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HOME TRAINING AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH
IN THE SENTIMENTAL NOVELS OF
MARSHALL SAUNDERS, NELLIE MCCLUNG, AND. L.M. MONTGOMERY

by

© Vicki L. Williams

A thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
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Abstract

Home-training and the socialization of youth is examined in selected sentimental novels of Marshall Saunders, Nellie McClung, and Lucy Maud Montgomery, and it is determined that the works suggest an accurate, if idealized, "typical Canadian experience" of the upbringing of young people between 1880 and 1920. With specific reference to the selected works, the authors' depictions of the child and his family relationships, the effect of community institutions and community standards on the family and the child, and the child or youth in the larger community are studied. Despite the influence of the literary conventions of both the "romantic" and the "reformist" styles of the sentimental genre on the works, it is concluded that the authors do reflect, to varying degrees, the optimistic atmosphere of a period when the Canadian humanitarian movement used the language of sentimental reform to challenge the traditional child-raising techniques of the nation.

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I. Introduction

On the whole, Diana Barry's reaction to "Averil's Atonement" in Anne of the Island was highly gratifying to authoress Anne.

A most sympathetic critic, Diana freely admired the aristocratic beauty of the character's names, and "cried properly" over the requisite "pathetic scene;" indeed, she pronounced the entire work "perfectly elegant." Yet, on a fine point of literary tradition, author and critic disagreed:

'Why did you kill "Maurice Lennox?" ' she asked reproachfully.

'He was the villain,' protested Anne. 'He had to be punished.'

'I like him best of them all,' said unreasonable Diana.

'Well, he's dead, and he'll have to stay dead,' said Anne, rather resentfully. 'If I had let him live he'd have gone on persecuting "Averil" and "Perceval." '

'Yes--unless you had reformed him.'¹

Clearly, while Anne favours the "romantic" style of sentimental fiction in her story, Diana's tastes turn toward the equally popular "reformist" model.

Both "romantic" and "reformist" versions of the nineteenth century sentimental genre might be quite familiar to these two young Canadian girls. Originating in the eighteenth century, sentimental fiction had developed a huge readership in both Britain and America in the years before the Civil War.

¹L.M. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, 1st Canadian ed. (Boston, 1915; Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), p.118.

Herbert Ross Brown in The Sentimental Novel in America 1789-1860

found that the "sentimental formula" combined stock characters-- heroes, villains, and endangered maidens-- with stock situations, subjecting "the long arm of coincidence to the rack of expediency.

. . . The reader, meanwhile, was made to cry--and to wait... he was mercilessly roasted over the slow fires of suspense."² "Romantic" sentimental novels were purely escapist fiction, and writers for adults, such as Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth (1819 - 1899), were expected to be as masterful at basic emotional manipulation as the gothic horror story writers of their day. Of Mrs. Southworth, Herbert F. Smith remarks:

She really wrote only one story: the trials of perfect virtue triumphant finally over the machinations of perfect vice. She is never troubled by improbability or inconsistency of character, never understates emotion, never questions the received opinions of the values of marriage, the virtues of self-sacrifice, or the advisability of female dependence upon the male. Her works will always be the touchstone of bathos against which the writings of all other sentimentalists will be compared.

In her story of the trials and triumphant love of Perceval and Averil, Anne has aspired to follow faithfully Mrs. Southworth's tearful, but lucrative, example.

Diana, on the other hand, seems to prefer that the story be a minor representation of the second branch of the sentimental genre: the "reformist" novel. The romantic sentimentalists firmly

² Herbert Ross Brown, The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860 (1940; rpt. New York: Essay Index Reprint Series, 1970), p.176.

³ Herbert F. Smith, The Popular American Novel, 1865-1920 (Boston: Twayne, 1980), p. 24.

believed in the underlying goodness of the natural man--be he savage, rake, or sot in the moral imperfection of this fallen world--and their swelling hearts responded with lavish sympathy to the spectacle of the unregenerate. The Calvinist and Wesleyan tractists of the nineteenth century believed that every sinner could be saved through missionary zeal. Thus, the "evangelical piety" of the Victorian protestants, merging with the "exalted pity" of the sentimentalists,⁵ produced novels of sentimental protest which championed such issues as temperance, abolitionism, humane treatment of animals and servants, and general social reform measures for the working class masses. Charles Dickens used sentimental protest most skillfully in his highly popular works, but perhaps the purest examples of the sub-genre would be Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin of 1852, and Anna Sewall's Black Beauty of 1877.

Today, both Uncle Tom's Cabin and Black Beauty are often found in the "Juvenile Fiction" section of the library, sometimes abridged, yet nonetheless available to the young reader. That these novels which initially attracted a wide adult readership should now be so categorized is largely unsurprising: in the nineteenth century the line between children's and adult's fiction could be remarkably flexible, and, while children read Scott, Dickens, and Stowe,⁶ sentimental fiction for the juvenile market often became extremely

⁴Brown, p. 148.

⁵Brown, p. 142.

⁶David Grylls, Guardians and Angels (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), p. 74.

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popular as "family reading." In Britain, Charlotte Yonge's domestic fiction, such as The Heir of Redclyffe (1853), and, in America, Susan Wetherell's sentimental stories, such as Queechy (1852), sold thousands of copies to young and old, and, criss-crossing the Atlantic, sold thousands more. Sentimental heroines, "by unanimous consent 'about seventeen'"⁷ years old, were ideally suited for broad audience appeal. And the evangelical tract tales, too--a type of vicarious fiction allowable for "Sunday reading--helped to develop a taste for sentimental fiction in readers of tender years. According to Margaret N. Cutt in her study of nineteenth century evangelical writing for children, Ministering Angels: "The sympathetic and sentimental outlook fostered in youth by such juvenile reading favoured social action on behalf of the unfortunate, creating readers for the novel of social purpose as well as for the novel of sentiment."⁸ British and American children read the tracts of Hannah More (1745-1883) and Hesba Stretton (1832-1911). In Anne of Green Gables, Diana attempts to lure Anne back to school with the news that the latest of Isabella Alden's "Pansy" books has arrived.⁹ Tract fiction blended instruction and entertainment for children, as did the domestic stories for girls which evolved from women's sentimental fiction in the last half of the century. Indeed, once Victorian sexual prudery ensured that it was "not romantic or passionate, but domestic love which was deemed proper for the sentimental heroine,"¹⁰ the usurpation of the sentimental

⁷ Brown, p. 130.

⁸ Margaret Nancy Cutt, Ministering Angels (Broxbourne, Herts, Eng.: Five Owls Press, 1979), p. 186.

⁹ L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, 1st Canadian ed. (Boston, 1908; Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), p. 149. "Pansy" pseud. Isabella Alden, was a popular American writer of domestic tract tales.

¹⁰ Brown, p. 131.

genre by the young, especially young girls, would seem to be simply a matter of course. In 1867, Little Women by Louisa May Alcott and Elsie Dinsmore by "Martha Farquharson" (Martha Finley) were published; a host of sentimental domestic fiction writers followed.

"By 1900," writes Sheila Egoff in The Republic of Childhood,

the heavily sentimental 'sweetness and light' school of writing for children, which was disappearing in the mother country, was entering Canadian writing in books for both adults and children through the works of Ralph Connor, Nellie McClung, Marshall Saunders, and L.M. Montgomery. Although Connor and McClung cannot be considered writers for children, their books were not only read by them but, owing to the scarcity of Canadian books that could interest children, they were used in children's departments of some public libraries as late as the 1930s and 1940s.¹¹

Margaret N. Cutt agrees that Canadian writers for children did not show much originality when, around 1900, they started to produce their novels: she cites both the work of Marshall Saunders and of Ralph Connor as "highly derivative."¹² Connor's Glengarry Schooldays (1902), she says, "was little more than a colourful tract tale, almost as heavily laden with sentiment and overt religious teaching as The Wide Wide World."¹³ In this study, only selected works of Saunders, McClung, and Montgomery will be considered, however, for although "Ralph Connor," the Reverend C.W. Gordon, was a true member of the sentimental tribe, his works most often offered to children -- The Man from Glengarry (1901) and Glengarry Schooldays (1902) -- owe much to the boy's adventure story, the genre of De Mille, Oxley and Ballantyne.

¹¹ Sheila Egoff, The Republic of Childhood, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), p. 302.

¹² Cutt, p. 179.

¹³ Cutt, p. 180. See Elizabeth Wetherell (Susan Bogert Warner), The Wide Wide World, 1850.

In addition, Connor sets his stories in pre-Confederation times among true pioneering people; Saunders, McClung, and Montgomery all set their stories somewhat closer to the turn-of-the-century among much more settled communities.¹⁴

Marshall Saunders (1861-1947), Nellie McClung (1873-1951), and Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874-1942) were extremely popular writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: each produced at least one "best-selling" novel, and each managed to become financially successful with her pen. Saunders' Beautiful Joe (1893) won a two hundred dollar prize from the American Humane Education Society as the best example of a sequel to Black Beauty in 1893, and went on to sell "upwards of a million copies"¹⁵ in English and more than fifteen other languages--including Japanese, Chinese, Swedish, German, Bulgarian--and Esperanto. The book was reprinted in a "Canadian Favourites" edition by McClelland and Stewart in 1972, and 55 to 65% of the young readers surveyed in Children's Choices of Canadian Books, 1981, still "found this a very satisfying book, and appreciated the high moral tone and the message about cruelty to animals."¹⁶ Nellie McClung's Sowing Seeds in Danny, was an international best-seller with a hundred thousand copies sold by 1908,¹⁷ but its success was somewhat eclipsed by the numerous editions

¹⁴ See Ralph Connor (Rev. C.W. Gordon), The Man from Glengarry (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1901), and Glengarry School Days (1902; Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1920).

¹⁵ V.B. Rhodenizer, A Handbook of Canadian Literature (Ottawa: Graphic, 1930), p. 114. See also Amos Robert Rodgers "American Recognition of Canadian Authors Writing in English, 1890-1960," Diss. Michigan 1964, I, 95, for American best-seller status of Beautiful Joe in 1894 (minimum sales figure--625,000 copies), and for Anne of Green Gables in 1908 (minimum sales figure--750,000 copies).

¹⁶ Children's Choices of Canadian Books, ed. Margaret Caughey (Ottawa: The Citizen's Committee on Children, 1981), II, 74.

¹⁷ Molly McClung, Women in Canadian Literature (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977), p.23.

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--at least thirty-two by 1914¹⁸-- of Montgomery's Anne of Green Gables, which was published in the same year. Each of these women was well educated, each taught school for at least one or two years, and each came from a protestant family background. Saunders' father was a Baptist minister and McClung's mother was a stern Presbyterian, as were Montgomery's grandparents. Saunders and Montgomery were born in the Maritimes, and McClung, in Ontario, but Saunders moved to Ontario, and McClung to Manitoba for the main part of their writing careers. Therefore, while the regionalism of Canada is reflected in their works to some extent, common grounds of religious and educational experience also occur. The works chosen for this study are Saunders' early didactic success, Beautiful Joe (1893), and a much later "formula" book, the post-war Bonnie Prince Fattlar (1920); McClung's three "Pearlie" books, Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908), The Second Chance (1910), and Purple Springs (1921), which emphasize reformist issues stretching from child care through temperance to women's rights; and Lucy Maud Montgomery's first three "Anne" books, Anne of Green Gables (1908), Anne of Avonlea (1909), and Anne of the Island (1915), exemplifying the romantic series for girls. Thus, these authors manage to encompass the entire span of the juvenile sentimental genre, from the novel of blatantly didactic reform to the work of domestic romance, in these selected works.

The roots of the girl's romantic serial are found in the single novel domestic dramas popular in America in the mid-nineteenth century; British

¹⁸ Mollie Gillen, The Wheel of Things (Don Mills, Ontario : Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975), p.73.

family stories, such as those of Charlotte Yonge (1823-1901), although published in series, did not typically feature a central heroine, but rather, an entire family growing up. Susan Wetherell's Queechy (1852) was a long and morally exemplary American work. Its heroine, Fleda, is a "miracle of endurance."¹⁹ being at once pious, diligent, beautiful and sensitive. In spite of recurring bouts of nervous prostration, she is equal to the demands of fallen family fortunes, wily seducers, and the practical running of a dairy farm. Her story runs for more than five hundred pages, and by the time Fleda has grown from a perfect little girl into an enchanting young woman--married to a British lord no less--a sequel would seem unnecessary. Maria Cummins' The Lamplighter (1854) is not a formal serial either, but its heroine, Gerty, like Montgomery's Anne, begins life as a plain and unruly child, yet grows into "a beautiful, pious, uninteresting young woman who marries her childhood sweetheart."²⁰ Both Queechy and The Lamplighter abound in moral advice and religious precept; Louisa May Alcott's March family series, beginning with Little Women in 1867 and Good Wives in 1869, provide welcome relief from preaching and introduce more naturalistic characters and family situations:

The qualities that account for its success are obvious: truth, warmth, simplicity, intimacy. The Marches are a real family you might have known. . . . There is some sermonizing . . . but there is also human reaction against sermonizing. . . . The family story, of which Little Women in the first great example, could . . . not work in an atmosphere of repression or of chilly grandeur. The key characteristic is always warmth.²¹

¹⁹ Brown, p. 289.

²⁰ John Rowe Townsend, Written for Children, rev. ed. (1974; Markham, Ontario: Penguin, 1976), p. 77.

²¹ Townsend, pp. 79-80.

Yet Jo March, the central tom-boy sister of the four, is still reduced to lady-like behaviour by the end of the first book, as is Katie Carr of Susan Coolidge's What Katy Did series (1872 and on). In You're a Brick, Angela, Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig praise Katie for her "vitality,"²² but her adolescent high-spirits are all but extinguished by a typically debilitating fall from a swing in the first book, and Katie seems to be quite a prim young lady by the time she attends boarding school in the second. As Townsend remarks: "the more-or-less willing acceptance that lively girls must grow into submissive women continues."²³

Margery Fisher, John Townsend, and, more comprehensively, Cadogan and Craig have made the point that Anne of Green Gables is an obvious younger sister of Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm (1903). And while all would admit that Montgomery's Anne is a superior creation to Kate Douglas Wiggin's Rebecca, all seem to think that Anne is a bit of a carbon copy. Cadogan and Craig state that:

English fictional children at the beginning of the century tended to have their moral shortcomings ironed out in the course of a story; in America the process was inverted, with hardened adults gradually being humanized by contact with impossibly well-adjusted and sunny-dispositioned children, whose own characters appeared to need very little modification.²⁴

Anne, however, at the beginning of Green Gables is not a child of flawless character, as Rebecca appears to be at the beginning of

²²Mary Cadogan, and Patricia Craig, You're a Brick, Angela! (London: Victor Gollancz, 1976), p.38.

²³Townsend, p. 82.

²⁴Cadogan and Craig, p. 89.

Sunnybrook Farm, and requires an amount of "moral ironing out" in the eyes of her adoptive parents and Rachel Lynde. Anne is, perhaps, more of a mixture of the English and American fictional children than a wholly American type.

Certainly Montgomery, herself, recollects that her own childhood reading, which may be assumed to have influenced her later literary endeavours to some degree, were of both British and American origin. On weekdays she read the poetry of Tennyson, Scott, and Whittier, and of Byron, Longfellow, Milton and Burns, as well as the tales of Hans Christian Anderson, and a thickly illustrated History of the World. Novels were few in her grandparents' small library, but Montgomery read and re-read Rob Roy, The Pickwick Papers, and Bulwer-Lytton's Zanoni, eventually learning whole chapters by heart²⁵.

Of the above-mentioned novels, Zanoni seems to have been Maud's book of choice--once she even rewrote the story line to provide her favourite characters with a more romantic resolution.²⁶ Bulwer-Lytton's stylistic excesses bothered Montgomery not at all,²⁷ while the sentimental "literary pabulum" to be found in her grandmother's copies of Godey's Lady's Book, a popular American women's magazine, appealed to her taste for "formula" romance. In The Alpine Path, she wryly remembers

²⁵ L.M. Montgomery, The Alpine Path (1917; rpt. Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, n.d.), p.49.

²⁶ Gillen, pp. 38-39.

²⁷ Montgomery enjoyed Zanoni as an adult too. See Gillen, pp. 38-39.

short stories and serials, which I devoured ravenously, crying my eyes out in delicious woe over the agonies of the heroines who were all superlatively beautiful and good. Every one in fiction was either black or white in those days. There were no grays. The villains and villainesses were all neatly labelled and you were sure of your ground. The old method had its merits. Nowadays it is quite hard to tell which is the villain and which is the hero. But there was never any doubt in Godey's Lady's Book.²⁸

Sunday reading included a strange and delightful Hawaiian missionary book, Pilgrim's Progress, and Talmage's Sermons. But Montgomery's strongest memories of a book deemed suitable for Sunday enjoyment are those of a short tract tale, by an unknown author, called The Memoir of Anzonetta Peters:

I must have read that book a hundred times if I did once. I don't think it had a good effect on me. For one thing it discouraged me horribly. Anzonetta was so hopelessly perfect that I felt it was no use to try to imitate her. Yet I did try.... I wrote hymn after hymn in my little diary, and patterned the style of my entries after Anzonetta's remarks. For example, I remember writing gravely 'I wish I were in Heaven now, with Mother and George Whitefield and Anzonetta B. Peters.' But I really didn't wish it. I only thought I ought to.²⁹

In fact, many young people growing up in Canada in the 1880's, as Maud did, would have read such "biographies" of saintly children who, being far too innocent for life on the tainted earth, died remarkably painful deaths with remarkably little protest. According to Margaret Cutt:

During the settlement of the dominions, remote districts often lacked church services or Sunday schools, children receiving what religious instruction they got from their parents and their family libraries, if any. The Religious Tract Society and the S.P.C.K. continued to supply books very cheaply, sometimes free, to schools, Sunday schools and libraries in new lands.³⁰

²⁸ Montgomery, Path, p. 48.

²⁹ Montgomery, Path, p. 49.

³⁰ Cutt, p. 179.

This "always-available, cheap and copious supply from Paternoster Row"³¹ may have, indeed, provided Montgomery with one of her first literary models: like her Anne in Anne of the Island, Maud's childhood masterpiece was a relentlessly pathetic tale called My Graves in which a Methodist preacher's wife loses all but one of her children--a hopeless cripple--to the cold earth's embrace. Yet, when Montgomery first began to work as a professional writer, selling "pot-boiler" poetry and slight sentimental stories to a variety of magazines,³² she decried the necessity of moralizing in juvenile fiction. "I write a great many juvenile stories," her journal states.

I like doing these, but I should like it better if I didn't have to drag a 'moral' into most of them. They won't sell without it, as a rule The kind of juvenile story I like best to write--and read, too, for the matter of that--is a good, jolly one, 'art for art's sake,' or rather 'fun for fun's sake,' with no insidious moral hidden away in it like a pill in a spoonful of jam.³³

And so, sharing with the mainstream of romantic sentimental writers a penchant for floral imagery,³⁴ for colour and beauty over "ugly realism"³⁵ and moral preaching, Montgomery in her best fiction spurns the didactic. In Anne of Green Gables, written, Montgomery says, for love not money,³⁶ there seems to be scant authorial moralizing; Anne and her fellow characters feel moral pressure from their community, but little from the pen of Montgomery. Apparently in this work, and in parts of many others, Anzonetta Peters' efforts to convert Lucy Maud have been in vain.

³¹Cutt, p. 179.

³³Montgomery, Path, p. 61.

³⁵Gillen, pp. 160-161.

³²Gillen, p. 47.

³⁴See Brown pp. 336-338 and Gillen, pp. 65-67.

³⁶Montgomery, Path, p. 76.

Nellie McClung was less reluctant to mix didacticism and romance.

Her "Pearlie" trilogy, in fact, counts among its domestic drama precursors the heavily instructional Elsie Dinsmore serial (1867 and on), for although Elsie is neither poor nor the substitute mother for a large family, she is the secular archetype of the pure, wise child--truly a redeemer of the wayward adult.³⁷ "Her fictional career," writes Townsend, "reads as though one of those pious children of earlier days had somehow missed its triumphant death."³⁸ Pearlie seems to owe far more of her robust personality to the Jo March type of energetic heroine, than to the insipid "little prig,"³⁹ Elsie; yet, her full maturity at eleven and her persuasive influence over others for good are sure signs of Elsie-like behaviour.⁴⁰ Candace Savage points out that, in McClung's childhood,

Of the few books at her disposal, Nellie's favourite had featured a sickly girl who yearned for a dark-haired suitor and was willing to endure any sort of mistreatment for the sake of love. The women in the popular recitations and songs of the day were of the pining, mourning, and expiring sort.⁴¹

In the same manner, the "poor-but-honest" characteristics of the Watson family may be traced to the American Five Little Peppers and How They Grew serial by Harriet M.S. Lothrop, "Margaret Sidney," (1881 and on), and Alice Caldwell Hegan's single-novel domestic

³⁷ See Bernard Wishy, The Child and the Republic (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 85, for the child as "a redeemer of adult failures," and Grylls, p. 28ff. for the "cult of childhood innocence."

³⁸ Townsend, p.80.

³⁹ Cornelia Meigs, et al., A Critical History of Children's Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p.221.

⁴⁰ See Patricia Verkruyessé, "Small Legacy of Truth: The Novels of Nellie McClung," M.A. Thesis (Univ. of New Brunswick, 1975), pp. 68, 149-156, for discussion of Pearlie's character in relation to those of other heroines in North American juvenile literature.

⁴¹ Candace Savage, Our Nell (Saskatoon, Sask: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), p. 21.

drama, Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch (1901),⁴² to which Sowing Seeds in Danny was favourably compared by the Canadian Magazine reviewer in September 1908.⁴³

Whether McClung read the Elsie books or The Five Little Peppers or Mrs. Wiggs, is unknown; her early education was limited by farming concerns, and Nellie never learned to read until she was ten or eleven years old. But, as soon as a school and Sunday school were opened near her family's Manitoba settlement, she was drawn to the sentimental stories in the school readers, and read all of the Sunday school library sent by a charitable Ontario congregation for the edification of prairie youth.⁴⁴ A Christmas gift book of "up-lifting stories" was remembered affectionately by McClung;⁴⁵ and there is some evidence that the popular tract fiction has been absorbed into the fabric of the Pearlle Watson stories. The American "Pansy" books by Isabella Alden (1870 and on), often given as Sunday school prizes, preach temperance and Christian virtue in the domestic setting with all the fervour, and some of the realism, of McClung's Canadian works.

Indeed, Patricia Verkruyesse, in her thesis "Small Legacy of Truth: The Novels of Nellie McClung," typifies McClung's longer works as "reformist novels."⁴⁶ Verkruyesse agrees with Mary Lile Benham that McClung's chief source of inspiration was the complete

⁴² See Verkruyesse, p. 73.

⁴³ "A Western Story," The Canadian Magazine, Sept. 1908, p. 474.

⁴⁴ Savage, p. 14.

⁴⁵ Savage, p. 14.

⁴⁶ See Verkruyesse, pp. 90-91, for importance of Dickens' influence on McClung.

works of Charles Dickens, a present from her older brother, Will, in 1889:

As I read and thought and marvelled, a light shone around me. I knew in that radiance what a writer can be at his best, an interpreter, a revealer of secrets, a heavenly surgeon, a sculptor who can bring an angel out of a stone. And I wanted to write; to do for the people around me what Dickens had done for his people. I wanted to be a voice for the voiceless as he had been a defender of the weak, a flaming fire that would consume the dross that encrusts human souls, a spring of sweet water beating up through all this bitter world to refresh and nourish souls that were ready to faint.⁴⁷

To this end, McClung chose to blend local colour and happy endings with large doses of moral instruction in her writing; at a Canadian Authors' Association meeting she declared: "I write if I have something to say that will amuse, entertain, instruct, inform, comfort or guide the reader."⁴⁸ And, in reply to an article in the Canadian Author, 1943, suggesting that McClung's didacticism marred her art, she replied with spirit that

I hope I have been a crusader, and I would be very proud to think that I had even remotely approached the grandeur of a Sunday school hymn. I have never worried about my art. I have written as clearly as I could, never fady or dishonestly, and if some of my stories are, as Mr. Eggleston says, sermons in disguise, my earnest hope is that the disguise did not obscure the sermon.⁴⁹

A further influence on Nellie McClung had been Stowe's masterpiece of reformist sentimentalism, Uncle Tom's Cabin, which "filled her with rage against cruelty to women and children" shortly after the birth of her first child Jack.⁵⁰ McClung's reaction was to draw her further into the activities

⁴⁷ Nellie McClung, Clearing in the West (1935; Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1976), pp. 281-282.

⁴⁸ Mary Lile Benham, Nellie McClung (Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975), p. 41.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Savage, p. 63.

⁵⁰ Helen K. Wright, Nellie McClung and Women's Rights, "We Built Canada" series (Agincourt, Ont.: The Book Society of Canada, 1980), p. 22.

of the Women's Temperance movement; Marshall Saunders' reaction to a similar masterpiece, Sewell's Black Beauty, was the production of the Canadian "sequel", Beautiful Joe.

Brought up by her father, the Reverend Doctor E.M. Saunders, on Latin Drills, the Bible, Spurgeon's Sermons, and Shakespeare, Saunders attended boarding school in both Edinburgh, Scotland, and Orleans, France, before entering Dalhousie University on her return to Nova Scotia. Little has been written about her childhood reading experiences--no autobiography exists--but as an adult, Saunders wrote both historical romance and reformist sentimental fiction, and belonged to numerous organizations for humane reform, including both the American and Canadian Humane Societies, and the Canadian W.C.T.U. She was a popular speaker for humane and temperance causes, and her works show both religious tract and temperance literature influence in their rather awkwardly interpolated sermonizing. That Saunders' sentimental novels were not wholly prompted by moral principle is possible, however; O.J. Stevenson's brief account of her first story sale to a publisher, in A People's Best, seems to reveal a businesslike nature well attuned to the commercial realities of her vocation:

One of her sisters urged Miss Saunders to try to write a story. She did so, and with youthful romanticism wrote of a life of which she knew nothing and laid the scene in Spain, a country which she had never visited. This story of a man, his unhappy wife, and a burglar, she felt was not sufficiently intellectual to submit to her father or to Dr. Rand. She did not know where to send it, but she bought a number of current magazines and after looking them over decided to send the story to Leslie's⁵¹ Magazine. It was accepted and she was paid forty dollars for it.

