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**L.M. MONTGOMERY'S PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND:
A STUDY OF LITERARY LANDSCAPES AND TOURIST DEVELOPMENT**

by

/ Shelagh Jennifer Squire, B.A.(Hons.)

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

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

June 23, 1988

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ABSTRACT

In Anne of Green Gables and subsequent novels, L.M. Montgomery created an idyllic portrait of Prince Edward Island. She used the settings with which she was most familiar to create literary place. Yet, landscape was not only the basis of literary setting. It was also a symbol of romantic sentimentality, childhood, home, and an elusive spiritual utopia. The international appeal of Montgomery's fiction has since led to the transformation of her literary landscape into a tourist landscape. At the Green Gables site in Prince Edward Island National Park, literary heritage is preserved. Outside the park, uncontrolled tourist development is destroying the landscape that Montgomery wrote about. Since literary associations have contributed to many tourists' images of Prince Edward Island, and the literary theme is widely touted in provincial tourist advertising, this process raises serious questions about the future of literary tourism in the Cavendish area.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

There are beautiful landscapes elsewhere, all over Canada, but they lack the indescribable charm that haunts Abegweit. It is too elusive...too subtle...for definition. Is it the touch of austerity in the Island landscape that gives it its distinctive beauty? And in what consists that slight austerity? Is it from the fields with the magic of dark spruce woods behind them? Or in the glimpses of harbours and tidal rivers unbelievably blue? Or does it go deeper still to the very soul of the land? Ay, that it does. For lands have personalities just as human beings have, and the spirit of one land is not the spirit of another nor ever can be. And Destiny once said, "I reserve for myself this colourful little land of ruby and emerald and sapphire as a last refuge for the fairies and the old gods."¹

L.M. Montgomery's native Abegweit, or more prosaically, Prince Edward Island, gave her literary inspiration, emotional sustenance, and life-long spiritual renewal. Montgomery was born in 1874 in the village of Clifton, and her childhood and youth were accented by a rich milieu of family heritage and clan lore, while also set against the lush backdrop of an idyllic rural landscape and the often turbulent Gulf of St. Lawrence. Her world was bounded by church and school, ~~for in the small communities of Prince Edward Island's north shore, the rhythmic tenor of life was~~ marked out in the well-worn grooves of old-world,

-
1. L.M. Montgomery, "Prince Edward Island", The Spirit of Canada, Dominion and Provinces 1939, A Souvenir of Welcome to H.M. King George VI and H.M. Queen Elizabeth (Toronto: Canadian Pacific Railway/McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1939), p. 16.

Scottish-Presbyterian traditions. Yet, Montgomery had been endowed with a special gift. Her imaginative power, and acute environmental sensitivity, later allowed her to paint vivid literary portraits of place. Thus, although her novels are clearly of the regional genre that predominated in turn of the century Canadian literature, they yield much more than a passing glimpse of a long vanished era. From the date of original publication until the present day, Montgomery's best-selling fiction has continued to shape a perceptual geography of her homeland in the minds of countless readers.

Statement of Thesis and Basic Questions

This study is based on the premise that writers can create strong sensory images of place in their fiction, and that this imagery can then encourage tourist development. Specifically, it is drawn from the assumption that it was the popularity of L.M. Montgomery's novels--most notably her evocative environmental imagery--that initially fostered tourist development in Cavendish. It is thus the purpose of this thesis to consider the diverse ways that Montgomery depicted Prince Edward Island in her fiction, and to assess how the inimitable appeal of her idyllic regional portrait has been translated into a thriving tourist industry. Montgomery used the settings with which she was most familiar to create literary place, but she

also imbued the lineaments of local geography with emotional and imaginative over-tones. This process raises a number of fundamental questions. How did Montgomery make use of the Prince Edward Island landscape in her fiction? Did she use this landscape differently over the course of her literary career? How has literary heritage been commemorated in the Cavendish area? Further, do existing kinds of tourist development reflect the author's literary insights? Have tourist images of Prince Edward Island been to some extent affected by literary associations? And finally, do current development trends have the potential to destroy the initial tourist resource--literary myths of landscape and place? These questions provide the analytical focus. They also necessitate brief mention here of the origins of Montgomery's intense environmental response.

The landscapes and places of Montgomery's Prince Edward Island childhood formed an integral part of both her life and literary work. With the death of her mother just months before her second birthday, and her father's subsequent decision to move west and seek his fortune in Saskatchewan, the young Lucy Maud was sent from Clifton to live with her maternal grandparents, the MacNeill's, in Cavendish. As she commented in an autobiographical sketch of 1917: "were it not for those Cavendish years, I do not think that Anne of Green Gables would ever have been

written."² She also elaborated on the importance of these early environmental influences.

For few things am I more thankful than for the fact that I was born and bred beside that blue St. Lawrence Gulf....Old Prince Edward Island is a good place to be born—a good place in which to spend a childhood. I can think of none better....Elsewhere are more lavish landscapes and grander scenery, but for chaste restful loveliness it is unsurpassed.³

In 1936, she returned again to this theme:

...the one [thing] for which I am most thankful is that it was my good fortune to have been 'born and bred' on Abegweit....I know perfectly well that deep down in my heart is a great pity for everyone who was NOT born on Prince Edward Island. Can it ever be made up to them?

It was my further good fortune to have lived on the 'north shore' of 'the island', where I could gaze day and night on the splendid pageant of the St. Lawrence Gulf...splendid in its ever-changing beauty of dawn and noon and midnight, of storm and calm, wind and rain, starlight, moonlight, sunset.⁴

Like many writers, Montgomery looked back towards her childhood as a magical, sunlit-world--imbued with a certain enchanted aura.⁵ Reflecting this ambiance, her novels about, and ostensibly for, children have appealed to much

2. L.M. Montgomery, The Alpine Path: The Story of My Career (Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited, copyright 1917), p. 54.

3. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

4. L.M. Montgomery, "Memories of Childhood Days", The Maritime Advocate and Busy East, 26 (May-June 1936). Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, Accession No. 2537, Item No. 30.

5. Making reference to works by a number of British authors, Margaret Drabble examined this idea of a childhood golden age in A Writer's Britain: Landscape in Literature (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 247-277.

wider audiences. Her richly evocative descriptions of her beloved Island help to recreate both a time and a place, and the mythologized picture of Prince Edward Island thereby revealed, has, to some extent transformed the face of environmental actuality. Today, tourists are encouraged to see Prince Edward Island "through the eyes of Anne of Green Gables."⁶ Yet, Anne's vision of Abegweit, like that of the author's other fictional heroines, Emily, Pat, Marigold and Jane, was Montgomery's own. This thesis therefore explores some aspects of this vision--both as it was expressed in fiction, and in terms of its practical applications in contemporary tourist promotion.

Approaches

In seeking to trace the progressive transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape, this study addresses a number of themes that are as yet part of a largely unexplored facet of geographical experience. It also invokes the use of two disparate analytical approaches: subjective literary criticism, and a more objective appraisal of processes of tourist development.

L.M. Montgomery took an actual landscape, and one moreover with which she was intimately familiar, and transferred it, under the thinnest of disguises, into her

6. Fiesta-Prince Edward Island Canada. Fly-Drive Holidays Promotional Brochure (1987).

fictional world. In the process, this landscape became a landscape of the imagination, highly coloured by a romantic-pastoral vision, nostalgia for lost childhood, love of home, and ultimately, by utopian sentimentality. This literary portrait of place was first articulated in Anne of Green Gables (1908) but it was further developed in all of her later novels, including those that are also considered in the present study, namely, Anne's House of Dreams (1917), Magic For Marigold (1930), Pat of Silver Bush (1933), Mistress Pat (1935), and Jane of Lantern Hill (1937).⁷ The Emily trilogy, although the most autobiographical series that Montgomery completed, has been deliberately excluded from analysis. The central theme of this trilogy (Emily of New Moon, Emily Climbs, and Emily's Quest) focussed on literary ambition. This orientation lends a different tone and level of psychological complexity to the narrative from that found in Montgomery's other novels. As such, the author's use of landscape in the trilogy is secondary to questions of characterization and plot development.

Spanning the course of Montgomery's literary career, the six novels considered for the present study are analyzed to determine how the author evoked different

7. For bibliographic information on these and other novels, refer to footnote 1 in Chapter 4 and footnotes 7, 24, 34, 41, and 45 in Chapter 5. For a chronological list of Montgomery's novels, see Appendix 1.

conceptions of landscape and place. In a general sense, however, the mythologized regional idyll that she created in her fiction has fostered tourist interest in the Cavendish area (Figure 1).

Historically, processes of landscape change resulting from tourism will be scrutinized. Has the evolution of this tourist infrastructure altered the settings that Montgomery wrote about? Correspondingly, though, are popular perceptions of Prince Edward Island still being shaped by literary associations? Where do tourists come from? Can the Japanese interest in Montgomery's work be documented? How does the provincial tourism department promote the literary theme? These questions are addressed with reference to data from visitor surveys, market studies, and tourist brochures.

In assessing the impact of tourism, Plog's continuum of tourist types and Butler's model of a resort area's cycle of evolution are useful analytical tools.⁸ Butler's model is applied herein to an analysis of tourist development in Cavendish. His stages provide an appropriate organizational framework within which to study the implications of changing tourism trends, and to briefly evaluate the role of the Cavendish community planning committee.

8. Stanley C. Plog, "Why Destination Areas Rise and Fall in Popularity", Paper presented to the Southern California Chapter of the Travel Research Association (1972); R.W. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources", Canadian Geographer, XXIV (1980), pp. 5-12.

Figure 1: Locational Map - L.M. Montgomery's Prince Edward Island

Sources

The interpretive schema developed in this thesis reflects a variety of sources. Many of these sources will be discussed in subsequent chapters (for example, the geographical literature in Chapter 2 and literary analyses of Montgomery's work in Chapter 3) but some must also be mentioned here.

Since Montgomery's fiction shaped my perceptions of Prince Edward Island, long familiarity with all of her novels had a major impact on the conceptual focus of this study. The six novels considered here were chosen because they offer an excellent thematic illustration of Montgomery's changing environmental response as expressed over the course of her literary career. It is impossible to divorce the significance of these novels, though, from the larger body of her published work (Appendix 1). The Story Girl, for example, is a golden tale of childhood set amidst the delights of summer on a Prince Edward Island farm.⁹ Thus, in terms of patterns of environmental imagery, this novel is as important a contributory influence as those that are herein selected for detailed analysis.

In addition to the novels, several other primary sources also merit brief mention. The Ephraim Weber, George Boyd MacMillan, and Penzie MacNeill letter collections, containing

9. L.M. Montgomery, The Story Girl (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1944 edition).

letters from Montgomery to friends, offer an intimate perspective on her acute spiritual attachment to Prince Edward Island--an attachment that emerged in childhood and intensified throughout the rest of her life.¹⁰ The ongoing journal project promises to be similarly useful,¹¹

10. Ephraim Weber Collection, Public Archives of Canada, MG30D53; George Boyd MacMillan Collection, Public Archives of Canada, MG30D18, Volumes 1 and 2; The Penzie MacNeill Letter Collection: Letters from L.M. Montgomery to Penzie Maria Macneill, Circa 1886-1894, Robertson Memorial Library, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown.
11. Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume I: 1889-1910 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1985); The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume II: 1910-1921 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987). Montgomery's journals were among the materials that the author's son, Dr. Stuart Macdonald, bequeathed to the University of Guelph in 1982. This collection remains inaccessible to the public until 1992. A third volume of the Selected Journals, spanning the years 1921-1942 is planned but no publication date is available. The journals offer the most intimate perspective on the author to date, and a number of journalists have commented on the journal project. See, for examples: Elspeth Cameron, "Split Personality", Saturday Night (November 1985), pp. 73-75; Janet Saunders, "Green Gables Creator Tells All To Her Diary", Winnipeg Free Press (February 22, 1986), p. 72; Mark Abley, "The Girl She Never Was", Saturday Night (November 1987), pp. 52-59; Patricia Morley, "Pain Behind Green Gables", Ottawa Citizen (December 26, 1987), p. 24. It should be recognized that Montgomery's journals (then completely unpublished) were the basis of Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Road to Green Gables, Dir., Terence Macartney-Filgate (Ottawa and Toronto: National Film Board and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1975). In a related context, a biographical filmstrip on the author is Lucy Maud Montgomery: Those Cavendish Years, Dir. David Newman (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1977).

It must also be noted here that following Rubio and Waterston's guidelines, any grammatical inaccuracies in quotations taken from Montgomery's letters, journals, and novels, were present in the original text. Montgomery's idiosyncracies in capitalization, punctuation and hyphenation have therefore been retained.

while the preliminary bibliography recently compiled by Russell, Russell, and Wilmshurst is the most comprehensive guide to material on Montgomery and her work now available.¹²

With respect to the tourism sections of the paper, there are a number of pertinent sources that must be identified. Adler's review of the continuing debate over the benefits of tourist development versus preservation of the Island's pastoral landscape provided a useful introduction to a study of Prince Edward Island tourism.¹³ Specifically, this paper helped to establish the necessary contextual setting for an analysis of 'Anne of Green Gables' tourism in the Cavendish area, while a number of newspaper articles and tourist brochures attested to the significance of the 'Anne' theme in regional

12. Ruth Weber Russell, D.W. Russell, and Rea Wilmshurst, Lucy Maud Montgomery: A Preliminary Bibliography (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Library, 1986). Also of note is that this bibliography was preceded by Rea Wilmshurst, "L.M. Montgomery's Short Stories: A Preliminary Bibliography", Canadian Children's Literature, 29 (1983), pp. 25-34.

13. Judith Adler, "Tourism and Pastoral: A Decade of Debate", The Garden Transformed: Prince Edward Island, 1945-1980, eds., Verner Smitheram, David Milne and Satadal Dasgupta (Charlottetown: Ragweed Press, 1982), pp. 131-154.

promotion.¹⁴ Field observations and personal interviews conducted in Prince Edward Island in June of 1987 yielded a substantial body of evidence on the effects and implications of literary tourism.¹⁵ Such sources contributed greatly to an understanding of this transformation of the fictional into the factual. Finally, a variety of Parks Canada policy documents, Prince Edward Island Tourism Visitor Surveys, and Tourism Canada image data, provided both numerical and analytical evidence to support the conclusions that were eventually drawn.¹⁶

14. See for examples, "Anne of Green Gables Aids Sale, Official Says", Winnipeg Free Press (January 14, 1986), p. 12; George Bryant, "Travel Trends: Green Gables Fans Offered Package that Includes Show", The Toronto Star (March 21, 1987), p. H2; Nan Drosdick, "Seal Pups Big P.E.I. Attraction", The Toronto Star (April 11, 1987), pp. H1; H22; "1987 Guide Map of Cavendish, Prince Edward Island" (Cavendish Area Tourist Association: 1987); Prince Edward Island Canada 1987 Visitors Guide (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Tourism, 1987).

15. For a complete list of these interviews, refer to the 'Personal Interview' section of the Bibliography.

16. See for examples, Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1979); Green Gables Area Plan Concept (Parks Canada, 1981); Prince Edward Island 1984 Attractions Survey: For the Period June 25 to August 31, 1984 (Charlottetown: Department of Finance and Tourism, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1985); Prince Edward Island: 1986 Inbound Survey, First-Time Visitors, May 15-October 31 (Charlottetown: Department of Tourism and Parks, Department of Regional Industrial Expansion, May 1987); Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: Japan. Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration. Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited, 1987.

Insofar as the present study deals with site development at 'Green Gables', both the 'Horne Report' and The Green Gables Area Plan Concept were particularly helpful.¹⁷

Further, several publications by the Parks and People Association proved useful sources for general information on the Cavendish-National Park area, while the 'Anne' theme in relation to Prince Edward Island Tourism marketing strategies is outlined in some recent departmental policy reports.¹⁸ The historical development of Prince Edward Island National Park--an area that encompasses the Green Gables site--was concisely summarized by Lothian, while Stephenson provided factual information for park users; literary pilgrims included.¹⁹ Gaudet, Katsura, and Wong

17. Fred Horne, Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 352 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978-1979); Green Gables Area Plan Concept, Ibid.

18. See for examples: Elizabeth R. Epperly, Green Gables: Prince Edward Island National Park (Charlottetown: Parks and People Association, 1982); Annette Mackinnon and Donna Murphy, Cavendish (Charlottetown: Parks and People Association, 1983); Annette Mackinnon, Green Gables House/Lucy Maud Montgomery (Charlottetown: Parks and People Association, 1983); Prince Edward Island National Park (Charlottetown: Parks and People Association, 1983); One of the World's Great Islands! Prince Edward Island Canada: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan and Three Year Marketing Strategy (1987-1989) (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Department of Tourism and Parks, 1987).

19. W.F. Lothian, "Prince Edward Island National Park", A History of Canada's National Parks, Volume 1 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976), pp. 97-103; Marylee Stephenson, Canada's National Parks: A Visitor's Guide (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1983), pp. 245-247.

commented on the growing phenomenon of Japanese travel to Prince Edward Island much as a 1970 article--"Goodbye Green Gables-Hello Expo 70!"--hinted at the potential for development of the Japanese market.²⁰

L.M. Montgomery wrote about her native province in mystical terms. In 1939, for example, only three years before her death, she commented:

Peace. You never know what peace is until you walk on the shores or in the fields or along the winding red roads of Abegweit on a summer twilight when the dew is falling and the old, old stars are peeping out and the sea keeps its nightly tryst with the little land it loves.²¹

All of her novels reflect this lyrical, and intensely emotional affiliation to place. Yet, such geographical aspects of her fiction have hitherto gone largely unresearched. This study both draws inspiration, and builds on, diverse themes in the scholarly literature linking geography and fiction. Concurrently, however, it also fills a lacuna in the interpretive material on L.M. Montgomery and her literary work.

20. Charmaine Gaudet, "A Gentle Nature", Nature Canada, 16 (Winter 1987), pp. 30-35; "Why the Japanese Love Our 'Anne of Green Gables'", Canadian Geographic, 107 (February/ March 1987), pp. 8-15; Yuko Katsura, "Red-Haired Anne in Japan", Canadian Children's Literature, 34 (1984), pp. 57-60; Jan Wong, "A Yen For Anne: Japanese Fans of Green Gables Heroine Give P.E.I. Economy a Lift", The Globe and Mail (August 15, 1987), p. D2; "Good-by Green Gables - Hello Expo 70!", Maclean's, 82 (July 1969), p. 11.

21. Montgomery, "Prince Edward Island", Spirit of Canada, p. 19.

Chapter 2

GEOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE

Geosophy...is the study of geographical knowledge from any or all points of view....Thus it extends far beyond the core area of scientific geographical knowledge as otherwise systematized by geographers. Taking into account the whole peripheral realm, it covers the geographical ideas, both true and false, of all manner of people--not only geographers, but farmers and fishermen, business executives and poets, novelists and painters, Bedouins and Hottentots--and for this reason it necessarily has to do in large degree with subjective conceptions.¹

The integrative relationships between geography and creative literature have been the focus of much recent scholarship. The literary landscape has fascinated geographers for both its regional components, and as a medium of humanistic expression. The progressive transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape has been less well documented, but the significance of literary imagery in shaping popular perceptions of place is widely recognized. The aims of this thesis thereby reflect the influence of a rich heritage. "Spanning over sixty--but especially the last forty--years of geographic thought, the existing literature covers a variety of research themes, and invokes the analysis of a number of inter-related questions.

-
1. John Kirtland Wright, "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of the Imagination in Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXVII, 1 (March 1947), p. 12.

The John K. Wright Heritage

The diverse linkages between geography and fiction were first recognized by John K. Wright in 1924.

