) gives several approach examples: children’s literature may simply be everything that children read; it may be everything that has been written for children; it may be classified based on how writers have defined their target audience; or by what we find in the children’s section of a library.

Sometimes children’s literature is seen as a hyponym under which there is everything that is not written for adults. Sometimes it refers to a certain age group, e.g. readers under 13. In this thesis, I will use the term *children’s literature* as a hyponym under which there are different age categories such as

1) picture books for ages 0–7 to be read out loud,
2) beginning reader books (or early reader books) for children learning to read aged 5–8,
3) chapter books (or short chapter books) for ages 7–9,
4) middle grade novels (or longer chapter books) for ages 9–12 and
5) young-adult novels (or juvenile fiction) for ages 12 and up.
The boundaries between these groups are not always very clear, especially when it comes to defining juvenile or young-adult fiction. Rättyä (2001, p. 58) says that there are no general rules about the categorisation; that some books are classified for younger children simply because that is how the previous books from the writer or the publisher where categorized. Rättyä also states that the age of the main character and the subjects the book deals with are also starting points for categorization, and that a *bildungsroman* is a typical variety of young adult fiction (2001, p. 60).

On the other hand, Lappalainen (1979, p. 17) argues that by the age of eleven children have developed sufficient cognitive skills to transform their language and thinking from the concrete level to the abstract one; then they move on to juvenile literature. And Heiskanen-Mäkelä & Kuivasmäki (1990, p. 80) state that in a juvenile novel the main character is in or closing puberty and the subject range is much wider as the main character’s problems may include problems of puberty, love and the awakening of sexuality.

Children’s writer Jennifer Jensen instructs other writers that middle grade novels should have approximately 20,000–40,000 words, the main character is preferred to be aged 10–12, and the genre is not restricted but “intense subjects need to be handled skilfully” (Jensen 2007a). On young adult fiction, her instructions are that the length should be around 40,000–75,000 words (although there are exceptions), the age of the main character is not very important, all genres are allowed and the underlying themes “allow teens to examine deeper issues in a safe way: what their role in life is, the difference one person can make, the importance of relationships, coping with tragedy of any sort” (Jensen 2007b).

I will go deeper into literary genres in chapter 5 where I will also discuss the genre of ROI.
4.2 Omitting, abridging, adapting – when, why and for whom?

Since omitting, abridging and adapting are strategies often used when translating for a younger audience, the ethical viewpoints of these strategies will be discussed below. But let us start with some definitions. By omission I mean a passage left out of the translation. In this study I do not count leaving out individual words as omissions since language differences often make such changes unavoidable in translation. In the case of ROI, the length of the omissions varies from mere subordinate clauses to an entire chapter.

When there are several omissions, the translation may be called an abridged (or shortened) translation or adaptation. Adapting may mean merely reshaping the text but it can also mean changing the text into a whole other shape or media (e.g. a film adaptation) (Oittinen 1995, p. 24). It is a wider term that may include many kinds of changes depending on the target audience; as Izabela Maria Lewanska says:

As regards the term “adaptation”, I understand it not only as transposition of a work into another literary structure, but consider it moreover to be “a literary revision aimed at adjustment of the original to the requirements of the new consumer, or to other requirements than those of the original presentation media”. By way of example of adaptations addressed to new readers one may well quote the numerous instances of adult books revised in a way to serve as children’s literature [- - -], typical examples of adaptations for the use of different media may be found in theatrical and screen-plays written from popular novels. (Lewanska 1978, p. 90.)

What then leads to omissions and other modifications? What are the reasons behind them?

What are the consequences? When should we take such measures?

In all adaptation, situation is the key factor. A comment by Riitta Oittinen affected me deeply. She actually says that a translator does not translate texts but situations. Translation happens (almost) always in a different time, place and culture than the writing.
of the original text. There is a new audience, and the text must be adapted, rewritten, according to the audience’s needs. (Oittinen 1995, pp. 29, 44–45; Oittinen 1993, Abstract.)

When we are translating for children, another important factor is our child image, the way we perceive childhood. The society’s child image differs and changes depending on the time, place and culture. In addition, as Oittinen says, every person has their own individual child image, “anything we create for children – whether writing, illustrating or translating – reflects our views of childhood, of being a child” (Oittinen 1993, p. 15).

Adaptations are often regarded to be of a lesser value than the original text and omission as a method not recommendable (Oittinen 1993, pp. 87–88). For example, Ritva Leppihalme (2001, p. 141) gives omission as one of seven strategies for translating realia. According to her, the use of omission is linked to the translator’s role in general, and the acceptability of the method varies from one period to another. “Contemporary literary translators in Finland seem to consider omission permissible only as a last resort”, she says. (Leppihalme 2001, p. 144).

Oittinen has specialized on children’s literature, and her approach to adaptations and omissions is more positive. Although adaptations have long been regarded as something inferior and adapting as negative manipulation, according to her, adaptations should not be compared with the source text but they should be seen as their own independent works. When translation (usually) cannot be a “faithful”, word-to-word reproduction in another language, when the text must be rewritten for a new audience and situation, then there are no absolutes; nothing should be simply avoided or recommended. It all depends on who, what, when and where. (Oittinen 1995, p. 23–30.)

Whether the method is appreciated or not, how common are omissions and abridged translations? Simpanen (1997) has studied abridged translations in Fennica database
published between 1960 and 1993, i.e. in the interval when KR was published. According to her, 0.99 per cent of all translations published during those years were abridged. (Simpanen 1997.)

In the light of the Simpanen’s statistics, abridging is not an unusual method but not very common either. However, Simpanen’s statistics contain only those translations which are clearly marked as abridged in the Fennica database. When all abridged translations are not necessarily marked as abridged (e.g. *Annan nuoruusvuodet* and *Anna ystävämme* [see Hiivala 2005 and Karonen 2007]), and when translations with minor omissions are not necessarily even considered as abridged, one might assume that actually the number of abridged translations is higher and omission as a method more common. Klingberg (1986, p. 73) also says that while some abridgements are published with “an explicit statement that they are such versions”, in some cases nothing at all is said about abridging even though the changes may be radical.

Klingberg (1986, pp. 73–80) has a rather cautious attitude towards adaptations and omission, since omissions may lead to unwanted consequences like obscurity. Also, the writer’s style may suffer from careless and needless omissions. Yet he gives four possible reasons for abridged translations:

1) economical reasons i.e. a shorter book is cheaper to print and easier to sell,
2) making the translator’s work easier,
3) readers’ interests i.e. omitting passages that might not interest the target audience, and
4) readers’ reading abilities i.e. adapting the text to their skill level (1977, p. 194).

Later Klingberg also says that another reason for abridging is purification, making the text suitable for the readers, which is common when translating for children. Yet he does not
recommend purification but thinks that not translating the text at all would be a better alternative. (1977, pp. 186, 303).

Purification is one way to put it, but if it means omitting or changing passages that are considered inappropriate, could it not be called censorship just as well? Also Mazid (2007, p. 38), writing about censorship, mentions that when translating for children, “protective cultural measures” sometimes have to be taken. Mazid (2007, p. 11) compares translation to a filter; certain materials are allowed to pass through while others are blocked. What the filter or the translator lets through depends on their educational and cultural background. A translation is never the same as the original text; it is human activity and “as such it will remain a product of ideology, culture and power relationships” (Mazid 2007, p. 24).