In common with other forms of commercially successful writing

⁵¹ O.J. Stevenson, A People's Best (Toronto: Musson, 1927), p. 231.

sentimentalism is often suspected of being, if not a bogus form of art, at least a sub-literary genre. While stating that she does appreciate the craftsmanship of good sentimental fiction, Brigid Brophy, in her essay on Little Women, "A Masterpiece, and Dreadful," describes the sentimentalist as

a non-artist who won't take the responsibility of being ruthless. He won't drive his situations to the point of artistic inevitability.... He resigns himself--much too soon--to the will of God; but covertly he is manipulating the will of God to suit what he is too hypocritical to admit is really his own taste.... absence of intellectual content is the mark of the sentimental genre....⁵²

Cadogan and Craig accuse the girl's romantic serial of being a "hybrid literature."⁵³ its saccharine morality and veiled sexuality --"for reasons of convention, squeamishness, and the idea that their audience was in need of moral guidance at every level"⁵⁴ --rendering the form appropriate for neither child nor adult reader. And, most disturbing to some critics, is the evidence that, since sentimentality invites sensationalism,⁵⁵ the mixture of sentimentality with sermonizing or argument for reform may often result in the reader's enjoyment of the thrilling narrative diminishing the message's impact. Margaret Cutt charges that widespread reading of the juvenile religious tracts in the nineteenth century may have

⁵² Brigid Brophy, "A Masterpiece, and Dreadful," in Children and Literature, by Virginia Brown and (New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1974), p.67.

⁵³ Cadogan and Craig, p. 109.

⁵⁴ Cadogan and Craig, p. 97.

⁵⁵ Brown, p. 171.

furthered the clichés and discouraged the critical faculty; as a democratising influence it flattened literary standards. It may help to explain the vast popularity of... writers of high-powered romance in which sentiment, well disinfected by religious platitude, governed the actions of wholly predictable idealised characters. Religious implications in their works which might have aroused serious thought, soul-searching or self questioning usually vanished in a fog of emotion or were pushed aside in sensational action.⁵⁶

Brophy classés sentimental fiction with thrillers, pornography, ghost stories, yarns and science fiction "which, because they suppress some relevant strand in artistic logic, are a little less than literature."⁵⁷

Sheila Egoff, scornful of the "workaday writing style"⁵⁸ of the turn-of-the-century "sweetness and light" school of children's literature in Canada, dismisses Connors, Montgomery, Saunders, and McClung for their commercial mediocrity. She claims, indeed, that "In most cases the sentimentality and moralizing of the time can be hardly swallowed now, even momentarily."⁶⁰ Egoff's views on Anne of Green Gables and its sequels have been widely quoted by other critics of children's literature --Townsend, and Mary F. Thwaite, for example--to a chorus of protest by "Anne" admirers, yet Egoff's claims that Montgomery's heroine suffers from rapidly dissipating appeal as she matures⁶¹ are not nearly as harsh as the New York Times reviewer's judgement that Anne was "a bore" and "mawkish, tiresome, impossible."⁶² Even Lucy Maud Montgomery had grave doubts about the quality of her "made-to-order" sequels to Green Gables: she felt that Anne of Avonlea "lacked 'freshness'" and "plodded restlessly"⁶³

⁵⁶ Cutt, pp. 186-187.

⁵⁸ Egoff, p. 305.

⁶⁰ Egoff, p. 303.

⁶² Gillen, p. 72.

⁵⁷ Brophy, p. 69.

⁵⁹ Egoff, pp. 304-305.

⁶¹ Egoff, p. 304.

⁶³ Gillen, p. 78.

through Anne of the Island in 1915. Her literary pretensions were modest--

"I want to be a good workman in my chosen profession,"⁶⁴ she once said

--and, in 1906, she wryly expressed her comprehension of her writing standard for the popular market: "I am very careful to be shallow and conventional where 'depth' and originality are wasted."⁶⁵ Mary Lile Benham, who is generally sympathetic to Nellie McClung's literary efforts, admits that McClung's early sentimental fiction was inferior to her later essays and biographical works:⁶⁶

Nellie McClung's fiction tends to rework a few basic plot-lines. Again and again in her stories the pursuit of unbridled pleasure brings its own damnation, for else the sinner suffers and then repents. The characters too are somewhat stereotyped. 'City slickers' are usually money-grubbing and selfish, whereas country folk are warm, loving and neighbourly. There are no open endings in McClung stories. All the strings are pulled neatly together and there are nothing but blue skies from then on.⁶⁷

Candace Savage, in Our Nell, rightly calls Pearl Watson's unflagging optimism in Purple Springs "saccharine",⁶⁸ and Sheila Egoff, once more, makes the definitive comment on Saunders' works: "Her motive was laudable: the attempt to persuade children (and adults) to be kind to animals. Unfortunately she simply turned animals into human beings who provided an occasion for moralizing in every sentence."⁶⁹

Still, Egoff does not completely disparage these sentimental writers: indeed, she praises Montgomery's Anne of Green Gables as "an improvement on what little was being written for children at the time,"⁷⁰ and McClung's "quite accurate observations of life in Manitoba."⁷¹ She is also impressed by the didactic honesty of the material in relation

⁶⁴Gillen, p. 52.

⁶⁵Gillen, p. 55.

⁶⁶Benham, p. 54.

⁶⁷Benham, p. 44.

⁶⁸Savage, p. 169.

⁶⁹Egoff, p. 304.

⁷⁰Egoff, p. 304.

⁷¹Egoff, p. 303.

to the portrayals of the child's real world:

At least their morality was an integral part of the story.... Perhaps because the stories were so highly moral in tone, adults were often shown with human weaknesses, even with cruelty in their nature. . . . The nineteenth century writers did not seek to escape the strong emotions and cruel realities that can be found in ordinary life. The children's world of the nineteenth century was not a world apart.⁷²

If, therefore, a principal strength of these writers' works may be found in their depiction of "ordinary life" in Canada around the turn-of-the-century, rather than in their mastery of the sentimental genre of children's literature, then a study of some aspects of that life as reflected in the novels might prove more fruitful than any attempt at sustained literary analysis. Individual authors' views on the home-training and socialization of children and youth, for example, could provide some insight into actual experiences of Canadians at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Saunders', McClung's, and Montgomery's approaches to such topics as the ideal family, love and friendships, the orphan child, and the child alone, the effect of community institutions and community standards on the family and the child, and the child or youth in the larger community, might be profitably examined.

But the pursuit of such a study opens up a traditional "can of bookworms" as the critical question of whether children's literature --or any literature--can rightfully be used to determine any phase of a period's sociological profile is inevitably raised. "Children's books... chart not so much the changing ways of childhood as the development of the adult imagination," unequivocally states David Grylls

⁷²Egoff, pp. 305- 306.

in his examination of parents and children in nineteenth century literature: "It would be useless, therefore, to examine nineteenth century children's books in the hope of discovering how children really conducted themselves, and their conduct changed."⁷³ Grylls admits that the literature can reveal faint clues, but maintains that even sales figures are no proof that books meant for children, and presented to them as gifts by fond maiden aunts, were actually read.⁷⁴ Mary F. Thwaite believes that "a realistic perception of the feelings and experiences of young people in their books"⁷⁵ is only begun when the Bastable stories of Edith Nesbit (The Story of Treasure Seekers, 1899, and on) make their appearance. John Townsend, and Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig chose Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden (1910) as the first depiction of realistic childhood experience: "The story is sentimental but it is skillfully told, and the characters experience the satisfaction of transformation by their own efforts rather than by outside agencies."⁷⁶ Thwaite will concede that "methods of education, social habits, prevailing attitudes, are all deeply imbedded" in the domestic tale for young people, but she declares that once domestic gave way to moral emphasis, the tale "tended to present what was to be emulated or avoided rather than to reflect actual life."⁷⁷ Anne Scott MacLeod in A Moral Tale, Children's Fiction and American Culture, 1820-1860 takes the argument one step further, asserting that

⁷³Grylls, p. 74.

⁷⁴Grylls, p. 77.

⁷⁵Mary F. Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure in Reading, 1st American ed. (Boston: The Horn Book, 1972), p. 150.

⁷⁶Cadogan and Craig, p. 71.

⁷⁷Thwaite, p. 142.

Taken by itself, the children's fiction of any era would be a doubtful source of information about how children actually live and think no more than an occasional glimpse of the daily lives of real children. What the literature [of 1820 to 1860] furnished in abundance was an insight into what adults wanted for and from the children of that time, and what their desires for children revealed about their own attitudes.⁷⁸

Yet, if parental attitudes to, and desires for, children can be portrayed in children's literature, are not the societal values or social organization of the day thereby revealed? As Felicity Ann O'Dell states in the introductory chapter to her examination of the Soviet Union's use of didactic children's literature: "We can expect a study of the children's literature of a particular time or place to reveal much about the values and nature of the society which produced it, even if the society's authorities do not deliberately use children's literature to didactic ends."⁷⁹ And, if the "values and nature of the society" can thus be revealed, cannot an assumption be made that the writers of a particular period have at times appealed to observed aspects of authentic childhood experience in order to delineate the child's life in that society? Anne W. Ellis confidently asserts in The Family Story in the 1960's that the purpose of her study was to "attempt to assess how current family stories succeed in giving realistic details of relationships both inside and outside the family, of family life and of family problems in the 1960's."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Anne Scott MacLeod, A Moral Tale (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1975), p.16.

⁷⁹ Felicity Ann O'Dell, Socialization through Children's Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978), p. 5.

⁸⁰ Anne W. Ellis, The Family Story in the 1960's (London: Clive Bingley, 1970), p.15.

Montgomery, Saunders and McClung all used personal experience in their stories to some degree, and all were gatherers of anecdotal material. Saunders wrote Beautiful Joe about an actual incident, and only after spending six months "asking all her friends for stories of their pets;"⁸¹ Montgomery's son, Stuart, reported that his mother's books were the "result of constant observation, note-taking, phrase-making and hard work;"⁸² and Candace Savage writes that McClung "sometimes maintained that she didn't have to 'hatch' her stories at all: she just wrote down what she'd seen and heard, sometimes 'smudging' things a little with her pen 'to make it sound true.' "⁸³ Certainly, all of these authors managed to conform to some of their fellow Canadians' visions of their real lives--or visions of how their real lives ought to be. Not only were their novels best-sellers, but selections of their works were even considered suitable for inclusion in at least two school textbooks of the 1920s: Our Canadian Literature, Ryerson Press, 1927,⁸⁴ and The Voice of Canada, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1927.⁸⁵

Thus it seems that once authorial bias, and the pitfalls of sentimental dishonesty are taken into account, it becomes valid to ask, first, just what is revealed about home-training and the socialization of

⁸¹Stevenson, p.233.

⁸²Gillen, p.48.

⁸³Savage, p. 167.

⁸⁴Our Canadian Literature, eds. A.D. Watson and Lorne A. Pierce (Toronto: Ryerson, 1922), includes excerpts from Ralph Connor, McClung--"The Pink Lady" from Sowing Seeds in Danny--and Saunders--"About Animals Going to Heaven" from Beautiful Joe.

⁸⁵The Voice of Canada, ed. A.M. Stephen (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1927), includes excerpt from Montgomery--"Emily of the New Moon"--and "List of Canadian Books for School Libraries" which recommends works by Montgomery, Saunders, and Ralph Connor.

youth in selected works of Montgomery, Saunders, and McClung, and, second, whether these works then suggest a "typical Canadian experience" of the up-bringing of young people between 1880 and 1920. What experiences, in short, do Anne Shirley of Prince Edward Island, and Pearlle Watson of Manitoba, and the Devering children of Ontario, seem to share as they are shaped by their fictional families and communities into the sentimental equivalent of ideal Canadian citizens?

II. Marshall Saunders

In the Preface to Beautiful Joe, Marshall Saunders bravely declares that "the Morris family has its counterparts in real life."¹ The author's relentless didacticism, however, points instead to the Morrises' role as a purely fictional model designed to demonstrate the tenets of Saunders' own deeply held views. Assuredly, perfect families and ideal methods of training the young appear in the works of most sentimental authors; but the vigor with which Saunders advocates her theories, through the mouths of both humans and animals, combined with the obvious simplicity of her characterizations, argue most convincingly against the authenticity of her family portraits. The theories themselves are of interest here, however, for while Saunders seems in Beautiful Joe, and, still, twenty years later, in Bonnie Prince Fetter, to be more concerned in showing how a family ought to bring up their children than in how this was actually accomplished at the time, her writings do reflect how a popular spokeswoman for humanitarian reform perceived the ideal training and socialization of turn-of-the-century Canadian youth.

Marshall Saunders is first and foremost a puritan in her views; her fictional worlds are severely structured along absolute moral lines. There is a mixture of goodness and wickedness in everyone, and each must

¹ Marshall Saunders, Beautiful Joe, Canadian Favourites ed. (Philadelphia, 1893; Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), "Preface." All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (__, BJ).

choose his own moral course: as Mr. Wood informs his employee, Jacobs, there are "'just two courses in life for a young man to take'" (186, BJ). The natural world is typically good. Laura and Dallas are sent to the country to grow strong and well; the Devering children are hardy "highland plants", while city-bred Dallas is a drooping "hot-house product."² Urban areas, on the other hand, seem to generate evil. The love of money and the pursuit of ease lead to the physical degradation of the tenement dweller--"'six children, and a mother and a father, all living in two tiny rooms'" (245, BJ)--and to the spiritual enervation of the idle rich: as Dandy the bull-terrier remarks, "'The young ladies who drove with my master used to say that it was priggish and tiresome to be too good'" (243, BJ). Some people, like the brutish Jenkins, "simply seem to be possessed with a spirit of wickedness" (3, BJ); others, like Laura, are naturally good:

'with her tiny, baby fingers, she would take food from her own mouth and put it into Jack's, if we did not watch her.... But the boys were born selfish, tiresomely selfish. They were good boys in many ways. As they grew older, they were respectful, obedient, they were not untidy, and not particularly rough, but their one thought was for themselves --and they used to quarrel with each other in regard to their rights.' (27, BJ)

The Morris boys were not bad children, nor are the Devering six--but as Mr. Devering tells his wife: "'the trouble with young things is that they can't remember to remember '" (136, BPF). The ignorance and thoughtlessness of youth are the main source of its selfishness, cruelty and error: "'Many a night I've lain on my bed, and groaned,'" admits Mr. Wood, "'when I thought of needless cruelties I'd put upon

²Marshall Saunders, Bonnie Prince Fetlar (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1920), p. 102. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (__, BPF).

animals when I was a young unthinking boy'" (167,BJ). The "misdirected energy" (136,BPF), which usually results only in scuffles and lapses of etiquette, can also cause children to sin more seriously--the Devering children's quarrel with Big Chief brings about Cassowary's ill-tempered announcement that her older brother is actually adopted. Yet Saunders would hold that children, by and large, are naturally predisposed to be good. "I am fond of boys and girls," declares Beautiful Joe, "and though I have seen many cruel men and women, I have seen few cruel children" (2,BJ). Big Chief has "a good heart under all his follies" (202,BPF), and Jenkins' dirty children, hardened as they are by their father's treatment, cry when Joe's brothers and sisters are killed--their mother, as cowed and dirty as they, has shown them at least some love and care: "The child was very ill, and Mrs. Jenkins wanted to send for a doctor, but her husband would not let her. They made a bed in the kitchen, close to the stove, and Mrs. Jenkins nursed the child as best she could" (5,BJ).

Indeed, Saunders' sentimental belief that mother-love has a lasting positive effect on everyone and everything is summed up nicely by the "lady from Boston" who meets Laura after the railway accident:

'However, as far as my experience goes...I find that the human heart, though wicked and cruel as you say, has yet some soft and tender spots, and the impressions made upon it in youth are never effaced. Do you not remember better than anything else, standing at your mother's knee--the pressure of her hand, her kiss on your forehead?' (106-107,BJ)

Fathers may also be characterized as being capable of influencing children for good, but it is mothers with their superior "mother sense"

(251,BPF) who hold the key to their children's moral development. The knowledge that he will see his mother alive and must behave according to her expectations cures Dallas of his habitual story-telling; and Jim, the hunting spaniel, urges Joe to leave the selfish Dandy alone: "You can't do him any good," asserts Jim, "He was born bad. His mother wasn't good" (241,BJ).

Still, mother-love alone, even in addition to the child's preference for good behaviour, cannot ensure that a child will grow morally true. Parents have a duty "to educate, to ennoble, and restrain" (106,BJ) their thoughtless young charges, for as Harry Gray tells Laura, "it's nearly all in the bringing up of a colt, whether it will turn out vicious or gentle" (181,BJ). Children are shown to appreciate the firm disciplinary role of their parents: the Morris boys are quick to agree that they should have tasks imposed upon them to curb their selfishness and make them "real, manly, Christian boys" (27-28,BJ), and Dallis is reported to "glow" with delight now that "he was like other boys and had his own mother to reprove and correct him" (333,BPF).

Bad children are initially dealt with in terms of education and ennoblement; that is, they are first given a chance to consider their faults and correct them if they can. Saunders' children nearly always listen to reason--Willie no longer teases Joe at his meals once Laura has lectured him on the thoughtlessness of teasing a hungry animal--but occasionally the children's attention must first be claimed: after a paper of pepper has done its work, Laura finds some youngsters

more amenable to suggestion: "Their ill humor had gone, and when she turned to leave them and said coaxingly, 'You won't make those dogs fight any more, will you?' they said, 'No, siree, Bob'" (59, BJ). Akin to the lectures and sermons are loving remonstrances of a tender heart. Laura is, again, able to reform the wicked by appealing through tears to the boyish conscience: "I'll never forget the day she found me setting Jim on that black cat of the Wilsons'. . . She scolded me, and then she cried, till I didn't know where to look," declares her brother Jack (17, BJ). And if reason and sentiment need reinforcement, or fail altogether, there is the threat of punishment to fall back upon. When a young thief is caught robbing the Morris household, Mr. Morris

had a talk with him. He found out that he was a poor, ignorant lad, half starved by a drunken father. He and his brother stole clothes.... Mr. Morris asked him if he would not like to get his living in an honest way, and he said he had tried to, but no one would employ him. Mr. Morris told him to go home and take leave of his father and get his brother and bring him to Washington Street the next day. He told him plainly that if he did not he would send a policeman after him. (55, BJ)

And Mr. Devering is practising a similar type of muscular argument when he makes himself clear to the recalcitrant Big Chief in Bonnie Prince Fetlar:

'Tecumseh, my boy,' he said good-naturedly, 'it seems to me you were laying rather violent hands on our guest.' His tone was not stern. I saw he was not a person to aggravate a boy into revolt; however, when Big Chief scowled and came to stare out in my direction, both hands rammed sulkily into his pockets, his father stepped after him. 'Your ugly humors are riding you to a fall,' he said quietly. 'Go apologize to your cousin.' (134, BPF)

Just punishment resulting from the just wrath of a parent is always constructive and rarely corporal. No child is actually whipped in the stories, although some young animals are chastised in this way,

and whipping seems to be a final option for long-suffering parents. Most punishments, however, take the form of educational tasks or deprivations of luxuries. The Morris children are given pets to care for in order to teach them selflessness and Cassowary must face her hated sewing basket for an afternoon in an effort to absorb the lessons of patience and restraint. The Devering allowances are docked for a variety of sins such as forgetting to feed the pigs or coming in after curfew: "'Late again, my daughter. No pocket money this week Rules must be kept, and wild girls must be broken,'" says Mr. Devering to Cassowary (116,BPF). "A young pup should be trained just as a child is, and punished when he goes wrong," intones the voice of Marshall Saunders through the mouthpiece of Beautiful Joe (249,BJ).

Successful conversions of the wicked or merely thoughtless are generally accomplished by the first reprimand. Indeed, repentance and at least outward compliance with the rules of good conduct may produce immediate and apparently spontaneous alterations in the personality of youth: when Mr. Wood catches Jacobs in the act of stealing the local miser's life savings the young man experiences a rapid character transformation--"He had been a kind of sullen, unwilling fellow, but now he turned handy and obliging"(187,BJ). But Jenkins, a much older man more deeply set in the ways of wickedness, is eventually sent to prison "where I hope," says the morally upright Beautiful Joe, "he will learn to be a better man"(96,BJ). And if evil brings its own reward, so too must goodness, for as Mr. Morris declaims to his wife: "'to encourage a child in a kind

action, and then to reward him for it, is not always a sound principle to act upon" (70, BJ).

The values and behaviours ingrained in youth through this moral training are traditional protestant ones: the perfect young lady, Laura, is "a real Puritan, gentle, sweet, and good, and yet severe" (200, BJ). The severity derives from her well-learned self-restraint, that quality which promotes the thoughtful conduct of kindness and good manners, and a consequent temperance in appetite and mien. Thus, Mrs. Morris is very pleased when Carl disciplines his mercantile instincts and presents Mrs. Montague with a bird to replace lame Dick. And Dovey is highly praised by her mother for suggesting that Bingi, the Japanese cook, be reunited with his wife—for such an unselfish remembrance of another occurs only when one learns to think beyond oneself. Indeed, Mrs. Devering must take a great deal more trouble to instill good manners than to encourage kindness in her brood. Big Chief is the only child whose heart does not often lean towards gentle actions and friendly words, but all of the lively young Deverings need constant reminders to remember their training in etiquette: "As soon as breakfast was finished Mrs. Devering looked round at the squirming family and said, 'Another reform--please get up quietly and push your chairs into the table, but don't rise till I do. I'm hostess'" (138, BPF). Dallas, more languid from the stuffy atmosphere of his cloistered city up-bringing, sets an example for his cousins in this regard at least. When a child must be chosen to accompany Mrs. Devering on the way to a picnic, all of the youngsters clamor for the privilege, but—"Dallas goes," says Mrs. Devering. "He is the only one who was politely silent. My darlings--you must not run

after invitations. Let them run after you'"(153,BPF).

The matter of temperance receives some attention in both stories-- but in Bonnie Prince Fetlar temperance refers to self-restraint in general behaviour, that bête noir of the passionate Cassowary, and in Beautiful Joe, to self-control in the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The main evil of alcohol for Saunders is its ability to demolish the power to think: "They were not bad young men. I don't think they meant to hurt me, or to kill Bob. It was the nasty stuff in the bottles that took away their reason " (46,BJ). And thoughtlessness produces, of course, wickedness and sin. The old woman at the railroad station pronounces the remedy for the evil of intemperance--a remedy based upon the Saunders' coda of education, ennoblement and restraint:

'Legislation for the old and hardened and education for the young and tender. I would tell the schoolboys and schoolgirls that alcohol will destroy the framework of their beautiful bodies, and that cruelty to any of God's living creatures will blight and destroy their innocent young souls." (106,BJ)

"Horse, or man, or dog aren't much good till they learn to obey," (120;BJ) avows Mr. Wood, and obedience is a prime virtue to be trained into every child. Although the Morris children are reluctant to surrender Billy to the unfortunate Italian, their parents' wishes prevail; and the Devering children find that their parent's rules are always sternly enforced: "There was nothing soft about the way they were brought up, and they had had some good punishments lately for leaving the table without permission, and for noise-making at improper times"(220,BPF). Duty to one's homeland, patriotism, is an extension of the duty shown to one's parents, and to this end the Deverings have

attempted to implant loyalty to Canada in their youngsters by naming them after Canadian notables: Jeanne Mante, Samuel de Champlain, or perhaps rather unfortunately, Tecumseh. Much is made of Dallas' gushingly patriotic American spirit as well: "'I was born in the great big wonderful country of the United States of America and I'd lay down my life for Old Glory'" (19,BPF). Dallas has more problems with the virtue of honesty, however: "I hoped he would learn to tell the truth at all times," asserts the worthy Prince Fetlar.

Diligence is the last, but undeniably important, value that must be inculcated into the mind of the growing child. Saunders has a horror of the loafer--her advocacy of the "protestant work ethic" is clear throughout both stories: "One reason for Jenkins' cruelty was his idleness," claims Beautiful Joe, (3,BJ). Mrs. Morris is delighted that the tasks she has imposed upon her wayward sons have brought them the blessing of purposeful industry:

'I used to be worried with the lingering about street corners, the dawdling around with other boys, and the idle, often worse than idle talk, indulged in. Now they are men of business. They are always hammering at boxes and partitions out there in the stable, or cleaning up, and if they are sent out on an errand they do it and come home.' (28,BJ)

And the same belief that idleness is the road to sin colours Mr. Harry's remark that "'A fast horse on a farm is ruination to the boys, for it starts them racing and betting'" (178,BJ).

There are some children in the stories who have hired positions--the cabin boy, John Henry, the Wood's French maid, Adele, and Cassowary, who teaches a kindergarten class in the winter (344,BPF)--but the most often mentioned children's work consists of farm chores, common household tasks, and caring for younger children or pets, or visitors,

like Dallas. And while only Miss Laura "had to help her mother with the sewing, and the housework"(60,BJ) in the nineteenth century story, Beautiful Joe, in the twentieth century Bonnie Prince Fetlar, the boys find themselves waiting on table in turn with the girls. "' I don't see,' remarked Mr. Devering with a very wise air... 'why boys and men should not help women with household tasks'"(338,BPF).