Some men of letters are endowed with a highly developed geographical instinct. As writers, they have trained themselves to visualize even more clearly than the professional geographer those regional elements of the earth's surface most significant to the general run of humanity.²

Yet, as Wright also noted, "Geographers...have devoted but little attention to this fascinating subject of geography and literature".³

This neglect of what Wright saw as a rich geographical resource continued throughout most of his life. Indeed, despite repeated pleas to his contemporaries, wherein he urged them to broaden their intellectual horizons, the scholarly literature of the period shows little evidence that Wright's views, at least on this theme, were given serious consideration. In a presidential address to the Association of American Geographers in 1946, Wright made a definitive statement on his hopes for the future of geography.⁴ Urging his colleagues to explore the terrae

2. John Kirtland Wright, "Geography in Literature", The Geographical Review, 14 (1924), p. 659.

3. Ibid.

4. Presidential address delivered before the Association of American Geographers at its Forty-third Annual Meeting in Columbus, Ohio, December 30, 1946. This address was published as "Terra Incognitae", Annals, pp. 1-15.

incognitae of the peripheral areas of the discipline, he advocated more imaginative approaches to geographical research based on "the study of geographical knowledge from any or all points of view."⁵ Implicit in Wright's argument for geosophy was the premise that art and literature offered much to tantalize the geographic imagination. Indeed, he claimed that such sources had the potential to foster a more effective and lasting sense of place than other, more conventional forms of geographic description.

The Regional Theme and Landscape Signatures

Following Wright's pioneer observations, geographer H.C. Darby used creative literature as an interpretive tool. In a 1948 paper, he analyzed Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels in an attempt to trace the physical and regional geography of the particular area from which the author drew inspiration.⁶ Although a landmark article in the evolution of this kind of geographic scholarship, Darby's work did not constitute the type of literary analysis that

5. Ibid., p. 12.

6. H.C. Darby, "The Regional Geography of Thomas Hardy's Wessex", The Geographical Review, 38 (1948), pp. 426-443. Prior to Darby's paper, Wright's statement on literature and geography had gone virtually unrecognized. One notable exception was an anonymously authored review, "Bibliogeographical Sources for Geographical Fiction", The Geographical Review, 28 (1933), pp. 499-501. Given that Wright worked for The American Geographical Society at that time it is possible that he was the source of this paper.

Wright had suggested. Rather, despite Darby's use of new and innovative material, his work still fitted squarely into the then dominant regional tradition in geography.

The regional paradigm has exerted a strong influence on twentieth century English language geography, and even in the wake of the quantitative revolution, vestiges of regionalism still persist in certain areas of the discipline.⁷ Yet, the regionalist influence notwithstanding, it was the rise of positivism, and the attendant "science of spatial relations" ideology so succinctly espoused by Gould and his contemporaries, that posed the most serious threat to any immediate recognition of Wright's ideas.⁸ Perhaps Wright was simply several

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7. For discussion of the regional paradigm, and changing ideologies in the discipline, see, for instance, Preston E. James, and Geoffray J. Martin, All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1981 edition); R.J. Johnston, Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Geography Since 1945 (London: Edward Arnold, 1979); Philosophy and Human Geography (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).
 8. Peter R. Gould, "The Open Geographic Curriculum", in R. Chorley, ed. Directions in Geography (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 255-286. Within a decade, the Quantitative Revolution had transformed geography. The regional paradigm was thrown out by this new generation of geographers, and Gould aptly summarized prevailing attitudes when he stated: "regional geography has done enough damage and the quicker we get rid of it the better" (*ibid.*, p. 272). Further, he held that geography was a science and "mathematics is a language crucial for any scientific inquiry" (*ibid.*, p. 273). As manifested through positivism, and a trend towards law-making and the formulation of statistically based generalizations, such ideas infiltrated most areas of the discipline.

generations ahead of his compatriots because the kinds of themes he presented for geographical scrutiny as early as 1924, were not resurrected until the 1970's. Then, a new generation of scholars began seeking alternatives to positivist doctrine and some turned to humanistic philosophy.⁹ Complementing this ideological shift was a growing interest in the geographical basis of much fiction.

Most notable within this emerging body of literature were statements by Lanegran and Toth, and Salter and Lloyd.¹⁰ The aim of both papers was remarkably similar. Lanegran and Toth sought "to provide some guidelines both about how literature can enhance geography and how a

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9. Reaction to the idea of geography as solely a spatial science came primarily from humanists who tend to view positivist thought as anti-geographical. There exists a vast body of literature on humanism and geography. For selected examples, refer to Anne Buttner, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 66 (1976), pp. 277-292; Leonard Guelke, "Problems of Scientific Explanation in Geography", The Canadian Geographer, 15 (1971), pp. 38-53; "An Idealist Alternative in Human Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 64 (1974), pp. 193-202; David Ley and Marvyn S. Samuels, eds., Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems (Chicago: Maarafa Press Inc., 1978); Edward Relph, "An Inquiry into the Relations Between Phenomenology and Geography", The Canadian Geographer, XIV (1970), pp. 193-201; Yi-Fu Tuan, "Humanistic Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 66 (1976), pp. 266-276.
 10. David A. Lanegran and Susan Allen Toth, "Geography Through Literature", Places, 3 (March 1976), pp. 5-12; Christopher L. Salter and William J. Lloyd, Landscape in Literature (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, Resource Paper for College Geography, No. 76-3, 1977).

geographer can apply the essential tools of literary analysis for his own purposes."¹¹ Salter and Lloyd strove "to encourage geographers to consider the purposeful application of literary insights to their scholarly work."¹² This review emerged from a special session on "Geography and Literature" that was held at the 1975 meetings of the Association of American Geographers. Published as an A.A.G. working paper, Landscape and Literature outlined the variety of integrated themes encompassed by studies of geography and literature. Salter and Lloyd examined diverse elements of literary landscapes and noted such landscape signatures as being either behavioural or structural symbols. In a related paper, Salter defined behavioural symbols in landscape as "those landscape features which...reflect individual decisions, either for landscape creation or landscape use."¹³ These signatures "could include house types, gardens, and entertainment, language and costume."¹⁴ By contrast, structural signatures resulted from "cultures working on a

11. Lanegran and Toth, "Geography Through Literature", p. 5.

12. Salter and Lloyd, Landscape in Literature, p. 1.

13. Christopher L. Salter, "Signatures and Settings: One Approach to Landscape in Literature", in Karl W. Butzer, ed., Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes (Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1977), p. 75.

14. Ibid.

large scale to transform either natural or an earlier-modified geographical space into a new shape."¹⁵ He also argued that these broad landscape features might "include patterns of settlement, agriculture, and transportation as well as landscapes of livelihood and sacred space."¹⁶

Salter and Lloyd's work provided a strong ideological focus for subsequent research. The present study reflects both this heritage and the John K. Wright legacy. L.M. Montgomery wrote about place in mystical terms but in Anne of Green Gables particularly, she also re-created the physical and cultural geography of her native Cavendish. Her fiction thus contains a wealth of geographic references and attendant landscape signatures.

Subsequent Research on the Geography of Fiction

After Salter and Lloyd, geographic interest in the fictional realm increased rapidly. A number of papers appeared and, helping to foster a broader understanding of the relationships between geography and creative literature, they have thereby influenced the kind of analytical assessment developed in this thesis.

Lamme, for example, examined how novels can serve as a useful tool in geographic education. Paying particular

15. Ibid., p. 74.

16. Ibid., p. 75.

attention to Michener's epic novel, Centennial, he outlined its relevance to courses in historical geography.¹⁷ Insofar as they represent an historical portrait of a specific place in time, certain aspects of Montgomery's fiction could be similarly assessed. In a related context, Aiken has considered the Yoknapatawpha County of William Faulkner's Mississippi novels with a view to determining how the author transferred geographic fact into fiction.¹⁸ Much as Montgomery did in rural Prince Edward Island, Faulkner created evocative vignettes of a specific and recognizable place in the American South. More recently, Aiken explored facts of this same theme in documenting the evolution of James Agee's Knoxville. Historically, urban expansion caused the writer's neighbourhood to gradually be transformed from suburb to inner-city.¹⁹

17. A.J. Lamme III, "The Use of Novels in Geography Classrooms", Journal of Geography (February 1977), pp. 66-68.

18. Charles S. Aiken, "Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County: Geographical Fact into Fiction", The Geographical Review, 67 (January 1977), pp. 1-21; "Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County: A Place in the American South", The Geographical Review, 69 (July 1979), pp. 331-348; "A Geographical Approach to William Faulkner's The Bear", The Geographical Review, 71 (October 1981), pp. 446-459.

19. Charles S. Aiken, "The Transformation of James Agee's Knoxville", The Geographical Review, 73 (April 1983), pp. 150-166. It should also be noted that geographer M.E.E. Hurst made extensive use of literature to capture the essence of urban places, especially the inner city, in his I Came to the City: Essays and Comments on the Urban Scene (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975).

In conjunction with a regional thrust, a concept that has unified much of the scholarly literature on geography and fiction is that of landscape. Indeed, throughout the history of geography as a discipline--whether under the guise of the German Landschaftskunde school, or the more contemporary views espoused by contributors to a volume like The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes--'landscape' has been presented as one of the keys to a fully integrated geography.²⁰ It is not the purpose of this thesis to debate paradigm shifts in geography, or indeed, to even attempt to review and synthesize the vast literature that exists on the broad theme of landscape and place. Rather, in the present context it is sufficient to state that current research on geography and creative literature is closely allied to a longstanding tradition in the discipline.

A paper by Lowenthal and Prince--"English Landscape Tastes"--offers a particularly good illustration of the way that geographers have addressed questions of landscape and place.²¹ In this thought provoking essay, the authors examined how English attitudes and preferences, shaped by

20. James and Martin, All Possible Worlds, pp. 176-179; D.W. Meinig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

21. David Lowenthal and Hugh C. Prince, "English Landscape Tastes", The Geographical Review, 55 (1965), pp. 186-222.

a variety of factors including art and literature, have influenced the way that landscape is evaluated. Given the aims of the present study, the emphasis that Lowenthal and Prince placed on landscape perceptions derived from literary associations is most significant. Integral to their argument was the claim that "the English seldom merely 'see' a landscape; they see it as delineated in famous books and paintings. Not only are poets and painters known by their special landscapes, they have made these landscapes their own."²² This kind of analytical focus is equally applicable to an understanding of the way in which Montgomery's fiction has coloured popular perceptions of Prince Edward Island. For those familiar with her many novels, place and region are assessed within a literary frame of reference.

Spirit of Place

Any discussion of Montgomery's work also evokes the concept of 'spirit of place'. Among geographers, Spolton was one of the first to consider this highly subjective

22. Ibid., p. 215. This theme was also addressed by David Lowenthal in his The Past is a Foreign Country (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and was touched upon by Charles W.J. Withers, "'The Image of the Land': Scotland's Geography Through Her Languages and Literature", Scottish Geographical Magazine, 100 (1984), pp. 81-95.

theme.²³ He traced the geographical implications of D.H. Lawrence's East Midlands novels with a view to determining how the author managed to articulate the essence of a place. Lawrence's work was recently again the focus of geographical scrutiny with a paper by Simpson-Housley and Paul.²⁴ They approached Lawrence's work from a regional perspective, and examined the way that the author's own perceptual filter, more than his cultural heritage, influenced his descriptions of four geographically distinct landscapes. Since Montgomery was also a regionalist, the analytical framework employed by Simpson-Housley and Paul suggests ways of evaluating landscape as depicted in Anne of Green Gables and other novels.

Among this new generation of geographers, Yi-Fu Tuan merits special consideration. The book Topophilia stands as a pioneer statement on the aesthetic dimensions of environmental perception, attitudes, and values.²⁵ Tuan developed a conceptual schema for innovative

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23. L. Spolton, "The Spirit of Place: D.H. Lawrence and the East Midlands", in R.H. Osborne, F.A. Barnes, and J.C. Doornkamp, eds., Geographical Essays in Honour of K.C. Edwards (Nottingham: Department of Geography, University of Nottingham, 1970), pp. 88-96.
 24. Paul Simpson-Housley, and Alec H. Paul, "Some Regional Themes in the Writings of D.H. Lawrence", Canadian Geographer, XXVII (1984), pp. 63-77.
 25. Yi-fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1974).

approaches to the study of conventional geographic problems. Imaginative literature and the geographer was a sub-theme in Topophilia, but Tuan's views on this relationship were more explicitly stated in two other papers: "Literature and Geography: Implications for Geographical Research", and "The Landscapes of Sherlock Holmes."²⁶ These papers provided an eclectic look at environmental symbolism and, in the latter case, the significance of geographical settings for this renowned detective series. Tuan argued that literature can serve the geographer in three principal ways. As he pointed out, modes of human experience are an integral part of fictional portraits. Creative literature may also be seen as an artifact that highlights environmental perceptions and cultural values. Furthermore, as an attempt to balance the subjective and the objective, literature serves as a model for geographical synthesis.²⁷ Tuan applied some of these ideas to an analysis of the world of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories. This world was a product of the late Victorian period and the series reflects the Victorian belief in environmental determinism. As Tuan

26. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Literature and Geography: Implications for Geographical Research" in Ley and Samuels, Humanistic Geography, pp. 194-206; "The Landscape of Sherlock Holmes", Journal of Geography, 84 (March-April 1985), pp. 56-60.

27. Tuan, "Literature and Geography".

identified it, Doyle developed a causal relationship between action and setting. A hostile environment was conducive to crime. By contrast, 221B Baker Street was always depicted "as an oasis of coziness and comfort."²⁸ In Montgomery's fiction, pathetic fallacy was used in much the same way. Thus, since her novels were also products of a particular time, Tuan's analysis of cultural and environmental symbolism in the Sherlock Holmes stories provided partial inspiration for the interpretive framework that underlies the present study.

Humanistic Geography

With the rise of humanistic geography in the 1970's and 1980's, the subliminal dimensions of landscape and place that literary portraits may reveal have received special attention. Tuan's assessment of literature and geography was clearly in the humanistic vein. A more recent set of papers edited by Pocock, Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place, constituted a major statement on this theme.²⁹ These articles, employing a variety of approaches, but seeking to integrate humanistic concerns for place and region within a common

28. Tuan, "Landscapes of Sherlock Holmes", p. 58.

29. Douglas C.D. Pocock, ed., Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981).

framework of geographic interpretation, undertook the study of works by a number of different authors. These included Hans Christian Andersen and other Danish writers, as well as Lessing, Eliot, Steinbeck, and Mary Webb.³⁰ Olwig, for instance, considered "literature's social function in envisioning reality as it is not but ought to be, and with its potential thereby, for stimulating change."³¹ He examined this theme with particular reference to the transformation of Denmark's Jutland Heath; endowed with a sublime beauty by nineteenth century poets and novelists. Seamon took a phenomenological approach--'existential insideness' and 'existential outsideness'--to analyze human interaction with place as expressed in two of Doris Lessing's novels, Pursuit and City.³² He concluded that the "phenomenological study of imaginative literature provides new approaches and notions for research in environmental behaviour and experience."³³ In a similar context,

30. These papers have been emphasized because they are representative of the three thematic groupings identified by Pocock in his introduction to Humanistic Geography and Literature: the nature of literature in relation to experience of place, particular conditions of environmental experience, and the regional theme in relation to the experience of place (pp. 17-18).

31. Kenneth Robert Olwig, "Literature and 'Reality': The Transformation of the Jutland Heath", in Pocock, ibid., p. 47.

32. David Seamon, "Newcomers, Existential Outsiders and Insiders: Their Portrayal in Two Books by Doris Lessing", in Pocock, ibid., pp. 85-100.

33. Ibid., p. 97.

Middleton explored the concept of roots and rootlessness in George Eliot's fiction.³⁴ Middleton argued that Eliot's portrayal of individual attachment to place reflected patterns in the author's own life. Salter studied diverse themes in John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath--migration, settlement forms, economic systems, cultural dualism, agricultural land use patterns, transportation technology and social change--to discuss the novel's relevance as a cultural geography text.³⁵ Finally, Paterson and Paterson examined how Mary Webb depicted the Shropshire landscape in her novels by focussing on her technique of integrating a real landscape into her prose, and more subliminally, her use of topography and environment as symbols for character and action.³⁶

Since 'place'--centres of felt value--³⁷ and human interaction with diverse places are the themes that unify

34. Catherine A. Middleton, "Roots and Rootlessness: An Exploration of the Concept in the Life and Novels of George Eliot", in Pocock, ibid., pp. 101-120.

35. Christopher L. Salter, "John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath as a Primer for Cultural Geography" in Pocock, ibid., pp. 142-158.

36. John H. Paterson and Evangeline Paterson, "Shropshire: Reality and Symbol in the Work of Mary Webb", in Pocock, ibid., pp. 209-220.

37. This interpretation of 'place' was shaped by Yi-Fu Tuan, "Humanistic Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 66 (1976), pp. 267-269; and by Edward Relph, Place and Placelessness (London: Pion Limited, 1976).

Humanistic Geography and Literature, this set of essays provided a useful ideological background for the present study. L.M. Montgomery wrote about place in a mystical way, and an analysis of her changing environmental response is a quintessentially humanistic task.

A number of other geographers have also attempted to apply humanistic concerns to an investigation of creative literature. Hart and Pirie, for example, sought to understand the social geography of Sophiatown, a South African slum, through an assessment of its portrayal in novels, short stories, essays, and autobiographies.³⁸ This material, they argued, evoked the 'soul' of the community in ways that continue to elude the conventional social science literature. This idea is integral to many of the essays in Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines.³⁹ Co-edited by geographer Paul Simpson-Housley, this interdisciplinary collection explored the concept of landscape and place as expressed in an eclectic mix of literary works. Humanistic approaches are emphasized and indeed, it is even suggested that humanism offers a contextual setting for this meeting between

38. Deborah M. Hart, and Gordon H. Pirie, "The Sight and Soul of Sophiatown", The Geographical Review, 74 (1984), pp. 38-47.

39. William E. Mallory, and Paul Simpson-Housley, eds., Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987).

geography and literature.

Porteous has also examined the broad theme of literature and humanist geography.⁴⁰ Specifically, he attempted to develop a methodological structure for this kind of literary analysis. His conceptual schema was based on a four-celled matrix of insider-outsider cells. These cells were defined by particular literary themes and types of novels, suggesting an organizational framework for existing and future research on geography and fiction. In a subsequent paper, Porteous considered Malcolm Lowry's Canadian and Mexican novels in terms of 'inscape', or landscape of the mind.⁴¹ He developed this concept to illustrate how images of paradise and inferno form a eutopic-dystopic polarity in the author's fiction. According to Porteous' interpretation, Lowry's juxtaposition of such diverse landscape elements as house and garden, and mountain and cavern, represented his dichotomous response to place. This argument took geographic exploration of the literary landscape into new and challenging terrae incognitae. As Porteous put it, "the landscapes of Lowry's novels...are not merely real or even imagined landscapes, products of his mind; they

40. J. Douglas Porteous, "Literature and Humanistic Geography", Area, 17 (1985), pp. 117-122.

41. J. Douglas Porteous, "Inscape: Landscapes of the Mind in the Canadian and Mexican Novels of Malcolm Lowry", Canadian Geographer, 30 (Summer 1986), pp. 123-131.

have in a sense become his mind."⁴² This interpretation added another fascinating dimension to humanistic analyses of creative literature. Indeed, although lying far beyond the scope of the present study, Porteous' work suggests exciting possibilities for future discussion of the psychological motives of Montgomery's fiction, and her often obsessive preoccupation with the past and the landscape of home.⁴³

Children's Literature

Given geographers' interests in fictional portraits of landscape and place, it is surprising that landscapes in children's literature have received so little attention. Environmental images and perceptions formed during childhood and youth are invariably lasting ones. Consider, for example, the world of Beatrix Potter as depicted in the still popular 'Peter Rabbit' tales. Interestingly, it was Margaret Drabble, a contemporary writer, who commented on the significance of the cozy, rural environment that Potter portrayed so convincingly through both the literary

42. Ibid., p. 130. Porteous developed some of these ideas in a subsequent paper, "Deathscape: Malcolm Lowry's Topophobic View of the City", Canadian Geographer, 31 (Spring 1987), pp. 34-43.

43. The journal project promises to offer a wealth of material for this kind of inquiry. Rubio and Waterston, eds., Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume I; Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume II.

and artistic mediums. As Drabble put it,

Generations of children all over the world, some of whom have never seen an English field or tree, have formed intense and acute impressions of the English countryside through her work.⁴⁴

Their sources could also be Kenneth Grahame, Robert Louis Stevenson, Arthur Ransome, Frances Hodgson Burnett, or any number of other English novelists and poets who made profound use of place description for mood, setting, and story content.⁴⁵ Yet, Drabble clearly implied that impressions of place obtained from childhood reading will prevail, and indeed serve as a basis for all subsequent environmental response. The geographical literature assessing this phenomenon, though, is virtually non-existent.