Whether we talk of purifying, censoring, filtering or abridging children’s literature, do we make these changes for children or for adults? What is remarkable about children’s literature is that the target audience has no say in what is translated and published or how it is done. All decisions are made by adults who ‘know best’. Adults write the books, they publish them, translate them and – in the case of smaller children – read them to the children. In all these stages adults make decisions about what is suitable, good and desired. We make these choices based on our child-image and the surrounding situation, but do they really serve the reader? How do we know what interest the readers, what is too much for them, what needs to be “purified” or beautified?

Children’s literature has always had pedagogical functions. In the end of the 18th century when the modern child image and with that children’s literature were born, the function of children’s literature was to teach and educate, yet also to entertain (Ihonen 2003, pp. 12–14). During a hundred years, we have slowly progressed from the strict didactics of Shockheaded Peter (1845) to the nonsense-inspired modernism of Kunnas’ Tittiäisen satupuu (1956).
Besides worrying whether a book promotes “proper” values, we also tend to worry whether children understand the difference between fiction and reality. There are contradictory studies and opinions about the effects of fear, excitement and fictional violence on children. Yet according to some studies (e.g. Rönnberg 1990), four-year-olds can already tell the difference between real life and what they see in films. Rönnberg feels that fiction may well contain scary elements, for it is neither harmful nor dangerous to be afraid. It is worse if a child feels no fear. Actually she claims that the elements that the child could be worried about are often not the ones which adults believe to be harmful, but children may fear things which to adults seem totally normal and ordinary. (Rönnberg 1990, pp. 62–75.)

Also, child therapist Selma Fraiberg (1980, p. 17) argues that it is vital to allow children to have experiences of excitement and even horror. Trying to shield a child from fear would only be counter-productive. Like Jensen (in 2.1), Rönnberg states that through fiction children can test how they would feel about a frightening situation in a safe environment. Both Fraiberg and Rönnberg emphasize the child’s right to choose since the child may make far better choices than the adult.

Then again, Martsola and Mäkelä-Rönnholm (2006, pp. 28, 50–52) feel that it is fine for adult to draw borders, that it is the adult’s job to shelter a child from not experiencing too much too young. According to them, children are often granted too much independence and their capability to decide for themselves is overrated. Yet Martsola and Mäkelä-Rönnholm do say that read contents are less harmful than visual contents such as movies. When children read or hear a story, they create their own visual scenes according to their level of development, and hence they can use their protective mechanisms.
Lehtipuu (2006) is somewhere in between these two views. According to her, fear and excitement are not “simply bad” but it all depends on how fear is dealt with in the story. “If the bad ones are punished and the good ones win, that is a safe message for the child. Then reality is something that the child feels he/she can influence by identifying with the good winners.” (Lehtipuu 2006, pp. 114–115; translation by A. S.)

Even when we are not dealing with grave and difficult subjects like horror, fear and violence, but mere cultural differences, adults may sometimes be over-protective. In her 2008 Master’s Thesis, Hanna Lindroos studied children’s reactions to an adapted and an unadapted translation of the same children’s book. She found that adaptations did not make the text better but in fact sometimes poorer. Foreign elements did not really seem to bother children although they seem to be a problem for the adult who read the story to the children. (Lindroos 2008, p. 62.)

All in all, it is difficult to say how much protection children need from fiction, but it is noteworthy that the scholars quoted in this chapter were mostly worried about the effects of modern violent action movies, harmful Internet pages etc., not so much about children’s literature.
5 Genre

In Finland, Montgomery’s books are traditionally considered to belong to a genre called tyttökirjat, ‘girls’ books’. Yet during my research I found clues which suggested that perhaps in the case of ROI categorisation may not be quite so unequivocal. Therefore genre and the changing of genre seemed to be essential in the study of ROI and its translations. In this chapter I will look into genres and try to define the genre(s) of the book.

5.1 Definition and categorisation

The word genre is derived from the Latin word genus, meaning a type, a kind or a group with common characteristics. The use of the word as a type of literature began in ancient Greece with Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle’s Poetics, the earliest surviving work of dramatic theory, divides poetry into three categories – comedy, tragedy and epic poetry – based on the focus and the means that are used. During the Renaissance, Poetics was rediscovered, and for a long period of time it was the base of a normative approach on literary genres. Every work could only belong to one genre; if genres were to be mixed, the result would be a ridiculous mongrel. The stability of genres was not questioned until the turn of the 19th century and the Romantic Era. It was the age of freedom, and literature was seen to reflect the whole wide spectrum of life. It could not be tied down with strict rules and norms. Nowadays there are various genre theories, but yet the idea of genres has not been given up. Old genres still guide modern literature, even when genres are mixed and ‘genre rules’ are broken. As Lyytikäinen says, the death of genres would mean the death of literary tradition. (Shore & Mäntynen 2006, pp. 13–14; Lyytikäinen 2006, pp. 167–170, 183.)
Then how do we categorize books, how do we define which genre they belong to? When objects have enough similar characteristics, we tend to put them in the same class. However, all is not what it seems. We call strawberry a berry. It is rather small, red and roundish like so many other berries but scientifically it is an accessory fruit (Koning 1994). And while in natural sciences categorization can be rather straightforward, in arts genres are more ambiguous and contradictory:

Nevertheless, if texts are classified as the same genre, it does not mean that there is no variation within the genre. Neither are the genre boundaries clear: genres overlap and mix. They are more or less stable. They change in time, some genres become history and new genres are born. (Shore & Mäntynen 2006, p. 11; translation by A. S.)

Fowler (1982) also stresses the instability of genres. They change and shift over time as a new text always changes the genre it relates to and adds new characteristics to it (Fowler 1982, pp. 23, 38). Fowler also states that belonging to one genre does not rule belonging to another (1982, p. 36).

Swales (1990, p. 58) sees genres in connection with discourse communities: “A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes”, so the texts of a genre have a common goal and target audience. The form and structure are also similar although there are differences between individual texts.

Solin (2006, p. 72) links together genres and intertextuality; we recognize a genre based on our experiences on texts, based on all the text he have read. Solin also sees that genre boundaries are not stable but genre mixing occurs. For example, a brochure may have the
characteristics of a newspaper article, an advertisement and a tourist guide (Solin 2006, pp. 87–88, 90). A text may have several functions at the same time.

Fowler (1982, p. 87) talks about generic signals that guide the recognition of a genre, such as allusions, opening topics and titles: A text may have allusions to previous writers or texts of the same genre, like Austen’s *Northanger Abbey* that has many references to Gothic romances (Fowler 1982, pp. 87–90). Opening topics and words are also very influential according to Fowler (1982, p. 98). A verisimilar novel often introduces the protagonist right in the beginning, even in the first sentence and often by full name (Fowler 1982, p. 104). On the other hand, a poem beginning with the word “Hail...!” is mostly likely something religious (Fowler 1982, p. 98).

Interestingly, Fowler (1982, p. 93) states that the title of the text may already imply the genre. One of his examples is a full personal name as a title which indicates a biography or a fictional biography (e.g. *David Copperfield*) – yet he argues that this only applies for male names. For female protagonist, the first name seems to be enough (e.g. *Emma*) (Fowler 1982, p.93).

Sometimes categorization is not based on the features inside the text itself but on external features, such as the writer, their previous texts and the target audience. A writer does not necessarily plan to write a book of a certain genre, but as beauty is in the eye of the beholder, genre is perhaps in the eye of the reader – or the publisher. The publisher has the power to choose how a book is marketed. Sometimes a writer has to work hard to be freed of a genre label that he or she has been given. (Petterson 2006, pp. 154–155.)