Complimenting the chores that the Morris and Devering children must undertake are vigorous leisure activities, always wholesome and often out of doors: "The Morris children never minded the weather. Even in the pouring rain the boys would put on rubber boots and coats and go out to play"(57,BJ). The Devering children ride, swim, canoe, play water-polo, fish and explore the woods for berries and streams: "What a sporty lot they were!" exclaims an approving Prince Fetlar(131,BPF). Like the boys, the girls are tough and active--as the boy who meets with Cassowary's fists over the wounding of a gull discovers to his astonishment and dismay. Laura is more delicate, yet ~~she is just as likely to~~ give her dogs "a nice walk along the beach, although it was a dark, disagreeable, cloudy day, when most young girls would have stayed in the house,"(57,BJ) as her more robust brothers are. The Morris boys enjoy gymnastics in their well-appointed stable play-room, and go out to skate, swim, play baseball and football, delighting in excursions to the woods as well. Diversions and entertainments which meet with Saunders' criteria for being worthwhile for the young include trips to see humane animal acts, supper parties with the family, piano-playing and singing, "quaint folk dances"(294,BPF), and bonfires in the family garden (229,BJ).

Morally instructive leisure activities are also popular in Saunders' books. The Morris boys are taught to associate the pleasures pocket-money can buy with unselfish pastimes:

Mrs. Morris was very particular about money matters. Whenever the boys came to her for money to get such things as candy and ice-cream, expensive toys and other things boys often crave, she asked them why they wanted them. If it was for some selfish reason, she said firmly: 'No, children, we are not rich people, and we must save our money for your education. I cannot buy you foolish things.' If they asked her for money for books or something to make their pet animals more comfortable, or for their outdoor games, she gave it to them willingly. (24,BJ)

Since "children who are taught to love and protect dumb creatures will be kind to their fellow men when they grow up," (103,BJ) pets are portrayed as welcome playmates for the young. There are animals underfoot all over the Morris house and yard, and each Devering child has several small pets as well as a pony to ride and to care for. Prince Fetlar is presented to Dallas as a gift on the condition that he treats the pony properly: "I never give an animal outright till I see how it is used," explains Mr. Devering. And in order that Dallas be able to use Prince Fetlar aright, his uncle soon has him out in the stable learning how to feed and groom the beast (30, BPF).

Social organizations for children centered on pets and the kind treatment of animals include the "Calf and Pig Club" to which Big Chief belongs (294,BPF), and, more importantly, the "Band of Mercy" in Beautiful Joe. Meeting weekly to exchange true stories of brave and loyal animals and to discuss the humane treatment of the lower creation, the Band of Mercy in Riverdale obviously proves an excellent pastime for its members, all of whom have "bright and good faces" (141,BJ)

"It was just like a meeting of grown people, and I was surprised to see

how good those children were. They did not frolic or laugh, but all seemed sober and listened attentively" (132,BJ). These serious young people, in addition to being well-schooled in sympathy for the kingdom of beasts, are filled with missionary zeal for their cause. One boy tells of his success in convincing his father to cut off the blinders on his father's horses, and the entire society, aided by the money left by the estate of the evil Mr. Barron, sends "all over the State leaflets and little books which preached the gospel of kindness to God's lower creation" (209,BJ). There is no official Band of Mercy in the later book, but the Devering children are "not allowed to tease any animal by making it do unnatural tricks," (87,BPF) and have evidently been made aware of the cruelties possible in hunting and fishing: by the time Dallas' summer with his Canadian cousins is drawing to a close, he, too, is advising others to fish only with barbless hooks.

Saunders is less interested in activities which engage the mind than in those which involve the heart. Through the voice of Mrs. Wood she laments the "lack of proper training for the youth of our land" (130,BJ) and the training she is speaking of is moral. Mr. Devering advised his nephew to get a good education, and all of the children in the books go to school or have tutoring at home; yet, Willie Morris, who is "too fond of reading," is often ordered to "put away his book and run about with the other boys" (59,BJ); Harry, who is presently at college, is training his mind to be a "plain, common farmer" (152,BJ); and Dallas Duff, who talks "something like a girl and something like a lad who had always had his nose in a story book" (15,BPF), has been shut up inside his city home for most of his life, receiving his lessons

from a girl tutor. And, in spite of the fact that Mr. Morris is a minister, and that there is a chapel just outside the Devering household's gates, formal religious training is almost ignored. Indeed, Saunders' suspicion of intellectual education seems self-evident in the words she puts in the mouth of Mrs. Woods:

'We're thinking too much about educating the mind, and forgetting about the heart and soul. So I say now, while we've got all our future population in our schools, let us try to slip in something between the geography and history, and grammar that will go a little deeper, and touch them so much that when they are grown up and go out in the world, they will carry with them lessons of love and good-will to men.' (130,BJ)

And from the lips of Mr. Wood she adds: "'Education's a help to any man. What I am trying to get at is this, that in some way or other we're running more to brains and less to hard work than our forefathers did'" (152-153,BJ).

Thus, in Bonnie Prince Fetlar, when Miss Jazzamine is presented as the ideal teacher, her curriculum seems conspicuously anti-intellectual, her schoolhouse taking on the aspect of a modern community centre:

'she has rooms there...and there are no desks, only tables and chairs, and back of the schoolhouse is a fine little hospital where the government dentist stays when he comes to fill teeth. Miss Venn always has two girl scouts living with her and she teaches them housekeeping...she has lots of classes out-of-doors. I've been up History Trail where the big trees are kings and queens, and the tiny ones are courtiers and common people. Sometimes she takes the children over to those four sandy islands in the lake that are called Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and they lay out countries and cities.' (342,BPF)

With concerts and slide shows and corn judging lessons, it seems normal that the local turkey-farmer's youngest child should run away to school in order to enjoy "'the play-house where her brothers and sisters had such good fun'" (344,BPF). Miss Jazzamine's fine nerve and robust

health are universally admired, but her academic emphases illuminate Saunders' dislike of the purely intellectual. "'When one has good food, good water, good air, and good times one does not need to be ill,'" insists Miss Venn--but little is heard of the virtues of books or studying or the pursuit of knowledge to ensure the health of a disciplined mind (343,BPF).

"Heart education" then is what good child training is all about--and ideal families like the Morrises and the Deverings provide plenty of emotional tutelage. Pride in, and affection for, the family are cultivated and encouraged by fond parents or guardians. When Dallas discovers that Mr. Devering is his uncle, his natural out-pouring of affection is answered in kind: "'I love you,' he cried. 'And I love you, my boy,' said the man simply" (38,BPF). And when he reveals that he pretends at times that his Aunt Bretta is his own mother, her reply is as simple and kind: "'I will be,' she said earnestly, 'until you have a mother of your own'" (221,BPF). For love of her cousin Mrs. Devering has adopted Cassowary, but for love of the girl, she will not reveal her background: connectedness, she understands, gives a child the basis for confidence and a feeling of self-worth. Indeed, the importance of such connectedness is depicted in the anguish of Big Chief when he believes that he is the adopted child, and in the hopefulness of Dallas when his ancestry is cited by his uncle as proof of his courage: "'If any real danger should threaten me, you would rush to my rescue.... Because the Duffs and the Deverings have never bred a coward'" (57,BPF). The Devering children seem to be fond of each other--their nicknames are wry, apt, and affectionate--but they rarely

express outwardly their feelings for one of their number as the Morris boys do for Laura: "The boys had all arrived home before us, and such a fuss as they did make over their sister. They loved her dearly, and never wanted her to be long away from them" (218,BJ).

This is not to say that physical wants are ignored in these families. Saunders is careful to show that the Morris and the Devering children receive excellent meals, wear suitably sturdy clothing, and have space for both companionship and privacy. Every Devering child has a room of his or her own; the Morris boys have a huge garden to play in. Mr. Morris worries that Laura will not be safe at Bessie Drury's house while her parents are away; Mr. Devering informs Dallas that he is buying farms for his boys in "'our great clay belt further north'"(42,BPF).

But Saunders' ideal parents care most for providing their charges with an emotional and moral climate which will ensure that their natural propensities for goodness will have a chance to develop. To this end they are always wise and loving and, above all, firm. Mrs. Morris "loved her husband and children, and did everything she could to make them happy," but she was also "the one who said that what was to be done and what was not to be done"(23-24,BJ). She and her husband discuss early in their marriage how to keep their children from selfishness, and the purchase of a large home with ample room for pets is a direct result of their conclusions. The Deverings have boundless sympathy for their children: when Cassowary breaks Dallas' chocolate eggs in a bad-tempered attack, her mother understands that it is the troubled girl, not the "grinning cheerful" boy (76,BPF), who

needs comforting. And when Dallas is caught in his story about his uncle and the wolf, "Mr. and Mrs. Devering understood and were sorry for him. The children did not understand, and had him branded as a liar" (76,BPF). Nevertheless, the Devering parents are not overly tender towards their offspring, for they run their large family with strict regulation: when Mrs. Devering awakens her children with a bugle, and Mr. Devering mentions three house rules within the space of three pages (116-118,BPF), it may be assumed that Prince Fetlar does not exaggerate when he refers to the Deverings as "well-drilled children" (151,BPF).

Yet what a "happy, clean, and well-bred family" (71,BPF) they are! "The master and the mistress were kind, and though the children were a bit lively and quarrelsome, they were all right at bottom" (118,BPF). And what jolly times they have! When Mr. and Mrs. Devering trick their children into informing them of what punishments would be most effective in each of their cases to promote good manners,

'The children all shrieked with laughter at the neat way in which their parents had trapped them, and I saw that there was good feeling in this family even in the matter of punishments. Big Chief was the only naughty one, and something would come to reform him I was sure, for he could not be a bad boy at heart--with such parents.' (137,BPF)

Poor Dallas, whose mother is "not active and stirring like Mrs. Devering" (330,BPF), and whose father was too weak "to hold the reins firmly" on his beautiful wife! (311,BPF). His fragmented urban family must be revived and reformed in the cool bracing air of the northern woods.

The ideal urban family is, of course, the Morrises. They are "a family where there is never a harsh word spoken, and where no one thinks of ill-treating anybody or anything" (2,BJ). The Morris household

is less plausible, perhaps, than the Devering, for with four active boys, however gentlemanly, it seems difficult to believe that "There was never any noise or confusion in the house, and though there was a great deal of work to be done, everything went smoothly and pleasantly, and no one ever got angry and scolded as they did in the Jenkins family"(24,BJ). The Morris family is indeed portrayed as a veritable "peaceable kingdom," where every fault is immediately cured, and the parrot lies down with the rat. In fact, the Morris family's goodness appears to have a wide-spreading influence: while Mr. Harry and Mr. Maxwell discuss social reform to make "country life a paradise" and "empty the slums of the cities"(150,BJ), the humane influence of the Morrises has concluded with the jailing of Jenkins and the institutionalizing of his children--in a "home", it is implied, where they will receive vastly better training and treatment. And, while Riverdale is a village flawed with wickedness when Laura merely visits the Woods, on her return as Harry's wife, with her retired parents settled nearby, and her brothers regular visitors, it has

got to be a model village in respect of the treatment of all kinds of animals...Thoughtfulness toward lower creatures has made the people more and more thoughtful toward each other, and this little town is getting to have quite a name through the state for its good schools, good society, and good business and religious standing. Many people are moving into it, to educate their children. The Riverdale people are very particular about what sort of strangers come to live among them.... they had had a great deal of trouble to root out cruelty from their village, and they didn't want any one to come there and introduce it again. (264,BJ)

Once again, the establishment of an ideal environment for the moral well-being of the child is all. And, once again, Saunders' own theories of how, where and why children should be trained take

precedence over the story line. Her books thus become, at worst, humanitarian tracts, and, at best, parables of social reform--artificial worlds, indeed, where naturally goodhearted children always approve of, and ever respond to, the "wise whip hand of the parents"(96,BPF).

III. Nellie McClung

In the "Pearlie" books Nellie McClung warmly supports the family as a primary social unit. "'Family life develops the better side of human nature, and casts out selfishness,'"¹ argues Dr. Clay in Purple Springs, and McClung strongly agrees. Her faith in what the family can be is never shaken by her knowledge of what it often is; her idealism is well-tempered by shrewd insights into parents, children, and the general social conditions of the day. McClung does not concern herself often with the "Sunday-school" world of homily and rosy scenes about the hearth, choosing to address, instead, the serious questions of how and why children and youth are to be trained in the best interests of their society. Repeatedly she suggests that childhood lessons are marked indelibly on adult character, and determine, therefore, both the path of possible inner growth and the course of mature social interaction. For McClung, the suffragette and Christian Temperance woman, the better the social milieu in which the family must function, the better the "family-life" will function. And the better the family life--whether through traditional family or through caring institutional experience--the better the potential for the production of morally responsible, good Christian Canadian citizens.

¹ Nellie L. McClung, Purple Springs (Toronto, 1921; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), p. 44. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, ie. (__,PS).

Among the various families presented in the "Pearlie" books--
Sowing Seeds in Danny, The Second Chance, and Purple Springs--the
 Watsons seem to come closest to McClung's ideal. In the first book,
 both parents are forced to work long hours at physical labour outside
 the home. Their lack of education and immigrant Irish status keep
 the family in poverty; but it is merely a material poverty, not an
 emotional one. Their home, an old railroad-car shack, is certainly
 humble, and Bugsey does not know for sure what a staircase is, but
 "the smoke curled bravely up from the chimney into the frosty air,
 and a snug pile of wood by the 'cheek of the dure' gave evidence
 of John's industry....Inside the floor was swept and the stove was
 clean, and an air of comfort was over all, in spite of the evidence of
 poverty."²

The Watsons are in debt to their neighbours, the Motherwells,
 for the very roof over their heads, and yet, compared to the Watsons
 the Motherwells are moral and emotional paupers. They slave to bestow
 a huge tract of land and a prosperous farm on their son when they die;
 but, while they live their miserly lives, he starves for affection
 and lacks the moral guidance which his parents are too self-absorbed
 to provide:

A great disgust for his surrounding filled him.
 He could see from where he worked the big stone
 house, bare and gray. It was a place to eat in,
 a place to sleep in, the same as a prison. He had
 never known any real enjoyment there. He knew it
 would all be his some day, and he tried to feel the
 pride of possession, but he could not--he hated it. (225,SS)

And the hatred Tom feels for his cold homestead soon turns to anger

² Nellie L. McClung, Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908; Toronto: William
 Briggs, 1913), p. 10. All further references to this work in this chapter
 appear in text, i.e. (__,SS).

and rebellion:

Tom had never heard any argument against intemperance, only that it was expensive. Now he hated all the petty meanness that he had been so carefully taught.... He had to have money He would just take it, and then if it was missed he would tell his father and mother that he had taken it--taking your own is not stealing--and he would tell them so and have it out with them. (228-229,SS)

Characteristically, when Mrs. Motherwell comes to suspect that Tom has stolen money from her satchel to spend in the bar at Millford, she does not credit her own suspicions: "Tom would not spend good money that way. The habit of years was on her. It was the money she thought of first"(248,SS). It is only the severe shock of Tom's dereliction of duty in the life or death matter of Arthur Wemyss' illness that forces the Motherwells to recognize the moral and emotional shortcomings in the upbringing of their son.

The Watsons, on the other hand, are naturally warm, hard-working, temperate people who appreciate their children's need for both emotional support and practical guidance. Precept is not regarded as the best means of instilling social responsibility in the child; the Watsons prefer to nurture personal development by directing their children's energies toward forms of positive activity. Chores scaled to the child's capabilities are intermixed with wholesome home entertainment: Little Danny is set to watch for Pearlle's homecoming while Mary sews and keeps house; Jimmy has a milk route; and Pearlle recites story poems and history lessons to the family in the evenings, while the younger children delight to act them out. As soon as it becomes economically feasible, all the children go to school. And when

temptations in the town become too strong for the growing boys' "moral well-being"³ the family moves out to a farm where useful work and wholesome play can replace idle mischief:

Mrs. Watson, Aunt Kate and Pearlle were soon busy putting up beds and setting the house in order. Teddy, who was fifteen years old, and a strong boy for his age, was set to plow at once on the field in front of the house, for it was still early in April, and there was time to get in some crop. John Watson, when he got his family and household goods safely landed, went to work, assisted by Billy and Jimmy, to prpp up the old stables and make them habitable for the two cows. Mary was given the hardest task of all--to look after her four young brothers.... Mary was something of a child-trainer, and knew what fascination the prohibited has for people, and so marched her four young charges down to the river, regaling them, as they went, with terrible stories of drowning and shipwreck. (77-78, SC)

The Perkins family are also interested in training their children to be useful--but they are far more concerned with the material results of the work than in the development of their children's characters. Martha Perkins is virtually an unpaid maid in her own parents' house, and Bud is at loose ends, wanting to feel that he is of value in himself, needing the sense of self-respect which his father thoughtlessly destroys in the matter of the frozen wheat. Mr. Perkins sums up their attitude of "children as commodities" when he complains that their twins died "'when they were just little lads, beginnin' to be some good.... they'd a been able to handle a team in a year or two, if they'd a lived After raisin' them for six years, it was hard'" (83, SC). The Perkins are not, however, as avaricious as the Motherwells; but they are frugal and have an eye for a comfortable profit, even if the means of attaining it smacks of chicanery. "'A farmer has to hold his own against everybody else,'" says Mr. Perkins. "'They're all trying to fleece him, and he's got to fool

³Nellie L. McClung, The Second Chance, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), p.64. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (—, SC).

them if he can... A fellow needn't be caught, Bud, if he ain't too grasping'"(154, SC).

The Watsons, forced to be frugal because of their poverty, are nevertheless full of the spirit of generosity. Thus, when Mrs. Watson brings home her piece of pie as a treat for Danny--giving up her own dinner for the sake of her children's dreams--it is not surprising that Danny immediately shares his prize with his brothers and sisters, calling them all to "have a bite" (17, SS). The wealthy Motherwells do not contribute a cent to the church, and the Perkins are content to give nickels and dimes, but the impoverished Watsons are faithful with their church tithe. Further, when Pearlle finds herself generously rewarded by the grateful Wemyss family, she naturally shares out the money, buying clothes and later farming necessities for her family. Indeed, once removed from the direst form of poverty through Pearlle's efforts to "wipe out the stain" of debt, "the days passed fleet-footed with the Watson family--days full of healthy and happy endeavour, with plenty to eat, clothes to wear, Ma at home, and everybody getting a chance to be somebody"(26, SC). Thus, through example, the elder Watsons try to teach Christian virtues and self-respect to their children, showing that, for them, the purpose of raising children is to produce responsible adults capable of correct moral choice and much love.

Akin to Watson's are the Slater family. Under the influence of strong, gentle Mrs. Slater their home is filled with warmth and affectionate good humour. And, although the Slaters are by no means wealthy, the training of each child seems to be suited to his or her wishes. As a result Nellie Slater is a bright, even-tempered, charming girl,

unbowed by the pressures that beset the local wealthy farmers' daughters--even if she "'cant't make anything but pancakes '"(214,SS). Her brothers, meanwhile, seem socially graceful and well-educated; the promise of college shines in their futures. For, as Tom Motherwell bitterly remarks, "'It's dead easy for them Slater boys to be smart and good, too... they are brought right up to it'" (223,SS).

Less ideal families in these books can be identified by their less admirable purposes in bringing up their children. The Steadmans and the Motherwells, for instance, want to make their offspring rich and powerful in the community, and, thereby, set their children examples which are often unethical, and occasionally illegal. If Mr. Steadman does not scruple to fix a school board inquiry into the cowardly attack by his son on little Libby-Anne Cavers, explaining that "some liberty should be allowed the only son of a man who paid such a heavy school tax," (60,SC), Mrs. Motherwell does not hesitate to work a young "home girl" from England to the point of death on their farm, complaining all the while that the girl is lazy and not worth the expense of her keep: "'And, mind you,' Mrs. Motherwell would go on, with a grieved air, 'just as the busy time came on didn't she up and take the fever'" (71,SS). Both families are repaid in kind by their children for their upbringings: Tom Steadman turns out to be no more than a brute, and Tom Motherwell, rebelling against the parsimony of his parents, is well on his way to becoming a secret drunkard when the crisis of Arthur's illness intervenes. The Perkins' emphasis on training up youngsters to be frugal and worth their keep, while providing little sympathy and less moral support, produces similar results. As Martha fades into a grey and lonely spinsterhood--"Martha did not go to the Agricultural Fair

when her mats and ts and butter and darning and buttonholes on cotton got their red tickets. Martha stayed at home and dug potatoes--a nice, quiet, unappearing girl" (199,SS)--Bud escapes to cynicism and the life of a drifter.

Natural parents are not the only family-related influences on childhood in the "Pearlie books:" parental surrogates include, notably, Pearlle, "the housekeeper, the homemaker, a child with a woman's responsibility"(40,SS), Camilla, who translates Mrs. Francis' good intentions into "the tangible things of life" (121,SS) for the Watson family, and Mary Barner, whose "memory of her own lost childhood.. caused her heart to go out in love and sympathy to every little boy and girl in the village"(43, SS).

Pearlie is indeed a second mother to her family. Throughout the series it is she who assumes the burden of responsibility for the physical and emotional welfare of her seven rambunctious brothers. Having gone out to work off her family's debt to the Motherwells at the age of twelve, at fourteen Pearlle instigates her family's move to the country, and at eighteen, is ready to win her own way in the world as a teacher. Clever and unyieldingly optimistic, she refuses to allow the hardships of her everyday life to depress her cheerful spirits. Prayer often helps, as does her active imagination:

We've got to be happy every chance we get. Whenever you see it passin' by take a grab at it. I mind, when I was a wee little thing, I had a piece of bright*blue silk that I had found, and it was just lovely; it put me through a whole winter takin' a look at it now and then. I had to stay home while Ma was washing, and it was pretty cold in the house sometimes, but the blue silk kept me heartened up.(292-293,SC)

Thus, while her brothers are unflinchingly portrayed by McClung as

very normal little boys, and Mary is allowed to be childlike, Pearlle takes on a precociously philosophic personality, featuring a well-developed standard of ethical behaviour and a fund of wisdom beyond her years. She always seems to know just when to console, when to admonish, and what to advise: when Bugsey falls from the grace of the Band of Hope by shrieking nasty rhymes at provoking old Mrs. McGuire, it is Pearlle who reminds him that "'a soft answer turns away wrath, and forbye makes them madder than anything ye could say to them'" (59, SS)--and it is Pearlle who convinces him to apologize to Miss Barner: "'Tell her ye'r sorry. I w'uld n't mind tellin' Miss Barner anything. Even if I'd kilt a man and hid his corp, she's the very one I'd git to help me to give me a h'ist with him into the river, she's that good and swate'" (59-60, SS).

Pearlle's advice is always pithy and to the point--"Don't put yer collection in yer mouths, ye might swallow it; I've it tied up in yer hankerchiefs, and don't chew the knot'" (20, SC)--but, true to her own upbringing, she believes that the best way to impart knowledge or to train children morally is through activity. Thus, she dramatizes stories, sermons and poems for the family's edification; she holds frequent spelling bees to ensure that the children excel in their school work; and she insists on faithful attendance in the classroom. Rarely impractical, Pearlle maintains "that if Elaine had played basket-ball or hockey instead of sitting humped up on a pile of cushions in her eastern tower, broidering the sleeve of pearls so many hours a day, she wouldn't have died so easily nor have found so much pleasure in arranging her own funeral" (61, PS).

Pearlle's greatest asset as a parental surrogate is her

loving-kindness; indeed, her maternal instincts and genuine affection for others cause her to have an interest in the up-bringing of many of the youngsters in her neighbourhood. Martha Perkins is "improved" largely through Pearlle's efforts, and her brother Bud is advised to steer clear of the devil's temptations. Through Pearlle's interventions, Tom Motherwell gets his first taste of fun at the Slater's party, and the Tucker boys are chastised for their cruelty to the little tiger cat. And, as "parent" to the community as a whole, Pearlle successfully campaigns for the establishment of a church and Sunday school at Chicken Hill schoolhouse:

'We left town to get a better chance to bring up the boys right, and the farm is fine only for what I'm tellin' ye. Every Sunday the other children trap gophers and the people sleep or visit. I do be hearin' them tellin' about it at school, and last Sunday, mind ye, wee Patsy and Bugsey wanted to make a kite.' (117,SC).

In The Second Chance, Aunt Kate arrives to assist Mrs. Watson and Pearlle with their family duties. Unpopular at first--she is "not an unmixed blessing" (35,SC)--her eventual agreement to the children's "Magna Charta" with its "by-laws... recommended to govern the conduct of Aunt Kate in future" (36,SC) allows her to become an accepted member of the family, and a great help to Pearlle:

When Bugsey was taken sick one morning after breakfast and could not go to school, but revived in spirits just before dinner-time, only to be "took bad" again at one o'clock, Pearl promulgated a rule, and in this Aunt Kate rendered valuable assistance, that no one would be excused from school on account of sickness unless they could show a coated tongue, and would take a tablespoon of castor oil and go to bed with a mustard plaster (this was Aunt Kate's suggestion), missing all meals. There was comparatively little sickness among the Watsons after that. (63,SC)

Mrs. Francis and Camilla play "fairy godmothers" to the Watson

family: Mrs. Francis provides the sentiment and the money, and Camilla provides the food and clothing. The Watsons are understandably confused at times by Mrs. Francis' impractical theories of child-care and physical hygiene--Pearlie wonders what "an oliver" is (42,SS)--but they are grateful for her attentions, and especially for the practical measures into which Camilla transforms the theories. "Mrs. Francis speaks a strange language," comments wise Camilla, "but it can be translated into bread and butter and apple sauce, and even into shoes and stockings, when you know how to interpret it" (120-121,SS). And, although the influence of her articles on "motherhood" and "child-training" on Mrs. Watson and her children, might be slight, the influence of the Watson family on Mrs. Francis at least is for the best: "'Danny Watson, bless his little heart! is bringing madam up'" (140,SS).