One notable exception is a paper by Lloyd.⁴⁶ She examined the changing urban landscape as depicted in a selection of children's books from the past century. Tracing this theme to illustrate the anti-urban bias that

44. Margaret Drabble, A Writer's Britain: Landscape in Literature (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1979), p. 256.

45. Kenneth Grahame, The Wind in the Willows (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908); Robert Louis Stevenson, Kidnapped (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1960 edition); Arthur Ransome, Swallows and Amazons (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1930); Frances Hodgson Burnett, The Secret Garden (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1984 edition [copyright 1911]).

46. Bonnie Lloyd, "The Changing City Landscape in Children's Books", Places, 1 (October 1974), pp. 15-19.

prevailed in the first children's literature prior to 1900, through the glamorous portraits of the 1930's and 1940's, and on to the 1960's when life in the inner city was emphasized, Lloyd contended that such perceptual shifts reflected changes in the social and political climates. This idea of children's literature as a medium for the projection of social values has also been addressed by Brooker-Gross in an analysis of the "moral social geography" of Nancy Drew mystery stories.⁴⁷

Brooker-Gross argued that the kinds of landscape judgements that provide the backdrop for this detective series are a product of middle-class values and attitudes. In these children's books, pastoral and romantic settings are typically equated with goodness; utilitarian, technological, and decaying, often urban environments are assumed to be crime ridden.

Like Lloyd, Brooker-Gross recognized that the landscapes of children's books must, of necessity, mirror adult perceptions and impressions. Thus, insofar as children's literature is concerned with questions of landscape and place, the adult world view that is articulated can effectively colour children's environmental perceptions. This interpretation substantiates a basic premise of the

47. Susan R. Brooker-Gross, "Landscape and Social Values in Popular Children's Literature: Nancy Drew Mysteries", Journal of Geography, 80 (February 1971), pp. 59-64.

present study. Montgomery's fiction has been widely categorized as children's literature. The images of Prince Edward Island that continue to be perpetuated through her novels have proven to be lasting ones. Hence, fictional portraits of place drawn from childhood reading have, in this instance, superseded all subsequent sources of environmental information.

From Literary to Tourist Landscape

If geographers have shown little interest in children's literature, consideration of the literary landscape as a tourist landscape has been equally neglected. The transformation of the "fictional" into the "factual" is becoming increasingly common though, as efforts are made to attract tourists to an area made famous by writers in poems and novels. Indeed, there are important economic implications for communities, such as Cavendish, that wish to capitalize on the popular appeal of particular literary associations.

Curtis, for example, assessed the 'boutiquing' or revitalization of John Steinbeck's "Cannery Row", an area north of Monterey, California (that the author immortalized in a 1945 novel of the same name), and found that Cannery Row had become a tourist mecca.⁴⁸ Curtis also examined

48. James R. Curtis, "The Boutiquing of Cannery Row", Landscape, 25 (1981), pp. 44-48.

this theme as it pertained to tourist development in Hannibal, Missouri, the boyhood home of Mark Twain.⁴⁹ He described this self-proclaimed 'Twainland' as a curious blend of "the real, the imaginary and the absurd, [all] designed to woo tourist dollars",⁵⁰ and presented a brief synopsis of diverse facets of this still evolving tourist landscape. Curtis' work is particularly applicable to the present study since Cavendish, like Hannibal, has an international reputation, and offers an eclectic blend of literary inspired attractions and services.

By contrast, Newby considered how literature may influence styles of tourism: Wordsworthian romanticism and scenic travel in the English Lake District, F. Scott Fitzgerald's popularization of a Mediterranean summer season in the wake of Tender is the Night in 1934, and Lawrence Durrell's influence on Greek Island tourism and villa, or ethnic holidays.⁵¹ Pocock also touched on facets of the tourism theme in a brief paper entitled

49. James R. Curtis, "The Most Famous Fence in the World: Fact and Fiction in Mark Twain's Hannibal", Landscape, 28 (1985), pp. 8-14.

50. Ibid., p. 11.

51. Peter T. Newby, "Literature and the Fashioning of Tourist Taste", in Pocock, Humanistic Geography and Literature, pp. 130-141. On Wordsworth's influence on travel to the Lake District, also see Shelagh J. Squire, "Wordsworth and Lake District Tourism: A Study of Romantic Poetry and Changing Environmental Attitudes", Canadian Geographer, Forthcoming (Fall 1988).

"Writers Who Knew Their Places".⁵² He raised questions about the potentially exploitative role of tourist agencies and memorial societies ostensibly involved in the preservation and commemoration of literary heritage. In a more recent study, Pocock used a questionnaire to assess visitor experiences of literary place at Haworth, the Yorkshire village where the Bronte family lived between 1820 and 1861.⁵³ Pocock's analysis showed that literary pilgrims were generally satisfied with the Haworth setting since it conformed to their expectations of place; expectations shaped by familiarity with the Bronte's novels.

It is Butler, though, who has made the most succinct statement about the phenomenon that he described as literary tourism. When tracing the history of tourist development in the Scottish Highlands, he cited public fascination with Sir Walter Scott's novels as being a major catalyst for tourist travel to the area.⁵⁴ More significant is that Butler also prepared a thematic review of creative literature as an influence in shaping tourist

52. Douglas C.D. Pocock, "Writers Who Knew Their Places", The Geographical Magazine, 54 (1982), pp. 40-43.

53. Douglas C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: The Experience of Literary Place" in Mallory and Simpson-Housley, Geography and Literature, pp. 135-142.

54. Richard W. Butler, "Evolution of Tourism in The Scottish Highlands", Annals of Tourism Research, 12 (1985), pp. 371-391.

images of vacation destinations.⁵⁵ Although the example of Scott's countryside was again used to illustrate this concept, Butler examined some of the linkages between fiction and the creation of tourist images, and insisted that "much of what the current generation thinks about places, if it does think about places at all, has its origins in the written word and in many cases the classic written word."⁵⁶

Concurrently, recognition of literary tourism has come from several non-geographers - including Drabble; Daiches and Flower, whose narrative atlas of the British Isles is a comprehensive guide to literary landscapes in Britain; Gaudet, and Mitchell, who both briefly described promotion of the 'Anne of Green Gables' theme in L.M. Montgomery's Prince Edward Island.⁵⁷ Yet, if there is still a general

55. Richard W. Butler, "Literature as an Influence in Shaping the Image of Tourist Destinations: A Review and Case Study", in John S. Marsh, ed., Canadian Studies of Parks, Recreation and Tourism in Foreign Lands (Peterborough: Department of Geography, Trent University, Occasional Paper Number 11, 1986), pp. 112-132.

56. Ibid., p. 115.

57. Drabble, A Writer's Britain; David Daiches, and John Flower, Literary Landscapes of the British Isles: A Narrative Atlas (New York: Paddington Press Ltd., 1979); Charmaine Gaudet, "Why the Japanese Love Our 'Anne of Green Gables'", Canadian Geographic, 107 (February/March 1987), pp. 8-15; Elsie Mitchell, "The World of Lucy Maud Montgomery", The Atlantic Advocate (August 1982), pp. 46-48.

lack of recognition in the scholarly literature for the relationship between literary images and tourist images, the medium of vernacular culture (in this case, tourist brochures) is replete with literary references. Of note is that although Dilley has assessed some of the ways that holiday brochures may colour visitor impressions of place, he disregarded the significance of brochures advertising literary heritage.⁵⁸ This theme offers ample scope for future research.

The British Tourist Authority, for instance, publishes a special pamphlet entitled "In Britain: Literary Heritage", designed to direct potential visitors to the many literary sites and shrines scattered around the British Isles.⁵⁹ Residents of local areas are no less zealous in the promotion of literary heritage, as a variety of brochures boasting Shakespeare's Country, Wordsworth's Lake District, Beatrix Potter's home, and the Burns Heritage Trail, to name but a few, aptly demonstrates.⁶⁰

58. Robert S. Dilley, "Tourist Brochures and Tourist Images", The Canadian Geographer, 30 (Spring 1986), pp. 59-65.

59. "In Britain: Literary Heritage" (London: British Tourist Authority, 1983).

60. "Shakespeare's Country, The Cotswolds, and The Heart of England" (London: British Tourist Authority, 1986); "Cumbria: English Lake District" (London: British Tourist Authority, 1986); "Beatrix Potter's Home" (undated tourist brochure); "The Burns Heritage Trail" (Scottish Tourist Board, n.d.).

Even more indicative of the significance of the literary resource to the British tourist industry are package tours developed around a particular author or literary theme. These all inclusive travel packages are offered by several companies, and cater to the well-educated, 'elite' traveller; they feature a carefully selected itinerary designed to illustrate the history of geographical place from a literary perspective.⁶¹

In North America, this kind of literary tourism is less common, but it occurs nonetheless, even though the ancient literary lineage and deeply entrenched European landscape heritage that is so much a part of the British experience is lacking. Mark Twain's Hannibal (noted above) has become one of Missouri's foremost tourist attractions. In 1986, that community received well over 100,000 visitors.⁶²

Atlanta, Georgia, has claimed an association with the Gone With the Wind image as part of its tourism strategy.⁶³

61. See, for example, tours offered by organizations like 'Landscape and Literature' and 'Plantagenet Tours'. Both promote English Literary Tours focussed around a particular region, historical period, or group of writers.

62. Curtis, "The Most Famous Fence in the World"; Personal communications from Mr. Henry Sweets, Curator, Mark Twain Home & Museum, Hannibal, Missouri (February 20; March 23, 1987).

63. American Automobile Association Tour Book: Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina (American Automobile Association, 1986), p. 16; Art Harris, "Architect Fights for Margaret Mitchell Apartment", Winnipeg Free Press (January 3, 1988), p. 20.

Across the U.S. midwest, the 'Little House on the Prairie' landscape of Laura Ingalls Wilder's pioneer novels has been resurrected by many communities, anxious to commemorate and capitalize on the literary heritage.⁶⁴ Devoted readers of Stephen Leacock's novels are drawn to Orillia, Ontario, the model for his fictional community of Mariposa.⁶⁵ And in Neepawa, Manitoba, the "Manawaka" of Margaret Laurence's books, the author's childhood home has recently been restored and is now accessible to the growing number of literary pilgrims who visit the town in search of the setting that inspired Laurence's evocative environmental imagery.⁶⁶

Literary images are, of course, but one of many contributory influences that may facilitate the creation of tourist place. As both Curtis and Lehr have documented, music has the potential to foster strong environmental

64. For discussion refer to Evelyn Thurman, The Ingalls-Wilder Homesites: A Diary of Visits 1972-1981 (Bowling Green, Kentucky: Bowman Kelly Press, 1982), and Donald Zochert, Laura: The Life of Laura Ingalls Wilder (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1976).

65. See, for example, Darrell A. Norris, "Preserving Main Street: Some Lessons of Leacock's Mariposa", Journal of Canadian Studies, 17 (Summer 1982), pp. 128-136.

66. "Laurence Memorial Opened", Winnipeg Free Press (June 24, 1987), p. 26; Elisabeth Treger, "Japanese Ambassador Visits Laurence House", The Neepawa Press (June 4, 1987), p. 1.

images and impressions.⁶⁷ Song lyrics contain a variety of geographic references; communities like Luckenbach, Texas, for example, have derived partial identity from their portrayal in popular music.⁶⁸ In other areas, ethnic heritage has been employed for promotional purposes. Buck has examined the tourist industry that has developed from public fascination with the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.⁶⁹ He concluded that promotion of a contrived Amish culture might actually assist the Amish people in maintaining their separate way of life. Across the prairies of western Canada, there are numerous illustrations of this marketing of ethnic heritage for tourism purposes. Vegreville, Alberta boasts a large Ukrainian Easter egg; St. Pierre-Jolys, Manitoba, promotes their francophone heritage through "Les Folies Grenouilles", a summer festival featuring a frog jumping

67. James R. Curtis, "Woody Guthrie and the Dust Bowl", Places, 3 (July 1976), pp. 12-18; John C. Lehr, "'Texas (When I Die)': National Identity and Images of Place in Canadian Country Music Broadcasts", Canadian Geographer, 37 (Winter 1983), pp. 361-369.

68. Lehr, ibid.

69. Roy C. Buck, "The Ubiquitous Tourist Brochure: Explorations in its Intended and Unintended Use", Annals of Tourism Research, 4 (1977), pp. 195-207. On this point, also refer to Gary R. Hovinen, "Visitor Cycles: Outlook for Tourism in Lancaster Country", Annals of Tourism Research, 9 (1982), pp. 565-583.

competition.⁷⁰ Many other examples could be cited but they are all representative of a fundamental process: landscape transformation through tourist development.

Summary

Dating from John K. Wright's work, but in the past twenty years especially, geographic interest in fictional portraits of landscape and place has increased rapidly. Unified by diverse themes, this literature has made an important contribution to the interpretive framework developed in this thesis.

The regional tradition, so integral to the history of western geographical thought, has provided a conceptual focus for much of the research linking geography and literature. Like Montgomery, many writers may be categorized as regionalists, and their intimate knowledge of particular geographic areas can enrich other, more conventional forms of geographic description. Further, fiction offers a medium for geographers to 'read' landscapes and, as identified by Salter and Lloyd, a variety of landscape signatures suggest an analytical approach for this kind of literary criticism.

'Landscape' is another concept that serves to integrate

70. Shelagh J. Squire, "Boosterist Landscapes and the Geography of Community Promotion: An Analysis of the Western Canadian Experience" (Unpublished B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Winnipeg, 1986).

work on geography and fiction. A number of papers have addressed how different authors have used landscape as a symbolic device, and have also examined the aesthetic and subliminal dimensions of landscape and place that such literary portraits may reveal. These themes complement the humanistic movement in the discipline, with many geographers demonstrating concern for the experiential and emotional facets of literary place.

Ultimately, just as geographers have traditionally over-looked the importance of landscape in children's literature, they have likewise failed to identify processes of landscape change associated with the transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape. Indeed, despite the promotion of literary place for tourism purposes in both Britain and North America, the relationship between literary images and tourist images, and the effects and implications of literary tourism, have hitherto gone largely unexplored.

The material reviewed in this chapter has provided part of the ideological base for an analysis of L.M. Montgomery's literary landscapes. As will be subsequently shown, however, questions of landscape and place have been but superficially addressed in the scholarly literature on the author and her novels. A geographic interpretation is thus long overdue.

Chapter 3

L.M. MONTGOMERY IN CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

L.M. Montgomery's books always left one with a kindlier feeling toward mankind generally, a quickened consciousness of the beauty of simple, homely things, a heightened sense of tolerant humour playing like sunlight over life's varied events, and a general feeling that life is good and richly rewarding to those who with a pure heart and honest purpose put it to the test. The word great will not be applied to her books, for they have not the timelessness that the word great requires, very few books have that, but they did wake up one section of the maritimes to a priceless beauty which it possessed and at the same time gave a pure, wholesome delight to thousands of people everywhere.¹

The aims of this thesis are divorced from those of conventional literary criticism. Yet, just as it was essential to orient this study within the broader context of research relating geography and creative literature, it is similarly appropriate to review changes in critical response to Montgomery's work, and to consider how questions of landscape and place add another dimension to existing scholarship on the author and her novels.

Critical response to L.M. Montgomery's work has varied widely. The commercial success of her novels and, indeed, the fact that all are still in print, attests to the continued public appeal of her fiction. Yet, critics still debate the literary merit of Montgomery's work, and even a

1. "Tribute to Late Island Authoress", The United Churchman (May 6, 1942), Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, Accession No. 2541, Item 133C.

brief review of selected critical excerpts demonstrates the attitudinal disparities that her novels have evoked. Since reactions have ranged from praise, to condemnation, ambivalence, and studied indifference, an assessment of such changes in critical tone reveals a wide-spread uneasiness with Montgomery's fiction, perhaps children's literature generally, and, indeed, in a broad sense, also with the work of many turn of the century Canadian authors.

General Critical Response

In a personal letter to Montgomery in 1908, soon after the publication of Anne of Green Gables, seventy-three old Mark Twain wrote that "in 'Anne' she had created the dearest and most lovable child in fiction since the immortal Alice."² Poet Bliss Carman was similarly complimentary: "'Anne' will always remain one of the immortal children of fiction," he claimed.³ A New York Times reviewer, though, felt much differently. Dismissing

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2. As quoted in L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, December 22, 1908, Weber Collection. See also Wilfred Eggleston, ed., The Green Gables Letters: From L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber 1905-1909 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 80.
 3. Letter from Bliss Carman; copy in L.M. Montgomery's scrapbook, 1905-1917 as quoted by Francis W.P. Bolger, The Years Before 'Anne' (Charlottetown: The Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation, 1974), p. 193.

'Anne' as "impossible, mawkish, and tiresome,"⁴ he had no praise for a novel that subsequent critics have described as a Canadian version of Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm.⁵

In a 1951 review of Canadian writers, Arthur Phelps described Montgomery's fiction as "unpretentious to the point of being naive. Its innocence seems always on the edge of suggesting close cousinship with ignorance-- ignorance of life."⁶ He then added:

[Montgomery] is one of our popular so-called mediocre story tellers...Anne of Green Gables is old fashioned. L.M. Montgomery is old fashioned. She belongs to the age of innocence.⁷

Desmond Pacey, one of the foremost literary critics of his day, was even more condescending. When referring to Anne of Green Gables he stated:

the whole book achieves a quaint naive perfection that is fresh and charming still....There was never any doubt of its popularity. It had all the features of the kind of escape literature which a materialistic and vulgar generation craved.⁸

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4. As quoted in L.M. Montgomery to George Boyd MacMillan, August 31, 1908. MacMillan Collection Volume 1. See also Francis W.P. Bolger and Elizabeth R. Epperly, eds., My Dear Mr. M: Letters to G.B. MacMillan from L.M. Montgomery (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1980), p. 39.
 5. See, for example, Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, You're a Brick, Angela! A New Look at Girl's Fiction from 1839 to 1975 (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1976), p. 94.
 6. Arthur L. Phelps, Canadian Writers (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1951), p. 88.
 7. Ibid., pp. 89-90.
 8. Desmond Pacey, Creative Writing in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), p. 106.

He was no less disparaging of some of Montgomery's later work. When "she tried her hand at adult fiction [as in The Blue Castle (1926)] the product had all the weaknesses of the Anne books with none of their redeeming charm."⁹ Another leading literary critic, E.K. Brown, grouped Montgomery's work with that of Ralph Connor and Robert Service; two other best-selling writers of the period. As Brown commented:

They [Montgomery, Connor, and Service] were all more or less aggressively unliterary; and their only significance for our inquiry is the proof they offered that for the author who was satisfied to truckle to mediocre taste, living in Canada and writing about Canadian subjects, was perfectly compatible with making an abundant living by one's pen. The lesson they taught has not been forgotten: fortunately it has not been widely effective.¹⁰

Other critical anthologies of Canadian literature, most notably those compiled by Atwood, Jones, and Sutherland,¹¹ have ignored Montgomery entirely; an

9. Ibid.

10. E.K. Brown, "The Problem of a Canadian Literature", Masks of Fiction: Canadian Critics on Canadian Prose, ed., A.J. Smith (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1961), p. 41.