For example, J. K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter* books are marketed as fantasy literature to adults and as children’s literature to children (Petterson 2006, pp. 154–155). The adult editions and the children’s edition even have different covers (Reynolds 2007).
Stanley Fish (1980, pp. 322–325) has given an excellent example of how a label can affect reading and interpreting. He gave his students a list of five random names, called it a religious poem and asked them to interpret it. Sure enough, the students did find poetic features and religious allusions in the text. According to Fish, it is the readers who “create” the text. I would expand this by saying that readers “create” the genre as well, their expectations guide the interpretation and bring out the characteristics of a certain genre from the text.

Mauranen also states that genres guide the readers’ expectations of a text. But what happens to a genre when a text is translated? Mauranen approaches this through Even-Zohar’s (1990) polysystem theory. When a text is transferred from one culture to another, from one polysystem to another, the status of the text changes. It becomes a part of a translation polysystem. When a translation enters a culture, like any other foreign object, it changes the culture, but the translation itself also changes. In a new environment, with new readers and their expectations, it is not the same text anymore. (Mauranen 2006, pp. 214–220.)

Oittinen (2006, pp. 165–175) writes about genre and its effects on translation. Translating happens in a certain time and a place, and the translation always has its own target audience which may lead to different translation choices. The status, the function, the genre of a text may change when the text moves from one time, place and culture to another. Children’s literature may become adult literature and vice versa. An often used example of this is Gulliver’s Travels, a Menippean satire that has become a children’s story.
5.2 Genre in *Rilla of Ingleside* and the *Anne Shirley* series

Scanning through the Internet, *Anne Shirley* books can be found in many different categories: fiction, Canadian fiction, children’s fiction, women writers and feminist theory, classics, fairytales etc. Of these, classics and children’s fiction seem to be most popular among English sites. In Finland, however, there seems to be no doubt about the categorization, here they belong to a genre called *tyttökirjat*, ‘girls’ books’. Actually, for decades the back cover of Finnish Montgomery translations was adorned with the phrase “Kuolemattomia tyttökirjoja” (immortal girls’ books) under which there was a list of popular novels by Montgomery, Alcott and F. M. Burnett. In the newer editions the word *girl* has been replaced by *youth*, but the term *tyttökirja* still lives on.

What are the genre characteristics of traditional ‘girls’ books’ then? They are usually described as innocent and sunny, romantic, humorous and optimistic. Of course, the heroine is a girl, often she is artistic, she paints, writes or sings. Ambition, talent and a deep relationship with nature are also typical features of the heroine (Huhtala et al. 2011, p. 43). Often the heroine has a rebellious streak in her: Montgomery’s Anne and Emily are not typical, humble children, and Jo in Alcott’s *Little Women* is rather tomboyish and hot-tempered. Although Anne herself grows up in the course of the book series, the *Anne Shirley* books have many central child characters: Anne’s adopted siblings Davy and Dora, her students while she works as a teacher, and finally her own children.

Based on the readers’ stories in *Uuden Kuun ja Vihervaaran tytöt* (Ahola and Koskimies 2005), most often girls find the *Anne Shirley* books and fall in love with them around the age 10 or 11, which is approximately the same age that Anne is in the beginning of the series. This also matches the categorizations by Jensen and Rättyä in 4.1 putting the books in the middle grade novels category. When it comes to Jensen’s word count instructions,
ROI has over 100,000 words, i.e. over double the amount she recommends for middle grade novels (see 4.1). Based on my calculations, over 16,000 words have been left out of the Finnish translation. On the other hand, all the Montgomery classics seem rather long for Jensen’s recommendations.

Many readers see some difference between ROI/KR and the previous Anne Shirley books. The novel is often described to be gloomier, even shocking in its violence (Ahola & Koskimies 2005). One reader suspects that it is not actually written for the same audience:

*Rilla of Ingleside* is the final book in the *Anne of Green Gables* sequence, but it is very different in tone from the first. I would go as far as to say that, contrary to popular belief, and the way it is now marketed, this is not a children's book at all, but a young adult novel. (Edwards 2008)

There may be truth in her suspicions. Apparently Montgomery had a clear image of target audience in her mind when she wrote ROI. In a letter to her long-time pen friend Ephraim Weber she writes:

My tenth novel *Rilla of Ingleside* was published a month ago. I have a copy for you when I am sure of your address. It is really a ‘story for girls’ – the heroine being a young girl who lives her girlhood in the years of the great war and I wrote it as a tribute to the girlhood of Canada. So it’s my only ‘novel with a purpose’. Read it from the standpoint of a young girl (if you can!) (Tiessen & Tiessen 2006, p. 88)

So, Montgomery’s target audience was Canadian “young girls”, but what does that mean? In the letter she calls Rilla a young girl, too. In the beginning of the book Rilla is fourteen and by the end she has turned nineteen. Based on this, perhaps the readers should be teenagers as well.
Montgomery’s “purpose” is another question. Milla Malin (2008) has studied ROI in her Master’s Thesis from the perspective of the Canadian war myth after and during WWI. The aim of the myth was to create an image of “a harmonious and happy nation” united by the war. Soldiers were seen as noble heroes and the war as a positive experience (Malin 2008, p. 4).

Canadian literature and poetry was hugely affected by the war and the war myth – as was Montgomery herself. Although her own sons were not yet on the front, she felt very strongly about the war, and some shadows of the pain of the Great War can already be seen in the previous books *Anne’s House of Dreams* (1917) and *The Rainbow Valley* (1919) which were written during the war although they are situated in the time before the war (Malin 2008, pp. 12–21).

Malin concludes that right from the start the writer of ROI is very much in favour of the war, and in the book “all the important aspects of the mythical memory of the war were found” in some form (Malin 2008, p. 97). Whether this was really the “purpose” of Montgomery, we do not know. Perhaps she just wanted pay tribute to the Canadian girls who fought bravely their own little struggles on the Canadian home front, but surely the war and the war myth have affected ROI.

All in all, as many readers say (e.g. Ahola & Koskimies 2005; Edwards 2008) ROI is very much a war novel. Actually, it is the only contemporary fictionalised account of WWI written by a Canadian female writer (Epperly 1992, p. 112). Where in previous *Anne Shirley* books there are long nature depictions, in ROI there are long accounts of the events on the front and on the home front. There is an atmosphere of patriotism unseen in the previous books, see example 2.
It was splendid to think of the lads of Canada answering so speedily and fearlessly and uncalculatingly to the call of their country. Rilla carried her head high among the girls whose brothers had not so responded. (ROI, p. 43)

Also, Rilla as a heroine is somewhat different compared to the previous protagonists of girls’ book classics. Unlike Montgomery’s Anne and Emily and Alcott’s Jo, she is not interested in studying or arts and does not care for housework either. In fact, she is quite convinced she will never learn to cook or sew and is not interested in learning either. Anne and Emily were described not to be very beautiful but instead they looked “interesting” and intelligent (e.g. Montgomery 1965, p. 8). Rilla then again is said to be one of the prettiest girls in the village (Montgomery 1989, p. 7).

Montgomery claimed that she did not want to write moralizing stories but rather “art for art’s sake” or just “fun for fun’s sake” (Gillen 1975, p. 41), and this is visible in Montgomery’s slightly rebellious, child-centred books where often it is the adult, not the child, who seems ridiculous. However, Rilla is definitely not a rebel in the same sense as some other girl protagonists, and in the course of the book she is “brought up” from a careless, vain girl to sensible, diligent young woman.