And, as Camilla's practical philanthropy nurtures the Watsons, so Mary Barner's aids the children of the town in general. Those in trouble, those in pain, those of bad conscience, seek her out and are comforted; slivers are removed, and parents placated. Yet Mary Barner is not a purely independent benefactor of youth, for she is attached to one of the town's child training institutions: she is, indeed, an assistant teacher in the Band of Hope.

The Band of hope is a children's temperance movement organization designed to persuade youngsters to choose pure and godly habits in later life. The children must sign a pledge stating that they will never use alcohol or tobacco; they must determine to follow Christian principles; and they must learn poems and temperance messages for their weekly classes. Here, perhaps, the lasting influence on the children is doubtful: as Bugsey's

downfall indicates, the lessons of the Band may not leave an enduring impression on the children's minds. The teachers must even resort to bribery with candy in order to keep attendance at the maximum "for they had learned that when temperance sentiment waned, taffy, with nuts in it, had a wonderful power to bind and hold the wavering childish heart (45,SS). McClung 'strongly abhors the influence of the alcohol trade on the children's lives--the example of the ruined young life of frail Libby-Anne Cavers proves her sentiments--but her ambivalent depiction of the Band of Hope seems to once again betray her bias for education through activity rather than through precept.

The church as an institution influencing the growing child in his community seems less equivocally portrayed, and the Perkins family is especially touched by its nurturing role. The fervency of Bud's first conversion is met and subdued by his father's cynical materialism; but, as the imperishable seed of faith has been sown in the young man's heart, the church eventually, and inevitably, becomes the scene of reconciliation and new growth in Bud, his family, and his community:

They were only a handful of very ordinary people in a desolate-looking, unpainted schoolhouse that dark Sunday afternoon, but a new spirit seemed suddenly to have come over them, a new spirit that made them forget their worries and cares, their sordid jealousies and little meannesses, the spirit of love and neighbourly kindness. (349,SC)

Further evidence of the power of the church to shape later life through its lessons to the young is found in the character of the hotel keeper, Sandy Braden. After the death of Cavers, Braden is beset with guilt and immediately closes his bar; yet he is lost for some way to atone

for the misery he had caused Mrs. Cavers and her daughter Libby-Anne. "It's religion that has put any good in you that there is," Pearlle explains; and when he protests that he has never read much of the Bible, she replies that someone must have read it for him and passed on its messages of kindness and love. Braden then recalls that as a child he was indeed taught to read the Bible at his mother's knee, and Pearlle goes on to urge him to use his new-found conviction of sin to return to a life of activity in the church. Significantly, however, Braden's conversion is only completed during his interview with Mrs. Cavers' kindly old mother: by physically returning to the process of the instruction of a child by its mother, Braden can remedy the path of his growth and learn to lead the life of a moral man. Thus, the teachings of the church are presented as augmenting and complimenting the teachings of the ideal family--the church as mother contributing to the enlightenment of the community as child.

The church at Purple Springs, is, of course, less successful as a moral spur to the community. Here the power of gossip and ignorant supposition sway the congregation into ostracizing "bad" Mrs. Gray and her son, Jimmy. The women decide to keep her out of their Ladies' Aid, and the rather weak minister is intimidated into speaking coldly to his new parishioners. Indeed, it is not until Annie's name is cleared and her father-in-law revealed to be the former Premier of the province that the minister finds enough courage to apologize to "Mrs. Gray" and her child. Still, McClung, through the optimistic presence of Pearlle, seems confident that even such a late display of contrition can result in a rejuvenation of the community as a whole. A park is set up "where

all our children, young people and old people too, can gather and be young and human and sociable together," (318,PS) and the church vows to move out-of-doors when the weather is fine. The minister declares:

'Our religion has been too stuffy, too mouldy, too damp, too narrow. It needs the sunshine and the clear air of heaven to sweeten it and revive it. I feel it today, that God is in the sunshine more than in the narrow limits we have tried to set upon Him.' (318,PS)

That a park and a picnic, and outdoor games and choral singing, are important elements in the warming of public spirit at Purple Springs is not surprising, for McClung believes implicitly in the moral value of vigorous social activity. Both the 'Slaters' party in Sowing Seeds in Danny and the Pioneer's Picnic in The Second Chance seem to meet with her approval, emphasizing, as they do, interesting diversions and good-natured fun, "life and gaiety and good fellowship"(228,SS).

Young people especially need positive activity: "' activity is growth, it is life--it is everything !'" affirms Dr. Clay (37,PS). The teachers at the Band of Hope recognize this and take pains to include a "programme" instead of a "regular lesson" once a month at their meetings. The children recite temperance verses and sing suitable selections, and questions or stories relating to the temperance cause are reviewed: "'Please, teacher,'" exclaims little John James Hogan, "'my pa came home last night full as a billy goat'" (47,SS).

In The Second Chance, the W.C.T.U. holds an entire evening of temperance recitations in the form of a contest for a silver medal. Prim young girls, fully versed in the gentle art of elocution, declaiming stanzas "in which wayward sons, stormy nights, and railway accidents figured prominently," (50,SC) are the usual contestants. But the night that Pearlle

turns Maudie Ducker's recitation of "Old Nan" into a dramatic tour de force, the judges forget their memory, gesture and pronunciation scoresheets, and present the oratorical prize to Pearlie for stealing their hearts.

Other community concerts mentioned in the books include a Sunday school glee at the reformed Purple Springs, and the musicale at which Mrs. Francis hopes Danny will discover his "musical sense". The Watson family's private evening entertainments have been mentioned elsewhere, but by the time Pearlie is eighteen in Purple Springs they seem to be attracting a broader audience: at the party which features the "Seventh Wave" tableau and Pearlie's burlesque of the Premier's speeches, about a dozen children enjoy the show.

The young men of Millford have been revitalized through the efforts of Dr. Clay. Where once "'the young fellows gathered on street corners in summer, loafing and idling, revelling in 'crazy, foolish degrading stories'" (36,PS), they now delight in team sports, "'and a decener, cleaner lot of lads you won't find anywhere'"(37,PS).

'It would not be natural for growing boys, alive to their fingertips, to sit yapping like lazy collie dogs, just thinking,' said the young doctor heatedly. 'They want avenues of self-expression, and in lacrosse and hockey they find it.' (37,PS)

The highlight of the Pioneer's Picnic becomes, in fact, the sorely contested lacrosse match between Millford and Hillsboro, with such older boys as Bud Perkins and Teddy Watson leading their whole town to a celebration of victory over a worthy foe. In addition, "shinny" is popular with both boys and girls of the Chicken Hill School, and occasional bad sportsmanship does not seem to abate the children's enthusiasm for the game.

Because Chicken Hill serves both as a school and a church, it is a natural community centre for the farming families in the district. The "social" which is held by Mr. Donald in honour of Pearlie, the school's first graduate, includes addresses by the local Member of Parliament, and by Pearlie herself, as well as a generous picnic supper. Attendance is excellent, and the children have the fun of cleaning and decorating their drab old schoolhouse into a state of great improvement:

Seats were scrubbed by owners, and many an ancient landmark of ink was lost forever. Frayed window blinds that had sagged and drooped, and refused to go up or down, were taken down and rolled and put back neat and even, and the scholars warned not to touch them; the stove got a rubbing with old newspapers; mousey corners of desks were cleaned out--and objectionable slate rags discarded. Blackboards were cleaned and decorated with an elaborate maple leaf stencil in green and brown, and a heroic battle cry of "O Canada, we stand on guard for thee" executed in flowing letters, in the middle. (88,PS)

Unfortunately, as Pearlie notes with some shock, little can be done to really make the Chicken Hill schoolhouse less shabby and grey. In an area of prosperous farmers, "the schoolhouse is bare and unlovely, without tree or flower" (54, SC). The Purple Springs building is no less delapidated: it was "a bleak little structure of wood, from whose walls the winds and rain had taken the paint.... gray monotony reigned at Purple Springs"(138,PS). And this neglect of the schoolhouse itself indicates to some degree the unconcern of many of the local tax-payers for the quality of their children's intellectual education--at Chicken Hill, we are informed, "the big boys attend school in the winter-time... for when there is nothing for them to do at home the country fathers believe that it is quite proper to pay some attention to education"

(56,SC). Martha Perkins has only been able to complete Book IV of the Manitoba Readers before finding herself constantly required about her parents' home; and Tom Motherwell grows up "a clod of the valley" (157,SS) because his parents think that "it was a great deal better for a boy to learn to handle horses and 'sample wheat,' and run a binder, than learn the 'pack of nonsense they got in school nowadays'" (156,SS). Not for such as they, the Normal school at Brandon, or the Agricultural College in Guelph! The farm claims all their time, limiting their vision of the world and ensuring a conservatism born more of habit than of choice. Most desirable, from the parental point of view, are these unquestioning workers accustomed to the hard labour of house and field and barn: "'You see,'" says Mr. Perkins, "'that's what comes o' lettin' young ones go to school. Since Edie got 'her education she thinks she knows more than the rest of us....Bud--he's been to school a good deal; but he and Steadman's boy had a row....I was glad enough to get him home to draw poles from the big bush'" (84-85,SC).

Of course, in an agricultural area a practical education is a necessity; if boys are to be farmers, they must learn to sow, reap, and care for horses; if girls are to be farmwives, they must understand how to keep house, garden, and milk the cows. The importance of such an education is certainly very clear to Arthur Wemyss; for as a British "fifth son" he has come to Canada hoping to learn to support himself and a family far from his English home-land. Unfortunately, the Motherwells, who are being paid some hundred dollars to instruct Arthur in the art of farming for a year, prove to be poor and impatient teachers; since Mr. Motherwell believes that "Any fool ought to know" how to unhitch a horse, Arthur remains untaught (147,SS). Jim Russell offers

much needed help in the end, and by the second book of the series the young Englishman has established himself on a section of prairie land.

But Arthur's early schooling will ensure against his ever being a common unlettered farmer. Pearlle Watson, too, has an educational advantage over the local farmers' daughters. At the Motherwells' she shows that she is skilled at keeping house, performing farm chores, and even nursing the sick, yet she also comes from a home where intellectual learning is encouraged -- and where the mother reads to the children, if only such trivial romances as the history of Edythe and Egbert. Forced to leave school at ten to care for the younger children, Pearlle is ungrudgingly allowed to return to the classroom as soon as her parents' financial troubles somewhat abate. Martha Perkin's father, in contrast, will not even grant her two dollars allowance for the purchase of the subscription to an improving magazine. Pearlle does take a job as a caretaker at the school, as well as continuing her duties in the home, but her intellectual progress is enthusiastically followed by her parents: indeed, Mr. Watson, suspicious of books "since his own mother's great-uncle William Mulcahey got himself transported durin' life or good behaviour for havin' one found on him no bigger 'n an almanac, at the time of the riots in Ireland," (6,SS) begins to learn his letters under his daughter's tutelage.

At school Pearlle does remarkably well. She studies English history, literature, arithmetic and spelling with the joy of a truly enquiring mind. The principal at Millford is refreshed by her attitude, and on first meeting her forgets "that he had just made up his mind to quit teaching" (23, SC), Pearlle has a similar invigorating effect

upon Mr. Donald at Chicken Hill:

He was regarded by the people in the school district as a good teacher, and, indeed, he had quite conscientiously put before his pupils as much of the curriculum as they could conveniently grasp. He was kind and patient with his pupils always, but he had never exerted himself to change their outlook upon life, or to put nobler ideals before them.... But after Pearlle came to school, he found himself going over his neglected library to find the books that would throw light on the many questions that she brought forward, and every evening he went carefully over the lessons, taking a distinct pride now in making them of interest to her. (104,SC).

Seven young Watsons attend the Chicken Hill School full-time; the two oldest boys, Teddy and Billy, go in the winter as well. While Jimmy and Danny struggle with arithmetic, Pearlle studies "The Lady of the Lake," and "'Patsey's readin' at the Sweet Pea lesson, with ten of the hardest words for meanings'" (117,SC). With lunch pails well packed, the children walk two miles to school each day of the week, except for Saturday when there is neither Sunday school nor regular classes. The large family of Watsons are important to the Chicken Hill school, for without sufficient students a school will lose its government grant and have to be fully supported by the tax-paying farmers, or, in all likelihood, be shut down. Mr. Perkins is so anxious to be sure of the government's contribution, in fact, that he lies to the head of the Department of Education at Winnipeg, awarding the Steadmans two pairs of school-age twins (297,SC).

Mr. Donald is so impressed by Pearlle's progress at school that he decides to "put her through for a teacher"(160,SC). To this end, Pearlle graduates from Chicken Hill and attends Normal School, taking the highest marks in English, and having her winning essay read at Commencement and published in a local paper. After a brief interview,

her services are engaged as "'Principal, Assistant and Janitor'" (144,PS) at Purple Springs, where she will receive seventy-five dollars a month, fifteen of which are already earmarked for room and board. The trustees are on the whole glad to employ her: a man would have to be paid twenty-five dollars a month extra, and would demand "'a bed to himself and a hot dinner sent to the school'" (143,PS).

Pearlie's dream had always been to be a teacher. At Millford school one night she had sat in the teacher's chair and imagined "herself well-dressed and educated, earning a salary and helping to raise her family from ignorance and poverty"(68,SC). She has long understood that education can lead both to better jobs and higher social standing. Her parents have always seen education as "a way of escape"--"her mother had often said that she was determined to give her children an education, so they would not need to work as hard as she and their father had," (73,PS)--and, although Pearlie is by nature more idealistic, she recognizes that "'Money's no good to us if we haven't education'"(13,SC). "'You lads have got to play educated games now,'" she admonishes her brothers. "'Bull-in-the-ring," "squat-tag," "button, button, who's got the button?" are all right for kids that don't have to rise in the world, but with you lads it's different. Ye've got to make yer games count'" (21,SC).

The social value of education is most obviously demonstrated in the case of ignorant, overworked Martha Perkins: "'I can work and keep house, and sew and bake,'" she laments to sympathetic Pearl, "'but no man would every fancy me....A man wants his wife to be pretty and smart and bright, and what am I?" (141,SC). And, although Pearlie

recognizes the underlying worth of the young woman, she also sees that a thorough program of improvements is necessary to render Martha marriageable. Initially she concentrates on Martha's physical weaknesses, suggesting exercises and "beauty-producing devices"(161,SC) to soften her hands and fluff up her hair. Independent money, with which to purchase creams and women's magazines, is a pressing problem, too, but Pearlle finds cash-paying customers for Martha's fine butter, and so provides her with the first personal pocket money she has ever possessed in all her twenty-five years. By the time Arthur's delightful Thursa arrives, the calisthenics, cosmetics, and magazine articles have had their effect:

Martha had improved in many ways since the day she and Pearl had talked beside the lilac hedge. She stood straighter; she walked more gracefully; she was more at her ease in conversation. These were the outward visible signs; but the most important change that had taken place in Martha was that she now had a broader outlook on the world...The hours that she had spent studying the magazine had been well spent, and Martha had really learned a great deal. (252-253,SC)

Still, Martha and Pearlle realize that the farmer's girl is no match for the well-schooled Arthur, and with the help of Mr. Donald, Martha's intellectual education must be up-graded: "If Martha could only get smoothed up in education, and know about William the Conqueror, and what causes tides, and could talk a little more and answer back a little smarter like, it would be all right," asserts Pearlle (289,SC). And so, while boarding with the Perkins for a term, the schoolmaster manages to spend many profitable evenings studying with or reading to this "willing and apt pupil" (361,SC). Meanwhile, Pearlle's Saturday afternoon visits bear fruit, and Martha learns to speak fluently and with expression. Eventually, of course, Arthur

comes to a sense of Martha's worth and offers his hand in marriage, but not, it should be noted, until Martha has become a creature of a very different class from the "plain country girl, not pretty, not educated, not clever," (368,SC) wearily contemplating a barren life of spinsterhood in the first chapter of The Second Chance.

The social barriers which must be crossed in the relationship between Martha and Arthur--education, refinement and true social equality--are not those of general concern to the prairie community, however. Money, first and foremost, and conventional behaviour define the respectable people of Millford or Purple Springs; "correct" political affiliation is important as well. The children reflect the values of their elders here, making the lives of the children of the poor and unconventional more miserable through snobbish behaviour and cruel taunting. Since Mrs. Ducker, in Sowing Seeds in Danny, is the type of woman who conscientiously "saves" her hen-pecked little son Wilford from "the corroding influence of the butcher boy," (116,SS) her daughter, Maudie, is growing up to be "a perfect little lady," that is, an insufferable little prig:

Maudie could not bear to sit near a child in the school who had on a dirty pinafore or ragged clothes, and the number of days that she could wear a pinafore without its showing one trace of stain was simply wonderful! Maudie had two dolls which she never played with. They were propped up against the legs of the parlour table. Maudie could play the "Java March" and "Mary's Pet Waltz" on the piano. She always spoke in a hushed vox tremulo, and never played any rough games. She could not bear to touch a baby, because it might put a sticky little finger on her pinafore. All of which goes to show what a perfect little lady she was. (91,SS)

Her father's political aspirations allow Maudie to view the plight of her less fortunate playmates with pitying condescension: she "began to feel sorry for the other little girls whose papas were contented to let them live always in such a pokey little place as Millford"(99,SS).. As Maudie has grasped at a tender age, the occupation and political sentiment of the parent reflects upon the social condition and probable destiny of the child. Thus, she understands that poorly clothed Mary McSorley, whose father runs the Reform paper in opposition to the influential Mr. Evans' Conservative sheet, is rightly labeled a "rank outsider" and excluded from the select all-Conservative guest list at Maudie's "political" party (107,SS). Wilford Ducker, on the other hand, is slower to realize the power of his parent's social position in the community, and longs unabashedly to join the other young boys of the town down by the freight trains on cattle loading days, regardless of rough play and dirt.

The Watsons recognize the gulfs in social standing from the opposite side of the fence: poverty and their Irish immigrant status have marked them as inferior to most of the families in the surrounding community. "Socially impossible" is a phrase which Pearlle comes to despise; yet, the self-respect engendered by her warm and useful homelife has allowed her for most of her childhood to ignore the derision of the unkind, and even aspire to the social coup of marrying the local doctor. In addition, Pearlle has valuable allies in the persons of Camilla and Mr. Donald. For, while Camilla aids in the development of Pearlle's social graces by inviting her to the Francis' home as a houseguest, as well as including her in her own wedding party, Mr. Donald

has championed the respectability of the common worker in his classes at school. When an angry child flings at Pearlle "that her people were nothing and nobody," (70, PS)

Mr. Donald had said that Pearl was surely a lucky girl, when the worst thing that could be said to her was that her two parents had been engaged in useful and honorable work--and he had made this the topic for a lesson that afternoon in showing how all work is necessary and all honorable. Out of the lesson had grown a game which they often played on Friday afternoons, when a familiar object was selected and all the pupils required to write down the names of all the workers who had been needed to bring it to perfection. (71, PS)

Jim Gray and his mother are less fortunate in their dealings with the school and community at Purple Springs. Reflecting the moral fastidiousness of their parents, the children taunt Jim with his illegitimate status, enraging him with their declarations that his mother is "a bad woman" (206, PS). The boy is expelled from the school for displaying an "ungovernable temper" (207, PS), and, even three years later, Pearlle herself shares in the air of general censorship surrounding Mrs. Gray and her son when the children of Purple Springs are kept home from school by mothers who fear the moral contamination of a teacher "unproper" enough to board with the Grays.

The Grays, McClung is at pains to point out, are victims of prejudice not only because of their neighbours' narrow-mindedness, but also because of unjustifiable Manitoba family law. A social climate of greedy paternalism, she argues, has made it impossible for a respectable married woman to protect either her own interests or those of her children. Annie Gray has had to choose between living

as an outcast from local society, or allowing her father-in-law to claim all legal right in the direction of her child's life. "Only the unmarried mother has the absolute right to her child," she bitterly informs Pearlle (264,PS), Mrs. Paine of Pearl's home district is suffering the consequences of another facet of the inequality of parents before the law. Her marriage is undoubtedly legal, and, therefore, when her miserly husband decides to sell his farm and buy a hotel bar, she must comply with his wishes or lose all contact with her children. According to the young lawyer, Peter Neelands, "The law ... gives a married woman no rights. She has no claim on her home, nor on her children. A man can sell or will away his property from his wife. A man can will away his unborn child-- and it's a hell of a law" (185,PS).

Once Pearlle has carefully laid out the failures and obligations of each party, Mr. and Mrs. Paine are able to come to an agreement which reforms their way of life; and the defeat of Mr. Graham's Conservatives at the polls, as well as Pearlle's intervention, does much to reconcile Graham to his daughter-in-law's unwritten right to her child. But other families in the stories, even with all reason and good intention employed, are not able to overcome the paternalism of the law. And the blame for this McClung places squarely on the shoulders of the government-supported liquor traffic. Indeed, the author most forthrightly declares her position when she describes Pearlle's recitation at the W.C.T.U. concert as "the story of a child cheated of her birthright of happiness because some men will grow rich on other men's losses and fatten on the tears of little children" (50,SC).

In Sowing Seeds in Danny the Skinner household is portrayed as a home ruined by a drinking man; and, in The Second Chance, alcohol, the spoiler of young men and the curse of the old, deprives Mrs. Cavers and Libby Anne of a husband, a father, and a decent home. The death of the drunkard in the hot sun at the Pioneer's Picnic is the culmination of a long list of dismal experiences for his wife and child. With no claim on the money so recklessly consumed by drink, woman and child have no defense against the resultant pain and hardship. As Mr. Burrell points out in his sermon at Bill's funeral, the blighted lives of the Cavers are partially the fault of a community which is "willing, for the sake of a few dollars' revenue, to allow one man to grow rich on the failings of others"(201,SC). Women of course, are never depicted as alcoholics: McClung firmly believed that women, at least in sentimental novels, were morally superior to such temptations.

Nellie McClung's social conscience, therefore, decrees that family problems derive not from any inherent weakness in the family unit, but from the faults and moral degeneracy of the social system as a whole. When social problems, such as intemperance, greedy materialism, and sexual inequality, threaten to destroy family life, strong efforts to educate, and to promote thoughtfulness and communication, must be made. But the religious conviction which saves the cold hearts of the Motherwells, or the legislation which never comes to relieve the sufferings of the Cavers, are not sufficient in themselves. The enduring social lessons learned in a warm family, like that of the Watsons, must provide a basis of habitual useful activity and prevalent

mutual consideration in the training of the young. "'It's a good world-- just the same,'" asserts Pearlle. "'People do not mean to be hard and cruel to each other--they do not understand, that's all--they have no thought--they do not see'" (74,PS).

IV. Lucy Maud Montgomery

Lucy Maud Montgomery is a writer of domestic romance: idealized people, and their everyday relationships with family, friends, and lovers, are her primary subjects. Basing her characterizations, therefore, on a romantic, rather than a reformist, viewpoint, in the first three books of the "Anne" series, she reveals what might be termed a distinctly horticultural view of the training and development of youth. The community of Avonlea, she seems to say, abounds with tender young plants whose growth may be directed by cultivation and the accidents of climate, but whose natures remain determined still from the very seed. While "conscientious up-bringing" by families, friends, teachers, clergy, charitable institutions, employers--indeed, the whole conventional community at large--disciplines the child's manners and morals, "appreciation," through the gentle presence of love, nurtures his finer feelings, and "experience," brought about by growth and change, and the absorption of knowledge, encourages his fullest development. Yet, Anne is a violet, Diana, a rose, and Jane, an apple-blossom; and while each girl may be trained to complement the landscape of the garden, each may flower only as who and what she really is. "'I'm not a bit changed--not really,'" says Anne. "'I'm only just pruned down and branched out. The real me--back here--is just the same. It won't make a bit of difference where I go or how much I change outwardly; at heart I shall always be your little Anne.'"¹

¹ L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, 1st Canadian ed. (Boston, 1908; Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), pp. 353-354. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (__, GG).

The "pruning down" aspects of growing up in Avonlea are begun in the home by parents or guardians eager to fit their children for a way of life at once habitually critical and morally conventional in its expectations. For the upright citizens of this little community the proper raising of children is a serious issue: their manners must be decorous, their morals must be impeccable, their companions must be suitable--or people will talk.

Marilla Cuthbert refers to her adoption of Anne as "a sort of duty," (62,GG) and there is no question that the redoubtable "Aids" would but agree: as Anne herself admits to Miss Josephine Barry, "'Miss Marilla Cuthbert... a very kind lady who has taken me to bring up properly.... is doing her best but it is very discouraging work'" (202,GG). Yet Matthew and Marilla's intentions for Anne are commendable. They mean to give her a good home and an education, providing, therefore, physical care and proper influences, while fitting her "' to earn her own living whether she ever has to or not '" (310,GG). Paul Irving's grandmother in Anne of Avonlea exemplifies this type of responsible guardianship as well, "bringing her grandson up in accordance with the good, old-fashioned methods of diet and morals,"² heaping his plate with porridge, and enforcing Sabbath days of endless aridity. And particularly interested in protecting her child from improper influences is Mrs. Barry, Diana's mother. She has "the reputation of being very strict with her children," (109,GG) and Marilla cautions Anne that "' if she doesn't like you it won't matter how much Diana does

² L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Avonlea (Boston: Page, 1909), p. 166. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (__,Av).