11. Margaret Atwood, Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1972); D.J. Jones, Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Ronald Sutherland, Second Image: Comparative Studies in Quebec/Canadian Literature (Toronto: The Alger Press, 1971); The New Hero: Essays in Comparative Quebec/Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Ltd., 1977). Of these three critics, only Atwood deigned to mention Montgomery at all, citing "the wizened spinster Marilla in Anne of Green Gables" among her examples of powerful, negative old women in Canadian fiction (p. 205).

omission that highlights the gulf between public approval and formal literary credibility. Even critics of children's literature, have, in the past, tended to dismiss Montgomery's work with minimal discussion. Sheila Egoff, for example, offered a cynical, but succinct assessment of the author's most famous novel thus:

To denigrate the literary qualities of Anne of Green Gables is as useless an exercise as carping about the architecture of the National War Memorial. Anne arrived and she has stayed....But when we have mentioned the Prince Edward Island setting, which is lushly described, there is little else to comment on. Mrs. Montgomery [sic] belongs to that breed of writers who give themselves away in their second and succeeding books....It is sad but true that the Anne books continue to evoke great nostalgia from many adults to whom much vastly superior modern Canadian writing is unknown.¹²

Cadogan and Graig were only slightly less disparaging. Their analysis of Anne of Green Gables was based on the Rebecca Of Sunnybrook Farm analogy, but they also grouped the novel with such other turn of the century best-sellers as Pollyanna (1913), Daddy Long-Legs (1912), and A Girl of the Limberlost (1909). In this genre of girl's fiction,

English children...tended to have their moral short-comings ironed out in the course of [the] story, [and] in America...hardened adults [were] gradually humanized by contact with impossible well-adjusted and sunny-dispositioned children.¹³

Cadogan and Craig therefore concluded that the orphan or

12. Sheila Egoff, The Republic of Childhood: A Critical Guide to Canadian Children's Literature in English (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 252.

13. Cadogan and Craig, You're a Brick!, p. 89.

golden girl motif provided a unifying theme. Although they concurred that among these heroines Anne was more expertly realized than most, and tempered their criticism with a modicum of praise for Montgomery's "skill as a story-teller", they nevertheless called some of Anne's environmental raptures "nauseating", and launched a strident attack on the anti-feminist tone of subsequent novels where Anne subjugated her own career aspirations to those of former rival Gilbert Blythe.¹⁴ The central flaw in this argument is that Cadogan and Craig were evaluating an historical piece of fiction under the guise of contemporary attitudes and values. Yet, as the preceding review sought to illustrate, this approach has been all too common.

Elizabeth Waterston was one of the first critics to make any attempt to assess Montgomery's fiction as a product of both her life, and the period in which she lived. As Waterston emphasized:

Many women have lived 'fabulous' lives. But in L.M. Montgomery's case the real miracle is that she could exploit her experience in an enduring art-form. She universalized her story. She recreated it against vivid regional settings; she structured it into mythical patterns. She retold the legends she had lived, in haunting and memorable style.¹⁵

14. Ibid., pp. 95-96.

15. Elizabeth Waterston, "Lucy Maud Montgomery 1874-1942", The Clear Spirit Twenty Canadian Women and Their Times, ed., Mary Quayle Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 198.

Waterston's penetrating essay led to a resurgence of serious interest in Montgomery and her work, and one manifestation of this interest was a set of articles published in a special issue of Canadian Children's Literature in 1975.¹⁶ Indeed, as analytical assessments of such diverse facets of Montgomery's fiction as her use of fantasy, imagination, satire, realism, and characterization, these articles represented the beginning of a new era in critical response to the author's work. Rubio's comments, for example, offered a particularly good illustration of this shift in critical tone. Contrary to views expressed by predecessors like Phelps, Pacey, and Brown,¹⁷ Rubio asserted that Montgomery placed Anne "in a specific and realistic setting, and we finish the book [Green Gables] with a good sense of what it was like to be a child in a small Prince Edward Island town around 1900."¹⁸

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16. See Canadian Children's Literature, 1 (Autumn 1975). These papers were subsequently issued in John Robert Sorfleet, ed., L.M. Montgomery: An Assessment (Guelph: Canadian Children's Press, 1976). All further references will be to the Sorfleet volume.
17. Phelps, Canadian Writers, pp. 88-90; Pacey, Creative Writing, pp. 105-106; Brown, "The Problem", p. 41.
18. Mary Rubio, "Satire, Realism, and Imagination in 'Anne of Green Gables'", in Sorfleet, L.M. Montgomery, p. 32.

The Regional Theme

The regional component of Montgomery's novels deserves special consideration because her work clearly belongs with a larger body of regionally based fiction that dominated Canadian literature in the years immediately prior to the First World War. Like Marian Keith, and to a lesser extent, Ralph Connor and Nellie McClung, Montgomery adhered to a style of writing that subsequent critics have termed the regional idyll. Authors of this school found literary inspiration in their own local areas, using materials that were unquestionably Canadian in origin. Indeed, as McLulich put it,

the appearance of the regional idyll had a major effect on our embryonic literary tradition, marking an important step towards the use of local settings and local themes as the basis for literature.¹⁹

This regional literature had a number of identifying characteristics. Perhaps most significant is that it was essentially rural based, and lauded the virtues of rural life and small town farming communities. In Anne of Green Gables, Anne expressed this view quite succinctly when, after giving a recitation at the White Sands Hotel as part of an entertainment program organized by wealthy American visitors, she exclaimed in response to a friend's longing for jewels, riches, and city life:

19. T.D. MacLulich, "Anne of Green Gables and the Regional Idyll", Dalhousie Review, 63 (1983), p. 491.

We are rich....Why we have sixteen years to our credit, and we're happy as queens, and we've all got imaginations, more or less. Look at that sea girls--all silver and shadow and vision of things not seen. We couldn't enjoy its loveliness any more if we had millions of dollars and ropes of diamonds. You wouldn't change into any of those women if you could....I don't want to be anyone but myself, even if I go uncomforted by diamonds all my life....I'm quite content to be Anne of Green Gables.²⁰

In conjunction with this "escape" from an urban industrial world which the emphasis on rural values suggests, the regional idyll was also characterized by nostalgia for childhood and youth. Ralph Connor and Marian Keith, for instance, both painted emotional portraits of childhood in rural Ontario in novels like Glengarry Schooldays and Lizabeth of the Dale.²¹ Similarly, L.M. Montgomery used incidents and experiences from her own life to accent her fiction, and the Prince Edward Island childhood that she always looked longingly back towards, figured prominently in the adventures of her young heroines.

20. L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1968 edition), pp. 290-291.

21. Ralph Connor, Glengarry Schooldays: A Story of the Early Days of Glengarry (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902); Marian Keith, Lizabeth of the Dale (Toronto: The Westminster Company Limited, 1910). Some of Nellie McClung's fiction also fits into the regional idyll tradition. See, for example, Sowing Seeds in Danny (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1908). In McClung's fiction, social criticism played a more important role than in the work of some of her contemporaries. This factor notwithstanding, the regional component of her novels should not be overlooked.

Until recently, most critics have tended to dismiss the regional idyll as an embarrassing and best forgotten part of Canada's literary history. Yet, as a new generation of critics has attempted to place Montgomery's work within a broader analytical framework, the regional idyll has come under closer scrutiny. In this context, McLulich's work deserves particular mention. He claimed that "Montgomery's novel [Anne of Green Gables] stands...at the head of a tradition that has given rise to some of the most memorable works in Canadian fiction."²² Although it may be somewhat of an exaggeration to argue that works by Margaret Lawrence, Hugh MacLennan, Sinclair Ross, and W.O. Mitchell were "lineal descendants of the regional idyll", McLulich's comments offer an intriguing, and unique perspective on both Montgomery's novels, and on the significance of turn of the century Canadian literature.²³

McLulich identified what he claimed were the inherent weaknesses of Montgomery's fiction: the cloying sentimentality of some of her descriptions and the improbabilities of plot development. Yet, he was also one of the few critics to articulate a prevelant attitude towards children's literature, that is,

22. MacLulich, "Anne of Green Gables", p. 493.

23. Ibid.

Major premise: Children's literature is different from, and inferior to, adult or serious literature. Minor premise: Anne of Green Gables is known to be a children's book. Conclusion: Anne of Green Gables should not be treated as a serious work of literature.²⁴

Even Montgomery was partially affected by this attitude.

As she cautioned her Alberta pen-friend, Ephraim Weber in 1907:

Don't stick up your ears now imagining that the great Canadian novel has been written at last. Nothing of the sort. It is merely a juvenilish story, ostensibly for girls [but]...I am not without hope that grown-ups may like it a little.²⁵

McLulich disputed this stance, arguing that Anne of Green Gables contains sophisticated elements that are best appreciated by a more mature audience. 'Anne's' continued appeal is not simply a function of adult nostalgia for vanished childhood. Rather, such facets of the book as the gentle satire of a rural community (as presented through a character like Mrs. Rachel Lynde), and the author's perceptive understanding of human nature and human emotional needs, can only be recognized by a more mature reader.²⁶ An investigation of such subliminal dimensions of Montgomery's novels offers a rich resource for future scholarship, but the success, and indeed fruitfulness of

24. Ibid., p. 489.

25. Montgomery to Weber, May 2, 1907, Weber Collection. See also Eggleston, Green Gables Letters, p. 51.

26. MacLulich, "Anne of Green Gables", pp. 494-495.

such an exercise, depends on the ability of critics to shed outmoded attitudes regarding children's literature, and to assess this genre with the serious attention that it has long deserved.

Criticism of Specific Novels

Throughout her life, L.M. Montgomery as a person, and as an author, was overshadowed and at times eclipsed by 'Anne', her fictional creation. The question of tourist development and the myth versus reality of 'Anne' will be addressed in subsequent chapters, but in the present context we can note that until recently literary criticism has reflected this bias. Inaugurated by Weber, and continuing through Phelps, Sclanders, Pacey, Brown, Egoff, Fitzpatrick, Rubio, Thomas, Willis, and Epperly,²⁷ it was Anne of Green Gables, and to a lesser extent the novel's numerous sequels, that have basked in the spotlight

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27. Ephraim Weber, "L.M. Montgomery's 'Anne'", The Dalhousie Review, 24 (1944-45), pp. 64-73; Phelps, Canadian Writers, pp. 85-93; Ian Sclanders, "Lucy of Green Gables", Maclean's Magazine (December 15, 1951), pp. 12-13, 33-36; Pacey, Creative Writing, pp. 105-106; Brown, "The Problem", p. 41; Egoff, The Republic, pp. 164, 252-253; Helen Fitzpatrick, "Anne's First Sixty Years", The Canadian Author and Bookman (Spring 1969), pp. 5-7, 13; Rubio, "Satire, Realism, and Imagination", pp. 27-36; Gillian Thomas, "The Decline of Anne: Matron vs. Child", in Sorfleet, L.M. Montgomery, pp. 37-41; Lesley Willis, "The Bogus Ugly Duckling: Anne Shirley Unmasked", The Dalhousie Review, 56 (1976), pp. 247-51; Elizabeth R. Epperly, "L.M. Montgomery's 'Anne's House of Dreams': Reworking Poetry", Canadian Children's Literature, 37 (1985), pp. 40-46.

of critical attention. This phenomenon is hardly surprising since 'Anne' is the most famous of Montgomery's heroines. Yet with the renewed critical interest in the author that has emerged over the past decade, a number of publications have appeared assessing other facets of her work.

McLulich, for example, considered L.M. Montgomery and the development of the literary heroine in nineteenth and early twentieth century children's literature.²⁸ McCabe, and Ferns have begun to analyze and prepare for publication a selection of Montgomery's poetry, material hitherto unrecognized.²⁹ Both Cown and Tausky sought to assess how the central themes of the Emily trilogy (Emily of New Moon, Emily Climbs, and Emily's Quest) mirrored patterns and experiences in the author's own life.³⁰ Fredeman examined the fantasy element in a number of Montgomery's novels, including Magic For Marigold and the Emily series,

28. T.D. MacLulich, "L.M. Montgomery and the Literary Heroine: Jo, Rebecca, Anne, and Emily", Canadian Children's Literature, 37 (1985), pp. 5-17.

29. Kevin McCabe, "Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Person and the Poet", Canadian Children's Literature, 30 (1985), pp. 68-80; John Ferns, "'Rainbow Dreams': The Poetry of Lucy Maud Montgomery", Canadian Children's Literature, 42 (1986), pp. 29-40.

30. Ann S. Cowan, "Canadian Writers: Lucy Maud and Emily Byrd", in Sorfleet, L.M. Montgomery, pp. 42-49; Thomas E. Tausky, "L.M. Montgomery and 'The Alpine Path, So Hard, So Steep'", Canadian Children's Literature, 29 (1983), pp. 5-20.

while Little was one of the few critics to devote serious attention to Jane Stuart, the heroine of Jane of Lantern Hill.³¹ Porter considered the 'all things work together for good' philosophy that prevailed in Montgomery's fiction, and Coldwell made an innovative attempt to identify and interpret the folkloric element in Montgomery's writing, most notably as expressed in The Story Girl and The Golden Road.³² A number of theses have also examined diverse elements of Montgomery's work, including the depiction of home-training the socialization of youth in her novels, how the author's changing world view was documented in her fiction, and the way in which she gave her fictional heroines' life-style alternatives

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31. Jane Cowan Fredeman, "The Land of Lost Content: The Use of Fantasy in L.M. Montgomery's Novels", Sorfleet, L.M. Montgomery, pp. 60-70; Jean Little, "But What About Jane?" in Sorfleet, pp. 71-81.
32. Helen Porter, "The Fair World of L.M. Montgomery", Journal of Canadian Fiction, 2, No. 4 (1973), pp. 102-104; Joyce-Ione Harrington Coldwell, "Folklore as Fiction: The Writings of L.M. Montgomery", Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift, eds., Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), pp. 125-136. Frances M. Frazer, "Island Writers", Canadian Literature, 68-69 (Spring-Summer 1976), pp. 76-87, also touched on facets of this theme. She argued: "Montgomery's novels are studded with vignettes and anecdotes of actual domestic histories of the Island...her typical ambiance is the late nineteenth century" (p. 78).

that she herself could never achieve.³³ An example of the latter was the successful integration of marriage and a literary career as would be experienced by Emily.

Biographical Projects

In conjunction with this broader critical interest in Montgomery's work, there has been a heightened awareness of the complex personality behind the novels; in essence, the author as an individual. Sparked by Weber's paper on L.M. Montgomery as a letter writer in 1943, this theme received further attention in two early biographical projects; the first by Ridley in 1956 is generally regarded as being rich with inaccuracies, while the second, a 1964 Women's Institute publication, The Island's Lady of Stories, was a more serious and comprehensive attempt to sketch the general outlines of the author's life and literary career.³⁴

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33. Vicki L. Williams, "Home Training and the Socialization of Youth in the Sentimental Novels of Marshall Saunders, Nellie McClung and L.M. Montgomery" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1982); Heather Margaret Avery, "One Author's Response to a Changing World: A Study of the Variations in Selected Novels of Lucy Maud Montgomery" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1985); Leslie Goddard Scanlon, "Alternatives: The Search for a Heroine in the Novels of Lucy Maud Montgomery" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1978).
34. Ephraim Weber, "L.M. Montgomery as a Letter-Writer", The Dalhousie Review, 22 (1942-43), pp. 300-310. Hilda M. Ridley, The Story of L.M. Montgomery (Toronto: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1956); The Women's Institute, Springfield, P.E.I., Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Island's Lady of Stories (Charlottetown: 1964).

One of the first scholarly efforts to uncover aspects of Montgomery's character beyond the purely chronological was launched by Wilfred Eggleston. In 1960 he prepared for publication a small portion of the author's lengthy correspondence with Ephraim Weber. Issued as The Green Gables Letters: 1905-1908, this collection offered a tantalizing glimpse of Montgomery as a woman poised on the brink of international fame.³⁵ This same period was the focus of Francis Bolger's The Years Before Anne, a meticulously documented portrait of the author's early life and first literary successes.³⁶ In the following year, 1975, a biography by Mollie Gillen revealed yet another side of Montgomery's character. Based on forty years of letters from the author to her Scottish pen-friend, George Boyd MacMillan, this biographical portrait showed a deeply

34. Although in no sense a formal biographical project, mention should also be made of Maude Petitt Hill, "The Best Known Woman in Prince Edward Island: L.M. Montgomery Author of Anne of Green Gables", Chatelaine (May 1928), pp. 7-10; 65 (June 1928), pp. 22-23, 41-43. Similarly, some brief biographical details are provided in a recently published history of the Montgomery family - R.C. Montgomery, Down the Years with the Montgomery's (Charlottetown, P.E.I.: 1983).

35. Eggleston, Green Gables Letters. The complete letter collection is accessible in the Public Archives of Canada, Weber Collection.

36. Bolger, Years Before 'Anne'. Father Bolger is an authority on L.M. Montgomery's life and work. In addition to works hitherto cited, see also "Lucy Maud's Island", The Island Magazine (Spring/Summer 1977), pp. 4-10.

troubled, and at times emotionally distraught woman, who felt trapped by petty conventions and the unceasing demands of life as a Presbyterian minister's wife.³⁷ An edited version of these letters, prepared by Bolger and Epperly in 1980, has allowed researchers to further assess the dramatic intensity of the personality behind the public facade.³⁸ The now on-going journal project, involving the publication of material from the author's personal diaries, promises to offer a rich resource for future scholarship.³⁹

Myth of Place

In both her fiction and private correspondence, Montgomery wrote about 'place' in mystical and at times utopian language. Yet, this facet of her literary art, the focus of the present study, has hitherto gone largely unexplored. Many critics have identified the regional component of her novels, and as discussed, this concept has most recently been examined in terms of the regional idyll

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37. Mollie Gillen, The Wheel of Things: A Biography of L.M. Montgomery Author of 'Anne of Green Gables' (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1975). In a related context, see Mollie Gillen, Lucy Maud Montgomery (Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1978).
 38. Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M. The complete letter collection is accessible in the Public Archives of Canada, MacMillan Collection.
 39. Rubio and Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume I; The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery Volume II.

and the development of early Canadian literature. Less common; however, are papers like that by Thompson, who used topophilia--a concept enunciated by Tuan--to analyze love of place in Maritime literature.⁴⁰ When referring to

Montgomery's work Thompson stated:

The Maritimes is the place where [the author] finds her soul, while remembering her childhood. Her nostalgia for Prince Edward Island molds her sense of that place.⁴¹

Waterston has also recognized this recurring theme in Montgomery's writing, and claimed that as she grew older, she became "increasingly conscious of her role as myth-maker [talking] mystically about 'the Island' as a place of the soul."⁴² The most direct reference to this phenomenon, though, was embodied in Spirit of Place, by Bolger, Barrett, and Mackay.⁴⁴ This slim volume of

40. Yi-Fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1974); Hilary Thompson, "Topophilia: The Love of Place in Maritime Literature", Canadian Children's Literature, 39/40 (1985), 45-54.

41. Thompson, ibid., p. 45.

42. Waterston, "Lucy Maud Montgomery 1874-1942", p. 216.

43. Francis W.P. Bolger, Wayne Barrett, and Anne Mackay, Spirit of Place: Lucy Maud Montgomery and Prince Edward Island (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982). Charmaine Gaudet, "A Gentle Nature", Nature Canada, 16 (Winter 1987), pp. 30-35, addressed a similar theme. She discussed the kind of nature that animated Montgomery's prose: "... 'nature' had a familiar homey quality.....For her, nature thrived in the vegetable patch beyond the kitchen window, twined around the picket-fence and sprung up between the cart tracks on the red dirt lanes" (p. 30).

photographs, supplemented by selected quotations from Montgomery's journals and from her letters to Weber and MacMillan, sought to articulate, and convey in visual form, the subtle essence of the author's Prince Edward Island. This publication represented but an initial, and by its very nature, superficial attempt to explore the multitude of geographical themes that even the most cursory perusal of Montgomery's fiction reveals. In an abstract sense, however, it serves as a basis for some of the questions to be considered in this thesis, most notably, what was L.M. Montgomery's response to 'place', and how she conceptualized this vision of Prince Edward Island in her prose.

With the success of Anne of Green Gables, Montgomery's position in Canadian literature was assured. It is thus critical to examine this, her first and most famous novel, to determine how she created literary art from environmental actuality, and began to mythologize place and region in hauntingly evocative form.