In fact, ROI is also very much a *bildungsroman* i.e. coming-of-age novel. While in *Anne of Green Gables* it is more the surrounding people who change and learn to love this weird child, in ROI Rilla’s personal development in underlined. And *bildungsroman* is said to be a typical young-adult genre (see 4.1).

Also, as Rilla is aged 14 to 19 in the book and she experiences her first love and first kiss, ROI fits perfectly into the juvenile literature description of Heiskanen-Mäkelä and
Kuivasmäki (1990, p. 80) mentioned in 4.1. Even though war is a major theme in ROI, the book also deals with worries of puberty, love and awakening of sexuality.

While most of the previous *Anne Shirley* books have many central child characters, in ROI the central characters are adults and young people. There is of course the war child Jims that Rilla fosters, but he is only a little baby and hence cannot yet take part in the conversations. Also, the neighbour’s son Bruce Meredith is mentioned but only a few times. While in the previous novels, much of the humour lay in children’s blunders and their funny comments, now the humour is mostly in adults conversations. And as humour is an important tool for handling and surviving serious and sad things, there is a lot of humour in the conversations about war; see example 3:

(3)

"Them German men are at Senlis. Nothing nor nobody can save Paris now," wailed Cousin Sophia. Cousin Sophia had taken to reading the newspapers and had learned more about the geography of northern France, if not about the pronunciation of French names, in her seventy-first year than she had ever known in her schooldays.

"I have not such a poor opinion of the Almighty, or of Kitchener," said Susan stubbornly. "I see there is a Bernstoff man in the States who says that the war is over and Germany has won – and they tell me Whiskers-on-the-moon says the same thing and is quite pleased about it, but I could tell them both that it is chancy work counting chickens even the day before they are hatched, and bears have been known to live long after their skins were sold."

"Why ain't the British navy doing more?" persisted Cousin Sophia.

"Even the British navy cannot sail on dry land, Sophia Crawford. I have not given up hope, and I shall not, Tomascow and Mobbage and all such barbarous names to the contrary notwithstanding. Mrs. Dr. dear, can you tell me if R-h-e-i-m-s is Rimes or Reems or Rames or Rems?"

"I believe it's really more like 'Rhangs,' Susan."

"Oh, those French names," groaned Susan. (ROI, pp. 73–74)

Then again, if we think of Fowler’s idea of generic signals (see 5.1), ROI is definitely a part of the same continuum. For most part, the titles of the series are very uniform: *Anne of Green Gables, Anne of Avonlea, Anne of the Island, Rilla of Ingleside*. Only the fourth and
especially fifth novel deviate from this pattern: *Anne’s House of Dreams* and *Rainbow Valley*. It seems that in the sixth book, *Rilla of Ingleside*, the Montgomery has wanted to return the old pattern. The extra sequels written in the 1930’s have similar names as well: *Anne of Windy Poplars* and *Anne of Ingleside*.

Fowler’s other generic allusions are perhaps not as clear in ROI. Of course there are allusions to other Montgomery books as most of the characters and places are already familiar from the previous works. However, the opening words are surprisingly not about Rilla, but the writer draws a picture of the housekeeper Susan sitting in the Ingleside living room after a long day’s work. A hint of the oncoming war is given soon on the second paragraph where Susan reads about the murder of Archduke Ferdinand in the newspaper, but Rilla is only mentioned in the third paragraph (ROI, pp. 1–2).

ROI is often categorized as the same genre and marketed for the same, approximately 11-year-old audience as the previous *Anne Shirley* novels (see e.g. Kangasniemi 2011). Yet if we forget titles and external features, such as the writer and her reputation, and instead focus on the contents, there are various differences between ROI and the rest of the series. Therefore it is questionable whether they are exactly the same genre. In chapter 6, we will investigate how or whether these differences are visible in ROI’s translations Finnish and Swedish translations.
6 Adapted Rilla – modifications and omission

In this chapter I will discuss the changes I found in ROI’s Finnish and Swedish translations, KR and LM. I will analyse them against the backdrop of the political atmosphere and the possible change in the target audience. But first of all I will discuss the similarities of these two translations.

6.1 Traces of Lilla Marilla

Both Karonen (2007) and Hiivala (2007) who studied the translations of Anne of Green Gables and Anne of Avonlea found evidence that the source texts for these Finnish translations had actually been the Swedish versions. These two books were translated in Finland in the early 1920’s while ROI was not translated until 1962. After comparing KR with the Swedish translation Lilla Marilla (later referred to as LM), translated in 1928, Hiivala concluded that LM has not been the source text for KR since “some passages that have been omitted from Lilla Marilla are included in KR and vice versa” (Hiivala 2005, pp. 28).

I agree with Hiivala as far as to acknowledge that LM has obviously not been the sole source text of KR, but after doing my own careful comparison, I have to say that there is striking similarity in many of the changes in the Swedish and Finnish translation. While some omissions – especially in the beginning – are indeed different in KR an LM, others are substantially similar. For example, chapter twenty has been left out entirely in both of the translations.
There are also some similar additions and similar errors in the translations, see examples 4 and 5.

(4)

"Mrs. Dr. dear" said Susan. "I wish you would wake me up." (ROI, p. 42)

– Kära doktorinnan, sade den stackars Susan och skot undan sin tallrik, var snäll och väck mig! (LM, p. 59)

– Rakas tohtorinna, voihkaisi Susanna-parka ja työnsi pois torttunsa. – Herättäkää minut tästä painajaisesta. (KR, p. 48)

(5)

Jims, being an astute infant, sensed trouble in the atmosphere and realized that it was up to him to clear it away. He turned his face up to Rilla, smiled adorably and said, clearly and beguilingly, "Will – Will." (ROI, p. 133)

Jims, som var ett litet slugt pyre, kände att det låg bekymmer i luften och insåg att det stod i hans förmåga att driva dem på flykten. Han vände ansiktet mot Rilla, log sitt mest bedårande leende och sade tydligt och inställsamt: Vill! Vill! (LM, p. 160)


In example 4, both Piskonen and the Swedish translator Söllberg have added only a few words but very similar words. In both, Susan pushes away her dessert while there is no mention of such action in the original text. Also the word stackars is added in LM and parka in KR, so Susan is ‘poor Susan’ in the translations. The additions are very small, but I see no reason why both translators would have thought of adding such words independently. Also, these small additions are not the only one of their kind.

In example 5, although "Will – will” might look like the word will, as to want or intend to do something, however, as these are the child’s first words, I consider it more likely that it
is a little child’s version of the main character Rilla’s name. Yet, it looks like both
translators have erred similarly. Of course, it could be argued that “Vill” in LM is also a
version of Rilla. Still, it does looks like the Swedish word vill (meaning to want). If
Piskonen has seen the Swedish version, the word vill might have mislead her further, as
her translation of the word is “tattoo”, a child’s version of want.

Also many of the chapter names in KR and LM are so similar that it is hardly a
coincidence; see table 1.