You must be polite and well-behaved, and don't make any of your startling speeches'" (109,GC). As a young woman, Anne, herself, is concerned about the influences to which Davy Keith may have been exposed, and Marilla allows that the falsehood-uttering Sprott children of his former home were "no fit companions for him"(104,Av). Indeed, responsibility for guiding and influencing children seems to extend into young adulthood: the Thomas Lyndes, we are told, "mortgaged the farm eight years ago to give the youngest boy a start when he went west," (302, Av) and Carrie Sloane, in Anne of the Island, is unwillingly being protected from the advances of an unsuitable young man³. In fact, Diana Barry, whose young man is eminently suitable, must nonetheless delay her wedding until the day that Fred has become two-thirds owner of a productive farm (354,Av).

Not all of Montgomery's children are brought up properly, however, and some find that "conscientious up-bringing " does not necessarily ensure kind or just treatment. Notably, there is Anne's "starved, unloved life," her "life of drudgery and poverty and neglect "(54,GG) as an orphan in New Brunswick. On the Island there are the neglected Cotton children, who run wild on the Sabbath with no mother or older sisters at home to make them behave (129, Is), and the little Keith twins, whose father has died in their infancy, and whose mother is too sick to care for them herself. Other parents and adults abuse young people's trust: in Anne of Green Gables , Anne protests that "'Miss Barry generally laughed at anything I said, even when I said the most solemn things. I don't think I liked it, Marilla, because I wasn't trying to be funny'"

³L.M. Montgomery, Anne of the Island, 1st Canadian ed. (Boston, 1915; Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), p.13. All further references to this work in this chapter appear in the text, i.e. (__, Is).

(301, GG). And while sensitive Anne naturally feels hurt that Miss Barry prefers to view her merely as an amusing toy, even tough-minded Marilla has been stung as a child by over-hearing her own aunts' thoughtless pronouncement that she was "a dark, homely little thing," (87, GG).

Other poor treatments of children are less severe, but may be extremely irritating to the child. Mrs. Lynde's constant nagging finally causes an exasperated Davy to defy her completely: "'I ain't going to stand any more of Mrs. Lynde's bossing,'" he declares. "'I'm going to do every single thing she told me not to do'" (127, Is).

Mrs. Barry, in her continuing efforts to protect Diana, wrongs Anne when she unjustifiably accuses her of "setting Diana drunk," (163, GG) and ends the little girls' friendship for a time. And both Anne and Marilla are guilty of the simple failure to cope with active children. While Marilla "really did not know how to talk to the child [Anne], and her uncomfortable ignorance made her crisp and curt when she did not mean to be," (40, GG) Anne finds herself getting out of Davy's impossible questions and constant demands by sending him to bed or by telling him he is too little to understand:

She felt rather ashamed of saying it; for had she not, in keen remembrance of many similar snubs administered in her own early years, solemnly vowed that she would never tell any child it was too little to understand? Yet here she was doing it... so wide sometimes is the gulf between theory and practice. (198, Av)

But in the garden world of Avonlea most children seem to be treated remarkably well. Anne is usually very good with the twins, answering Davy's questions and untangling many of his theological misapprehensions--he is very disappointed to learn that

God does not make preserves or any other type of holy jam (150,Av)
 --and, on the whole, the residents of Green Gables seem to be uncommonly generous in their dealings with children. Marilla is strict, and her punishment of Anne in the case of the Haunted Wood was certainly harsh for an imaginative child, but she is rarely unjust. When Rachel Lynde is insulted by an indignant Anne, Marilla admits that Mrs. Lynde was too hard on the child, and when she realizes that she has misjudged Anne in the affair of her lost amethyst brooch she readily confesses to her failing: "'But I was wrong--I see that now. I shouldn't have doubted your word when I'd never known you to tell a story'" (131, GG). She may be sarcastic about starched hankies and burnt pies but she lets Anne know that she appreciates the unselfish thought behind the somewhat muddled work (207,GG). On the other hand, Marilla has little patience for "spoiling" as she calls the little indulgences Matthew and, afterwards, Anne provide. Matthew has been excluded from Anne's up-bringing by Marilla, much to his relief, and only interferes when chocolate candies and dresses with puffed sleeves suggest themselves irresistibly. Otherwise he simply gives Anne the love and appreciation "her starved childhood had craved" (162, Av). When Matthew is proud of the girl he tells her so; and when he thinks she should have the benefits of a concert or a coat he tells Marilla. Marilla may not approve of such "spoiling"--"'You do spoil that boy dreadfully,'" she complains when Anne promises Davy feathers for his Indian headdress (258,AV)--but she does allow children the courtesy of naming their crime before handing down punishment: "'I'm not punishing

him because he spoiled your pies ... that was an accident. I'm punishing him for his disobedience'" (188,Av). And a number of times Marilla displays, if not leniency, at least the saving grace of a sense of humour: "Marilla... had also an uneasy feeling that she ought to scold Anne for apologizing so well; but then, that was ridiculous! She compromised with her conscience by saying severely: "I hope you won't have occasion to make many more apologies'"(97,GG).

Anne's apology to Mrs. Lynde was an exercise in social training, an important aspect of any Avonlea child's home education. Taught in order to encourage good behaviour, courtesy and social ease, the principles of social training are too often reduced to mere forms and maxims: when Anne announces that the stingy Mrs. Blewett reminds her of a "gimlet"

Marilla smothered a smile under the conviction that Anne must be reproved for such a speech. 'A little girl like you should be ashamed of talking so about a lady and a stranger,' she said severely. 'Go back and sit down quietly and hold your tongue and behave as a good girl should' (61,GG).

But Marilla does not always simply parrot the well-remembered admonishments of her own young life--at times she makes the connection between good manners and true gentility. She answers Anne's bitter denunciation of Mrs. Lynde both truthfully and with common sense:

"Rachel is too outspoken. But that is no excuse for such behaviour on your part. She was a stranger and an elderly person and my visitor

--all three very good reasons why you should have been respectful to her'"

(88,GG). And when Anne, in a flurry of excitement at the prospect of tea with the minister's wife, bemoans her faulty grasp of the rules of etiquette (as set forth in the Etiquette Department of the Family Herald) Marilla hits upon "a very sound and pithy piece piece of advice:"

"The trouble with you Anne, is that you're thinking too

much about yourself. You should just think of Mrs. Allen and what would be nicest and most agreeable for her'" (229, GG). Of course, intelligent Anne immediately senses the truth of this remark--but it might be otherwise with the irrepressible Davy or his prim little sister Dora. Untutored by his invalid mother in the social graces, Davy's manners are quite shocking to the ladies of Green Gables. And although his beloved Anne's unfavourable comparison of him to the "little gentleman" Paul Irving provides some impulse towards proper behaviour, on the whole Davy's literal mind responds only to drill: after careful instruction, and much nagging, Davy is taught to say 'please' but even then "he generally tacked it on as an afterthought"(173, Av). There are no such problems with Dora, however, for she has already absorbed the lessons of social training so thoroughly that she has become a living embodiment of Marilla's "model little girl of demure manners and prim deportment " (227, GG). Dora is, as such, rather a bore; as Mrs. Lynde says, "'she'll never set the pond on fire,'" (307, Av) but there is no evidence that she would want to--like a miniature rose Dora was born "pruned down" in the first place. Clearly, neither Davy nor Dora would benefit from Marilla's lapses from maxim into common sense in the way that an extraordinary child like Anne might.

Conversely, the social import of some of Marilla's maxims is self-evident. "'Learn to work first and talk afterwards,'" (270, GG) she advises Anne, and in the context of a nineteenth century farming community where labour-saving devices are only beginning to be known, these words present a basic tenet of good behaviour. The pleasure of recreation may get its portion, but work comes first in the lives of even very small children.

At six or seven Dora "fed chickens, picked up chips, wiped dishes, and ran errands galore " (176, Av); at eight Anne looked after three sets of twins; at eleven one of Paul Irving's daily duties was to bring the cows home for milking. Anne and Diana speak of cutting potato sets, plucking chickens and milking cows; they sew plain and fancy work, and are taught to cook. A well-behaved child, like Dora, is "neat, faithful and observant; she never had to be told a thing twice and never forgot any of her little duties" (175, Av); a badly-behaved child, like Davy, is "heedless and forgetful" (175, Av), or, like Anne, simply falls into daydreams in the middle of his work, precipitating disaster. In the city a rich man's daughter, like Philippa Gordon, may grow up unable to wash dishes, sweep, or cook, but in Avonlea practical and social training are inextricably linked.

Children's play in these books brings evidence of this link. Allowed only at "odd half-hours" (81, GG), play is often directed by parents or by the children themselves into "useful channels" (273, Av). Thus, while Marilla gives the seven year old twins little garden plots of their own to plant, Avonlea school girls trade secret fancy work stitches during their lunch hour, and young people memorize long passages of poetry for concert recitations. Anne and Diana share a playhouse where they practise the art of housekeeping and the ritual of the social tea, preparing for future homes and Ladies Aid Meetings with broken bits of china. And even Philippa Gordon, who says she has no useful accomplishments, is quite able to embroider tiny rosebuds all over Anne's best chiffon dress. Indeed, Montgomery makes it clear that by the time a child like Anne is fourteen,

she has been socially pruned by work and by play into what Mrs. Lynde approvingly calls "a real smart girl:"

Mrs. Rachel and Marilla sat comfortably in the parlour while Anne got the tea and made hot biscuits that were light and white enough to defy even Mrs. Rachel's criticism.... 'She must be a great help to you.' 'She is,' said Marilla, 'and she's real steady and reliable now. I used to be afraid she'd never get over her feather-brained ways, but she has and I wouldn't be afraid to trust her in anything now.' (317-318, GG)

Evidently there are few lilies-of-the-field in the Avonlea garden.

"There's an awful lot of things it's wrong to do," complains Davy in Anne of Avonlea (103), and this time Davy is quite correct. The list of faults and sins which may beset a child includes those from social, moral and religious spheres--and sometimes lack of propriety in the social area counts as wickedness in the moral. Thus, Anne's loss of temper with Mrs. Lynde, the little girls' leap unto Miss Barry's bed, and Davy's lies about Dora's whereabouts are all considered species of wickedness--with a fine line between mischief and downright badness drawn only by the length and severity of punishment. Davy, who is constantly mischievous, spends many an afternoon going to bed without supper, but Anne, who has seemingly lost Marilla's precious brooch, and then lied about taking it, must miss the Sunday-school picnic she so fervently wishes to attend. A flash of temper must be amended by a suitably humble apology, and excess vanity brings its own reward--in Anne's case, green hair in one book and a red nose in another. But even a casual use of blasphemy by Davy brings sharp (for Anne) correction:

'God knows,' said Davy airily, preparing to resume his reading. Anne was shocked this time. 'Davy!' she exclaimed reproachfully. 'Mrs. Lynde says that,' protested Davy.... 'Well, it wasn't

right for anybody to take that name in vain or speak it lightly, Davy. Don't ever do it again.' (175, Is)

In fact, lying, stealing, and blaspheming are regarded in a more serious light than other faults of childhood, and Anne finds herself dealing with all three in Davy's case: his morals, she admits, are even less developed than his manners. As Davy's conscience matures, however, Anne's job of setting Davy straight becomes less difficult--his own discomfort with himself after he runs away from Sunday-school, and then must tell lies to cover his sins, punishes him enough, she feels (135, Is). Mrs. Lynde would be more inclined to resort to a birch switch in order to reinforce the lesson, but Anne understands that soul-searching is sometimes more chastening than a good whipping. Davy himself is vaguely aware of this: "'I do wish you'd lick a fellow and have done with it, instead of always sending him upstairs to miss all the fun,'" he says (192, Av).

But since punishments only deter the child from further crimes of the sort already committed, Avonlea homes rely upon moral and religious training to instruct children on how to "be good". Moral training is, again, inculcated for the most part by means of platitudes -- "'I guess it doesn't matter what a person's name is as long as he behaves himself,'" (50, GG) or "'Diana.... is good and smart, which is better than being pretty '" (75, GG). And, again, the effectiveness of the method varies: "'Handsome is as handsome does,'" quoted Marilla. 'I've had that said to me before, but I have my doubts about it,' remarked skeptical Anne" (98, GG), bribery, to which both Anne and Marilla stoop occasionally-- "'If you're good I'll bring you a striped candy cane from town,'" (255, Av)-- produces just about the same results as threats do, while appealing to a child's better nature really only works with children

like Paul or Dora who already have a firm moral sense.

By and large Montgomery's children seem to accept the moral precepts that have been drilled into them; but temptation is strong and failings occur. Good influences, such as the love and appreciation of parents or guardians, help them battle the bad ones: "'I wouldn't go about much with Mr. Harrison's hired boy if I were you,'" says Anne. "'You don't want your mind filled with bad words, do you, Davy--words that will poison it and drive out all that is good and manly?'"

(71-72, 1s) Anne's obvious influence over Davy, and Matthew's over Anne for that matter, reveal an important characteristic of Avonlea moral training, and that is that a spirit of emulation often counts far more than any conscientious drilling of precepts. It is because Matthew knows the virtue of "smoothing it over" and, more, because he loves Anne, that Anne accepts the humiliation of apologizing to Mrs. Lynde; it is because Anne feels badly enough to cry over Davy's lies that Davy determines not to lie again. And Anne's attitude to lies, in itself, may be rooted more in Marilla's deep disgust with them than in her constant moral instruction: "'It's a fearful responsibility to have a child in your house you can't trust. Slyness and untruthfulness--that's what she has displayed. I declare I feel worse about that than about the brooch'" (124, GG).

Along with the moral training comes the home's contribution to the child's formal religious life. Marilla's horror at Anne's cheerful admission that she has never said her prayers bespeaks her traditional views on this type of training: "'Don't you know it's a terrible wicked thing not to say your prayers every night? I'm

afraid you are a very bad little girl" (65-66,GG). She is somewhat mollified by Anne's prompt recitation of parts of the catechism, but makes sure that Anne learns a proper prayer the very next day.

"It's about time somebody adopted that child and taught her something.

She's next door to a perfect heathen," Marilla declares (68,GG). Later Marilla applies the same "good old ways of theology" (151,Av) to the up-bringing of the twins:

Davy and Dora were taught a hymn, a catechism question, and two Bible verses every Sunday. Dora learned meekly and recited like a little machine, with perhaps as much interest as if she were one. Davy, on the contrary, had a lively curiosity, and frequently asked questions which made Marilla tremble for his fate. (151,Av)

Anne answers Davy's hundreds of heretical questions with more sympathy, and can even understand why the little boy prefers an adventure story to the pages of the Bible. Yet, at least some of Marilla's fundamentalist training has been etched deeply into the child's mind, for when Uncle Abe's hail storm sweeps by, crashing over Green Gable's eaves, Davy cries out "Anne, Anne, is it the Judgement Day? Anne, Anne, I never meant to be naughty," (277,Av) and then shaken to the roots of his little sinful soul, hides his head in Anne's lap.

"Pruning down" begins, therefore, in the home. Yet, further training in social, practical, and moral areas must be provided, and Montgomery indicates that the support of a number of community institutions and "temporary parenting" figures are essential to the proper up-bringing of the Avonlea child.

As soon as Marilla has provided her with proper clothes, (68,GG)

Anne enters her first Avonlea institution: the church and Sunday-school. The Sunday-school is presided over by the draconic Miss Rogerson:

a middle-aged lady who taught a Sunday-school class for twenty years. Her method of teaching was to ask the printed questions from the quarterly and look sternly over its edge at the particular little girl she thought ought to answer the question. She looked very often at Anne, and Anne, thanks to Marilla's drilling, answered promptly; but it may be questioned if she understood very much about either question or answer.

(103,GG)

In Anne of Avonlea, Davy Keith runs afoul of the same formidable lady by asking her where heaven is. Miss Rogerson's ready answer is, of course, that heaven is where God is, and Davy shouldn't be asking questions of that sort (174,Av). Immediately after Sunday-school, Avonlea children attend church with the adults; sitting as still as possible in the family pew, they try to remember the text and sermon in order to be able to respond to the inevitable inquiries at home.

Avonlea possesses a typical community one-room school-house, "a whitewashed building low in the eaves and wide in the windows, furnished inside with comfortable substantial old-fashioned desks that opened and shut, and were carved all over their lids with the initials and hieroglyphics of three generations of school children" (136,GG). It is this school that claims five days of the child's week, fall, winter, and spring--and in other areas of the Island, summer, too (243 Is). School is not compulsory. Anne,

who once lived too far "up river" with the Thomas family to walk to school in winter, attended only in the spring and fall; Gilbert, who followed his parents to less developed areas of Canada for three years, lost several years of schooling (140,GG). Marilla refuses to send the twins until they are seven and most children leave by sixteen, but in Stella Maynard's school, at least, the scholars range in age from four to twenty, the grades from one to nine (86,Is). "I have to teach a little of everything, from investigating the interiors of earthworms to the study of the solar system," (86,Is) she reports to Anne. Under the rather routine guidance of Mr. Phillips, Avonlea children study reading, geography, Canadian history, and dictation (138,GG) as well as the arithmetic that Gilbert buries himself in when Anne must share his seat. In the fifth class the scholars are "allowed to begin studying the elements of the branches --by which Latin, geometry, French and algebra were meant" (176,GG). Miss Stacy later brings a breath of modernism into the little Avonlea schoolhouse, adding Friday afternoon recitations and nature study "field days", and daily physical culture exercises to the curriculum. "'They make you graceful and promote digestion,'" explains Anne. "'Promote fiddlesticks!'" said Marilla, who honestly thought it was all nonsense" (244,GG).

Miss Stacy, "a bright, sympathetic young woman with the happy gift of winning and holding the affections of her pupils and bringing out the best that was in them mentally and morally," (242,GG) represents the ideal teacher in these first three "Anne" books. It is Miss Stacy who makes the reading class see the life in Marmion or The Idylls of the King in spite of parsing, analysis, and memorization. It is Miss Stacy who organizes the "Queen's class" and marks their final examinations in June as strictly as possible so that her scholars will be prepared for the "Entrance." In fact, Miss Stacy spends relatively little time pruning children down, preferring instead, it seems, to help them branch out. By comparison, Mr. Phillips, who neglects his class to court Prissy Andrews, and Davy's teacher, who gives assignments "for jokes" (169,IS) and then laughs in front of the class as he reads them, seem sadly lacking. Although she runs into "Jonah days" when nothing goes well, Anne compares more favourably: she seems appropriately concerned with her student's welfare--not, like Jane Andrews, with the Inspector's roll of honour--and when she leaves her post the children's tears seem less for sentiment's sake, as they do at Mr. Phillip's parting, than for a true sense of loss:

The last day of school came and went. A triumphant 'semi-annual examination' was held and Anne's pupils acquitted themselves splendidly. At the close they gave her an address and a writing desk. All the girls and ladies present cried, and some of the boys had it cast up to them later on that they cried too, although they always denied it. (332,Av)

Little is heard about Gilbert Blythe's teaching experience, except for an interesting account of how it feels to be caught in a one-room schoolhouse in the middle of the worst hail storm in the Island's history, and, in the main, the greatest crisis a teacher must face is the daily battle for order in the classroom. Mr. Phillips, who suffers only "spasmodic fits of reform" (145,GG), often allows his discipline to relax to the point where the scholars do whatever they wish, "eating green apples, whispering, drawing pictures on their slates, and driving crickets, harnessed to strings, up and down the aisle" (141,GG). Anne remembers that Mr. Phillips whipped the children often, but the cruellest punishments that he inflicts are those that belittle and ridicule the child. He holds up Anne's slate on her first day at school, revealing to the class how poorly she spells (138,GG); he stands her in front of the class for an entire afternoon, beneath a legend of her misdeed with, what is worst for Anne, her name misspelled (143,GG); he selects her as a scapegoat from among her fellow students, and finally loses her as a pupil altogether:

It was bad enough to be singled out for punishment from among a dozen equally guilty ones; it was worse still to be sent to sit with a boy; but that that boy should be Gilbert Blythe was heaping insult on injury to a degree utterly unbearable. . . . Her whole being seethed with shame and anger and humiliation. (147,GG)

Taking note from Miss Stacy's behaviour, who, according to Anne, "'never whipped any of us and she had perfect order'" (35,Av), Anne plans to win her pupils with affection "'and then they will want to do what I tell them'" (35,Av). She tries to

punish them humanely by speaking to them kindly at recess or lunchtime, or by making them stand on the platform for an hour, or by giving them lines to write, and it all works out very well until she loses her temper and whips Anthony Pye. Jane Andrews takes the opposite view and whips her pupils whenever they are naughty; and Gilbert maintains the middle course, suggesting that although "There are better ways of managing as a rule, and . . . corporal punishment should be a last resort . . . there is an occasional child who can't be influenced in any other way and who, in short, needs a whipping and would be improved by it" (36,Av). In general, it seems that each school is as individual in its character, methods, and disciplines as the young teacher who runs it.

Associated with both the school and the church are various organized activities for young people. Anne is absolutely thrilled by the Sunday-school picnic where she has her first taste of ice cream; she is enraptured by the Avonlea Debating Club's concert, "a big affair, admission ten cents, in aid of the library," (193,GG); and she is wildly excited by her part in Miss Stacy's pupils' Christmas concert, held in order to buy a new flag for the school.

Marilla, who, unlike most of the more gregarious parents of Avonlea, approves only of the daytime Sunday-school outing, is markedly less enthusiastic: "It's just filling your heads up with nonsense and taking time that ought to be put on your lessons," she grumbled. "I don't approve of children's getting up concerts and racing about to practices. It makes them vain and forward and

fond of gadding'" (245,GG). Yet as Anne grows older and becomes a leading scholar in the little schoolhouse, Marilla begins to take a more liberal view of such outings. Indeed, after the Spencerville doctor cautions her about the child's paleness from over-exertion at her books, Marilla allows Anne to join in many popular community activities: "The Debating Club flourished and gave several concerts; there were one or two parties almost verging on grown-up affairs; there were sleigh rides and skating frolics galore" (323,GG). And through the efforts of Anne and Gilbert the Debating Club later gives rise to the "Avonlea Village Improvement Society," or A.V.I.S., a group of young people meeting fortnightly to develop plans to make Avonlea into an even more lovely garden--although "Mr. Elisha Wright was reported to have said that a more appropriate name for the organization would be Courting Club" (54,Av).

One other community institution that ought to be mentioned here, although it should, perhaps, be grouped with the temporary parenting figures, is the orphanage. Anne pictures the asylum in which she lived for four months as grim and impoverished. "They didn't want me at the asylum, either; they said they were overcrowded as it was. But they had to take me," she explains to Marilla (52,GG). Anne's clothes are "fearfully skimpy" when she arrives at Green Gables; for donations were the mainstay in clothing the orphans: "A merchant in Hopetown last winter donated three hundred yards of wincey to the asylum. Some people said it

was because he couldn't sell it, but I'd rather believe that it was out of the kindness of his heart," asserts Anne (18,GG). The institution supplies the orphans with basic schooling and Sunday-school lessons, but, being overcrowded, does not seem to take the greatest care in selecting its orphans' future homes. It would be very odd for a modern orphanage to send a child to unknown adoptive parents through a third party, as was the case with Anne.

Anne is fortunate in her placement--her earlier years as an orphan living on the charity of other families were much harsher. Orphaned at three months, she is taken in by the ~~scrub-woman's~~ family: "Whenever I was naughty, Mrs. Thomas would ask me how I could be such a bad girl when she had brought me up by hand--reproachful-like" (51,GG). Anne helps to care for the four younger Thomas children until the drunken Mr. Thomas falls under a train, and then she is shifted off to the Hammond family in the backwoods of New Brunswick. Mrs. Hammond has heard that she can look after children, so at eight years of age Anne begins to care for eight children--including three sets of twins. When Mr. Hammond dies in turn, the children are farmed out to a number of relatives while Anne is placed in an orphanage. Matthew and Marilla offer, by far, the best home the child has ever encountered.

Marilla Cuthbert becomes an adoptive parent for a second time in Anne of Avonlea when the twins, Davy and Dora Keith are orphaned. In the natural way of things, the twins would go to a closer relative--as Marilla notes, "Third cousinship is a pretty slim claim" (71,Av)--

but their uncle lives far away on the prairies and is ill, so Marilla steps in. When the uncle dies of consumption, Davy and Dora are left two thousand dollars in trust, and Marilla is to use the interest for their maintenance. It seems a common practice to place orphaned or motherless children informally with relatives for varying periods of time. Motherless children, like Paul Irving or Prillie Rogerson may be later reunited with their parent when a stepmother has been provided; orphans, like Anthony Pye, may be adopted by a close relative for life. Paul and Prillie live temporarily with their grandmothers; Barbara Shaw lives with an Avonlea aunt. Montgomery does not examine the motives of these temporary parents too closely, but it may be that those who adopt for reasons of love or duty, Mrs. Irving or Mrs. Pye for example, are fully matched by those who adopt in hopes of obtaining cheap labour for their homes and farms--Mrs. Blewett comes easily to mind. And it should be remembered that Matthew and Marilla's motives for adopting an orphan were mixed: "'We sent her word by Richard Spencer's folks at Carmody to bring us a smart, likely boy of about ten or eleven. We decided that would be the best age--old enough to be of some use in doing chores right off and young enough to be trained up proper. We mean to give him a good home and schooling'"(8,GG).

An additional category of temporary parenting figures includes independent benefactors such as Miss Josephine Barry, who offers Diana music lessons and hunts up a proper boarding house for Anne at Queen's, and chaperones, such as Aunt Jamesina, who keeps house for the young ladies at Patty's Place. Miss Barry takes her role fairly seriously,

attending church with Anne and giving her the money to continue her studies at university. Aunt Jamesina is more relaxed with Anne and her friends; with tongue held firmly in cheek she informs her charges "'I mean to take it real easy here. I know you expect me to look after you and keep you proper, but I'm not going to do it. You're old enough to know how to behave if you're ever going to be. So, as far as I am concerned...you can all go to destruction in your own way'" (164, Is). Nevertheless, Aunt "Jimsie" helps the girls maintain a suitably decorous household where gentlemen are restricted to calling once a week.