Chapter 4

"REAL" AND FICTIONAL LANDSCAPES IN ANNE OF GREEN GABLES

Anne and Diana found the drive home as pleasant as the drive in--pleasanter, indeed, since there was the delightful consciousness of home waiting at the end of it. It was sunset when they passed through White Sands and turned into the shore road. Beyond, the Avonlea hills came out darkly against the saffron sky. Behind them the moon was rising out of the sea that grew all radiant and transformed in her light. Every little cove along the curving road was a marvel of dancing ripples. The waves broke with a soft swish on the rocks below them, and the tang of the sea was in the strong, fresh air. 'Oh, but it's good to be alive and to be going home' breathed Anne.¹

L.M. Montgomery described herself as an "indefatigable little scribbler."² In The Alpine Path, she asserted:

When I am asked, 'When did you begin to write?' I say, 'I wish I could remember.' I cannot remember the time when I was not writing, or when I did not mean to be an author. To write has always been my central purpose around which every effort and hope and ambition of my life has grouped itself.³

Her first published poem, "The Legend of Cape Leforce" appeared in The Charlottetown Patriot in 1889; she wrote it when she was fifteen and spending the year in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, with her father and step-mother.

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1. L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 251.
 2. L.M. Montgomery, The Alpine Path: The Story of My Career (Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited, 1917), p. 52.
 3. Ibid.

Desperately homesick, she returned to Prince Edward Island in the summer of 1890. She tried to continue to write over the next twenty years, even as she also taught school and then kept house and cared for her elderly grandmother at the family home in Cavendish. Many years later she commented on this early period of literary apprenticeship:

During one of those winters of school teaching I boarded in a very cold farmhouse. In the evenings, after a day of strenuous school work I would be too tired to write. So I religiously rose an hour earlier in the mornings for that purpose...The fires would not yet be on, of course, and the house would be very cold. But I would put on a heavy coat, sit on my feet to keep them from freezing, and with fingers so cramped that I could scarcely hold the pen, I would write my 'stunt' for the day. Sometimes it would be a poem in which I would carol blithely of blue skies and rippling brooks and flowery meads! Then I would thaw out my hands, eat breakfast, and go to school.⁴

When Montgomery returned to Cavendish after her grandfather's death in 1898 she had even less time for literary pursuits. Trapped by fetters of domesticity, burdened with the task of running the local post office, and laboring under the sole responsibility of constant care demanded by her difficult grandmother, she often bemoaned the fact that literary work was "pushed to the wall."⁵ At best, she could only devote three hours a day to her writing, but to compensate, she used the time spent doing

4. Ibid., p. 62.

5. L.M. Montgomery to Ephraim Weber, May 8, 1905. Weber Collection. Also see Eggleston, The Green Gables Letters, p. 31.

household chores to think out elements of plot and dialogue.

In this period, however, her letters to her Alberta pen-friend, Ephraim Weber, chronicle numerous literary successes. Both her poetry and short stories were finding favour with a growing number of editors, and she was beginning to make a modest living from her pen. In March of 1905, for instance, she proclaimed: "I made nearly \$600 last year--\$591.85 to be exact. Shan't be content till I reach the thousand mark though."⁶

Montgomery's inspiration for her first novel came from a terse entry in a notebook in which she habitually recorded ideas for poems and short stories. In search of material for a Sunday School serial, she discovered the following excerpt: "Elderly couple apply to orphan asylum for a boy. By mistake a girl is sent them."⁷ As Montgomery later recalled:

I thought this would do. I began to block out the chapters, devise, and select incidents and "brood up" my heroine. Anne--she was not so named of malice aforethought, but flashed into my fancy already christened, even to the all-important "e"--began to expand in such a fashion that she soon seemed very real to me.⁸

Deciding that 'Anne' should not be wasted on "an ephemeral

6. Ibid., March, 1905. See also Eggleston, ibid., p. 27.

7. Montgomery, The Alpine Path, p. 72.

8. Ibid.

little serial"⁹, she developed her ideas into book length, and thereby made Anne Shirley, the red-haired, freckle-faced orphan, who won the hearts of Marilla Cuthbert, a stern spinster, and Matthew, her dour bachelor brother, equally real to millions of readers around the world.

The literary fame that Montgomery achieved with Anne of Green Gables was hard won. She wrote the novel in a year and a half, between the spring of 1904 and October 1905, but it was subsequently rejected by six publishing companies, both new firms and old established ones. Discouraged by this lack of interest, the author put the manuscript away in an old hat box, eventually intending to reduce it to serial form and submit it to one of the juvenile or Sunday School magazines to which she had sold her work in the past. In 1907, though, Montgomery came across 'Anne' again, and deciding "that it didn't seem so very bad"¹⁰, sent it off to one more publisher, the L.C. Page Company of Boston. This time, the manuscript was accepted, and as she wrote to Weber:

Well, I must simply tell you my great news right off! To pretend indifference and try to answer your letter first would be an affectation of which I shall not be guilty. I am blatantly pleased and proud and happy and I shan't make any pretence of not being so.¹¹

When the novel came out in 1908, she confided to her journal:

9. Ibid., p. 76.

10. Ibid.

11. Montgomery to Weber, May 2, 1907, Weber Collection. See also Eggleston, Green Gables Letters, p. 51.

Today has been as Anne herself would say, 'an epoch in my life'. My book came today, fresh from the publishers. I candidly confess that it was for me a proud, wonderful, thrilling moment! There in my hand lay the material realization of all the dreams and hopes and ambitions and struggles of my whole conscious existence--my first book! Not a great book at all--but mine, mine, mine,--something to which I had given birth--something which, but for me, would never have existed.¹²

Intrinsic to this euphoria, however, was another side to the author's character; a contradiction that marked her entire life. Although Anne of Green Gables, which quickly became a best-seller, brought her public admiration, and indeed international fame, she was plagued by personal loneliness, depression, and what she described in an abstract sense to her Scottish pen-friend, George MacMillan, as "the trials of an uncongenial environment".¹³ Writing offered

12. Entry for June 20, 1908, Rubio and Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume I, p. 335.

13. L.M. Montgomery to George Boyd MacMillan, March 19, 1906, MacMillan Collection. This passage was also reproduced in Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M., pp. 19-20. As Montgomery commented:

...I agree with you that all the trials of an uncongenial environment should be regarded as discipline. I have been led to this conclusion by the marked influence my external surroundings and the life I have had to live for the past eight years has had upon my own character....The discomfort and in many cases the absolute suffering I have undergone as a consequence of my environment has made me much more sympathetic for the failings and struggles and trials of others than I would otherwise have been....It seems to me that the price I have paid has not been too great. I thought it was while I was paying it. I know now that it was not.

an escape; a blissful retreat into childhood joys of long ago, and as she commented in her diary: "Thank God, I can keep the shadows of my life out of my work. I would not wish to darken any other life--I want instead to be a messenger of optimism and sunshine."¹⁴ That she succeeded in this task is indeed aptly demonstrated by the contrasting tone of her fiction and portions of her recently released journal material. In the present context, however, it must be recognized that she set her "literary retreat" in the verdant beauty of a pastoral rural landscape. In Anne of Green Gables, Montgomery's landscapes were a recreation of real places, as well as a particular time, and so it is her literary portrait of environmental actuality that merits particular scrutiny and analytical attention.

Fact into Fiction

The Prince Edward Island landscape that Montgomery described in such haunting detail was one that she knew and loved. As such, she simply transferred it into her fiction under but a thin guise of anonymity. The village of Avonlea, where Anne of Green Gables is set, was, by the author's own admission, a fictional representation of Cavendish, her home community (Figure 1). Many details

14. Entry for October 15, 1908. Rubio and Waterston, Selected Journals, Volume I, p. 339.

and places were therefore distinctly autobiographical. The long hill in the centre of the village, the sand shore, and the little graveyard where Anne paid tribute to Matthew, are as much a part of the present day community as they must have been when the author first wrote about them. The Shore Road lies between Cavendish and Rustico and is today protected within the boundaries of Prince Edward Island National Park.

"[T]he scrub firs...steep red sandstone cliffs....heaps of surf-worn rocks...little sandy coves [and] the sea, shimmering and blue"¹⁵ of Montgomery's fictional

description, closely resemble the lineaments of contemporary geography. The author's Lover's Lane was a path leading to the back pastures on a neighbour's farm, and remains as part of the site now known as Green Gables, even though Montgomery insisted that her "Green Gables was practically imaginary."¹⁶ The 'Haunted Wood' of Anne, and her friend Diana's graphic speculation was also part of the author's own experience, and is located on the Green Gables property. The site of the old Cavendish School, the model for Anne's school in Avonlea, is still "set back from the road", in the "dusky fir wood" of Montgomery's literary portrait.¹⁷

15. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 45.

16. Montgomery to MacMillan, December 26, 1936, MacMillan Collection. See also Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M., p. 180.

17. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 113.

In the most simplistic sense, then, Montgomery took real landscape elements, and transferred them directly into the fictional realm. Like many other writers, though, her use of toponyms offers an interesting perspective on the blend of the fictional with the factual that characterizes her work.

Montgomery always referred to larger communities like Charlottetown and Summerside directly, while smaller centres were partially disguised under fictitious names. The Cavendish-Avonlea juxtaposition is the most obvious illustration of this phenomenon, but others do exist. Bright River, where Anne was left at the railroad station to wait for Matthew, was based on Hunter River, eleven miles from Cavendish, and in the author's day, the nearest rail linkage point. Similarly, White Sands, the American resort community five miles from Avonlea along the Shore Road was modelled on the fishing village of Rustico.¹⁸ As early as the 1870's, the development of the Seaside Hotel at Rustico attracted wealthy American visitors to the area.

It is tempting to try and match Montgomery's fictional setting with facets of the original, and in many cases, still existing landscape. Yet, such an exercise has serious limitations because just as the author drew

18. Montgomery, The Alpine Path, p. 73.

Inspiration from the surroundings of her childhood and youth, she also coloured this environment with imaginative overtones, or even more commonly, invented many of the landscape elements that characterize her literary world.

The case of the 'Lake of Shining Waters', Anne's fanciful name for Barry's pond, provides excellent illustration of this first process, that is, the blending of the imaginary with the actual. In Anne of Green Gables, Montgomery placed the Lake of Shining Waters in Avonlea (Cavendish), even though she later averred that it was in reality the pond below her uncle John Campbell's farm at Park Corner.¹⁹ In this way, she manipulated local geography to create a literary landscape as opposed to a purely authentic portrait of place. Conversely, other components of this portrait were entirely imaginative in origin. Woodland nooks like Idelwild, the Birch Path, and the Dryad's Bubble, had no actual existence, while the exact location of Orchard Slope, the Barry homestead, and the fields and back pastures of numerous Avonlea farmsteads must forever remain in the realm of speculation.

Like Anne, her fictional heroine, "the world of

19. Entry for January 26, 1911. Rubio and Waterston, The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume II, p. 40. As Montgomery explained, "The 'Lake of Shining Waters' is generally supposed to be the Cavendish Pond. This is not so. The pond at Park Corner is the one I had in mind.

It should be noted that today, the 'Lake of Shining Waters' at Park Corner has been duly commemorated with an informational sign.

imagination was almost as real [to L.M. Montgomery] as that of concrete fact."²⁰ Thus, the actual landscape that she chose to portray in her novels was juxtaposed with a landscape of the imagination, and the two became so closely intertwined that 'objective' reality was inseparable from that which was imaginary and idealized. The literary landscape that resulted from this process may be analyzed from diverse perspectives, but the present study examines three integrated themes: landscape as representative of social and community values, the significance of behavioural and structural signatures in landscape, and landscape as an expressionary medium for romantic pastoralism and individual attachment to place.

L.M. Montgomery wrote about a specific location in the Maritimes, but Avonlea, in a broad sense, may also be seen as synonymous with all of small town, English-speaking, Maritime society at the end of the nineteenth century. Much like William Faulkner's portrayal of the agrarian south in his Yoknapatawpha County novels, the 'reality' depicted in Anne of Green Gables was "part of a greater geographical whole."²¹ As such, the literary landscape as created by Montgomery offers some intriguing insights

20. Hilda M. Ridley, The Story of L.M. Montgomery (Toronto: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1956), p. 88.

21. Aiken, "Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County: A Place in the American South", p. 348.

into a particular society, and period in Canadian history.

The small village of Avonlea was undoubtedly similar to the many Scottish-Presbyterian communities scattered across north-central Prince Edward Island around the turn of the present century. These farming settlements, filled with righteous, God-fearing folk, constituted an insular world, bounded by family heritage, religious conviction, and a strong sense of communal solidarity. As a means of articulating the subtle nuances of this society, Montgomery employed landscape description, and nowhere was this device more effectively used than in the opening paragraphs of the novel when the author introduced Mrs. Rachel Lynde, a symbol of village conventionality and Victorian proprieties.

Mrs. Rachel Lynde lived just where the Avonlea main road dipped down into a little hollow, fringed with alders and ladies' eardrops and traversed by a brook that had its source away back in the woods of the old Cuthbert place; it was reputed to be an intricate, headlong brook in its earlier course through these woods, with dark secrets of pool and cascade; but by the time it reached Lynde's Hollow it was a quiet, well-conducted little stream, for not even a brook could run past Mrs. Rachel Lynde's door without due regard for decency and decorum; it probably was conscious that Mrs. Rachel was sitting at her window, keeping a sharp eye on everything that passed, from brooks and children up, and that if she noticed anything odd or out of place she would never rest until she had ferreted out the whys and wherefores thereof.²²

Concurrently, though, this portrait of the village gossip

22. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 1-2.

was tempered by more humane elements, and these were again conveyed through the medium of landscape setting. Mrs. Lynde sat "for hours at her kitchen window, knitting 'cotton warp' quilts...and keeping a sharp eye on the main road that crossed the hollow and wound up the steep red hill beyond",²³ but she was first depicted there on an "afternoon in early June [when] the sun was coming in at the window warm and bright; [and] the orchard on the slope behind the house was in a bridal flush of pinky-white bloom, hummed over by a myriad of bees."²⁴ Mrs. Lynde was clearly a busybody, but she was also a cheery, generous, industrious woman; a type easily recognized in small rural communities.

Montgomery's first description of Green Gables, the Cuthbert homestead, was equally revealing. Just as Mrs. Lynde was set at the centre of village affairs by virtue of her geographical position, Green Gables—a "big, rambling, orchard-embowered house"²⁵ lay at the end of a long lane, for

Matthew Cuthbert's father, as shy and silent as his son after him, had got as far away as he possibly could from his fellow men without actually retreating into the woods when he founded his homestead. Green Gables was built at the farthest edge of his cleared land and there it was to this day, barely visible from the main road along which all the other Avonlea houses were so sociably situated.²⁶

23. Ibid., p. 2.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., p. 3.

Reaction to this deviation from community practice was succinctly expressed by Mrs. Lynde who "did not call living in such a place living at all. 'It's just staying, that's what'", she was apt to remark.²⁷ In other ways, however, Green Gables more than conformed to village expectations of the model farmstead. The backyard was

very green and neat and precise...set about on one side with great patriarchal willows and on the other with prim lombardies. Not a stray stick or stone was to be seen....one could have eaten a meal off the ground without overbrimming the proverbial peck of dirt.²⁸

The way in which Montgomery used landscape setting to define character is clear. Matthew Cuthbert's shyness was directly related to the site of his homestead, while Marilla's stern conventionality, and repressed personality, were effectively conveyed by the 'prim lombardies' gracing her painstakingly neat backyard.

Avonlea society was an insular one and outsiders were automatically distrusted. This attitudinal milieu, undoubtedly drawn from the author's own experiences in Cavendish, was particularly well documented in Anne of Green Gables.

Matthew and Marilla had arranged to get a boy of about ten or eleven from an orphanage in Hopetown, Nova Scotia.

26. Ibid., p. 4.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

In rationalizing this decision to Mrs. Lynde, Marilla revealed much about village perceptions and attitudes:

And as for the risk, there's risk in pretty near everything a body does in this world.... And then Nova Scotia is right close to the Island. It isn't as if we were getting him from England or the States. He can't be much different from ourselves.²⁹

To many nineteenth century Islanders, Nova Scotia was obviously part of a nebulous terra incognita; 'close to the Island' but still a foreign area, divorced from everyday experience. Concurrently, though, burgeoning forces of Canadian nationalism also played a role. As Marilla averred, "no London street Arabs for me... Give me a native born at least.... I'll feel easier in my mind and sleep sounder at nights if we get a born Canadian."³⁰

A similar form of complacent insularity was evinced towards fellow Islanders, who, although part of the same geographical landscape, inhabited a different cultural milieu, which made them equally foreign, and socially unacceptable in Scottish-Presbyterian Avonlea. In the author's fictional world most of the local farmers had French hired-help who came from an ill-defined area that Montgomery referred to as 'the Creek.'³¹ In reality, the prosperous elite of Cavendish hired French Canadians from

29. Ibid., p. 8.

30. Ibid., p. 7.

31. Ibid., pp. 39; 151.

Rustico to help out on the farms or with housework and childcare. The attitudes that resulted from this practice, and that Montgomery transferred into her fictional world, reveal yet another dimension of this society. As Marilla told Mrs. Rachel Lynde:

...you know how desperate hard it's got to be to get hired help. There's never anybody to be had but those stupid, half-grown little French boys; and as soon as you do get one broke into your ways and taught something he's up and off to the lobster canneries or the States.³²

On another occasion, Mrs. Lynde made a similar reference to the innate distinction between Avonlea society and the neighbouring French Canadians. When Marilla came to call, Mrs. Lynde urged her to

take this chair....It's easier than the one you've got; I just keep that for the hired boy to sit on.³³

Hired girls were also the focus of this kind of ethnic criticism. When Diana's younger sister, Minnie May, was seriously ill with croup, "young Mary Joe, a buxom, broad-faced French girl from the Creek, whom Mrs. Barry had engaged to stay with the children during her absence" was described as "helpless and bewildered, quite incapable of thinking what to do, or doing it if she thought of it."³⁴

32. Ibid., p. 7.

33. Ibid., p. 79.

34. Ibid., pp. 151-152.

Landscape Signatures

Montgomery used landscape to convey cultural attitudes, community conventions, and to portray the psychological complexities of her fictional characters. Yet, intrinsic to this landscape portrait are a variety of what Salter and Lloyd have defined as behavioural and structural landscape signatures.³⁵ In the fictional world of Anne of Green Gables, an assessment of this kind of landscape symbolism reveals yet another facet of Montgomery's literary craft.

The painstaking neatness of the Green Gables yard is a particularly good example of behavioural forces on landscape. Reflecting Marilla Cuthbert's proclivity for order, and her conscious decision to create and sustain landscape in a specific way, this piece of property was more a product of individual, than it was of community values. Similarly, the interior landscape was also marked by a variety of behavioural signatures. Montgomery's portrait of the east gable room where Anne was sent to sleep on the night of her arrival is rich in this type of symbolism.

The whitewashed walls were so painfully bare and staring that [Anne] thought they must ache over their own bareness. The floor was bare, too, except for a round braided mat in the middle such as Anne had never seen before. In one corner was the bed, a high, old-fashioned one, with four dark, low-turned posts. In

35. Salter and Lloyd, Landscape in Literature, p. 4. See also Salter, "Signatures and Settings: One Approach to Landscape in Literature" in Butzer, Dimensions of Human Geography, pp. 74-75.

the other corner was...[a] three-cornered table adorned with a fat, red velvet pincushion hard enough to turn the point of the most adventurous pin. Above it hung a little six by eight mirror. Midway between table and bed was the window, with an icy white muslin frill over it, and opposite it was the washstand.³⁶

The rigidity of the room is readily apparent from Montgomery's evocative adjectives, but in a behavioural context, this mode of description also serves to accentuate not only elements of Scottish-Presbyterian austerity, but more significantly Marilla Cuthbert's repressed personality as it is revealed in her personal landscape.

The advent of Anne into the Cuthbert household effects enormous change; a process which behavioural signatures in the interior landscape again presage. Four years after Anne's arrival, the east gable room was markedly different.

The floor was covered with a pretty matting, and the curtains that softened the high window and fluttered in the vagrant breezes were of pale green art muslin. The walls [were] hung...with a dainty apple blossom paper...there was a white-painted bookcase filled with books, a cushioned wicker rocker, a toilet table befrilled with white muslin, a quaint, gilt-framed mirror with chubby pink cupids and purple grapes painted over its arched top...and a low white bed.³⁷

Both of these scenes offer interesting cultural anecdotes about the diverse components of a young girl's bedroom in a Prince Edward Island farmhouse around the turn of the present century. In terms of behavioural signatures, however, this second description, a visual antithesis of

36. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 29-30.