Table 1. Chapter names in ROI and its two translations. (ROI, p. V; LM, p. 5; KR,
unnumbered page in the end)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Name of chapter in ROI</th>
<th>Name of chapter in LM</th>
<th>Name of chapter in KR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moonlit mirth (Back-translation: Moonlight dance)</td>
<td>Månskensbalen (BT: Moonlight dance)</td>
<td>Kuutamotanssiaiset (BT: Moonlight dance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Piper pipes</td>
<td>Danser går (BT: Dance goes on)</td>
<td>Tanssiaisten pyörteissä (BT: In the midst of the dance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“The sound of a going”</td>
<td>Plikten kallar (BT: Duty calls)</td>
<td>Isänmaa kutsuu (BT: Fatherland calls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Susan, Rilla and dog Monday make a resolution</td>
<td>Susan, Rilla och Måndag (BT: Susan, Rilla and Monday)</td>
<td>Susan, Rilla ja Maanantai (BT: Susan, Rilla and Monday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A slice of humble pie</td>
<td>Ett surt äpple (BT: A sour apple)</td>
<td>Hapan omena (BT: A sour apple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Valley of Decision</td>
<td>Walter fattar ett beslut (Walter makes a decision)</td>
<td>Walterin päätös (BT: Walter’s decision)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>“They shall not pass”</td>
<td>Drömmen (BT: Dream)</td>
<td>Painajainen (BT: Nightmare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mary is just in time 23 (in KR/LM due to omission)</td>
<td>Mary kommer som en räddande angel (BT: Mary arrives as a saving angel)</td>
<td>Mary pelastavana enkelinä (BT: Mary as a saving angel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Shirley goes 24</td>
<td>Shirley blir soldat (BT: Shirley becomes a soldier)</td>
<td>Shirleystä tulee sotilas (BT: Shirley becomes a soldier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Mr. Hyde goes to his own place and Susan takes a honeymoon 33</td>
<td>Susan reser på semester (BT: Susan goes on a holiday)</td>
<td>Susan lähtee lomalle (BT: Susan goes on a holiday)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are 35 chapters in ROI; 34 in LM and KR since chapter 20 is omitted in both of them. As table 1 demonstrates, ten chapter names that are very similar in LM and KR are somewhat different in ROI. If there were only few such cases, it might be considered a coincidence, but not with this many cases – especially since the differences between the original and the translations are as striking as in chapters 8, 24 and 34.

For example, in chapter 34 both the translators have shortened the name notably and both of them use the word holiday instead of honeymoon even though in the chapter Susan clearly informs that she has decided to go on a honeymoon by herself since she will probably never get married (ROI, pp. 270–271). Also, it would have been very natural to translate the name of chapter 25 (“Shirley goes”) simply as Shirley lähtee in Finnish. Yet, it seems that Piskonen has followed Söllberg’s translation for some reason. This clearly suggests that Piskonen has been aware of Söllberg’s choices.

All in all, while there are some passages in KR that have been omitted in LM and vice versa, based on the similarity of the chapter names, additions, some errors and some very similar omissions, I would assume that both the original English text and the Swedish translation have been used as source texts for KR. Some of the changes in LM have been followed, and also new changes have been made. These changes will be discussed in 6.2–6.4.

What also supports my theory about the Swedish translation being a parallel source text for KR is that according to the Fennica database (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011) the Finnish translator Piskonen has made many translations from Swedish. Of the 129 titles referring to Piskonen, 49 were translations with Swedish source text (plus three Danish), so Swedish was a familiar language to Piskonen.
6.2 Shift in ideology – from post-war patriotism to Nordic neutralism

War is always a matter of politics and ideology, which is very visible in ROI, LM and KR. We already dealt with the Canadian war myth after WWI (see 5.2), but as KR was published in Finland in 1962, the situation after WWII is more central when looking at the changes in KR.

6.2.1 Finland’s position in the 1960’s

Finland’s position after WWII was unusual. Finland was balancing between the East and the West, trying to stay neutral. During the war, the small country of Finland was fighting against the giant of Soviet Union. Finland asked for help from several countries but received almost nothing. The only ally Finland could find was Germany. As we know, Germany lost the war and all the horrors of holocaust were uncovered. Finland was treated as Germany’s ally and suffered heavy war reparations. (Jutikkala & Pirinen 2003, pp. 446–457.)

During the Cold War, Finland was in a peculiar position: trying to hold on to independence, and constrained by the YYA Treaty, also trying not to upset the big neighbour, the Soviet Union. Germany was now divided in two, and stuck between the fronts of the Cold War, Finland was the only European country that could not establish diplomatic relations with either of Germanys. The situation did not change before the 1970s, long after the publication of KR. (Hentilä 2003, pp. 5–10.)

In Finland, WWI and Finland’s war relationship with Germany was a taboo for a long time and it is still seems to be a difficult subject for the Finns (Manner & Huhtanen 2010). Also during WWI, which ROI covers, Finland and Germany had warm relationships, and while
Finland was seeking independence from Russia, Germany gave Finnish volunteers military training (Jutikkala & Pirinen 2003, p. 384).

It may seem rather irrational to think that political relations would have much to do with children’s novels and their translations, but that is not the case. As Sulevi Riukulehto (2001) writes in *Politiikkaa lastenkirjoissa*, where ever there are people, there are politics. And on the contrary, children’s books are actually the first place where you can find politics since they are supposed to educate children, to make children think the right way. Riukulehto also says that every person and every writer, is a prisoner of their own time, having no choice but to mirror in their texts the ideas of that time and their own ideas. How could a translator escape this prison? (Riukulehto 2001, p. 9.)

Even if we forget about Finland’s difficult situation after WWII, Germany is still geographically close to Finland and Sweden and has close economic relations with them, whereas for Canada it is a distant country on another continent. We must be polite to our neighbours and the people with whom we do business. That is another possible reason for omitting or changing the harsh (yet sometimes funny) comments in KR and LM, e.g. example 6:

(6)

"The British army will settle Germany," shouted Norman. "Just wait till it gets into line and the Kaiser will find that real war is a different thing from parading round Berlin with your moustaches cocked up." (ROI, p. 49)

Like so many other similar comments, example 6 is omitted in both the Swedish and the Finnish translation.
When it comes to literary trends, according to Heikkilä-Halttunen (2003, pp. 220–223), politics were discussed rather conservatively in Finnish children’s literature in the 1960’s. While on the other hand she says that children’s literature was becoming more realistic and even rebellious, yet the Vietnam War, nuclear weapons or feminism where not discussed. In other Nordic countries juvenile literature was politicised to some extent, but in Finland political issues were avoided in general (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2003, p. 221).

6.2.2 Sweden and WWI

As LM was published in the 1920’s, Sweden’s situation in and after WWI may have affected the translation. Sweden remained neutral during and after WWI, but the country benefited from the worldwide demand for Swedish steel, ball bearings, wood pulp, and matches. In addition, Sweden exported large quantities of food to Germany. While officially Sweden was neutral, when WWI broke out some important groups in society, for instance many officers and public servants, sympathized with Germany, and the Swedish Social Democratic Party had a warm relationship with its German counterpart. During the war the situation changed: both Liberals and Social Democrats began to sympathize with England. After the war Sweden has held on to its neutrality to this day. (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian affairs 2010; Swedish Information Smorgasbord 2011.)

6.2.3 Changes in the translations

The drastic change in the atmosphere from Canadian war mythology and patriotism to Nordic neutralism is very visible in LM and KR. Often there is a clear path from the hard-core patriotism and anti-German attitude in ROI to first the toned down neutrality of LM and finally to the pacifistic anonymity of KR. As mentioned, Hiivala (2005) has already studied the omissions in KR to some extent. Consequently, I will not focus on them,
although some omissions are discussed, but mostly on other changes which at first may look quite small but make a notable difference in the bigger perspective.