And, finally, there is the category of children's bosses. They may be included among the temporary parenting figures since most take the child-workers into their homes for at least part of the working week, supplying room and board, and usually paying a small salary. The Lyndes keep a hired boy, and, although they had hoped to adopt suitable help, with the coming of Anne, so do the Cuthberts. Mr. Harrison's hired boy, John Henry, complains that his boss has no fixed meal-times:

- Mr. Harrison 'got a bite' when he felt hungry, and if John Henry were around at the time, he came in for a share, but if he were not, he had to wait until Mr. Harrison's next hungry spell. John Henry mournfully averred that he would have starved to death if it wasn't that he got home on Sundays and got a good filling up, and that his mother always gave him a basket of 'grub' to take back with him on Monday mornings. (3,Av)

And Mrs. Peter Blewett's discharged servant girls tell "fearsome tales of her temper and stinginess, and her family of pert, quarrelsome children" (57,GG). Indeed, Charlotta the Fourth seems to be better

off than many of these hired children; she receives only board and clothing for her work, but she becomes a well-loved fixture in Miss Lavendar's home, sharing in her employer's good fortune when Stephen Irving returns to marry his former sweetheart.

One overall controlling force remains in the proper "pruning down" of Avonlea youth. Influencing both home and community, the regulating force of community standards has power over both. These standards include the domains of public opinion, public morality, and common knowledge; they are the voice of conventionality, the voice, in fact, of Rachel Lynde: "not even a brook," we are told, "could run past Mrs. Rachel Lynde's door without due regard for decency and decorum" (1, GG). "Nobody has much of a chance to go wrong in Avonlea with Rachel to oversee them," adds Marilla (32, GG). Mrs. Rachel Lynde says "They've never had a female teacher in Avonlea before and she thinks it is a dangerous innovation" (232, GG); she says "the minister's wife over at Newbridge sets a very bad example because she dresses so fashionably" (214, GG); and she says "that all play-acting is abominably wicked" (284, GG). Mrs. Lynde has narrow-minded views on all religious, social, political, and moral aspects of Avonlea life, and all her opinions tend to reaffirm her negative view of man's unhappy nature: "Mrs. Lynde says you can never be sure of getting good baking-powder nowadays when everything is so adulterated. Mrs. Lynde says the Government ought to take the matter up, but she says we'll never see the day when a Tory Government will do it" (221, GG).

Yet Mrs. Lynde is good-natured, on the whole, and kind; and she possesses not a little folk wisdom in the ways of the world. 'She appreciates—who better?—the coercive force of social pressure and watches over the youth of Avonlea with surprising tolerance and understanding. As long as a youngster's ideals and aspirations agree with her own ideas of what they should be, that young person has a true friend in Mrs. Lynde. Speaking of Marilla's habit of dressing Anne in excessively plain dresses, for example, Mrs. Lynde says "I suppose she's trying to cultivate a spirit of humility in Anne by dressing her as she does, but it's more likely to cultivate envy and discontent. I'm sure the child must feel the difference between her clothes and the other girls'" (254,GG). But Mrs. Lynde has no sympathy with such outlandish dreams as that of a girl obtaining a university degree: "Mrs. Lynde says pride goes before a fall and she doesn't believe in the higher education of women at all; she says it unfits them for woman's true sphere'" (374,GG). Oddly enough, Mrs. Lynde does believe in suffrage—but only because, one feels, the male voting population has not done its duty by electing her favoured Griff party to power.

It thus bodes well for Anne's future as an Avonlea child that Mrs. Lynde eventually comes to see some hope for her character: "She has a queer way of expressing herself... too kind of forcible ... but she'll likely get over that now that she's come to live among civilized folks'" (96,GG). The message is clear: if Anne can manage to bow to the necessity of conformity she will enjoy Avonlea society's approval—and be all the better for it, too. A bit of clipping about the roots, and she can be a model young citizen, just like Minnie Andrews.

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Anne must meet, in fact, not only with the acceptance of the adult Avonlea society but also with that of the society of her peers. Avonlea children have as many fashions, customs and taboos as their elders, and every child must either adapt or suffer endless humiliation.

If Mrs. Lynde is appalled by the domestic practices of Mrs. Donnell--

"She has a pug dog she called Queenie and it has its meals at the table along with the family, eating off a china plate--I'd be afraid of a judgement if I was her" (49-50, Av)--the school children are no less censorious of St. Clair Donnell's unfortunate first name. And if Marilla scoffs at the fashion of puffed sleeves, Anne recognizes with yearning the comfort of conformity: "I'd rather look ridiculous when everybody else does than plain and sensible all by myself" (101, GG).

The worst punishment and disgrace for an Avonlea child is to be "left out" of all the familiar customs of the schoolyard: games and books are pooled, tokens are exchanged, and woe to the child who fails in generosity at the lunch hour! "The little girls of Avonlea school always pooled their lunches, and to eat three raspberry tarts all alone or even to share them only with one's best chum would have forever and ever branded as 'awful mean' the girl who did it" (134, GG). If a boy is attracted to a girl, the other children are likely to proclaim the match by writing a "take-notice" up on the wall of the schoolhouse. And if the boy is "clean gone" on the girl he is apt to bring her flowers and gifts and carry her books to and from school. It is embarrassing to be singled out for these attentions, but it is more unsettling never to have them happen to you, as Anne herself recognizes: "she didn't want her name written up. But it was a little humiliating to know that there was no dang of it" (139, GG).

School fashions come and go--"daring" in Anne's school years, Indian headdress in Davy's--and, here, again, the child feels the need to participate in order to belong. Anne walks the Barry ridge-pole on a dare from Josie Pye: "'My honour is at stake,'" she explains to a terrified Diana (235, GG). Davy Keith's honour appears to be at stake over Marilla's propensity to tie him to the rail of the bridge on fishing expeditions, and Paul's is at stake over the matter of his naturally curly hair. Among Avonlea youngsters it is the fear of ridicule that keeps the children conventional; the pain of purposeful exclusion punishes them when they are not. It is this power of exclusion that Diana is exerting when she indignantly declares that "'Gertie Pye actually went and put her milk bottle in my place in the brook yesterday. Did you ever? I don't speak to her now'" (141, GG).

Like their elders, Avonlea youth are a gossipy lot. A sample conversation between Anne and Diana includes the news that

Ruby Gillis had charmed all her warts away, true's you live, with a magic pebble that old Mary Joe from the Creek gave her Charlie Sloan's name was written up with Em White's on the porch wall and Em White was awful mad about it... and Mattie Andrews had a new red hood and a blue crossover with tassels on it and the airs she put on about it were perfectly sickening. (158, GG).

The news about Rubby Gillis' miraculous cure, incidentally, is typical of the children's belief in ghosts, charms and spirits, the subjects of much of their community's folklore. Anne reports that she has heard that Charlie Sloane's grandmother saw his dead grandfather driving home the cows one night; Davy relates a tale to Anne about the appearance of "the old herry" to a pair of card players in the woods; and Mirabel Cotton resents Anne's decree that she must not tell

the smaller children about her mother's sighting of a certain dead uncle: "How was she to keep up her prestige among her schoolmates if she were forbidden to ~~keep~~ ~~out~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~family~~ ~~ghost~~?" (238, Av). While Anne may have drawn the Haunted Wood specters from the pages of her favorite romantic tales, most Avonlea children seem to find a rich tradition of superstition in the community itself.

Avonlea children mirror adult concerns and behaviour in other ways too. Adopting their elders' religious and moral stances, they cleave to conventional views. Diana is shocked that Anne should suggest to Davy that there will be laughter in heaven, and although Ruby Gillis is afraid to die, she is confident that she will be saved. Davy and Dora reveal how deeply their sensitivity to moral propriety has grown as they debate how to refer to a "tomcat" in the presence of a minister: "I wouldn't mention such an animal before a minister at all." "But if you had too?" persisted Dora. "I'd call it a Thomas pussy," said Davy. "I think 'gentleman cat' would be more polite," reflected Dora" (132, Is). In addition, Montgomery's children assume their home's political stance: "Anne was a redhot Conservative, out of loyalty to Matthew's memory," we are told (184, Av) and Davy later informs her that as an inmate of Green Gables he is too--"I'm a Conservative, Anne. And I tell you, you have to keep your eye on them Grits" (177, Is).

Avonlea adult society's conventional expectations colour those of the young. The girls never seem to doubt that they will marry, or at least keep house, at some point in their lives; Anne, as a matter of course, waits for Roy to propose before she will give her final answer to an offer

of the principalship of the Summerside High School. Eight year old Davy writes in an essay for school that "'a woman ought to be awful good to her husband. Some poor women haven't any husbands,'" (170,Is); and the reaction to such an expression of the social pressures on women may be noted in the extraordinary wish of a ten year old school girl to be "a widow:" "'Questioned why, she gravely said that if you weren't married people called you an old maid, and if you were your husband bossed you; but if you were a widow there'd be no danger of either'" (111,Av).

There are pressures on the young men of Avonlea as well: Davy and Dora reflect these in their conversation on proposals: "'It's the men that have to do the asking,'" says Dora. "'I don't know why they have to do it always Seems to me everything's put on the men in this world,'" replies her brother (381,Av). Diana responds to Miss Lavendar in the approved Avonlea manner, secretly thinking that a woman of forty-five ought to be more sensible than to play at having a tea party "just as if she were a little girl" (246,Av). And Paul Irving gives one of the few glimpses into the less appealing aspects of the influence of adult society on the young in an unworldly community: "'I've had serious thoughts of asking Young Mary Joe to sit down and eat her tea with me, but I expect ~~Grandma~~ wouldn't approve. She says the French have to be kept in their place '" (211,Av).

Thus, echoing one another's conventions, while enmeshed in a comprehensive community standard, both adult and child societies strive to prune the budding child into a decent, well-bred, proper young adult--an asset to Avonlea and a "credit" to his "conscientious up-bringing."

Indeed, behind all the maxims and drills, the rigorous home-training, and persuasive community influence lies this emphasis on being a "credit". Putting on your "best spread" for the minister's tea is closely allied to presenting your best appearance to public scrutiny: when Anne insults Mrs. Rachel Lynde, Marilla becomes aware "of an uncomfortable and rebuking consciousness" that she feels more humiliation over Rachel Lynde's witness of Anne's temper than over the "discovery of such a serious defect in Anne's disposition" (86, GG). And when Marilla hears that Anne has been to Sunday-school with real flowers on her hat, the role of Anne as a reflection of the Cuthbert's own conventionality is very clear:

'It was very silly of you to do such a thing. Never let me catch you at such a trick again. Mrs. Rachel says people talked about it something dreadful. Of course they would think I had no better sense than to let you go decked out like that... All I want is that you should behave like other little girls and not make yourself ridiculous.' (107, GG)

It seems at times that Marilla will never succeed in trimming wild flower Anne into a perfect little garden plant—for Anne habitually forgets herself in dreams and raptures, announcing too late, and in front of the most impressionable company, that mice have been in the pudding sauce. Yet, by her sixteenth year, Anne has become a very domesticated young woman, indeed; and her "pruning down" rather successfully completed, the process of "branching out" becomes accentuated more than ever.

"I just love trees," says Anne,

'And there weren't any at all about the asylum, only a few poor weeny-teeny things out in front with little white-washed cagey things about them. They just looked like orphans themselves, those trees did. It used to make me want to cry to look at them. I used to say to them, "Oh, you poor little things! If you were out in a great big woods with other trees all round you and little mosses and Junebells growing over your roots and a brook not far away and birds

singing in your branches, you could grow, couldn't you? But you can't where you are. I know just exactly how you feel, little trees.' (21,GG)

There is a difference between pruning a plant down, and stunting its growth; similarly, there is a difference between training a child up, and frustrating his natural bent. Matthew and Marilla try to teach Anne to be a good and proper woman, but they do not force her to limit her thoughts and actions completely within the experience of their own narrow lives. Offering her the opportunity to experience friendship and courtship, the benefits of higher education, and the challenges of facing the unfamiliar world of the greater community, they encourage her to widen her aspirations and broaden her knowledge of life. Not all Avonlea children are given such opportunity; not all have the potential within themselves to appreciate such opportunity when it appears.

Merely by growing up--by passing through the stages and major events of a lifetime--each child is exposed to experiences that may help him to "branch out". In Avonlea, as has been noted, functional adulthood begins at a relatively early age. At thirteen or fourteen little girls put on longer skirts and enter true girlhood; at fifteen or sixteen they begin to put their hair up; at seventeen they have beaux and may, like Anne, be in their second year as professional teachers. Diana and Fred are engaged at eighteen; Mrs. Rachel Lynde reveals that she was married and had a child at that age. Friendship, marriage, birth, sickness, and death, either observed or experienced first hand, are the common human conditions which "branch out" Avonlea child.

Matthew's love provides Anne with her first opportunity for emotional "out-branching". Marilla provides her second when she arranges with Mrs. Barry to have Anne meet her soon-to-be "bosom friend", Diana.

Friendship in a country community often seems to rely on the accident of proximity: Diana tells Anne that "'there isn't any other girl who lives near enough to play with, and I've no sisters big enough," (111, GG) and both Paul Irving and Davy are said to lack appropriate companionship near their homes. For Anne, having Diana nearby allows her the benefits of more socially oriented playtimes--but having a friend does not necessarily mean just having a playmate either. In Anne's case, friendship has a deeper significance; recalling her pre-Green Gables days and the advent of Diana, Anne says,

'I shall never forget the thrill that went over me the day you told me you loved me. I had had such a lonely, starved heart all through my childhood. I'm just beginning to realize how starved and lonely it really was. Nobody cared anything for me or wanted to be bothered with me.... But when I came to Green Gables everything was changed. And then I met you.'
(314, Av)

Anne's close relationship with Diana does change when Diana becomes engaged to Fred, since the perfect confidence of their girlhood days is broken by Diana's newfound loyalty to her fiancé; and when Diana marries and gives birth to her first child while her friend remains unwed, it gives Anne "a queer, desolate feeling that she herself somehow belonged only in those past years, and had no business in the present at all" (310, Is). Still, the old chumminess endures through many more books in the series, and, as Anne catches up in the experiences of courtship, love and marriage, there continues to be never "a quarrel

nor even a coolness" (314,Av) between the devoted "bosom friends."

Anne's relationships with most boys and young men are generally less fervent. For most of her girlhood years she shares Philippa Gordon's attitude to the opposite sex, regarding boys as "chums" and never "boasting of her beaux" as Ruby Gillis does. Even as a little girl Anne thinks that writing up "take-notices" on the porch wall is "the silliest ever," (139,GG) and when she is a student at Queen's Academy, there is still

no silly sentiment in Anne's ideas concerning Gilbert. Boys were to her, when she thought about them at all, merely possible good comrades.... She had a genius for friendship; girl friends she had in plenty; but she had a vague consciousness that masculine friendship might also be a good thing to round out one's conceptions of companionship and furnish broader standpoints for judgement and comparison. (363, GG)

Anne's early relationship with Gilbert is, of course, rather more turbulent than these lines might suggest. Her bitter resentment of his teasing reference to her carrotty locks fuels a rivalry which lasts until their teacher-training is complete. This rivalry is surprisingly positive in its results, however. As schoolchildren, Anne and Gilbert vie for first place in their class: "one morning Gilbert had all his sums done correctly and had his name written on the blackboard on the roll of honour; the next morning Anne, having wrestled wildly with decimals the entire evening before, would be first" (175,GG). Up to the day of Anne's thrilling rescue from a watery grave, the rivalry on Gilbert's part, at least, is amicable. After Ann scornfully refuses Gilbert's offer of friendship by the Lake of Shining Waters, however, Gilbert resolves to match Anne's apparent indifference--all the while continuing their rivalry with

a more heated intensity: referring to the Queen's entrance examinations, Anne feels that "success would be incomplete and bitter if she did not come out ahead of Gilbert Blythe. With this end in view Anne had strained every nerve during the examinations. So had Gilbert" (333, GG). Still, it is with a certain relief that the unyielding foes note that they have selected the same course work at Queen's: their rivalry can continue on a higher level, and, indeed, "Anne would hardly have known what to do if it had been lacking" (356, GG). Gilbert forces Anne to shine as a student for the sake of her pride; and, for the sake of her pride, he unwittingly brings out the best she can produce at a concert at the White Sands Hotel: seeing Gilbert smile, as she thinks, at her stage fright, Anne determines that "she would not fail before Gilbert Blythe--he should never be able to laugh at her, never, never!... in the reaction from the horrible moment of powerlessness she recited as she had never done before" (348, GG). Eventually the same qualities that allowed the girl and boy to be "good enemies"--lively intelligence, high ambition, vigorous emotion--lead the young man and woman to become "good friends" and, finally, something more.

Other less pleasant events of common experience contribute to the emotional and intellectual branching out of a child as well. Anne's early encounters with sickness help her to save the life of Diana's baby sister, but cannot prepare her for the shock of Matthew's death; for, while caring for the croupy Hammond twins has finely honed

her ability to deal with the crisis of illness, no death in her emotionally impoverished past has affected her as that of her beloved Matthew: "Anne always remembered the silvery, peaceful beauty and fragrant calm of that night. It was the last night before sorrow touched her life; and no life is ever quite the same again when once that cold, sanctifying touch as been laid upon it"(376,GG). The pathetic death of Ruby Gillis touches Anne in another way. Just as death consecrates Ruby's earthy beauty, "bringing out delicate modellings and purity of outline never seen before--doing what life and love and great sorrow and deep womanhood boys might have done for Ruby," (145,Is) so living through the painful experience of watching her lively friend die stirs Anne's sensitive nature:

The evening had changed something for her. Life held a different meaning, a deeper purpose....It must not be with her as with poor butterfly Ruby. When she came to the end of one life it must not be to face the next with the shrinking terror of something wholly different--something for which accustomed thought and ideal and aspiration had unfitted her. The little things of life, sweet and excellent in their place; must not be the things lived for; the highest must be sought and followed; the life of heaven must be begun here on earth. (144-145, Is)

Anne's exposure to the common experience of death has led her to an intellectual and emotional experience of a significantly personal nature. The gravity of this experience is not always equalled by that of Anne's other individual ones, it is true, but the comical mistakes from which Anne learns as a child and the problems of illusion and reality which mark her progress to maturity are of similar importance in her process of "branching out." On the day on which she nearly drowns

in the Lake of Shining Waters, an ever-optimistic Anne relates to Marilla the landmarks on her road to self-discipline, and therefore, self-knowledge:

'Ever since I came to Green Gables I've been making mistakes, and each mistake has helped to cure me of some great shortcoming. The affair of the amethyst brooch cured me of meddling with things that didn't belong to me. The Haunted Wood mistake cured me of letting my imagination run away with me. The liniment cake mistake cured me of carelessness in cooking. Dyeing my hair cured me of vanity And today's mistake is going to cure me of being too romantic.'
(291,GG)

Inevitably Anne is over-estimating the strength of the "cure", since it is not likely that the predisposition for fantasy ingrained as an escape route from the ugliness of her early childhood will be so easily dismissed. Her resistance to the harsh realities of being an unwanted orphan has been bolstered by the literary images of improbable romance, and Anne has come to specialize in a variety of high-flown self-deception; because her heightened ideals of childhood innocence and adult responsibility make her believe that affection alone will win every child, she will not whip Anthony Pye; and because a professor at Queen's "'said we were never to write a word for a low or unworthy motive'" (153,Is), she feels only shame upon winning the "Rollins Reliable Baking Powder" prize for "Averil's Atonement." Yet as painful to Anne's pride as most of her theoretical disillusionments are, most do not threaten to ruin her happiness in the way that her most stubborn point of self-deception does. This is the "diamond disillusion" as Anne calls it; that is, her constant conviction that the image she has conceived must correspond with the reality:

'Long ago, before I had ever seen a diamond, I read about them and I tried to imagine what they would be like. I thought they would be lovely glimmering purple stones. When I saw a real diamond in a lady's ring one day I was so disappointed I cried. Of course, it was very lovely but it wasn't my idea of a diamond.' (121, GG).

Clinging to the romantic trappings of her early fantasies, Anne moves continually from hope to disappointment in her search for beauty, goodness and love. Sometimes a theory, sometimes a friend, sometimes Anne herself fails to live up to her remote and airy ideals: "'Velvet carpet,' sighed Anne luxuriously, 'and silk curtains! I've dreamed of such things, Diana. But do you know I don't believe I feel very comfortable with them after all'" (297, GG). Diana chooses the "hopelessly good" Fred Wright instead of the "wild, dashing, wicked young man" (236, Is) of their girlhood dreams; and proposals from Jane Andrews' brother--through Jane--and dull Charlie Sloan bring Anne "heart-rending disillusion" (84, Is).

And so it goes; time after time Anne's romantic ideals prove vain, yet time after time she returns to the conviction that diamonds are purple. She notices that Gilbert is "a very handsome lad, even though he didn't look at all like her real man" (220, Av); she informs Diana that she does not care for Gilbert except as a friend. When Gilbert proposes--Anne declines; and Philippa, for all her flightiness, wiser than Anne, denounces her as an idiot: "'You don't know love when you see it. You've tricked something out with your imagination that you think love, and you expect the real thing to look like that'" (190, Is). Even after the fiasco of Royal Gardner, the Byronic hero himself, Anne

continues to veil her true feelings with romantic misconception, until the emotional trauma of almost losing Gilbert to typhoid fever forces her to acknowledge the real nature of their relationship. Since Montgomery is writing a frankly sentimental novel, as a matter of course Anne and Gilbert become happily engaged; but it should be noted that Anne's emotional self-deception seems plausible enough when her imaginative escape from an emotionally impoverished childhood is recalled.

The final area of experience that seems to aid the young in their efforts to "branch out" is their exposure to the larger world outside their immediate home and community. This exposure may be provided through books and studies, through the guidance of concerned adults or through expeditions into new environments or fresh pursuits.

Miss Stacy has already been mentioned as a young people's guide into the larger world. In Anne's case especially, however, her influence may be seen:

New worlds of thought, feeling, and ambition, fresh, fascinating fields of unexplored knowledge seemed to be opening out before Anne's eager eyes....

Much of all this was due to Miss Stacy's tactful, careful, broadminded guidance. She lead her class to think and explore and discover for themselves and encouraged straying from the old beaten paths to a degree that quite shocked Mrs. Lynde and the school trustees, who viewed all innovations on established methods rather dubiously. (323, GG)

In addition, Miss Stacy takes a personal interest in the character development of her pupils, cautioning them to acquire good habits and worthwhile ideals during their teens so that by twenty they will have laid a strong foundation for their future lives. Banishing

big words, exotic locales and romantic events from her pupil's stories, Miss Stacy encourages them to develop the habit of constructive self-criticism; banishing "silly, unwholesome" books -- The Lurid Mystery of the Haunted Hall, for example (308,GG)--from their reading shelves, she urges them to learn to select suitable novels. Ben Hur is, evidently, a suitable book for a thirteen and a half year old to read, as are the domestic story books of Priscilla Grant's aunt, Mrs. Charlotte E. Morgan. The influence of such "wholesome" books as Mrs. Morgan's The Rosebud Garden is indicated by Anne's reaction to the unexpected visit of the famous author himself. Covered with down from a feather tick, and sporting a nose mistakenly painted bright red, Anne greets her guests with considerable poise; for, panic-stricken as she is by the state of her clothes and her housekeeping, Anne remembers that "All Mrs. Morgan's heroines were noted for 'rising to the occasion.' Anne therefore felt it was her duty to rise to the occasion and she did it, so perfectly that Priscilla afterwards declared she never admired Anne Shirley more than at that moment" (229-230, Av).

Another adult who guides Anne toward higher ideals and stronger character development is the minister's wife, Mrs. Allan. Her kindness to Anne matches Matthew's, and her influence over the child extends far beyond that of those adults who do not see fit to mix affection with their platitudes. When Anne breaks her ankle falling off the Barry's roof, Mrs. Allan is a cheerful visitor to her sickroom: "'She never tells you it's your own fault and she hopes you'll be a better girl on account

of it. Mrs. Lynde always told me that when she came to see me; and she said it in a kind of way that made me feel she might hope I'd be a better girl, but didn't really believe I would," says Anne (240,GG). Mrs. Lynde, although she means well, provides the perfect example of how not to help a child "branch out". "'I sometimes think she'd have more of an influence for good'" says Marilla, "'if she didn't keep nagging people to do right. There should have been a special commandment against nagging'" (321,GG).

And, oddly enough, ~~peppery~~^a Mr. Harrison who moves to the Robert Bell farm next door to Green Gables in Anne of Avonlea proves to be a concerned adult in the area of Anne's literary ambitions. Initially he gives her excellent critical advice -- urging her to cut out all of the flowery passages in "Averil's Atonement" and commenting on the poorly selected setting and stereotypical characterization. And secondly, when the disappointed fledgling writer's story meets continual rejection, he encourages her to persist in her literary efforts:

"I wouldn't give up altogether," said Mr. Harrison reflectively.... "I'd write of people and places like I knew, and I'd make my characters talk everyday English... If I had to have villains at all, I'd give them a chance... There are some terrible bad men in the world, I suppose, but you'd have to go a long piece to find them... most of us have got a little decency somewhere in us." (123-124, Is)

Eventually an editor for a children's magazine begins to take an interest in Anne's little sketches--but Anne's contact with the business world is only given fleeting mention. Her only connections with the world of the rich and urbane are likewise given slight attention:

she does recite for the wealthy American White Sands Hotel crowd, and she does become intimate with Philippa Gordon and Royal Gardner, but few of her activities with them are specified. The atmosphere of both college and academy life, we are told, is broadening and exciting for Anne--"the stimulating class rivalry, the making and deepening of new and helpful friendships, the gay little social stunts, the doings of the various societies of which she was a member, the widening of horizons and interests" (83, *Is*)-- but at Queen's it is the weekend home-comings, and at Redmond, the simple domestic home life of Patty's Place, that are most lovingly described. Queen's and Redmond College help Anne and her fellow students to branch out into well-educated, socially adept young people, but the train to Carmody, and Patty's Place, and Aunt Jimsie anchor them to the properly "pruned down" manners and morals of their country village lives.