37. Ibid., pp. 281-282.

the first portrait, emphasizes the magnitude of Anne's influence on Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert.

In Anne of Green Gables, this kind of behavioural symbolism was expressed in a variety of ways. The Barry garden, "a bowery wilderness of flowers...[with] prim, right-angled paths, neatly bordered with clam shells, interspect[ing] it with moist red ribbons",³⁸ and Anne's longing for the puffed sleeves that were so fashionable among the Avonlea schoolgirls,³⁹ are equally representative of the first type of landscape signature that Salter and Lloyd identified. Yet, any analysis of such patterns of human expression on landscape is closely integrated with structural signatures; not the product of individual decisions and initiative, but broad landscape features reflecting the influence of culture patterns and processes.⁴⁰

Agriculture

Based on the Cavendish of L.M. Montgomery's childhood and youth, her fictional Avonlea contained elements of both an actual place, and served as a microcosm of nineteenth century rural Prince Edward Island society. Thus, in Anne

38. Ibid., p. 91.

39. Ibid., pp. 83; 214.

40. Salter and Lloyd, Landscape in Literature, pp. 7-10; and Salter, "Signatures and Settings", pp. 74; 79-82.

of Green Gables there are a number of structural signatures that facilitate the re-creation of both a time and place in literary form.

The village of Avonlea "occupied a little triangular peninsula jutting out into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with water on two sides of it."⁴¹ It was an agricultural settlement, a point that Montgomery emphasized throughout the novel. In early June, "Thomas Lynde...was sowing his late turnip seed on the hill field beyond the barn; and Matthew Cuthbert ought to have been sowing his on the big red brook field away over by Green Gables."⁴² Anne's first view of Avonlea was of "a little valley and...a long, gently-rising slope with snug farmsteads scattered along it."⁴³ Matthew and Marilla decided to keep Anne when they were "out in the yard behind the barn milking the cows",⁴⁴ and at Green Gables, the path that Anne called Lover's Lane "opened out below the orchard...and stretched far up into the woods to the end of the Cuthbert farm. It was the way by which the cows were taken to the back pasture and the wood hauled home in winter."⁴⁵ Anne and

41. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 2.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 23.

44. Ibid., p. 51.

45. Ibid., p. 112.

Diana walked to school through Mr. Barry's "back field",⁴⁶ and when Anne learned that she had come first in the entrance examination, enabling her to attend the teacher's college in Charlottetown, she hurried to tell Matthew who was "coiling hay in the hayfield below the barn."⁴⁷ To the farmers of Avonlea, however, this agricultural landscape was also a landscape of livelihood. Matthew and Marilla wanted to adopt a boy because they needed help with the farm work, and after Matthew's death, Marilla feared that she would have to sell Green Gables, since even with a good hired man, her failing eyesight would make her incapable of overseeing the entire agricultural operation.⁴⁸

Transportation

Montgomery's portrait of rural, nineteenth century Prince Edward Island was replete with reference to transportation, and the imprint of transportation patterns on landscape. Lengthy journeys were accomplished by rail. Anne arrived on the boat from Nova Scotia, and then took the train to Bright River where Matthew Cuthbert was to meet her. Matthew had a buggy and a sorrel mare, which,

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 280.

48. Ibid., p. 280.

according to Mrs. Rachel Lynde, "betokened that he was going a considerable distance."⁴⁹ When Marilla took Anne to White Sands to visit Mrs. Spencer in order to find out why she had brought them a female rather than a male orphan, she told Matthew that she needed the mare and buggy for the afternoon. A trip to Charlottetown, thirty miles away was "a long drive" necessitating "a very early start", but "it was delightful to rattle along over the moist roads in the early red sunlight that was creeping across the shorn harvest fields."⁵⁰ Winter travel was made in a "big pung sleigh, [filled with] straw and furry robes...slipping along over the satin-smooth roads with the snow crisping under the runners."⁵¹

Anne was fascinated by the red roads in Prince Edward Island, and one of the first questions she asked Matthew was "what does make the roads red?"⁵² She was enraptured by the beauty of the drive between Bright River and Avonlea; "a pretty road, running along between snug farmsteads, with now and again a bit of balsamy fir wood to drive through or a hollow where wild plums hung out their filmy bloom."⁵³ Parts of the road were "cut so deeply

49. Ibid., p. 3.

50. Ibid., p. 246.

51. Ibid., p. 162.

52. Ibid., p. 16.

53. Ibid., p. 10.

into the soft soil that the banks, fringed with blooming wild cherry-trees and slim white birches, were several feet above their heads."⁵⁴ Another section was "completely arched over with huge, wide-spreading apple-trees",⁵⁵ and as Montgomery depicted the scene; "overhead was one long canopy of snowy fragrant bloom. Below the boughs the air was full of a purple twilight and far ahead a glimpse of painted sunset sky shone like a great rose window at the end of a cathedral aisle."⁵⁶

Religious Symbolism

Intrinsic to this portrait are elements of religious symbolism, which in Montgomery's literary world, are also important structural signatures. When Anne and Matthew reached Avonlea, "the sun had set some time since, but the landscape was still clear in the mellow afterlight. To the west a dark church spire rose up against a marigold sky."⁵⁷ In this brief description, Montgomery managed to articulate an acute sense of place, for this kind of church spire imagery, so closely tied to popular perceptions of Maritime-New England culture, is immediately suggestive of

54. Ibid., p. 14.

55. Ibid., p. 19.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 23.

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a particular time and place.⁵⁸ The Sunday School picnic, Anne's first attempt at composing an appropriate prayer, Mrs. Lynde's role as a pillar of the Church Aid Society and Foreign Mission Auxiliary, and the grave responsibility of having the minister and his wife to tea, all attest to the significance of religion in a community of hard-working Presbyterian farmers. Yet, it is this initial spectre of the church spire against the mellow afterlight of a Prince Edward Island sunset that establishes a tone for the entire novel. It is unquestionably significant that Montgomery also concluded Anne of Green Gables with such sacred overtones. Anne went to the Avonlea graveyard to put flowers on Matthew's grave, and

she lingered there until dusk, liking the peace and calm of the little place, with its poplars whose rustle was like low, friendly speech, and its whispering grasses growing at will among the graves. When she finally left it and walked down the long hill that sloped to the Lake of Shining Waters it was past sunset and all Avonlea lay before her in a dreamlike afterlight-'a haunt of ancient peace'. There was a freshness in the air as of a wind that had blown over honey-sweet fields of clover. Home lights twinkled out here and there among the homestead trees. Beyond lay the sea, misty and purple with its haunting, unceasing murmur. The west was a glory of soft mingled hues, and the pond reflected them all in still softer shadings. The beauty of it all thrilled Anne's heart and she gradually opened the gates of her soul to it.

'Dear old world', she murmured, 'you are very lovely, and I am glad to be alive in you.'⁵⁹

58. On this point see Joseph S. Wood, "The Three Faces of the New England Village", North American Culture, 3 (1987), pp. 3-14.

59. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 327-328.

The edenic, and indeed utopian dimensions of the portrait are obvious, but it is this blend of the actual landscape with such intensely emotional overtones, that takes an analysis of Montgomery's fiction beyond literal conceptualizations, into more esoteric kinds of interpretation.

Analysis

Literary landscapes may be assessed for both their objective and subjective dimensions. A purely objective analysis seeks to determine how a particular author has "reproduced a real world landscape with accuracy and precision."⁶⁰ L.M. Montgomery transferred nineteenth century Cavendish, and the Prince Edward Island way of life with which she was intimately familiar, into her fictional world. Thus, in one sense, her literary portrait of place was both authentic and recognizable. Concurrently, however, Montgomery juxtaposed objective landscape description with subjective landscape experience. She interpreted her surroundings in terms of their "artistic and human meaning",⁶¹ and in Anne of Green Gables the way in which she depicted place is as much a function of romantic pastoralism and nostalgia for lost childhood as it is the result of any conscious attempt to faithfully replicate

60. Salter and Lloyd, Landscape in Literature, p. 4.

61. Ibid., p. 4.

...called to her. In a moment Pat was out of bed and at the window....It was no use to try and sleep so she would just cuddle here and watch dear Silver Bush. It was like a beautiful picture...the milk-white house against its dark wooded hill, framed in an almost perfectly round opening, in the boughs of the trees.³⁶

Pat was a child who consistently related landscape to home. She was enchanted by the springtime loveliness around Silver Bush.

Never had the long, rolling fields around Silver Bush been so green: never had the gay trills of song in the maple by the well been so sweet: never had there been such wonderful evenings full of the scent of lilacs: and never had there been anything so beautiful as the young wild cherry tree in Happiness or the little wild plum that hung over the fence in the Secret Field.³⁷

As such, her father's plan of moving the family west to take up a prairie homestead filled her with anguish. She was dismayed about leaving the house, and by the thought "of those dear rooms being cold...[with] nobody even bothering to light a fire in them [of]...no light in the windows at night, [and of] no plumes of homely smoke going up from the chimneys."³⁸ Yet, she decided that

it was worse outside. The garden would be so lonely. No one there to love or welcome the flowers. The daffodils and columbines would come up in the spring but she would not be there to see. The bees would hum in the Canterbury bells and she not there to listen. The poplars would whisper but she would not hear them whispering. The tiny, pointed crimson buds would come on the wild rose-bushes in the lane, not for her gathering. Perhaps the people who would come to Silver

36. Ibid., p. 29.

37. Ibid., pp. 121-122.

38. Ibid., p. 154.

Off to the left were the big barns and beyond them, away down over green low-sloping fields was a sparkling blue glimpse of the sea.⁶³

L.M. Montgomery responded to nature with passionate intensity, and a recurring theme in Anne of Green Gables is this attempt to put into prose the intangible, and emotional aspects of landscape and place that Prince Edward Island evoked in the depths of her soul. Like Wordsworth and Coleridge whose poetry she admired, Montgomery revelled in the natural world, and her landscape portraits, and vivid use of environmental imagery, reflect this absorption. She depicted a winter scene when

the firs in the Haunted Wood were all feathery and wonderful, the birches and wild cherry-trees were outlined in pearl; the ploughed fields were stretches of snowy dimples; and there was a crisp tang in the air that was glorious.⁶⁴

On another occasion, the reader is enveloped in the delights of a

June evening, when the orchards were pink-blossomed again, when the frogs were singing silverly sweet in the marshes about the Lake of Shining Waters, and the air was full of the savour of clover fields and balsamic fir woods.⁶⁵

In September,

Anne was bringing the cows home from the back pasture by way of Lovers' Lane....all the gaps and clearings in the woods were brimmed up with ruby sunset light. Here and there the lane was splashed with it, but for the most part it was quite shadowy beneath the maples, and the spaces under the firs were filled with a clear violet

63. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

64. Ibid., p. 213.

65. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

dusk like airy wine. The winds were out in their tops, and there is no sweeter music on earth than that which the wind makes in the fir trees at evening.⁶⁶

It was "a glorious October" when Anne returned to school after her fall from the Barry roof;

all red and gold, with mellow mornings when the valleys were filled with delicate mists as if the spirit of autumn had poured them in for the sun to drain-amethyst, pearl, silver, rose, and smoke-blue. The dews were so heavy that the fields glistened like cloth of silver and there were such heaps of rustling leaves in the hollows of many-stemmed woods to run crisply through. The Birch Path was a canopy of yellow and the ferns were sere and brown all along it.⁶⁷

Montgomery's world is not only a visual one. Rather, it appeals to all five senses, and with the idyllic picture of Prince Edward Island that emerges from the novel, there is strong evidence to suggest that while integrating landscape into literature, the author also experienced literature in landscape. Clearly she knew how to "read" and relate to the landscape around her.

L.M. Montgomery's strong attachment to place, and attendant preoccupation with the past, emerged in childhood and intensified throughout the rest of her life. Letters to her close friend and cousin, Penzie MacNeill, who lived on a farm near New Glasgow, P.E.I., are replete with nostalgic references to good times the two girls had shared. Circa 1886, for example, when Maud was only twelve, she wrote, as

66. Ibid., p. 243.

67. Ibid., p. 202.

though looking longingly back to the far distant past:

"Don't you mind climbing through the hole at the shore?

Hadn't we fun those two days though?"⁶⁸ Between 1890 and 1891, when she was spending the year with her father and step-mother in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, her letters to Penzie chronicle her acute homesickness, and longing for Prince Edward Island. In November of 1890, for example she wrote:

I tell you Pen if you know when you are well off you will stick to dear old Cavendish. I've seen a good many places since I left home and I tell you I haven't seen one prettier or nicer than Cavendish and the day on which I set foot in it once more will be the happiest one of my life.⁶⁹

As 1890 progressed, the young Lucy Maud retreated further into the past in a vain attempt to find emotional solace. She mourned the fine times that they had had in the days of 'auld lang syne' and queried: "Don't you wish you and I were going berrying...or helping Uncle Leander row a leaky boat?"⁷⁰ One of the last letters that Maud wrote to Penzie before her return to the Island, offers an even more intimate perspective on the almost cult-like fascination with which she was coming to idealize landscape

68. L.M. Montgomery to Penzie MacNeill, September 17, 1886(?), Penzie MacNeill Letter Collection. Part of this collection was reproduced in Bolger, The Years Before 'Anne', pp. 86-133.

69. Ibid., November 3, 1890. See also Bolger, ibid., p. 96.

70. Ibid., February 25, 1891. See also Bolger, ibid., p. 121.

and place.

Oh don't I wish I were home this spring and you and I could go down to the shore to get mussels. Don't you mind all the fun we had the different times we were down. Poor old Gyp and crawling through the hole and losing our boots and stockings and catching hold of flatfish. Often in my dreams I see the dear old shore with its brown rocks and pebbled coves and the blue waters of the sparkling gulf.⁷¹

When Montgomery arrived back in Cavendish, she regained her spiritual home, again became rooted in place, and so lived once more in her source of literary inspiration. Yet, even her beloved Cavendish was not immune from change, and as her schoolmates grew up and married, and as Maud herself attended teacher's college in Charlottetown, taught for several years in scattered Island communities, and spent a winter at Dalhousie University in Halifax, her ties with the past became both more tenuous and yet infinitely more alluring.

In journal entries made in the years immediately preceding the publication of Anne of Green Gables, Montgomery wrote longingly of childhood days, and as seen through the rose-tinted glass of memory, the past appeared far superior to what was then the bleakness of a present spent caring for her aged grandmother. In 1904, for example, she mourned an old friend, a memory made more poignant by re-reading old letters.

71. Ibid., April 22, 1981. See also Bolger, ibid., p. 124.

I don't want the past made alive any more to show how dead the present is. The present may be dead-but so long as I don't realize it I can get along.

Oh, Will, Will, if you could only come back and be my friend again! I'm not thinking of love at all-that has nothing to do with this mood....But I just long bitterly for the old good comradeship-the sense that Will was there to turn to when I would. Oh, Will, where are you? Are you anywhere?

I just wish I could die! I hate the thought of living-of the miserable night before me-of getting up tomorrow to another dull lonely day.

...It's strange-but if I had my choice tonight of calling Will or Herman out of that black outer void I'd call Will. I never cared for him in the way I cared for Herman-but it is he I want tonight. I want to see him-to laugh with him-to look into his gray eyes and bring the smile to his crooked pleasant mouth-I want to talk nonsense to him-to have him talk nonsense to me-about dances and picnics and flirtations, just as he talked in his letters. I want to be saucy and frivolous with him. I want him to say nice things to me and pay me boyish compliments.

But he's dead-he's dead. And if he is living somewhere he doesn't care for these things now-nothing like that matters to him.⁷²

On New Year's day in 1906, she was equally despondent.

"I feel tired and lonely and discouraged" she wrote.

"Patience sad heart. There is eternity. This life is only a cloudy day in what may be a succession of varied lives."⁷³

72. Entry for March 16, 1904. Rubio and Waterston, Selected Journals, Volume I, p. 294.

73. Entry for January 1, 1906. Ibid., p. 317.

Conclusions

Given Montgomery's mental state, it is surprising that Anne of Green Gables is such a sunny, light-hearted piece of fiction. It may be suggested, however, that the novel represents a partial escape into an ideal world. This world undoubtedly was the author's own. She described such "world creation" to her friend MacMillan in 1905, early in their correspondence:

It is possible to create our own world and live in it happily. If it were not I do not think I could exist at all....I was a lonely child. Orphaned by the early death of my mother I was brought up by my grandparents...I had no companionship except that of books and solitary rambles in woods and fields. This drove me in on myself and early forced me to construct for myself a world of fancy and imagination very different indeed from the world in which I lived, moved and had my outward being.....

Well, I grew up out of that strange dreamy childhood of mine and went into the world of reality. I met with experiences that bruised my spirit-but they never harmed my ideal world. That was always mine to retreat into at will. I learned that that world and the real world clashed hopelessly and irreconcilably; and I learned to keep them apart so that the former might remain for me unspoiled....So I piped and danced to other people's piping and held fast to my own soul as best I could. When it became necessary for me to return and stay here with grandmama I did so the less unwillingly because I knew I could possess my ideal world here as well as elsewhere-that no matter what was missing outwardly I could find all in my own peculiar kingdom.⁷⁴

This ideal kingdom was one that she was able to replicate in her fiction, and although her portrayal of landscape and

73. Montgomery to MacMillan, December 3, 1905, MacMillan Collection. See also Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M., pp. 15-17.

place often lacked, meticulous geographical objectivity, Prince Edward Island, as depicted in Anne of Green Gables was more than just a geographical setting. Rather, it was used metaphorically as a symbol of both home, and the golden age of vanished childhood. Whether unintentionally or by design, Montgomery had, in this her first novel, assumed the role of mythmaker, and the acute emotional affiliation to place that she demonstrated shaped a utopian image of Prince Edward Island that endures to the present.

Montgomery always found sustenance and spiritual refuge in nature. As she wrote to MacMillan in 1904:

This evening I went for a walk-all alone but not a lonely one. I am sometimes lonely in the house or when walking with uncongenial company but I have never known a moment's loneliness in the woods and fields. I have rich, rare good company there. Tonight in spite of the world's sadness I was not sad. I felt a conscious gladness as if there was in me something buoyant and immortal that rose above the decay and death of the year.⁷⁵

Pastoral nature was not only the basis of literary settings, it was the source of Montgomery's literary inspiration in subtle and intangible ways. She found the well-spring of her creativity in a "harbour shore and...a cluster of weather-gray fishing huts", in a "saffron sky", "in lovely yellowish-green twilights", and in "the tang of the sea in the strong, fresh air."⁷⁶ She used words to realize

75. Ibid., November 9, 1904. See also Bolger and Epperly, pp. 7-8.

76. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 246, 251, 281.

images and impressions of her own childhood experience, and although the rural, turn of the century way of life that she depicted probably never existed exactly as portrayed, the integration of the actual Cavendish landscape with one of emotional and imaginative overtones helped to obscure geographical reality.

This fusion of the fictional with the factual was initiated in Anne of Green Gables, but in subsequent novels Montgomery imbued landscape and place with an even more intense form of spiritual symbolism. She found solace and escape from the pressures and emotional anxieties of her life in writing. Yet, in presenting this escape, or vision of an ideal world through her fiction, she created a mythologized portrait of place that resists purely regional, or objective kinds of interpretation and analysis.

Chapter 5

MYTHICAL LANDSCAPES IN MONTGOMERY'S LATER WORK

I spent seven weeks on P.E. Island this summer and had a beautiful time. I always come back to a realization of the Island's beauty with a little shock of amazement. I have always forgotten that it is really so lovely. There is nothing like it in smug, opulent Ontario. Such fields of daisies and clover! Such sunsets and twilights and fir woods, such majestic oceans, such provocative alluring landscapes. Oh, I felt that I belonged there—that I had done some violence to my soul when I left it.¹

After the success of Anne of Green Gables, the Page Company urged L.M. Montgomery to write a sequel. Anne of Avonlea was published in 1909, and was followed in rapid succession by Kilmeny of the Orchard (1910), The Story Girl (1911), Chronicles of Avonlea (1912), The Golden Road (1913), another 'Anne' book, Anne of the Island in 1915, a volume of poetry in 1916, and Anne's House of Dreams in 1917. During this period of frenzied literary activity, Montgomery also experienced major changes in her personal life. Her grandmother MacNeill died in March of 1911, and in July the author was finally free to marry the Reverend Ewan Macdonald, to whom she had been secretly engaged for five years. Then, after a honeymoon in the British Isles, the couple moved to Leaskdale, Ontario, where Macdonald had served as the Presbyterian minister since 1910.