First of all, nationalities and insults associated with them have faded or vanished completely. While in ROI Susan repeatedly calls the Germans unpolitely *Huns*, in LM they are just *Germans* and in KR *Germans* or anonymous enemies or they are not mentioned at all. See examples 7 and 8:

(7)

"Tell Rilla I'm glad her war-baby is turning out so well, and tell Susan that I'm fighting a good fight against both Huns and cooties."
(ROI, p. 98)

Hälsa Rilla att det gläder mig att hennes krigbarn artar sig bra, och säg Susan att jag tänker slåss med både tyskarna och de små gråa.(LM, p. 121)

Sano Rillalle, että olen iloinen, kun hänen sotalapsensa on kehittynyt hyvin, ja Susanille, että tappelen urheasti pieniä harmaatakkeja vastaan. (KR, p. 98)

(8)

I have an awful presentiment that the Huns have broken through somewhere (ROI, p. 105)

jag har i alla fall en otäck känsla av att tyskarna brutit sig igenom någonstans (LM, p. 130)

minulla on kauhea aavistus, että vihollinen on murtautunut jossakin linjojen läpi (KR, p. 105)

In example 7, *Huns* has been replaced with *tyskar*, Germans, in LM and omitted totally in KR. In the Finnish version they are only fighting against the cooties i.e. lice. Similarly, in example 8 the *Huns* are again more politely *Germans* in LM, and in KR there is no mention of the opponent’s nationality. There it is only *vihollinen*, the enemy, which has broken through the lines.
Such toning down is done even when it is not a case of actual events on the front but a fictional movie that Rilla goes to see, see example 9:

(9)

The heroine was struggling with a horrible German soldier who was trying to drag her away. (ROI, p. 260)

Hjältinnan brottade med en skurk till soldat, som försökte släpa henne med sig. (LM, p. 289)

Sankaritar kamppaili hirveän näköisen roiston kanssa, joka koetti raahata häntä mukanaan. (KR, p. 226)

Here the "horrible German soldier" becomes first a crook of a soldier with no nationality, and finally in the Finnish version even war is edited out; the man is just hirveä roisto, a terrible-looking villain.

The disappearance of Canadian patriotism can also be seen in many of the religious omissions. Often when the characters discuss war and religion, they mention that God is on their side; see example 10.

(10)

“Sometimes I think the big guns are better to trust in than God,” said Miss Oliver defiantly.
“No, no, dear, you do not. The Germans had the big guns at the Marne, had they not? But Providence settled them. Do not ever forget that. Just hold on to that when you feel inclined to doubt. Clutch hold of the sides of your chair and sit tight and keep saying, ‘Big guns are good but the Almighty is better, and He is on our side, no matter what the Kaiser says about it.’ (ROI, p. 91)

This whole conversation has been omitted in both LM and KR. Kaiser refers of course to the German Emperor Wilhelm II. If God was on Canada’s side i.e. the Entente Powers’ side i.e. Russian’s side, then He cannot be on the Central Powers’ side i.e. Germany’s side.
And again, in the perspective of the 1960’s, Germany and Finland had been considered to be allies, and Russia, which was one the Entente Powers, had been Finland's enemy. Therefore, declaring that God is not on our side and that the other side should win would perhaps not be suitable in a book targeted to Finnish girls in the post WWII Finland. And Sweden, on the other hand, has tried to stay neutral ever since WWI.

A perfect example of how not just anti-German but also pro-Allies comments are toned down is in example 11.

(11)

There is only one thing of importance just now – and that is that the Allies win the war (ROI, p. 113)

Nu är det bara en sak, som är av betydelse, och det är att de allierade vinner kriget (LM, p. 139)

Tällä hetkellä on tärkeintä, että kestämme sodan (KR, p. 113)

Here the Swedish translation follows the original but KR does not comment on anyone winning or losing; the war just has to be endured, survived.

All nationalities are occasionally blurred in KR; see examples 12 and 13.

(12)

“The British Line has broken and the German shells are falling on Paris,” said Susan dully. (ROI, p. 236)

–Den brittiska linjen är bruten, och tyska granater faller ned over Paris, sade Susan dovt. (LM, p. 262)

–Rintama on murtunut ja vihollisen tykit tulittavat Pariisia, sanoi Susan lamaantuneena. (KR, p. 205)
(13)

The French and Americans are pushing the Germans back and back and back. (ROI, p. 259)

Fransmannen och amerikanarna tränger tyskarna längre och längre tillbaka. (LM, p. 288)

Vihollinen on työnnetty yhä taaemmas. (KR, p. 224)

Again, in examples 12 and 13, LM sticks to the original as the word German is used in ROI instead of the impolite Huns. In KR, Germans are again an anonymous enemy and the other side is just as anonymous. In example 12 the British line is just the line in KR, and in example 13 the translator cleverly avoids pointing any fingers by using a passive construction (has been pushed), which is very natural in Finnish, especially when there is no need or desire to say who the subject is.

Another ideological aspect is the anti-pacifistic attitude in ROI. A minor character, Mr. Pryor, or “Whiskers-on-the-moon” as he is jokingly called, is a declared pacifist. He is not a popular person when clearly Montgomery and all the village feel that the war is justified, noble and necessary in order to “make Canada safe for the poets of the future – for the workers of the future – ay, and the dreamers, too”, as Rilla’s brother Walter declares (ROI, pp. 191–192). To the villagers his opinions seem suspicious and pro-German, he is even suspected of being a German spy.

Whiskers-on-the-moon is treated rather coldly because of his ideals. Then again in 1960’s Finland, when WWII was more or less a taboo, pacifism would have been much more appreciated. Also in 1920’s neutral Sweden, pacifism would probably not have been considered a bad thing. Accordingly, hatred towards pacifism is omitted and toned down especially in KR and to some extent in LM as well.
In example 14, Whiskers-on-the-moon, who is a widower, proposes to Susan. Not surprisingly, Susan is not very flattered:

(14)

I have not been so upset in years. That – that – that pacifist has actually had the audacity to come up here and, in my own kitchen, to ask me to marry him. HIM! (ROI, p. 218)

So topp tunnor rasande har jag inte varit på åratål. Den där – den där sabla pacifisten hade fräckheten att komma hit up och i mitt eget kök be mig gifta mig med honom. Med honom!” (LM, p. 242)


Here LM has retained the word pacifist but it has been dramatized with the word sable (wretched, damned) while in KR there is no mention of pacifism. There is only a vague insult mokoma.

A significant change in both LM and KR is that an entire chapter involving Whiskers-on-the-moon has been omitted. In chapter 20 (ROI, pp. 171–176), most of the villagers are gathered in a union prayer meeting where both the local Methodists and the Presbyterians are attending. Mr. Pryor is one of the Presbyterian elders, but the Methodist priest does not know him nor his bad reputation. The priest asks Mr. Pryor to pray, and so he prays (example 15):

(15)

He prayed that the unholy war might cease – that the deluded armies being driven to slaughter on the Western front might have their eyes opened to their iniquity and repent while yet there was time – that the poor young men present in khaki, who had been hounded into a path of murder and militarism, should yet be rescued. (ROI, p. 174)
In 2011 such prayer sounds reasonable and common as it probably was in the 1960’s, too.

Yet in 1920’s Canada, where the war myth praised the sacrifices of the Great War, such prayer would have been unbelievable, unheard of, inacceptable. And accordingly, one parishioner answers (example 16):

(16)

Mr. Pryor had not "stopped" when so bidden, but he stopped now, perforce, for Norman, his long red beard literally bristling with fury, was shaking him until his bones fairly rattled, and punctuating his shakes with a lurid assortment of abusive epithets.
"You blatant beast!" – shake - "You malignant carrion" – shake – "You pig-headed varmint!" – shake – "you putrid pup" – shake – "you pestilent parasite" – shake – "you – Hunnish scum" – shake – "you indecent reptile – you – you –" Norman choked for a moment. Everybody believed that the next thing he would say, church or no church, would be something that would have to be spelt with asterisks; but at that moment Norman encountered his wife's eye and he fell back with a thud on Holy Writ. "You whitened sepulchre!" he bellowed, with a final shake, and cast Whiskers-on-the-moon from him with a vigour which impelled that unhappy pacifist to the very verge of the choir entrance door. (ROI, p. 175)

As Mr. Pryor’s prayer would have been more or less acceptable in the situation where LM and KR were published, just as inacceptable would have been Norman Douglas’ response to it. Accordingly, the entire chapter has been left out in both the Swedish and the Finnish version as are all later references to the chapter.