Evidence of Anne's "branching out" may be found in her growing sense of responsibility and in her developing sense of humour. By the end of Anne of Green Gables, the same girl who plaintively asked for sympathy because she had only herself to blame for falling off the Barry's roof is prepared to sacrifice the Avery scholarship in order to help Marilla keep her home: "She had looked her duty courageously in the face and found it a friend--as duty ever is when we meet it frankly" (387, *GG*). The development of proud Anne's sense of humour takes longer, but in the opening pages of Anne of the Island, Montgomery shows that "the speeches that would have hurt her at fourteen were becoming

merely food for amusement now," (13, Is): when Mitty Boulter's mother sneers that Anne is only going to college to "catch a man," Anne cools her impetuous, angry response with seasoned judgement--"For a second Anne burned with resentment. Then she laughed, reminding herself that Mrs. Boulter's crude vulgarity of thought and speech could not harm her" (10, Is). Finally, too, Anne learns how to laugh at herself a little. Looking over the old Story Club compositions one day in her final term at Redmond she notes that "'they are so drenched in tears and tragedy that they are excruciatingly funny'" (276, Is). By the end of Anne of the Island, Anne is still prone to self-inflation and day-dreams; but she has gained much emotional and intellectual insight, and, all in all, has begun to be aware of the pitfalls of illusion and the romance of reality: "'Sunbursts and marble halls may be all very well,'" she assures Gilbert, "'but there is more 'scope for imagination' without them'" (326, Is).

Of course, Anne is not an ordinary young girl: her ambition, ability, intellect, talent, imagination, and moral character are all exceptional. The brutally adverse conditions of her early years have left small taint upon her disposition--indeed, the "branching out" of Anne is reminiscent of the gilding of the lily. Even as a young teacher, still in the process of maturing, Anne exerts a tremendously powerful influence on her students:

Perhaps she had not succeeded in 'inspiring' any wonderful ambitions in her pupils, but she had taught them, more by her own sweet personality than by all her careful precepts, that it was good and necessary in the years that were before them to live their lives finely and graciously, holding fast to truth and courtesy and kindness, keeping aloof from all that savoured of falsehood and meanness and vulgarity. (335, Av)

The fact that Montgomery specifies that it is Anne's "sweet personality," rather than her "precepts", which bring her her greatest success is important to consider, for it implies that something innate in the character of Anne singles her out for extraordinary accomplishment. And in the world of Avonlea, the basis of character, and thus, of potential for accomplishment, seems to lie in the area of family trait. What an Avonlea youngster can "branch out" to be seems to be limited by what his family, and, therefore, what he or she, is: the Sloanes are Sloanish, the Pyes, Pyeish. The Sloanes may be "good, honest, respectable people" (18, Is), but they are also slow-witted, pompous bores. The Pyes are sharp-tongued and envious, always prompt with a scornful observation or a cutting remark. Anthony Pye makes Anne's first term at school very difficult just because he does not believe a female teacher can be any good: "There's the Pye leaven for you," says Mrs. Lynde (49, Av), and Marilla would agree. "Josie is a Pye," she says to Anne at one point, "so she can't help being disagreeable" (384, GG). And it is Marilla as well who defends Paul Irving from Mrs. Lynde's doubts, stating that if American Paul resembles his Avonlea father he will be a likeable little boy. "Oh, the boy may be well enough, but he'll be different from Avonlea children," returns skeptical Mrs. Lynde (12, Av).

Mrs. Lynde's suspicions concerning Paul's character are based on the premise that what is unfamiliar is probably undesirable--a typical belief in an unworldly community like Avonlea. Marilla reflects this attitude when she discusses the genesis of their future orphan with her brother Matthew:

"At first Matthew suggested getting a Home boy. But I said "no" flat to that. "They may be all right--I'm not saying they're not--but no London street Arabs for me" I said. "Give me a native born at least. There'll be a risk no matter who we get. But I'll feel easier in my mind and sleep sounder at nights if we get a born Canadian." (8, GG)

Still, Anne, a "born Canadian" at least, suffers undeserved censure merely because she is not actually connected to any family in Avonlea. The Pye girls often make scornful little digs at her obscure parentage, as does their relative, Aunt Atossa, who "told Anne she was very sorry to hear she had taken to writing novels; nobody born and bred in Avonlea would do it; that was what came of adopting orphans from goodness knows where, with goodness knew what kind of parents" (155, Is). Jane Andrews in Anne of the Island feels a "little resentment that Anne Shirley, who was, after all, merely an adopted orphan, without kith or kin, should refuse her brother--one of the Avonlea Andrews," (80, Is) and even Marilla is at first very cautious about owning relationship to Anne: "'Can't I call you Aunt Marilla?'" implores Anne. "'No. I'm not your aunt and I don't believe in calling people names that don't belong to them,'" returns Marilla (71, GG).

In Avonlea, it seems, the child is always regarded as springing from a distinctive family root, so that, as a reflection of his family, his own self-realization in life equals that of his entire clan. Thus as in the case of "pruning down", the successful "branching out" of a child does credit to his family name: a minister is a "spectable thing to have in a family", (151, Av), so Chester Sloane must become one; St. Clair Donnell wants to be a carpenter, but his social-climbing mother will only be satisfied with a college professor; and Jane Andrews' "Winnipeg millionaire" brings joy and smug self-esteem to the entire Andrews connection. But it is grateful Anne who brings the most credit to her adopted "family"--passing first in English at Queen's and Redmond, collecting compliments for her recitations and her teaching, winning prizes for her writing, and, finally, making a most desirable match with Gilbert of the Avonlea Blythes. Even as a young child, it is clear, Anne has "branched out" to the credit of her family name; she favourably impresses the Cuthberts immediately with her exceptional, if unexpected, personality: "'She's got too much to say,' though Marilla, 'but she might be trained out of that.' And there's nothing rude or slangy in what she does say. She's ladylike. It's likely her people were nice folks'" (54, GG).

In some other cases, it is true, "branching out" seems either impossible or undesirable. Neither the already pruned down Dora nor the prosaic Davy show much potential for extraordinary insight or soaring aspiration; and neither plain Jane Andrews nor frivolous Ruby Gillis make much out of the ordinary of their educational opportunities;

Jane and Ruby are just going to study to be teachers. That is the height of their ambition. Ruby says she will only teach for two years after she gets through, and then she intends to be married. Jane says she will devote her whole life to teaching, and never, never marry, because you are paid a salary for teaching, but a husband won't pay you anything. (312, GG)

Nevertheless, when a child like Anne does branch out into intellectual, social and emotional maturity, the process can benefit both the youngster herself and those in her real or adopted family, too: as Matthew says, "'She's been a blessing to us, and there never was a luckier mistake than what Mrs. Spencer made--if it was luck. I don't believe it was any such thing. It was Providence, because the Almighty saw we needed her, I reckon'" (354, GG). Anne's "heart of love" and "world of fancy", her "colour and warmth and radiance" help Marilla toward a long delayed branching out of her own, filling her barren life with new and broadening experience "until the wilderness of existence had blossomed like the rose. Marilla felt that out of her sixty years she had lived only the nine that followed the advent of Anne" (197, Is).

And thus the young adult, "pruned down and branched out" as far as "conscientious up-bringing," love, experience, and the basic character of his family will allow, has been cultivated into the best social being he can be. Shy violet or showy poppy, each tender young plant in L.M. Montgomery's first three "Anne" books finds its place and displays its nature, gracing the meadows, gardens and pastures of the little community of Avonlea.

V. Conclusion

In the late 1880s and the 1890s, some of the ideals of the great humanitarian reform movements of Great Britain and the United States began to have a direct effect on the lives of Canadian children. The American "Child-Study" movement, which promoted humane treatment and sincere understanding of the child, found favour with those concerned with educational theory and practice: the works of Froebel and Pestalozzi became well known, and, by the turn-of-the-century the Macdonald-Robertson Movement had begun to introduce practical aspects of the "New Education" into school districts from Prince Edward Island to Manitoba. Abused, neglected, or delinquent children benefitted when, in 1891, J.J. Kelso established the Toronto Children's Aid Society; and, early in the new century, social reformers struggled to improve both urban sanitation and home health care so that one out of five to seven Canadian infants would no longer die in the first year or two of life.¹ "Christians imbued with the 'social passion'; those of the urban middle class who saw a reconstructed childhood as part of their effort to make the new environment a place of order and prosperity for themselves and their offspring; and ambitious men and women building careers in the new [social work] professions"² were the three groups of reformers who campaigned in the interests of child

¹Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society, (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 56-57.

²Sutherland, p. 236.

and family welfare. Gradually their "child-centred" or "society-centred" ideals spread from the larger cities to the smaller towns and, finally, into the rural areas of Canada.

'Can anything be more patriotic,' asked Henrietta Day Smith... 'than to give to the on-coming generations ~~the~~ the glorious inheritance of pure blood in their veins, pure homes in which to grow, pure streets in which to walk, pure schools in which to be educated, pure legislative halls where the laws of a free and capable people are enacted, and the gospel of truth and purity that leads to and prepares for the true homeland in the soul?'³

Yes, might have answered the majority of rural Canadians (still representing about sixty per cent of the total population in 1921),⁴ to allow the parents of the "on-coming generations" the continued use of cheap and obedient family labour for their farms and small businesses might prove to be more patriotic!

In 1916

the Mason School District responded, perhaps sardonically, to the Saskatchewan Better Schools Day meeting in their area by unanimously deciding that 'the only way to keep the rising generation on the land' was 'to do away with education altogether' so that when the children grew up they would be 'incapable of filling any other walk of life.'⁵

Obviously, widely differing opinions on the nature and function of children existed in Canada during the period of 1880 to 1920.

The language of the humanitarian reform movement is familiar:

"flowery and sentimental" to modern ears,⁶ it is the language of sentimental protest--the language of reformist novel and sentimental tract tale. Characteristics of purely escapist of domestic versions of the sentimental genre, it may be recalled, had been freely employed in the popularization of humanitarian ideals; as H.R. Brown admits, "In the history

³ Sutherland, p. 13. Quotation from the 1894 National Council of Women Yearbook, pp. 10-14, 121, 138.

⁴ See Sutherland, p. 70. In 1921, about 60% of the Canadian population lived on farms or in centres of less than 5,000 people.

⁵ Sutherland, p. 222.

⁶ Sutherland, p. 13.

of reform, the sentimental novel played an important role."⁷ The evolution from Calvinist evangelism to a more utilitarian-reformist emphasis may be traced through the development of the tract tale, for, as Margaret Cutt notes, "Whereas the spiritual deprivation of the young and of the poor is the theme of most of its early 19th century writers, the physical and economic welfare of both groups becomes a prime concern around 1870."⁸ Even the most frivolous romantic novels for women and girls, overflowing with moral sentiment and "impossible episodes," usually succeeded "in presenting ideals which were cherished not only by many parents and teachers, but by their pupils and children as well."⁹

All of the authors considered in this study wrote well within the established traditions of sentimental literature. Marshall Saunders and Nellie McClung actively participated in the humanitarian movement, and their works were often full of didactic fervour. And while Lucy Maud Montgomery preferred to remain within the borders of domestic romance, she indicated an awareness of, and perhaps a sympathy for, some of the "new" attitudes to the child, his training and socialization. Yet, all three authors, it has been noted, depended upon story-gathering and observation of the lives of actual people for some of their material, and may be said to have accurately portrayed at least some of the values and practices of real Canadians in their stories. Depictions of the "old" philosophies of the nature and function of children therefore appear to varying degrees in all of the works examined. The discrepancy which existed between the

⁷ Brown, The Sentimental Novel in America, p. 153.

⁸ Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 185.

⁹ Brown, p. 322.

idealists' vision of proper child-training and the average Canadian experience seems to have been a genuine aspect of the country's social and intellectual atmosphere at the turn of the century. Indeed, the controversy over the relative merits of the "new" and the "old" theories and practices serves to confuse the issue of whether these stories of Saunders, Montgomery and McClung can be said to portray a "typical Canadian experience" of the up-bringing of young people between 1880 and 1920. Are the experiences of Anne, Pearlle, the Deverings, and their fictional peers so distorted by the sentimental and reformist biases of their creators that they have become representative only of the experiences of characters common to the genre? Or were the actual experiences of children of the time so far removed from humanitarian reform or sentimental idealism that the purported accuracy of the authors' direct observations is falsified by including such factors in the lives of their fictional youngsters? Granting that the three authors display areas of consensus as well as areas of disagreement, a conclusive answer seems to lie somewhere in between those two possibilities. And this conclusive answer may be determined through a deeper exploration of where the "old" views on the home-training and socialization of children and youth surface in the selected works, and where the "new" ideas are in evidence.

Speaking at the Thirtieth National Conference of Charities and Correction in Atlanta, 1903, on the topic of reforming delinquent children, J.J. Kelso asserted that

There is such a thing as an instantaneous awakening of the soul to the realization of higher and better things by the magnetic influence of one soul reacting upon another. If we earnestly desire the reformation of a child, and let the child feel and know that we have such a desire, the response will in almost every instance be prompt

and sincere.¹⁰

Kelso's "social optimism" was "a central characteristic of the new notions of child welfare."¹¹ It was also a feature of the sentimentalists' belief in the "inherent nobility of the human heart."¹² And so it is not surprising to find that the view of human nature revealed in the stories of Saunders, McClung and Montgomery tends to favour a Romantic faith in the underlying goodness of natural man. Rapid character transformation, such as that of Jacobs, the hired man, in Beautiful Joe, and of the hotel-keeper, Sandy Braden, in The Second Chance, seems wholly probable to Saunders and McClung. And, although Montgomery is more cautious in her appraisal of the possibility of individual betterment in this world, she rejects Rachel Lynde's traditional view of the hopelessly fallen nature of mankind for a wry but gentler acceptance of the foibles of a generally well-meaning human race: "Nobody wilfully chooses evil," she wrote to Ephraim Weber.¹³ McClung also tempers her optimism to some extent, recognizing that no one--except Pearl--has the capacity to be totally good, but Saunders' characters are sketched boldly in black and white, with Laura in particular representing perfection in human form.

All three authors hold that children, although open to temptation, are more or less naturally predisposed to goodness: firm discipline and positive influences are all that are needed to develop the best points in most children's characters. Again, this view of the nature of the child

¹⁰ J.J. Kelso, "Reforming Delinquent Children," an address delivered at the Thirtieth National Conference of Charities and Correction, Atlanta, May 8th, 1903, in Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada, ed. by Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), p. 286.

¹¹ Sutherland, p. 129. ¹² Brown, p. 143.

¹³ Gilken, The Wheel of Things, p. 188.

derives mainly from Romantic idealism, and largely rejects the much harsher evaluation of Evangelical morality that "strict control of children was... necessary because of their innate depravity."¹⁴ The sentimental fiction available in Canada after about 1870 combined both the viewpoint of the great Romantics that "children were spiritually wiser than adults"¹⁵ and the post-Civil war American notion "that the best standards of life are those of naive and innocent children"¹⁶ to popularize the sentimental depiction of the child as "Heaven's most persuasive minister to man,"¹⁷ a bringer of joy and moral enrichment to the crabbed or degraded adult. In addition, as Neil Sutherland found in his study of children in English Canadian society at the turn of the century, there were a number of "widely held and unquestioned assumptions"¹⁸ among English Canadian adults which were challenged by the arrival of the new humanitarian ideas in Canada in the 1880's. Prior to 1880, English Canadians

saw a child merely as a partially formed and potential adult. They judged the quality of a particular up-bringing--a term they so often used--by observing the conduct of the person which it produced. In their eyes, children were a resistive, refractory (from the 'Old Adam' they carried in their bones), but nonetheless basically plastic raw material. Out of this tough matter, parents and other adults could, if they were persistent enough, fashion moral, hard-working, productive adults. With the help of the church and the school, the family was the main instrument¹⁹ for this essential but not necessarily pleasant social task.

¹⁴ Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 24. ¹⁵ Grylls, p. 35.

¹⁶ Wishy, The Child and the Republic, p. 85. ¹⁷ Brown, p. 302.

¹⁸ Sutherland, p. 11.

¹⁹ Sutherland, p. 11.

Further, Sutherland maintains, "English Canadians showed little awareness of children as individual persons," and "they saw nothing of the inner, emotional life of youngsters."²⁰ With the appearance of the theories of the Child Study movement, and, notably, of the principles of the 'disciples of Friedrich Froebel,'²¹ however, "in contrast to the general opinion of the 1870s parents now learned that a child was not 'plastic clay... to mold and shape after a human pattern but a seed of divine life' for them 'to nurture and tend.'"²² The connection between the Froebelian theory that "the child already contained 'the germs' of whatever he was to be,"²³ and Montgomery's "horticultural view" of the development of the young irresistably comes to mind; and the insistence by all three authors that every child represents a separate individual with a unique personality and distinct needs--compare Davy and Dora, Big Chief and Cassowary, Bud and Martha Perkins--may be recalled. Only in the question of the influence of children over adults are significant differences among the authors observed. While Montgomery and McClung strongly support the belief that children benefit adults emotionally and stimulate them to better thoughts and actions, Saunders less enthusiastically concedes that if a child has been tutored by an adult of superior character, he may bestow the profits of his new moral sensitivity upon an unworthier one: Dallas' natural predisposition to goodness does not uplift his languid parents' characters until he has himself come under the moral influence of Mr. and Mrs. Devering.

²⁰ Sutherland, p.6 .

²¹ Friedrich Froebel, 1782-1852, German educator; founder of the kindergarten system.

²² Sutherland, p. 17.

²³ Sutherland, p. 18.

Sutherland argues that, while the "new" view of childhood spread, a fundamental change in the role of parents was being promoted: The responsibility of the child to yield uncomplainingly to the civilizing force of parental authority, to be "drilled into usefulness,"²⁴ was being replaced in popular sentiment by the responsibility of the parents to "ensure that the three-fold nature--mental, moral, and physical--of their child developed harmoniously. Moreover, since the child existed, in turn, in a three fold relationship to nature, to his fellow man, and to God, parents were obliged to develop him as a rational being who displayed awareness to these relationships."²⁵ David Grylls, in Guardians and Angels, points out that by the middle of the nineteenth century in Britain "parenthood was seen as a sensitive art, with its own skilled methods and its own mystique; incompetence, even though well-meaning, could maim a developing mind."²⁶ In Canada, the transposition of emphasis from the relative duty of child to parent to that of parent to child came slightly later, but amounted to much the same type of role reversal, with the parent striving to fulfill his responsibilities to both the child and to society as a whole. Saunders' credo, "to educate, to ennoble and restrain," Montgomery's stress on "conscientious up-bringing," and McClung's "warm and useful homelife" theory, all reflect the responsibility of the "new" parent to provide emotional support and moral guidance in the home, along with exposure to the joys of a temperate, principled life in the greater community, to the "new" child.

²⁴ Sutherland, p.8.

²⁵ Sutherland, p.18.

²⁶ Grylls, p.38.

Of the two parents, the mother was most often seen to hold the key to happiness in the new ideal family. Women of good character, and often pure young girls, were entrusted by Victorian sentimentalist with the "high office of softening man's rougher instincts and ennobling his character."²⁷ The moral superiority of the female sex made "women in general, and mothers in particular ... the best teachers"²⁸ and it was common to read of heroines who regarded the "domestic scene" as an area of "philanthropic activity" where the moral education of husband and children alike could be accomplished through her meek example and humble instruction.²⁹ Here, once more, Saunders, Montgomery and McClung are in agreement, each pointing out on various occasions in the works studied that the love of a good mother, or of a "sweet-natured" girl, serves as the most potent form of influence and inspiration to morally wayward children, boys and men. In actual Canadian society of the time, indeed, "a new and highly specialized occupation called 'Motherhood'"³⁰ was on the rise. Sutherland traces this social phenomenon to the movement away from the rural family home, where both father and mother were constantly present, to the urban home, where father was usually absent for the main part of the working day:

In these new circumstances, mothers came to wield 'an influence so potent with their children' that it became 'almost omnipotent.'... In the 1890s both men and women indicated, directly and indirectly, that they sensed this expanded role for women in child-rearing. In their rhetoric, both sexes commented more than ever on a theme that had developed in the nineteenth century--the moral purity and superiority of women and how important this was to the well-being of the family.³¹

²⁷ Brown, p. 106.

²⁸ Brown, p. 308.

²⁹ Brown, p. 150.

³⁰ Sutherland, p. 24.

³¹ Sutherland, p. 24.

Thus, the composite picture of the firm but loving ideal family in the stories of Saunders, Montgomery and McClung finds its counterparts in both sentimental literature and the reformist factions of actual Canadian society of the time. McClung's belief that good family life ensured a stronger and better nation, in fact, was echoed by many concerned Canadians who "did not view the family as a sentimental end in itself, but as a means; it was the social agency that had the prime responsibility for ensuring that the whole of the next generation represented the best that Canadian society could produce."³² Strict but loving attention to the development of each child, the presence of a concerned mother-figure at home, and a wholesome environment for growth³³ were signs of a healthy commonwealth. As the 1913 report for the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education stated: "Since the effect of the home was 'like the influence of the moon on the level of the sea,' good homes kept 'the tide of life high for the whole community and the state.'"³⁴

Many Canadian reformers believed that the "moral fragility"³⁵ of the organically pliable child must be safeguarded at all costs: "since a child was a 'plant' rather than a 'marble being' to be 'pounded into shape,' both parents and teachers had to be sure that his physical, spiritual, and educational setting were well suited to growth."³⁶ With statements such as "We are all the product of our environment and live the life that is shaped and moulded for us in our early years,"³⁷ J.J. Kelso and the new

³²Sutherland, p. 20.

³³Sutherland, p. 20.

³⁴Sutherland, p. 190.

³⁵Sutherland, 18.

³⁶Sutherland, p. 18.

³⁷Prentice and Houston, p. 290.

Children's Aid Societies justified their demands that children party to unacceptable family situations be removed to more suitable homes:³⁸

....reformers expressed great concern about such matters as 'unhealthful surroundings, improper sanitation, improper postures' and an 'unwise curriculum with perhaps too many school hours or too severe lessons for the untried growing brain.' In this framework, parents also worried about the possible ill effects of concerts, music halls, and other entertainments on children, were generally agreed upon the evil effects of smoking and alcohol, and debated the merits of giving sex education to their children.³⁹

Evidence of this strong environmental concern appears in a variety of forms in the novels studied. Each of the authors, for example, displays a marked preference for the purity of country life over the more dubious influences of the town or city; this preference may, however, owe something to sentimental convention. As H.R. Brown notes, in the sentimental novel, "The country village was pictured as the one sure abode of pure marriageable girls."⁴⁰ The obvious importance and high visibility of independent benefactors and caring members of the near or extended family in each book also underlines the authors' regard for the quality of emotional, moral, and intellectual--along with physical--influences which help the child to develop satisfactorily. Saunders' vision of the ideal environment seems to fit the reformers' views exactly: her emphasis on providing the best physical environment possible for her young characters, including comfort and privacy, cleanliness and space, is wholly in accord with the new child-care attitudes. Montgomery seems to share this concern for the child's physical care and comfort as well, but her motivation for changing Anne's gable room from barren severity to flowery tranquility may spring more from her avowed penchant for beauty over "ugly realism" than from any conscious agreement with the environmentalists'

³⁸ Sutherland, p. 18.

³⁹ Sutherland, p. 18.

⁴⁰ Brown, p. 312.

cause. Oddly enough, too, McClung's belief that material deprivation is preferable to emotional or moral poverty seems to agree more fully with older "Spartan" theories of child-rearing where the provision of "wholesome food, sufficient, but often uncomfortable clothing, and basic shelter" was considered secondary in importance to the inculcation of "morals and good work habits."⁴¹ In fact, however, both the old and the new theorists placed equal stress on the value of positive social, moral, and emotional influences in the child's up-bringing. "In a true home," argued the reformers, "parents provided love and taught obedience and service."⁴²

Yet, just how the influences of good homes and beneficial environments were to take effect led to one more area of conflict. For the ideally passive, rarely independent child of the earlier nineteenth century sentimental fiction,⁴³ and for his counterpart in actual life, the inculcation of morals and good work habits were achieved

by precept repeated at home, at school, in Sunday school, in books and in papers, and by the example of their parents and other adults. Christ's youth suggested a number of practical lessons to Canadian young people; 'submission to parents,' the 'dignity of labour,' the need for 'personal improvement,' and, finally, 'submission to the Divine will.'⁴⁴

Later in the century, while most sentimental novelists began to insist "upon the value of example rather than precept" urging "that the course of instruction be planned to combine the useful and the ornamental,"⁴⁵ the conclusions drawn from Froebelism began to shape the opinions of the

⁴¹Sutherland, p. 11. ⁴²Sutherland, p. 18. ⁴³Brown, p. 111.