1. Montgomery to Weber, October 17, 1923, Weber Collection.

Marriage, motherhood, and the rigours of life as a minister's wife all made enormous demands on Montgomery. Startingly unorthodox in her private views, she once described conventional religious practises as "pattering formulas and going through meaningless ceremonies."² On the life of a country minister's wife she commented:

[it] has always appeared to me as a synonym for a respectable slavery—a life in which a woman of any independence in belief or character, must either be a failure, from an 'official' point of view, or must cloak her real self under an assumed orthodoxy and conventionalism that must prove very stifling at times.³

On another occasion she remarked, "those whom the Gods wish to destroy they make minister's wives".⁴ Yet, this was the existence to which she voluntarily condemned herself, and until her death in 1942, she struggled to balance an often overwhelming load of domestic, pastoral, and literary responsibilities. Ultimately, she paid with her health, but writing, though often a burdensome chore squeezed into time salvaged from other activities, and constrained by demands from public and publishers alike for a particular genre of novel, provided Montgomery with an escape into a

2. Ibid., September 25, 1922.

3. Entry for October 12, 1906. Rubio and Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume I, p. 321 (October 12, 1906).

4. Montgomery to MacMillan, April 24, 1927, MacMillan Collection.

mystical childhood world, and her Prince Edward Island of long ago.

The Romantic Landscape

Anne's House of Dreams was one of the author's many sequels to Anne of Green Gables. The love story of Anne, and former childhood rival Gilbert Blythe in the first years of their married life served as a basis for the narrative, but romantic sentimentality was as much a function of landscape depiction as it was the result of elements of plot and dialogue.

After their marriage, Anne and Gilbert moved to the small community of Glen St. Mary where Gilbert took over the local medical practise. The fictional Glen St. Mary was supposedly sixty miles from Avonlea, but its picturesque location on Four Winds harbour, described in detail in the novel, was drawn from the Clifton-New London area where the author was born and spent the first two years of her life. As she claimed in her journal: "The scene of the story [Anne's House of Dreams] is laid mainly at 'Four Winds Harbor'--New London harbor was in my mind, though I altered the geography to suit my requirements."⁵ Yet, although Montgomery again manipulated geographical

5. Entry for July 21, 1917. Rubio and Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume II, p. 222.

actuality to facilitate the creation of literary place, landscape in Anne's House of Dreams was imbued with more mystical qualities than had been the case in Anne of Green Gables.

Exiled from her beloved Prince Edward Island through her husband's ministerial commitments in Ontario, Montgomery longed for her native province. As she wrote to MacMillan in 1913:

I am looking forward to summer eagerly for I expect to go home!-home!!-home!!! for a visit. Only one spot can ever bear that name for me. Oh, just to hear the moan of the Atlantic on a starry summer night again. And the stars will be in their right places there again!! They never are here. The pole star persists in shining in the west and Orion in the northeast.⁶

Her later novels reflect this perceptual focus, but in a more subtle sense, they also manifest an intense spiritual affiliation to place, and concurrently, for a way of life that was foreign to her everyday experience in Ontario.

This utopian perspective is clearly evident in Montgomery's first description of Four Winds Harbour.

Anne never forgot the loveliness of the view that broke upon them when they had driven over the hill behind the village. Her new home could not yet be seen; but before her lay Four Winds Harbour like a great, shining mirror of rose and silver. Far down, she saw its entrance between the bar of sand-dunes on one side and a steep, high, grim, red-sandstone cliff on the other. Beyond the bar the sea, calm and austere, dreamed in the afterlight. The little fishing village, nestled in the cove where the sand-dunes met the harbour shore, looked like a great opal in the haze. The sky over them was like a jewelled cup from which the dusk was

6. Montgomery to MacMillan, March 16, 1913, MacMillan Collection.

pouring; the air was crisp with the compelling tang of the sea; and the whole landscape was infused with the subtleties of a sea evening. A few dim sails drifted along the darkening, fir-clad harbour shores. A bell was ringing from the tower of a little white church on the far side; mellowly and dreamily sweet, the chime floated across the water blent with the moan of the sea. The great revolving light on the cliff at the channel flashed warm and golden against the clear northern sky; a trembling, quivering star of good hope. Far out along the horizon was the crinkled gray ribbon of a passing steamer's smoke.⁷

Rich in romantic imagery of pastoral, evocative nature, this portrait of place encompasses much more than conventional geographic description. The harbour, the fishing village, the lighthouse, and the church, were undoubtedly part of the actual New London landscape, but coloured by nostalgic memories for place, Montgomery's landscape assumed edenic proportions.

To create atmosphere and enhance characterization, Montgomery linked her protagonists with elements of the physical environment. She also employed this technique in Anne of Green Gables where Anne was repeatedly associated with floral imagery,⁸ but in Anne's House of Dreams,

7. L.M. Montgomery, Anne's House of Dreams (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1947 edition), pp. 29-30.

8. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables. See, for instance, p. 265:

Ruby Gillis' looks are real showy. But somehow...when Anne and them are together, though she ain't half as handsome, she makes them look kind of common and overdone-something like them white June lilies she calls narcissus alongside of the big, red peonies, that's what.

these allusions were more pronounced. Tragic Leslie Moore, Anne's beautiful friend, was represented by blood-red poppies, and was first described as "the spirit of the sea personified-all its mystery, all its passion, all its elusive charm".⁹ The old lighthouse keeper, Captain Jim, served as a spiritual beacon, offering light, hope, and truth, and was depicted as "the Gentle harbour sunsets."¹⁰ Anne, meanwhile, was "the brilliant colours' and quiet shadows."¹¹

As Epperly has suggested, many of Montgomery's lyrical descriptions echo cadences that appear in her only volume of collected verse, The Watchman and Other Poems.¹² Yet, where this technique failed her in conventional poetry, poetic lyricism in prose form, as in Anne's House of Dreams, helped to foster an idyllic image of place. Montgomery was enraptured by images of "golden mists and purple hazes",¹³ "red, winding harbour roads",¹⁴

9. Montgomery, Anne's House of Dreams, p. 81.

10. Epperly, "L.M. Montgomery's 'Anne's House of Dreams': Reworking Poetry", p. 45.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p. 40.

13. Montgomery, Anne's House of Dreams, p. 52.

14. Ibid., p. 53.

"violet gloom...and silken vapor"¹⁵ and by "velvety green hill[s]...great, scattered firs...yellow harvest fields, gleams of golden sand-hills, and bits of blue sea."¹⁶ As portrayed in literary form, this enchantment contributed to romantic sentimentality in landscape.

In Anne's House of Dreams, the recurring use of pathetic fallacy also aided the process of image creation. Significant events in plot and narrative were presaged by revealing nature descriptions. The September of Anne and Gilbert's marriage was "a month of sun-steeped days and of nights that were swimming in moonlight, or pulsating with stars. No storm marred it, no rough wind blew."¹⁷ Metaphorically, this period of tranquility betokened their future happiness together. Baby Joyce was born "at dawn, when the rising sun rent apart the mists hanging over the sand-bar and made rainbows of them."¹⁸ Symbolically, she died at sunset, but not before "as subtly, and coldly, and remorselessly as a sea-fog stealing landward" Anne realized that her baby was never meant to live.¹⁹ To ease her anguish after Owen Ford left, Leslie went to the

15. Ibid., p. 70.

16. Ibid., p. 31.

17. Ibid., p. 52.

18. Ibid., p. 147.

19. Ibid., p. 148.

shore where the combination of fog and a full moon had transformed the landscape

into a strange, fantastic, unreal world of pale, silver mist, through which everything loomed phantomlike. Captain Josiah Crawford's black schooner sailing down the channel...was a spectral ship bound for a far uncharted land, ever receding, never to be reached. The calls of unseen gulls overhead were the cries of the souls of doomed seamen.²⁰

Again, this kind of environmental description accurately communicates Leslie's morbid state, trapped in a loveless marriage with no hope of escape.

Unlike Anne of Green Gables, an amusing tale of childhood adventure, Anne's House of Dreams is a love story: that of Anne and Gilbert, Leslie and Owen, Captain Jim and Lost Margaret, and for comic relief, Miss Cornelia and Marshall Elliott. Furthermore, Glen St. Mary and Four Winds were not Avonlea:

There was a certain tang of romance and adventure in the atmosphere of their new home which Anne had never found in Avonlea. There, although she had lived in sight of the sea, it had not entered intimately into her life. In Four Winds it surrounded her and called to her constantly....There was always a certain sense of things going to happen--of adventures and farings-forth. The ways of Four Winds were less staid and settled and grooved than those of Avonlea; winds of change blew over them; the sea called to the dwellers on shore, and even those who might not answer its call felt the thrill and unrest and mystery and possibilities of it.²¹

The author's change in fictional setting from Cavendish to

20. Ibid., p. 199.

21. Ibid., p. 52.

New London foretold a corresponding shift in literary tone and atmosphere. More significant to this change, however, was undoubtedly Montgomery's own exile from Prince Edward Island in Leaskdale, Ontario. With nothing but occasional summer visits to sustain her spiritual longing for what she often referred to as 'the only Island there is', she used fiction to assuage this acute attachment to place.²² In Anne's House of Dreams, landscape was representative of romantic sentimentality, and Montgomery was able to experience vicariously what her own life might have been, such as if she had not married Ewan Macdonald.²³ Indeed,

22. On this point see L.M. Montgomery, "Come Back With Me to Prince Edward Island", The Maritime Advocate and Busy East, 26 (May-June 1936), p. 37. Montgomery commented: "...it still rains and shines and blows and 'fogs' and blossoms on the farm he tilled and still in breeze and flower and meadow the old charm lingers yet. For the Island is still 'the Island' and what other is there?"

23. Montgomery's marriage was unhappy. Her husband suffered from severe bouts of religious melancholia when he believed that he had been pre-destined for hell. Determined to keep the nature of his attacks from family, friends, and members of the congregation, Montgomery was forced to maintain a facade of normality while all the time coping with an often interolable situation. Her journal was her only confidant. In Rubio and Waterston, Selected Journals, Volume II, p. 336, an entry for July 17, 1919 reads:

I know just how a wretched little mouse feels when it has crept a little bit away from the clutches of the cat and is pounced on again.

[Ewan] admitted that his terrible ideas regarding his destiny had returned. There is something about it that paralyzes me. It seems so unnatural--so morbid--so alien to the world of reason and sanity. I feel so powerless before it

in sacrificing Prince Edward Island for his career, the only way that she could even attempt to recapture her idyll was through the increasingly mythical recreations of her fiction.

Landscape and Childhood

Throughout the busy years of wifehood and motherhood, Montgomery continued to write steadily. Anne's House of Dreams was followed by Rilla of Ingleside in 1921, a story of Anne and Gilbert's youngest daughter set during the years of the First World War, and by Rainbow Valley, another 'Anne' sequel in 1925. The Emily trilogy was written between 1925 and 1927, and was only interrupted by The Blue Castle, a Muskoka love story, and the only novel that Montgomery set outside Prince Edward Island. Magic for Marigold was published in 1929, but in Marigold Lesley, a new kind of heroine was created, and concurrently, new

23. --as if I were menaced by a foe whose face I could not see--by something creeping upon me in the dark--formlessly, shapelessly horrible.

That Montgomery was able to hide her inner torment from the world is aptly captured in Margaret H. Mustard, L.M. Montgomery as Mrs. Ewan Macdonald of the Leaskdale Manse, 1911-1926 (Leaskdale, Ontario: St. Paul's Presbyterian Women's Association, 1965). This affectionate tribute to a beloved minister's wife gives no indication that the congregation ever saw the woman behind the mask. On this point, also see Allan McGillivray, Decades of Harvest: A History of the Township of Scott 1807-1973 (Leaskdale-Uxbridge, Ontario: Scott History Committee, 1986), pp. 67-68.

conceptions of landscape and place were expressed.

Unlike Anne and Emily, to whom childhood was a transitory phase leading to girlhood and adulthood, or Valancy of The Blue Castle who was introduced as a twenty-nine year old spinster, Marigold remained a child, forever poised on the threshold of adolescence. Marigold's story was set against the verdant backdrop of Prince Edward Island's north shore, but neither Harmony village, nor the Lesley homestead, Cloud of Spruce, can be specifically identified. Montgomery did state that the house overlooked "the beautiful Harmony Harbour", and consistently referred to the other side of the harbour as "over the bay."²⁴ These allusions suggest that the author may have been inspired by Richmond Bay in the community of Belmont where she taught school between 1896 and 1897. Yet, there was also mention of a "road that ran along the harbour shore to the big Summer Hotel by the dunes"²⁵ which is reminiscent of the Shore Road between Cavendish and the Seaside Hotel at Rustico. Curiously, though, this is the only novel where Cavendish was directly named. Marigold's royal visitor, the Princess Varvara explained her presence at Cloud of Spruce thus:

I'm staying at the hotel down there with Aunt Clara. My uncle is the Duke of Cavendish and Governor-General of Canada. He is visiting the Island and to-day they all went down to visit Cavendish, because it was called

24. L.M. Montgomery, Magic for Marigold (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1929), pp. 2, 37.

25. Ibid., p. 141.

after my uncle's great-great-grandfather. All except Aunt Clara and me. She had a headache and they wouldn't take me because there are measles in Cavendish. I was so mad I ran away.²⁶

Despite such references, however, Montgomery retreated further from an actual geography of place in Magic for Marigold and instead moved towards a more composite kind of landscape portrait. She also changed from focussing on the process involved in the girlhood to womanhood continuum that she had initiated with Anne, Emily, Rilla, and Valancy, in order to move back into the realm of childhood. Marigold's childishness was repeatedly emphasized. Indeed, for the first thirty pages of the novel she was not even given a name, and was simply referred to as 'the child' or 'Lorraine's baby.' In conjunction with Sylvia, her imaginary playmate, and her complete unwillingness to relinquish the world of fairyland for reality, Marigold may therefore be seen as a symbol of "childhood incarnate."²⁷ Concurrently, however, Magic for Marigold as a novel was also a manifestation of certain trends in the author's own life. This retreat into childhood mirrored Montgomery's progressive alienation from the modern world. As she wrote to MacMillan in 1932: "I

26. Ibid., p. 142.

27. This interpretation was suggested by Avery, "One Author's Response to a Changing World: A Study of the Variations in Selected Novels of Lucy Maud Montgomery", p. 119.

consider that I've lived through enough change and upset and confusion. Nearly every prop of life that was considered immutable in my youth has gone."²⁸ In each successive novel she turned more to the past, and in the case of *Marigold*, this past was the golden age of a Prince Edward Island childhood revisited.

Landscape as depicted in Magic for Marigold resembles that which Montgomery created in Anne's House of Dreams. Yet, because *Marigold* was a child, she evaluated her physical surroundings accordingly.

The road outside the gate—one of the pleasant red roads of 'the Island'. To *Marigold*, a long red road of mystery. On the right it ran down to the windy sea-fields at the harbour's mouth and stopped there—as if, thought *Marigold*, the sea had bitten it off. On the left it ran through a fern valley, up to the shadowy crest of a steep hill with eager little spruce trees running up the side of it as if trying to catch up with the big ones at the top. And over it to a new world beyond where there was a church and a school and the village of Harmony. *Marigold* loved that hill road because it was full of rabbits....The harbour, with its silent mysterious ships that came and went; *Marigold* loved it the best of all the outward facts of her life—better, as yet, than even the wonderful green cloud of spruce on the hill eastward that gave her home its name. She loved it when it was covered with little dancing ripples like songs. She loved it when its water was smooth as blue silk; she loved it when summer showers spun shining threads of rain below its western clouds; she loved it when its lights blossomed out in the blue of summer dusks and the bell of the Anglican Church over the bay rang faint and sweet. She loved it when the mist mirages changed it to some strange enchanted haven of 'fairylands forlorn'; she loved it when it was ruffled in rich dark crimson under autumn sunsets; she loved it when silver sails went out of it in the strange white wonder of dawn; but she loved it

28. Montgomery to MacMillan, December 1932, MacMillan Collection.

best on late still afternoons, when it lay like a great gleaming mirror, all faint, prismatic colours like the world in a soap bubble. It was so nice and thrilling to stand down on the wharf and see the trees upside down in the water and a great blue sky underneath you.... And she loved the purple hills that cradled it-those long dark hills that laughed to you and beckoned-but always kept some secret they would never tell.²⁹

Marigold's landscape was a mystical one, but in a symbolic sense this landscape was synonymous with childhood to a greater extent than in any of Montgomery's other novels. Only a child is capable of the proximity to fairyland that Marigold consistently demonstrated, or has the ability to easily superimpose a landscape of the imagination onto the lineaments of actual geography. Marigold was highly receptive to each subtle nuance of landscape and place, and discovered magic everywhere. In what was "to other people ...only the orchard and the 'big spruce bush' on the hill [she found] a lovely world....But you could find those wonderful things only if you went through The Magic Door and The Green Gate and said The Rhyme. The Rhyme was a very important part of the magic too."³⁰

As the title of the novel suggests, Marigold inhabited a magical sphere. Yet, while in Anne's House of Dreams the magic of landscape was conveyed through images of romantic sentimentality, landscape in Magic for Marigold became synonymous with the golden magic of childhood.

29. Montgomery, Magic for Marigold, pp. 36-37.

30. Ibid., pp. 94-95.

After Magic For Marigold, Montgomery attempted a more adult novel, and this tale of Prince Edward Island clan rivalry appeared as A Tangled Web in 1931. In 1932, however, the author returned to the subject of girlhood and young womanhood with Pat of Silver Bush. Together with its sequel volume, Mistress Pat, these novels reveal yet another facet of Montgomery's response to landscape and place.

Landscape as Home

Like Marigold, Pat is one of the Montgomery heroines whom critics have tended to dismiss as unmemorable and hence unimportant.³¹ As Montgomery confided to MacMillan, though, "I really put more of myself into Pat than into any of my other heroines."³² Silver Bush, the Gardiner homestead, was a fictional representation of the Campbell farm at Park Corner, Prince Edward Island, where

31. See, for example, Muriel A. Whitaker, "'Queer Children': L.M. Montgomery's Heroines" in John Robert Sorfleet, ed., L.M. Montgomery: An Assessment (Guelph: Canadian Children's Press, 1976), p. 55. Whitaker comments: "...when I read Pat as a child I found it a disappointment. Pat seems a bore and a snob. Rereading has not changed my mind. Part of Pat's failure to interest us results from the lack of development in her character....She comes across as a girl who is queer to the point of being dim-witted".

32. Montgomery to MacMillan, October 25, 1933, MacMillan Collection. This passage also appears in Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M, p. 168.

Montgomery had spent many happy vacations with her merry cousins.³³

Like Marigold, Pat was loathe to leave childhood. Her resistance,³⁴ however, was not so much tied to childhood, as it was to an intense fear of change. At the age of seven, for example, she cried, "almost in tears...I hate changes."³⁴ Pat's aversion to change complemented her obsessive preoccupation with home. Spending the night with the Swallowfield relatives who lived just down the lane from Silverbush was delightful, but part of the magic was that she could "look out of the window of the gable room and see home...see its roof over the trees and all its windows lighted up."³⁵ Unable to sleep, Pat

lay watching the chimneys of Silver Bush through the window....Suddenly a light flashed from the garret window of Silver Bush...flashed a second and disappeared. It was as if the house had winked at her

33. Montgomery, The Alpine Path, p. 43. Montgomery always considered Park Corner to be a second home. As she remembered:

Here, in other days, there was a trio of merry cousins to rush out and drag me in with greeting and laughter. The very walls of that house must have been permeated by the essence of good times.

34. L.M. Montgomery, Pat of Silver Bush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1933), p. 7.

35. Ibid., p. 28.

...called to her. In a moment Pat was out of bed and at the window....It was no use to try and sleep so she would just cuddle here and watch dear Silver Bush. It was like a beautiful picture...the milk-white house against its dark wooded hill, framed in an almost perfectly round opening, in the boughs of the trees.³⁶

Pat was a child who consistently related landscape to home. She was enchanted by the springtime loveliness around Silver Bush.