All in all, while ROI is very pro-war, KR has turned out rather pacifistic. In ROI (p. 91) when Rilla’s fiancé is going to war she sighs “I hate this war” (italics by A. S.), but in KR (p. 93) she bluntly says “Minä vihaan sotaa” (I hate war).
6.3 Shift in target audience – from Canadian girls to Nordic preteens

As mentioned in 5.1, on their Internet pages many Finnish libraries, e.g. Kangasniemi library, have put the *Anne of Green Gables* series in a category such as “Classics for 5th and 6th graders” along with titles like Blyton’s *The Famous Five* books (Kangasniemi 2011). Also, according to Ahola & Koskimies (2005), most Finnish readers read KR along with the other *Anne Shirley* books around the age of 10 or 11. The situation seems to be similar in Sweden; the Stockholm Public Library also recommends the book for children aged 11–12 (Stockholms stadsbibliotek 2011).

In my Bachelor’s Thesis (2009) I called the *Anne Shirley* novels ambivalent texts (term from Shavit 1986), texts that can be defined clearly neither children's nor adult literature. I would gladly use this definition for ROI as well, as many adults still find the novel interesting and return to it again and again whereas very few grown-ups read *The Famous Five* books for example (e.g. Ahola & Koskimies 2005, p. 23).

In 5.2 I already suggested that based on Montgomery’s letter, the age of the heroine, the prevalent war theme and violence related to it, perhaps ROI should be regarded also as war literature, *bildungsroman* and young-adult/juvenile fiction rather than a standard ‘girls’ book’ and that the original target audience might have been teenagers rather than 11-year-olds. Yet perhaps because of Montgomery’s name and reputation the book has ended up in the previous genre.

As Klingberg (1986, p. 73) and Oittinen (1995, p. 24) mention, literature is often abridged when adapted to younger audience. Also, returning to the Finnish translator Piskonen, according to the Fennica database (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011), most of
her translations are targeted to little children, not teenagers. She has translated e.g. many of Astrid Lindgren’s stories and Michael Bond’s *Paddington Bear* books.

Whether the shift is conscious or unconscious, to me at least it is clearly visible. It would explain why so much of the horrors of war have been left out and toned down. Starving children and other cruelties are maybe not something that adults would consider to be suitable subjects for children, but perhaps teenagers are capable of dealing with more grave matters such as death, war and cruelty. Hiivala also considers many of the omissions to be a result of “purification” (2005, p. 30).

(17)

"This Lusitania business was too much for me," said Mary brusquely. "When the Kaiser takes to drowning innocent babies it's high time somebody told him where he gets off at. This thing must be fought to a finish. It's been soaking into my mind slow but I'm on now.[“] (ROI, p. 106)

In example 17, The Lusitania has been sunk by the Germans killing over a thousand civilians – although the Germans did insist that the boat carried ammunition and recently proof of this was found. Yet the death of over a hundred children caused outrage around the world. (Greenhill 2008.)

Example 17 with its “drowning innocent babies” is one of those passages that have been omitted, purified or censored when the book has been translated and apparently adapted for younger readers.

(18)

Jerry Meredith was seriously wounded at Vimy Ridge – shot in the back, the telegram said. (ROI, p. 208)

Jerry Meredith blev svårt sårad vid Vimyasen. (LM, p. 233)
Jerry Meredith haavittui pahasti. (KR, p. 184)

Violence has also been toned down in example 18 where the description of Jerry Meredith being wounded is edited out in both the translation. This example could also be included in the political changes of the previous chapter as the tone implies that only the enemy, the Germans, could do such a cruel thing as shoot someone in the back.

There are also other changes that fall into both categories, e.g. example 19.

(19)

Rheumatism is bad enough but I realise, and none better, that it is not to be compared to being gassed by the Huns. (ROI, p. 103)

Reumatism är illa nog, men nog förstår jag så bra som någon att den är inte ett intet emot att bli gasförgiftad. (LM, p. 127)

Reumatismi on kyllä kiusallista, mutta ymmärrän toki, ettei sitä voi verrata sotilaiden käräsumyksiin. (KR, p. 103)

Example 19 is a comment by rheumatic Susan. Here the Swedish translator has only made a political beautification leaving out who is accused of gassing soldiers. In KR both the nationality and the tormenting death have been left out. Instead Susan only talks vaguely about the soldiers’ pains.

6.4 Other changes

There are also various other changes in both translations, especially in KR. Many of them are related to culture and the passing of time. Names and places that were familiar to Canadians in the 1920’s and may also have been familiar to Swedes at that time were probably as unknown to Finnish 11-year-olds of the 1960’s as they are to us now. This
would explain why many proper names are omitted or, for example, replaced with hypernyms in KR; see example 20.

(20)

One day the glorious news came that the Canadians had taken Courcelette and Martenpuich, with many prisoners and guns. Susan ran up the flag and said it was plain to be seen that Haig knew what soldiers to pick for a hard job. (ROI, p. 187)


En vacker päivänä tuli tieto, että kanadalaiset olivat edenneet rintamalla ja saaneet paljon vankeja ja aseita. Susan veti lipun salkoon ja sanoi, että näki kyllä sotapäälliköiden siellä tietävän, ketkä oli valittava koviin hommiin. (KR, p. 169)

Like in this passage, many of the battle fields of WWI have remained in LM but have been omitted in KR. Also names of people are left out and replaced with explicatory hypernyms. Haig has become a warlord, and Prime Minister Borden has become the government etc. (ROI, p. 231; KR, p. 201).

While cultural and temporal reasons could easily explain many of the changes, and as Hiivala (2005, p. 31) says, many of the longer omissions as well, there are also a number of changes in KR for which I can find no obvious reason. For example, some of the names of the minor characters are slightly different, and I would not say that they have been domesticated: Hannah Brewster (ROI, p. 250) has become Mary Brewster (KR, p. 215), and Allan Daly (ROI, p. 32) is now Alan Dyle (KR, p. 38). These changes have not taken place in LM. The names appear several times in the book, so it is hard to imagine that they would be mere typos. Yet I can think of no explanation for these changes. There are also a couple of similar small additions in both LM and KR, like the one discussed in 6.1.
7 Conclusions

*Rilla of Ingleside* has made a long and winding journey from the 1920’s Canada to the 1960’s Finland making a halfway stop in Sweden in 1928. The original book, written soon after WWI, is greatly influenced by the Canadian war myth and hence is very patriotic. It is a book about a war that had to be fought and won in order to wipe the evil out of the world. The soldiers nobly offered their lives to the altar of war. The enemy, the Germans, the ‘Huns’, are depicted as evil and crooked. Although the novel is situated on the Canadian home front, almost every chapter has long a description of the events on the front.