⁴⁴Sutherland, p. 11. ⁴⁵Brown, p. 308.

exponents of the Child-Study movement. In 1901, William Scott of the Toronto Normal School wrote:

Child-Study has shown that the strongest potential capacity in the child is that for action....We are not yet fully training children to become men and women of action, but are still paralyzing their love of action by feeding them on words.... this capacity for action takes the direction of imitation. Hence the necessity of watching the child's environment to be fittingly cared for during this **imitative** period there must be **ingrained** in every nerve cell a tendency to actions of the right kind.⁴⁶

In Montgomery and Saunders, as has been observed, lectures, sermonizing, and moralizing to children by adults are successful in a number of cases: both authors often replace "activity by the child" with "example to the child," or, even more commonly, simply with "life experience." Yet, the confidence that McClung expresses in the superiority of activity as a learning procedure is certainly echoed by her fellow sentimentalists--the activity of apologizing to Miss Barner is as instructive, indeed, as the act of walking through the "Haunted Wood," or of caring for a canary with a broken leg. And, no matter how strongly the individual authors champion either activity or precept, the values and behaviours which they encourage for the children in each of the books examined prove to be remarkably similar.

In the Prince Edward Island, the Manitoba, and the Ontario portrayed, social and moral training seem inextricably linked, and all of the authors' children learn, by whatever manner, that the attainment of traditional Protestant virtues, along with good manners and dutiful obedience, lead

⁴⁶ William Scott, of the Toronto Normal School, "What Child Study has done for the Teaching World," Proceedings of the Dominion Educational Association, 1901, pp. 282-290, in Educating Canadians, eds. Douglas A. Lawr and Robert D. Gidney (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973), p. 185.

to an ideally principled adult life. Temperance and self-restraint are highly approved virtues, as are diligence, honesty, generosity, and a good measure of "loving-kindness." Decency, cleanliness, and refinement are encouraged in both well-bred girls and boys, and are considered signs of social worth. In 1898, James G. Hume wrote in the Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association that.

There can be no intellectual advance without attention. ...the child acquires in this painstaking application the moral qualities of perseverance, patience and self-denial....He learns the lesson of self-control, self-expression and self-development in devotion to the claims of truth....This attitude to truth is invaluable in leading to a similar recognition of the claims of beauty, goodness and righteousness.⁴⁷

The firmly but lovingly trained children of Saunders, Montgomery, and McClung are equally familiar with such "respectability and responsibility, self-discipline and self-denial" refrains. Girls such as Laura, Anne, and Pearlle are especially attuned to predominantly traditional values: as Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig point out, in reference to a similar group of sentimental heroines, each "is educated to an advanced level, yet the future of each is clearly marked out along the conventional path. Each sees herself ultimately as a nest-maker and breeder."⁴⁸ Sentimental and reformist emphasis on the moral superiority of women ensures that Laura, Anne, and Pearlle will largely forsake the philanthropic, literary, and political arenas to devote themselves to the supporting roles of wives and mothers.

Yet Canadian moral standards for children of either sex were certainly stringent. Prior to 1880, any good boy or girl was unquestionably both diligent and obedient. As Neil Sutherland remarks:

⁴⁷ James G. Hume, "Moral Training in Public Schools," Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, 1898, pp. 233-234, Lawr and Gidney, p. 93.

⁴⁸ Cadogan and Craig, You're a Brick, Angela!, p. 109.

Making a virtue out of a necessity, English Canadians viewed work as the central characteristic of a good upbringing and proper education. Through hard work over long hours children not only discovered the positive and life-long benefits contained within work itself but were also kept from the temptations which immediately crowded in on the indolent and the idle.⁴⁹

Children were put to work at "a very early age,"⁵⁰ and the immigrant children from England were popular as exploitable material for busy households and family farms:

In 1870, the Halifax immigration agent explained that he could provide homes for a 'large number of young girls from eight to ten years of age' in which 'they would be instructed and trained in the domestic customs and habits of the best families in our land.' The next year, the Toronto agent reported that 'any number' of 'farm labourers, mechanics, domestic servants, and boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age' could find 'ready employment at good wages.'⁵¹

And, although older children between the ages of nine and eighteen were generally placed under contract of indenture, younger children could be "adopted" under a system where no legal definition of the rights and responsibilities of the guardians existed. "There was, indeed, probably much truth in the remark made by a young girl... that 'doption, sir, is when folks gets a girl to work without wages.'⁵² Disobedient, immoral, or "lazy" adopted children could be returned to their sponsoring agencies at the behest of their guardian;⁵³ indentured children were only slightly more protected by their contracts.⁵⁴ Moreover, in spite of their

⁴⁹ Sutherland, p. 10.

⁵⁰ Sutherland, p. 10. Reported by Inspector Andrew Doyle who was sent to Canada by Britain's Local Government Board in 1874 to investigate the placement of British immigrant children with Canadian families.

⁵¹ Sutherland, p. 9.

⁵² Sutherland, p. 10.

⁵³ Sutherland, p. 10.

⁵⁴ See, for example, "The Representative of a British Charity Reports on Girls placed in Canadian Homes, 1886," in Prentice and Houston, p. 262ff.

censure of some of the harsher aspects of child labour, reformists at the turn of the century were still greatly concerned with teaching "obedience and service" to every child. Even in a more recreational context, they were ready to praise the character building aspects of industrious activity for the young: when school calisthenics were promoted through the Lord Strathcona grants in 1909, the two aims of the military-style programme were "'to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children, by inculcating habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience' and 'to bring up the boys to patriotism.'"⁵⁵

Almost all of the children in the books studied are working in some capacity by the age of six or seven. One can see Marshall Saunders' Mr. Devering sending his children off to participate in morally instructive chores and playtime activities; one can hear McClung's Pearlle declaring her pride in being able to work off the "stain" of her family's debt at twelve years of age; one can recall Montgomery's Anne garnering approval for her competence as a housekeeper at the age of fourteen--"she's real steady and reliable now," says Mariilla.⁵⁶ All three authors seem pleased to concur with both "old" and "new" child-rearing theorists on the excellence of cultivating the "positive and life-long benefits" of diligence and obedience.

⁵⁵ Sutherland, p.192.

⁵⁶ Montgomery, Green Gables, p. 318.

Erring children in the selected works of Saunders, Montgomery and McClung rarely face severe physical punishment. Most faults, sins, and lapses in etiquette are attributed to immature responses to temptations, poor moral influence, or misdirected energies, and therefore, the development of a regulating conscience in each child is stressed over the use of the rod. Punishments are usually humane and morally instructive; the rod is, however, accessible as a last resort--as Anthony Pye learns to his sorrow in Anne of Avonlea. Thus, the three authors all reflect the reformist view of child discipline: better homes or caring institutions and more positive influences were prescribed by the reformers for the delinquent child, followed, if necessary, by judicious corporal punishment for the incorrigible. An appreciation for work was, again, seen as a decisive factor in the moral development of erring youth:

Froebel's system of educating the child through his activities [said J.J. Kelso] is the true solution for the waywardness of youth, and it will be found that success in child-saving work can be attained, and can only be attained, by making the children active agents in their own reformation. Show the children that you respect and trust them and provide them with useful employment, especially giving them, where possible, work to do for others.⁵⁷

And, although Kelso maintained that "there has been too much of scolding and punishment instead of the encouraging word and the helping hand,"⁵⁸ he, too, agreed with other reformists that whipping was allowable when the only alternative was incarceration.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Kelso, in Prentice and Houston, p. 287. ⁵⁸ Kelso, in Prentice and Houston p. 290.

⁵⁹ Sutherland, p. 101.

The role of formal religious education in the moral training of children is given a rather uneven treatment by the three authors. Montgomery details a traditional type of religious drill that marches children through night-time prayers, Sunday school lessons, and regular church attendance without much comment on the value of the experience. Mollie Gillen writes that Montgomery had been "thoroughly repelled by the stark severity of the Presbyterianism with which she had been indoctrinated" but had outwardly supported the church as an ethical director for the weak and wavering.⁶⁰ Saunders virtually ignores the influence of the church on her young characters--even though Mr. Morris is a minister--while McClung, on the other hand, strongly emphasizes the church's nurturing role in the development of both individual and community moral worth. Sentimental novelists, other than the tractists, had tended to reject Calvinism for less austere religious expressions;⁶¹ yet, when religious skepticism was broached, it was usually adopted by some unregenerate male character, not by the conventionally pious heroine of the piece.⁶² Thus, while Montgomery and Saunders seem to have espoused the romantic sentimentalists' traditional passive respect for the inculcation of piety in the ideal child, McClung seems to have been influenced by the more active religious faith of the reform and tract tale sentimentalists. Certainly, too, McClung's deep affiliation with members of the social gospel movement in turn of the century Canada⁶³ and her subsequent conviction that "political action was a religious responsibility,"⁶⁴ may have accounted for her additional enthusiasm for the training provided for children by organized religion.

⁶⁰Gillen, pp. 153-154.

⁶¹Brown, p. 324.

⁶²Brown, p. 347.

⁶³Savage, Our Nell, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁴Savage, p. 80.

In the matter of intellectual education, however, all of the authors make a point of strenuously emphasizing their views on its ideal aim, subject matter, and manner of instruction. It may be remembered that all three had received teacher-training and had taught school before they became writers, and, thus, it may be assumed that all had come in contact with the principles of the "New Education" which spread across Canada from the late 1880s to the 1920s.

Sutherland divides the educational reformers into two bands:

One group, as they came to a new view of child, family, and the process of schooling in Canadian society, tried to make schools more humane, more child-centred, and more responsive to the way in which children grew. The other, as they examined the effects of the rapidly changing nature of work in rural and urban Canada attempted to make schools more practical and relevant to the later lives of their inmates.⁶⁵

Schools were seen by social reformers as a major factor in the movement to provide better homes for the next generation, and, thus, better citizens for the Canada of the future.⁶⁶ The Macdonald-Robertson Movement, 1900-1913, supported both the introduction of practical studies to the curriculum and the education of the "whole child."

"In advocating practical studies," James W. Robertson

attacked what he described as 'the too exclusive book and language studies of the common schools.' While conceding that a few youngsters might have to study Latin and Greek to equip them for professions, the study of these subjects... could not compare 'in culture value, [sic] or in forming and strengthening the character and developing the intelligence of the children, or in fitting them for the work of life' with the 'training of their faculties by means of Nature Study work, Manual Training and Household Science.'⁶⁷(1905)

Voicing a popularized version of the theories of Johann Heinrich

⁶⁵ Sutherland, p. 156.

⁶⁶ Sutherland, p. 173.

⁶⁷ Sutherland, p. 181.

Pestalozzi,⁶⁸ Robertson also asserted that "the 'whole child goes to school--body, mind and spirit', and the training of hand, head and heart, should go on harmoniously." (1907)⁶⁹ Ideal subject matter for the "New Education" might include the manual training, domestic science, and nature study listed above, as well as physical education, "scientific temperance," and school gardening. As early as 1890, of the 6,700 children enrolled in the city schools of St. John, New Brunswick,

over 6000 studied 'Temperance Teachings of Science,' 'Morals and Manners,' 'Reading, Spelling, and Recitation,' 'Composition,' 'Form and Drawing,' 'Singing,' 'Numbers and Arithmetic,' 'Geography,' 'Minerals, Plants, and Animals,' and did some 'Physical Exercises.' Varying numbers of pupils also worked at sewing, knitting, 'Grammar and Analysis,' 'Printing and Print-Script,' history, physics, physiology, French, and Latin.... most of this curriculum was typical of English Canada of the time.⁷⁰

Oral reading and recitation was only slowly being replaced by effective silent reading,⁷¹ however, and conventional morality pervaded many aspects of the "new" subject matter:

Public health officials.... argued that hygiene, physiology, and, later, physical culture should be compulsory subjects. The nature of such instruction when it was given was well characterized by the health textbook that explained that to 'eat or drink what we know is unhealthful, because it tastes good' was 'not only foolish but wicked.'⁷²

There is markedly more respect shown for intellectual pursuits in the novels studied of Montgomery and McClung than in those of Saunders. Saunders' main emphasis is on the moral and practical aspects of education: she seems to suspect that "bookish" learning is somehow enervating. Taking

⁶⁸ See Sutherland, p. 160 .

⁶⁹ Sutherland, p. 181.

⁷⁰ Sutherland, p. 160. Sutherland remarks, however, that New Brunswick pupils "were more likely than most Canadian children to study their environment" because of the influence of Loring W. Bailey, a professor at the University of New Brunswick.

⁷¹ Sutherland, p. 161 .

⁷² Sutherland, p. 42. .

the ideas of the Pestalozzi-influenced reformers one step further, she argues for the education of the "whole child," advocating, however, the primacy of "health" and "heart" education, and placing emphasis on "hard work" instead of "brains." McClung stresses the practical aspects of education as well, but seems to think that, ideally, all children should be encouraged to respect intellectual schooling, and to appreciate the social benefits, such as better jobs and improved social standing, that such education can procure. Montgomery believes that intellectual, social, and moral instruction should be available at school to all of those children with the ability to absorb such lessons, and that some enrichment from the "new" curriculum--nature study, physical culture, and all of Miss Stacy's "new-fangled" ideas--should be offered to country children. All of the authors' favourite teachers--Miss Jazzamine, Miss Stacy, and Pearlie--are notable for stimulating their pupils to assume good habits and sound ideals; Montgomery and McClung, in particular, stress that the atmosphere of the school or individual classroom has much to do with the personality of the teacher, and provide good and bad examples of teaching abilities, and, thus, school temperaments. And, although Montgomery and McClung on the whole tend to stress traditional subject matter and teaching methods over the practical training and activity-based instructional techniques which Saunders so enthusiastically endorses, there is evidence to varying degrees in all of the books of the "New" educational concern for both "child-centered" and "practical studies" reformist emphases.

Again, Montgomery and McClung treat more seriously than Saunders the issues of school attendance, teacher-training, and community school support. While attendance is obviously not compulsory in either author's

works, it is seen as important, and not simply as a matter of course, as Saunders' community club atmosphere in Miss Jazzamine's school would have the reader believe. During the period in question, as both Montgomery and McClung reflect, it was common for children to attend only infrequently or to ignore schooling altogether. On Prince Edward Island, in 1877, for example, school attendance was made compulsory for children eight to thirteen years of age for at least twelve weeks per year; by 1920, attendance for children seven to thirteen was still only "required" for between twenty to thirty weeks.⁷³ In 1889, the St. John school board estimated that of 12,000 possible pupils, only 8,000 attended school steadily, seasonally, very irregularly, or at all.⁷⁴ Teacher-training improved in the years from 1880 to 1920, yet, in 1913, of 2,964 Manitoba teachers, only 533 held First Class licenses: 1,153 had earned Third Class by completing Grade 10 and attending Normal School for eleven weeks, and 1,278 held Second Class, with junior matriculation, and Normal School attendance.⁷⁵ In the same year it was determined that "the great majority of rural teachers were between seventeen and twenty-three years of age."⁷⁶ Obviously, Pearlle and Anne are typical young teachers of their times--Anne less so, perhaps, because of her extended education at university which qualifies her to be the principal at Sunnyside at the age of about twenty-two. Pearlle's experience with the hiring committee from Purple Springs seems to be accurate as well, since by 1920 there were fewer males teaching in Canada because "school boards found that they could generally get a more highly qualified and committed young woman for the same price or less than that of a man."⁷⁷

⁷³Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, p. 76.

⁷⁴Sutherland, p. 159. ⁷⁵Sutherland, p. 217. ⁷⁶Sutherland, p.170.

⁷⁷Sutherland, p. 167.

The whole-hearted community support that Miss Jazzamine's school enjoys seems to be atypical. Montgomery's idyllic little one room school house where parents attend only occasional examinations and Christmas concerts, and McClung's dingy little prairie boxes seem to have been far more common in rural areas.⁷⁸ In 1915, a school inspector at Weyburn, Saskatchewan commented that "most people in his district had a 'tremendous lack of interest' in all school matters 'except the tax rate.'"⁷⁹ And some Canadians were, in fact, openly opposed to the demands of the "New Education:"

There are hard duties in citizenship, and I contend that the habit of always expecting to be pleased and interested while a child, does not help the man or woman to do earnest work in hard places. There can be no discipline unless the child learns to do unpleasant things because they are right We have 'enriched' our course at the expense of thoroughness.⁸⁰

The words sound as if Marilla or Mrs. Lynde might have spoken them, but they are actually from an article in the Proceedings of the Dominion Educational Association by educationalist Agnes Dean Cameron, in Victoria, British Columbia, 1904.

Indeed, in many parts of Canada, and certainly in most rural areas, opposition, or simply stolid indifference to the new theories, greeted the efforts of social reformers. Reformist sentimental authors, such as Saunders and McClung, might identify and urge solutions to

⁷⁸ See E.W. Nichols, "The Little White Schoolhouse," from the Dalhousie Review, 5 (1925-1926), 311-323, in Lawr and Gidney, p. 114, for a portrait of the typical rural Canadian school.

⁷⁹ Sutherland, p. 203.

⁸⁰ Agnes Dean Cameron, "Parent and Teacher," Proceedings of the Dominion Educational Association, 1904, pp. 240-244, in Lawr and Gidney, p. 197.

specific community and family weaknesses in the training and socialization of children; but a purely domestic romanticist, such as Montgomery, who would more willingly ignore the "ugly" to concentrate on describing the pleasing or amusing aspects of normal community life, might prove to be more popular in the end.

Saunders seems to attribute the abuse and poor training of children chiefly to moral failure in the family itself: cruelty and intemperance, laziness and ignorance cause misery for the child and provide bad influences on his character. In her model community of Riverdale, Saunders indicates her belief in the benefits of censorship--a common cause among the reformers was the censorship of books, libraries, and popular magazines⁸¹--and the ostracization of the incorrigible. Her solution to the problem of Jenkins' shabby little family is to jail the father and to commit the innocent children to caring institutional life. Education of the heart, she holds, would promote thoughtfulness in children, and, thus, their moral well-being; the Bands of Mercy and small animal clubs encountered in her works are true instruments of sweeping social reform for young people. The rising tide of criminality in Canada was due, after all, as Kelso asserted, to "the neglect of child-training in the homes of vice and drunkenness."⁸² Parents whose children had not developed satisfactorily were accountable to society and to the child himself: "Instead of blaming their child, or fate, for any failure, parents were expected to shoulder the responsibility for surrounding their youngster 'with conditions contrary to its nature.'⁸³

⁸¹Sutherland, p. 19.

⁸²Sutherland, p. 17.

⁸³Sutherland, p. 17.

McClung places the blame for inadequately trained children on moral factors as well; but the political and economic policies of the country--and not so much the parents themselves--take the brunt of her criticism. The economic ingraining of class consciousness is seen to have a great influence on the social conditioning and destiny of the child: the occupation, political views, and social standing of the parents are judged by fastidious community standards, and reflect directly on the character development of children like Libby Cavers and James Gray. Family emphasis on the acquisition of material wealth affects the personalities of youngsters, like Tom Motherwell, but seems to be based more on governmental policies and clerical indifference than on any inherent fault in the family. Political abuses of the family include the legal inequality of mother and father, and the scandalous immorality of the liquor trade. Thus, economic and political shortcomings encourage the establishment of emotionally poor families where avarice, brutishness, insensitivity, and unethical behaviour are passed from parent to child. McClung, therefore, sees a clear need for the education of children by institutions outside of the family--such as the church or the Band of Hope--until legal reforms can make possible the type of morally upright social milieu which brings about ideal family life. Not surprisingly, given McClung's "social gospel," temperance and feminist background, this position accurately reflects the opinions of a large group of female reformers. As Sutherland states:

many women turned in these years to an effort to bring their legal position more in line with their real and growing responsibilities many women wanted to change the situation in which, as one of the campaigners explained, the father as 'sole guardian' could 'bind out' his infant children, apprentice them, give them in adoption, educate them how and when he pleased, and in what religion he chose. To her children a mother then stood 'legally in exactly the same position as a stranger.' As early as its second meeting, in 1895, the National Council of Women appointed a Committee on Laws 'for the protection of women and children.' Over the next two decades, the council, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and other women's organizations worked with great persistence and growing success to improve the legal situation of Canadian women.⁸⁴

In the first three "Anne" books, Montgomery does reveal some knowledge of the poor training and abuse some children of her time received: Anne's early life as a neglected orphan is as squalid and exhausting as some of the experiences of the British immigrant children must have been. Yet, the author is no crusader for social reform; her sole recommendations for badly brought up children seem to be to find them a loving but firm home-life in a good-natured, folk-wise, if narrowly conventional, community--and hope for the best. Montgomery's "Village Improvement Society" is concerned with cosmetic, and not moral or social, community improvement, after all. Indeed, Montgomery is a true spokesman for "English Canada's all-pervasive commitment to the assumption that the family was the best--meaning most efficient, effective, economical, and 'natural'--method of child-rearing.... [and] that, indeed, most Canadian children were already reasonably well-reared by traditional means."⁸⁵ As Mollie Gillen notes, Montgomery's revolt against the austere Calvinism of her up-bringing was marred by her appreciation for the training she received in self-discipline and habits of self-control.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Sutherland, p. 24 .

⁸⁵Sutherland, p. 107.

⁸⁶Gillen, p. 56.

Furthermore, Montgomery's environmentalist sentiments are not very deeply ingrained. In fact, in the "Anne" books studied, she proves to be far more convinced of the effect of heredity upon the lives of children: character, she asserts, derives largely from family trait. Montgomery's "strong and well-justified family pride"⁸⁷ was probably the basis for this view, but the "crude genetic determinism of the early mental hygienists"⁸⁸ unquestionably indicates that a groundswell "pro-heredity" movement was an important counter to the "pro-environmental" movement in the minds of educated Canadian of the time:

In the 1880s, Dr. Daniel Clark, medical superintendent of the Asylum for the Insane in Toronto, explained to Canadian Methodists that people inherited their 'moral, intellectual, emotional, affectional qualities and instincts' in the same way and 'even through collateral lives of ancestry' as they did their physical characteristics. One generation handed down to the next good qualities as well as evil ones, and, unfortunately, the latter predominated.⁸⁹

The integral pessimism of the exponents of heredity stands in glaring contrast to the social optimism of the environmentalist reformers:

In 1905 Dr. Helen MacMurchy, inspector for the feeble-minded in Ontario "drew attention to the dangers of racial decline if Canadian society did not put curbs on the procreation of this unfortunate class of citizens,"⁹⁰ and, in 1914, in an address to the National Council of Women, Mrs. Adam Shortt maintained that biology taught that "'we cannot level up, and that invariably the race levels down.'"⁹¹ Influenced, perhaps, by elements of both the Calvinist doctrine of election and British imperialist prejudice, is Mrs. Rachel Lynde's suspicion of "outsiders," therefore, a minor representation of a wider strain of xenophobia present in turn of the century Canadian culture? Even McClung, who is the most fervent environmentalist

⁸⁷ Gillen, p. 13. ⁸⁸ Sutherland, p. 125. ⁸⁹ Sutherland, p. 71.

⁹⁰ Sutherland, p. 71. ⁹¹ Sutherland, p. 72.

of the three authors, grants that Arthur's admirable behaviour in the affair of Thursa and her new beau may result from "successive generations of gentle breeding;"⁹² while Saunders points out that the wild and uncontrollable in Cassowary's nature obviously derives from the Indian blood in her veins. Fear of the influence of feeble-minded or delinquent children who "went wrong" through hereditary traits, indeed, biased a section of the Canadian population against the British immigrant children: "they corrupted others with whom they associated, putting them up 'to all sorts of evil habits,'"⁹³ it was charged in 1894. It comes as no surprise then that Marilla turns down Matthew's suggestion of adopting a "Home boy:" "'I said "no" flat to that. "They may be all right--I'm not saying they're not--but no London street Arabs for me... Give me a native born at least.'" "⁹⁴ And, if it were true that "invariably the race levels down," what girl would not, like Anne, reject the advances of a Charlie Sloane?⁹⁵

Putting the glimpses one receives of the darker side of human nature aside, however, possibly the "greatest appeal" of Anne of Green Gables, claim Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, "has been to grown-up people who wish to remember only the least disturbing elements of their own childhood.... [for] in L.M. Montgomery the pleasantness has taken over, and has lightened and diminished everything,"⁹⁶ And, indeed, in her "Anne" books, Montgomery has generally left the unsavory aspects of turn-

⁹² McClung, The Second Chance, p. 277.

⁹³ Sutherland, p. 30. It seems significant that the same witnesses before Ontario's Royal Commission on the Prison and Reformatory System also complained that the immigrant children flooded the Canadian labour market, driving down wages.

⁹⁴ Montgomery, Green Gables, p. 8.

⁹⁵ See Gillen for Montgomery's objection to marrying "beneath her," p. 92.

⁹⁶ Cadogan and Craig, pp. 98-99.

of-the-century Canadian childhood behind in the dark forests and sterile city orphanages of New Brunswick, far away from the garden world of Avonlea and the Island. But do not Saunders and McClung also allow their reformist social optimism to distort their portrayals of the home-training and socialization of Canadian youngsters? And have Pearlle's solution to Martha's unhappy situation with the grasping Perkinses, or the Deverings' response to Dallas' emotional alienation from his splintered family been diminished by the authors' reformist manipulation of fictional events? Do any of the authors, for that matter, seem to present a purely idealistic portrait of children's lives and times?

In view of the social and literary evidence available, one would be justified in answering "no." Many of the conventions of sentimentalism were clearly an integral part of the period's atmosphere: if adolescent sexuality, for example, is suppressed in Saunders and relegated to "a state of 'dreaminess'"⁹⁷ in Montgomery and McClung, can it not be argued that the morality thus revealed is an intrinsic element in turn-of-the-century Canadian culture? In point of fact, the "romantic" and the "reformist" writers were both sentimentalists at heart; and, if "pleasantness has taken over" in all of their works, it has not necessarily "lightened and diminished everything," but rather highlighted, through both social and romantic optimism, a world where sentiment and reform share the same flowery diction. Hence, while Anne--and L.M. Montgomery--favour the "romantic" style in both sentimental fiction and the depiction of Canadian childhood between 1880 and 1920, Diana's tastes--and those of Marshall Saunders and Nellie McClung--turn toward the equally popular "reformist" models.

⁹⁷ Cadogan and Craig, p. 97.

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