The Swedish translation *Lilla Marilla* was published soon after the original. In LM, patriotism has been diluted with Swedish neutralism to some extent, but the translation was still published in the same decade as the original, and WWI would have been fresh in people’s memory. Therefore names of places and political characters have been retained. And since Sweden was officially neutral and it was clear to the readers who had been fighting against whom, there was no need to fade out nationalities either. However, violence and anti-German comments were toned down and the book was abridged notably even though the translation is not marked as abridged.

The Finnish translation KR was published in a totally different environment in 1962. WWI did not manage to ‘purify’ the world; we had seen another great war, and now it was the time of the Cold War and diplomacy. Especially in Finland, the country that was balancing between the Cold War fronts, it was important to stay neutral. This super-neutrality is visible in the disappearance of nationalities in KR. It is no longer emphasized who is fighting against who, there is just the enemy and us. Also, winning the war is not important; the war just has to be endured. While KR is very anti-German, anti-pacifistic
and pro-war, all this hatred has been washed out of the Finnish translation. There is only hatred towards war.

Although there is no mention of using LM as a source text in KR, there is clear evidence that the Finnish translator Piskonen was familiar with Söllberg’s Swedish translation. Many of the omissions are very similar, there are similar mistakes and additions and even the chapter names are often strikingly similar in KR and LM and very different from the original. Since the previous Finnish translations of *Anne Shirley* books were done using the Swedish version as the sole source text, it would not have been anomalous to use LM as a parallel text. What also supports this theory is that Piskonen has made a lot of translations from Swedish, so it is a familiar language to her (see 6.1.).

Based on Montgomery’s own letter and the grave themes in ROI (see 5.2), it seems that Montgomery wrote the book for teenagers, i.e. slightly older readers than the previous *Anne Shirley* novels. Since Montgomery was already famous in the Nordic countries for her ‘girl’s books’, both the Finnish and the Swedish translation were treated and marketed as mere continuum of Montgomery’s previous *Anne Shirley* books. Accordingly, they were toned down, purificated, domesticated and overall shortened so that the book would be suitable and interesting for Finnish and Swedish preteens, the main audience of the previous books.

These changes were, on the other hand, due to the ideological contents and the political atmosphere of that time, and on the other hand, due to the genre expectations. While ROI is in a way clearly another episode of the girls’ books romance of Montgomery’s previous novels, yet there are also elements of war literature, *bildungsroman* and young adult fiction in it. KR then again has much less war in it, and it is targeted and marketed for an audience a few years younger. Hence KR might be called not just an abridged translation but an adaptation aimed for younger readers.
While some translators see all reworking of the source text as negative manipulation, it is clear that in order to serve the readers these changes had to be made, especially since the audience was now other than the 1920’s “girlhood of Canada” (see 5.2). The ideological climate of the 60’s could not have tolerated such blatant political contents, and still today some of the anti-German comments seem unreasonably harsh. Also, as Klingberg (see 4.2) states that omissions are made e.g. based on how interesting the passage would be to readers, it is questionable whether the detailed depictions of war events would have interested the new readers. Names, places and events of WWI might have been fresh in the memory of the 1920’s girls, but most probably not the 1960’s children. In the 60’s, war in itself was almost a taboo in Finland, a subject not largely dealt with in Finnish children’s literature.

That is why it is astonishing that the book was translated at all back then. Klingberg (1977, p. 303) suggests that instead of “purifying” a text, it would be better not to translate it at all. Perhaps this is what originally happened to the book in Finland. The previous five novels were all translated in 1920–22, but ROI was not. In 1961 and 1962, revised versions of the five previously translated *Anne Shirley* books were published (The National Bibliography of Finland 2011). This is probably what triggered the translation and publishing of KR, yet the contents were still too much and needed censoring.

While I do admit that the patriotic, war-myth inspired ideology of ROI did probably need some censoring, on the other hand we know that Montgomery thought ROI was the best book of the *Anne Shirley* series or possibly even the best book she had ever written (see 2.2.1). Therefore, it feels very sad to me to find Montgomery’s favourite dissected and reshaped – especially when she herself had refused to do any such thing despite the publisher’s request.
It is also questionable whether omitting and toning down violence and horrors of war was absolutely necessary. Even though some scholars feel that children cannot decide for themselves, i.e. protect themselves from harmful or too frightening contents, and that it is the adults job to do it, yet the contents that Martsola and Mäkelä-Rönnholm (in 4.2) refer to are often violent action movies etc. The violence in old-fashioned ROI is surely nothing compared to the amount of blood, explosions, horror and excitement that movies of today have.

Also, in KR the bad ones are punished, as Lehtipuu suggests (see 4.2), and the ‘good guys’ win the war. Based on this, the elements of fear and excitement in ROI may be suitable for children, they are perhaps the kind that children need in order to safely explore such emotions.

Perhaps cultural adaptations were not compulsory either. As Lindroos (see 4.2) argues that children do not find foreign elements distracting or puzzling, maybe names like Courcelette and Borden could have been left in the text. Instead of omitting them, e.g. Borden’s status could have been explained with a clarifying explicitation.

When war and politics have been edited out, with them disappears a lot of the humour in the book. While in the previous, perhaps more child-centred novels much of the humour lay in children’s blunders and shenanigans, I feel that now the humour is usually in the conversations. Especially Susan’s comments on the Germans and on how the war should be fought are entertaining to read in ROI. Her character has faded a lot in the translation process. In ROI, she is a very central person; the book even begins with her thoughts. KR and LM seem to be more clearly books about Rilla.

Although the translator has obviously tried to make KR lighter and brighter than the original by omitting and toning down some of the violence, hatred and sorrow, it could be
argued that with so much of the humour disappearing, the result may actually be greyer than the original.

It is often said that a translation ages faster than the source text, that perhaps a text should be retranslated after 50 years (see chapter 3). Previously I did not understand this. I have always loved old books, their worn out covers, their beautiful, old-fashioned language and the atmosphere this creates. During this journey to Rilla’s history – or should I say histories – I have finally understood the demand for retranslations. There is usually nothing ‘wrong’ with the old book, the old translation, the old text, the old words. And it is not that language would necessarily change very much in fifty years, but as Oittinen says (in 4.2), translation always happens in a situation and the situations change, the attitudes, politics, ideologies, relationships, cultures, the readers’ needs change. We change and our interpretation of the book changes with that.

The translation of ROI is now turning fifty, so perhaps the time would be ripe for retranslation. If ROI were to be translated now, I am quite sure the ‘anti-Germanism’ would still be toned down to some extent, but maybe we could retain more of the book’s original humour now that so many decades have passed and WWI and WWII are not such sensitive and difficult subjects for Finns anymore. Possibly the patriotism in ROI could now be seen, read and translated in the light of humour and not be taken so seriously.

A point that interested me a great deal but could not fit in the scope of this study is: if a new Finnish translation of *Rilla of Ingleside* was made now with less omissions and changes, what would the readers’ reactions to it be compared to their feelings towards the current translation? Would they find it gloomier with its violence and pain – or funnier with its humorous conversations? Would it be fascinating in its historical viewpoint – or boring with all the details about forgotten war events? Interesting in its transparent
ideology – or tacky in its propagandism? If and when my hunger for doing more research
returns, I would gladly look into this matter.
Bibliography

Primary sources


Secondary sources


Internet Sources


[online] Available at:

The National Bibliography of Finland, 2011. [online] Available at:


[Accessed 3 February 2011]


Stockholms stadsbibliotek, 2011. *Lilla Marilla.* [online] Available at:

The Swedish Information Smorgasbord, 2011. *The 20th Century.* [online] Available at:
<http://www.sverigeturism.se/smorgasbord/smorgasbord/society/history/20th.html>
[Accessed 6 July 2011]