Never had the long, rolling fields around Silver Bush been so green: never had the gay trills of song in the maple by the well been so sweet: never had there been such wonderful evenings full of the scent of lilacs: and never had there been anything so beautiful as the young wild cherry tree in Happiness or the little wild plum that hung over the fence in the Secret Field.³⁷

As such, her father's plan of moving the family west to take up a prairie homestead filled her with anguish. She was dismayed about leaving the house, and by the thought "of those dear rooms being cold...[with] nobody even bothering to light a fire in them [of]...no light in the windows at night, [and of] no plumes of homely smoke going up from the chimneys."³⁸ Yet, she decided that

it was worse outside. The garden would be so lonely. No one there to love or welcome the flowers. The daffodils and columbines would come up in the spring but she would not be there to see. The bees would hum in the Canterbury bells and she not there to listen. The poplars would whisper but she would not hear them whispering. The tiny, pointed crimson buds would come on the wild rose-bushes in the lane, not for her gathering. Perhaps the people who would come to Silver

36. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Bush would root up the garden entirely....Oh, she could not bear it!³⁹

Pat's attachment to place mirrored Montgomery's own intense longing for her Prince Edward Island home and her complete alienation from life in Ontario. Montgomery's husband's recurring bouts of mental illness were a tremendous strain on the author and she herself also suffered several nervous break-downs. Indeed, as she commented to MacMillan in 1935, "it seems somehow pleasant to revisit the past and forget the present."⁴⁰ Her fiction served as a vehicle for this kind of nostalgic introspection, and in Pat Gardiner she effectively portrayed her own fear of change, and life-long spiritual attachment to home. In Mistress Pat, the sequel to Pat of Silver Bush, these themes were further developed.

The adult Pat who became the mistress of Silver Bush, rejected both a career and marriage to care for and preserve the home environment as it had always been. Yet, despite her insistence on the maintenance of family tradition and ritual, she was powerless to stem the tide of change. Her sisters and brothers married, and her beloved home was invaded by an uncongenial sister-in-law. Judy and Tillytuck died, and Pat was left to face a future of dreary

39. Ibid.

40. Montgomery to MacMillan, January 22, 1935, MacMillan Collection.

solitude. The kind of morbid fancies that preoccupied Pat were not experienced by any of Montgomery's other heroines. One night while alone at Silver Bush,

...some restlessness drove her outside. There was a moan of the autumn wind in the leafless birches and a wonderful display of northern lights....Dead and gone years seemed to be whispering to themselves all about her. The crisp leaves rustled under her feet as she went along the path to the orchard. She recalled old autumns when she and Sid had raced through the fallen leaves. There were voices in the wind, calling to her out of the past....She would go in and light up the house....Yet she paused for a moment on the door-step, the prey of a sudden fancy. That shut door was a door of dreams through which she might slip into the Silver Bush of long ago. For a fleeting space she had a curious feeling that Judy and Tillytuck and Hilary and Rae and Winnie and Joe were all in there and if she could only go in quickly and silently enough she would find them. A world utterly passed away might be her universe once more.⁴¹

In this passage, images of death and decay, and the author's evocative use of pathetic fallacy, accurately presage the destruction of Silver Bush. Yet, the fire which razed her home ultimately liberated Pat, and with the return of Hilary Gordon, she was able to look towards the future with hope, and to cherish the past as "just a treasury of dear and sacred memories...of things time cannot destroy."⁴² Montgomery never experienced this kind of happy ending in her own life, and thus she continued to mythologize the past as an escape from an

41. L.M. Montgomery, Mistress Pat (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1935), pp. 327-328.

42. Ibid., p. 334.

often unbearable present.

Pat's obsession with the past, and the landscape of home as a setting for that past, reflected Montgomery's own feelings. Each trip to Prince Edward Island evoked a set of nostalgic recollections, and ~~as~~ she described one such experience to MacMillan:

The old Gulf is the same....It was too dark to see the sea behind me but I could hear it. Gray ghost-mists were enfolding New London harbor-the night was full of secrets and mysteries. Before me were the dunes lying in the weird shadows cast by the campfire....I had some chats with old friends while the young fry of 1927 flew about and served lunch. I knew very few of them; and I was not thinking of them. I was thinking of the young fry of 1897 who seemed lurking in the shadows outside the camp-fire circle. I swear I caught a quick glimpse of their faces now and again when a quick streak of flame shot up before they could dart back into 1897.

And I wished I were out there with them!⁴³

These same qualities, reproduced in Pat Gardiner, reveal much about the way in which Montgomery had come to conceptualize landscape and place. Landscape was rich in poignant memories of home, of people and events of long ago, and Montgomery found literary inspiration in this complex scheme of emotive thoughts and feelings.

Synthesis

Anne of Windy Poplars followed the Pat series, but this novel was little more than a 'pot-boiler', written solely

43. Montgomery to MacMillan, February 6, 1928, MacMillan Collection. This passage was also reproduced in Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M, pp. 134-135.

in response to public demand for more about Anne. In this respect, it resembles Anne of Ingleside, the last book to be published during the author's lifetime, and a collection of anecdotes about Anne's children. At the end of her literary career, however, Montgomery created one more heroine: Jane Victoria Stuart of Jane of Lantern Hill. In this novel, published in 1937 only five years before her death, Montgomery synthesized all prior conceptions of landscape and place into an explicit and coherent whole.

Jane had little in common with Anne, Emily, Marigold, or Pat. Rather, as Montgomery described her: "Jane is a quite different type from any of my other heroines. She is a practical business-like little body, concerned with domesticity."⁴⁴ Jane longed to be useful but "the tragedy of her little existence was that nobody ever wanted her help."⁴⁵ Completely dominated by a wicked grandmother, whose plotting destroyed Jane's parents marriage, Jane was starved for a real home and family life. Her story is a fairy-tale: a blissful portrait of the triumph of good over evil, and family reconciliation, but in Jane of Lantern Hill landscape is more symbolic than in any of Montgomery's other novels. Toronto, where Jane

44. Montgomery to Weber, June 18, 1937, Weber Collection.

45. L.M. Montgomery, Jane of Lantern Hill (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, Canadian Favourites Edition, 1977), p. 20.

lived with her mother, grandmother and Aunt Gertude, was consistently juxtaposed against an idyllic Prince Edward Island where she went to spend a summer with the unknown father whom she had always believed dead. This utopian-dystopian dichotomy as expressed through landscape has no parallel elsewhere in Montgomery's fiction, and represents the most succinct statement about place that she ever made in her prose.

As depicted in Jane of Lantern Hill, Toronto was an evil and menacing city. Jane lived on Gay Street, a bitterly ironic name for a street that was "dark and dingy, lined with forbidding, old-fashioned brick houses, grimy with age, whose tall, shuttered, blinded windows could never have thought of winking at anybody."⁴⁶ The Kennedy house at 60 Gay "was a huge, castellated structure of brick ...[and] it was surrounded by a high iron fence with wrought-iron gates...that were always closed and locked by Frank at night, thus giving Jane a very nasty feeling that she was a prisoner being locked in."⁴⁷ On one side, the house was bordered by Bloor Street, and even the stretch of lawn that served to separate it from 60 Gay was not enough to dim its "unceasing clatter and clang."⁴⁸ Montgomery repeatedly emphasized the utter bleakness of Jane's

46. Ibid., p. 1.

47. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

48. Ibid., p. 2.

environment. In the winter while waiting to be taken to school, Jane looked out onto a "dark, dingy morning in a snowy world."⁴⁹ Autumn was not the joyous season that it was for Anne, Marigold, and Pat. Rather, on one of the rare occasions that Jane was allowed to walk home from school by herself, "it was a cold day in late autumn. It had been miserly of its light from the beginning, with a dim ghost of sun peering through the dull grey clouds, and now it was getting dark and spitting snow."⁵⁰ Even springtime, typically rich in images of growth and rejuvenation, was imbued with elements of death and decay. Jane awakened "one dull morning in early April...such a bitter, peevish, unlovely April."⁵¹ Looking through her bedroom window, "she could see only dull grey sky and old tree tops having a fight with the wind. She knew that in the yard below the window on the north there was still a lingering bank of dirty grey snow."⁵² At her Uncle William's house in Forest Hill, Jane was equally uncomfortable. It "was very handsome, with landscaped lawns and rock gardens, but she wouldn't like to live there. One was almost terrified to walk over the lawn

49. Ibid., p. 3.

50. Ibid., p. 41.

51. Ibid., p. 57.

52. Ibid.

lest one do something to Uncle William's cherished velvet. You had to keep to the flat stepping-stones path. And Jane wanted to run."⁵³

When the letter arrived from her father asking that she be sent to spend a summer with him in Prince Edward Island, Jane was distressed at the thought of leaving her mother, and visiting a father she had grown up to hate. Intrinsic to these fears, however, was an equally strong fear of landscape: "surely it must be a dream...surely her father could not have written her mother that she must spend the summer with him, a thousand miles away in the horrible Prince Edward Island which looked on the map to be desolate little fragment in the jaws of Gaspé and Cape Breton."⁵⁴ It was in Prince Edward Island, though, that Jane found happiness, and in a utopian setting that was the complete antithesis of her Toronto home.

In keeping with Jane's mood of despair, the trip to the Island was dark and rainy, but the next morning she opened her window

on the loveliest thing on earth...a June morning in Prince Edward Island....The poplars in a corner of the lawn were shaking in green laughter. An apple tree stretched out friendly arms. There was a far-away view of daisy-sprinkled fields across the harbour where white gulls were soaring and swooping. The air was moist and sweet after the rain. Aunt Irene's house was on the fringe of the town and country road ran behind it...a road almost blood-red in its glistening wetness.

53. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

54. Ibid., p. 64.

Jane had never imagined a road coloured like that. Why...why...P.E. Island is a pretty place thought Jane half grudgingly.⁵⁵

Jane's reunion with her father, and her immediate love for him was complemented by her growing love of place.

Driving across the Island with Dad, Jane was

a blithe soul....It was jolly to ride in a buggy, just behind a little red mare whose sleek hams Jane would have liked to bend forward and slap....The road was full of lovely surprises...a glimpse of far-off hills that seemed made of opal dust...a whiff of wind that had been blowing over a clover field...brooks that appeared from nowhere and ran off into green shadowy woods where long branches of spicy fir hung over the lacy water...great white cloud mountains towering up in the blue sky...a hollow of tipsy buttercups...a tidal river unbelievably blue. Everywhere she looked there was something to delight her. Everything seemed just on the point of whispering a secret of happiness. And there was something else...the sea tang in the air. Jane sniffed it for the first time...sniffed again...drank it in.⁵⁶

This portrait stands in striking contrast to Montgomery's description of Toronto. Instead of menacing hostility, there was welcome, and this sense of belonging to landscape received particular emphasis in Jane of Lantern Hill.

Jane and her father went house hunting, and not surprisingly, they found "their house" on the North Shore in an area that Montgomery endowed with the fictional name of Lantern Hill.⁵⁷ Jane "had never been there before but it seemed as if she had known it all her life.

55. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

56. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

57. Ibid., p. 100.

The song the sea-wind was singing was music native to her ears. She had always wanted to 'belong' somewhere and she belonged here. At last she had a feeling of home."⁵⁸

When she had to return to Toronto at the end of the summer, "she knew she was leaving her heart on the Island with dad."⁵⁹ Henceforth, home to Jane was not "the busy, crowded streets" of Toronto, or 60 Gay where "the clang of the iron gates behind her seemed a knell of doom."⁶⁰

Here, "she was reentering prison", but home was at Lantern Hill, "a little house looking seaward...a white gull... ships going up and down...spruce woods...misty barrens... salt air cold from leagues of gulf...quiet...silence."⁶¹

Prince Edward Island was always 'home' to Montgomery, and landscape as a manifestation of home was a recurring theme in her fiction. In Jane of Lantern Hill, however, the Prince Edward Island landscape is representative of much more than home. It served as a spiritual and emotional utopia for Jane, and thus by definition for the woman who created her. None of Montgomery's other heroines were ever exiled from the homeland, but since Jane had to return to Toronto for the winter, she experienced an entirely

58. Ibid., p. 102.

59. Ibid., p. 194.

60. Ibid., p. 195.

61. Ibid., pp. 195, 203.

different set of emotions from Anne, Marigold, or Pat.

Although physically Jane came back to Toronto, she was "in a very real sense...still living on the Island."⁶²

Her everyday life was therefore oriented to that landscape and place. When the "elms around 60 Gay turned a rusty yellow ...far away the red leaves would be falling from the maples ...the autumn mists would be coming in from the sea."⁶³ After the first snowfall of the season, Jane checked the newspaper for the maritime forecast.

...cold, with showers of snow...clearing and cold at night. Jane shut her eyes and saw it. Great soft flakes falling over the grey landscape against the dark spruces...her little garden a thing of fairy beauty... the dark sea around the white land. 'Clearing and cold at night.' Frosty stars gleaming out in still frostier evening blue over quiet fields thinly white with snow.⁶⁴

After a lonely winter of exile, Jane returned to Prince Edward Island for another summer. "She had been away from Lantern Hill for nine months, but now it seemed to her that she had never been away at all. She had really been living [t]here all along. It was her spirit's home."⁶⁵ This sentiment was a haunting echo of one of Montgomery's own statements. As she had written to MacMillan in 1924 with reference to a Prince Edward Island vacation:

62. Ibid., p. 200.

63. Ibid., p. 203.

64. Ibid., pp. 204-205.

65. Ibid., p. 231.

Then I went up to Cavendish. Delight again. Some old gladness always waits there for me and leaps into my heart as soon as I return....A certain part of my soul long starved mounted up on wings as of eagles. I was at home-heart and soul and mind I was at home. My years of exile had vanished. I had never been away.⁶⁶

Through her fictional heroine, Montgomery was again able to experience a kind of happy ending that never materialized in her own life. Jane brought about the reconciliation of her parents, and as such, triumphed over her evil grandmother. By contrast, Montgomery's mother died, and she subsequently 'lost' her father to a woman whom she always portrayed as a prototype of the wicked step-mother.⁶⁷ Brought up by her grandparents,

66. Montgomery to MacMillan, September 3, 1924, MacMillan Collection. This passage was also reproduced in Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M, p. 115.

67. For illustration of this point refer to Rubio and Waterston, Selected Journals, Volume I, pp. 29-57. Entries from 1890 and 1891 when Montgomery was spending the year in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, chronicle the growing animosity between she and her step-mother. On October 6, 1890, for example, Montgomery wrote:

...father is away and I miss him so. He is all that makes life livable here at all for me.... Mrs. Montgomery/-I cannot call her anything else ...has, I think, the most dreadful disposition ever put into the heart of a woman. She is sulky, jealous, utterly unreasonable. She just makes father's life miserable, continually carping, complaining, and fault-finding.... I am constantly afraid she will sometime find and read this journal, although I keep it locked up. She reads all my letters and everything else she can find in my room when I am out. I suspected that very soon after I came here and I laid traps for her that proved it to me. I did not, however, let her know that I found it out for I am determined I will not make a fuss, for father's sake. He has enough to bear as it is.

Montgomery, like Jane, was subject to the dictatorial whims of a difficult old woman. Yet, unlike Jane, Montgomery had to wait for her grandmother's death to achieve liberation. Furthermore, Jane's Prince Edward Island paradise became readily accessible as her mother and dad planned to spend the winters in Toronto, and every summer at Lantern Hill. Montgomery, meanwhile, had to rely on infrequent visits to find the emotional sustenance that her soul craved.

Surprisingly, Jane of Lantern Hill has received very little critical attention. Of particular interest, though, is an excerpt from a 1938 newspaper review of her novel.

Toronto-ites will think that Gay Street is Jarvis Street, a stone's throw from Bloor, and that St. Agatha's, the exclusive private school is as easily placed. They will be sure to know the very house in the Kingsway described as being on Lakeside Drive, but a trip to Prince Edward Island will have to be made to get Step-a-Yard and the Jimmie-Johns identified.⁶⁸

Although the reviewer's comments reflect a southern Ontario perceptual bias, the interpretation does suggest that Montgomery based her descriptions of Toronto on the geographical milieu with which she had become familiar upon her husband's retirement to that city. Even a trip to Prince Edward Island, though, would not have ensured the identification of her colourful characters for as she often averred, they were essentially composites. What the

68. Review of Jane of Lantern Hill (n.d. or source). Enclosed in a letter from Montgomery to MacMillan, February 23, 1939, MacMillan Collection.

reviewer neglected to mention, however, was Montgomery's portrayal of landscape and place in the Prince Edward Island sections of the novel. In this depiction, landscape as setting was only tenuously bound to the lineaments of environmental reality. Rather, the literary landscape as portrayed in Jane of Lantern Hill was a product of memories about place, and through this kind of nostalgic recollection the actual landscape became a landscape of utopian imaginings. Montgomery's constant juxtaposition of Toronto and Prince Edward Island facilitated this process, and suggestive of a heaven-hell polarity, her evocative environmental images helped to create a more symbolic landscape than that found in any of her other novels.

Conclusions

As Wright argued over forty years ago, art and literature offer much to tantalize the geographic imagination, and may foster a more acute sense of place than more conventional kinds of geographic description.⁶⁹ L.M. Montgomery is one author whose vivid prose invites both objective and subjective kinds of landscape interpretation. This kind of analysis is divorced from traditional literary criticism for emphasis is placed on the nature of regional pictures and environmental imagery

69. John K. Wright, "Terrae Incognitae...", pp. 10-11.

as opposed to the symbolism of plot development and characterization.

In L.M. Montgomery's work, the actual landscape on the ground was blended with a landscape of the mind, and a survey of selected novels spanning the course of her literary career highlights the evolution of this process. In Anne of Green Gables, landscape was the basis of literary setting. Montgomery manipulated the geography of her native Cavendish to create the fictional Avonlea, and although this landscape did reflect aspects of romantic pastoralism, and the symbolism associated with an attachment to childhood and home, these themes were subliminal to the portrait of place and time that the author strove to recreate. By contrast, in Anne's House of Dreams, landscape was primarily representative of romantic sentimentality. The New London area served as a backdrop for the love story of Anne and Gilbert, and Montgomery's vibrant portrait of place complemented the interpersonal relationships which provided structure for the narrative. In Magic for Marigold, the author's focus shifted to the world of childhood, and landscape became synonymous with this golden age. In the Pat series, Montgomery explored the concept of landscape as home, and in Pat Gardiner, more so than in any other heroine, she expressed her own fear of change, and loss of a valued landscape. Finally, it was in Jane of Lantern Hill that all these themes were synthesized

into a coherent whole -- of landscape as paradise versus to landscape as inferno. Like Jane, her fictional heroine, exile from Prince Edward Island heightened Montgomery's sensitivity to landscape and place and her emotional longing for that place then molded the way in which she depicted landscape in literature.

L.M. Montgomery's fiction offers strong sensory images of Prince Edward Island. These images are not only significant in an academic sense for they also have important implications for tourist travel to the author's native province. Pre-existing literary images have facilitated the construction of tourist reality, but this process has in turn irrevocably altered the landscape that Montgomery knew; loved, and immortalized in her prose.

Chapter 6

TOURIST DEVELOPMENT AND THE LITERARY LANDSCAPE

Nestled in the seaside hills of Prince Edward Island, there's a road to a place called Green Gables where a girl named Anne grew up. Here, not far from the cold Atlantic and close to the warmth of a loving heart, is Avonlea.¹

Environmental images are shaped by diverse factors. Personal experience, hearsay, and advertising together play a major role in the formation of geographical attitudes. Yet, as Butler has suggested, "much of what the current generation thinks about places, if it does think about places at all, has its origins in the written word and in many cases the classic written word."² Literary tourism, or the phenomenon of tourist travel to areas made famous through literary associations, is a direct result of this process, but it involves a set of issues that have gone largely unstudied by both geographers and tourism planners. As a tourist resource, though, literary heritage continues to be exploited, and the effects of this

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1. L.M. Montgomery, Further Chronicles of Avonlea (Toronto: Seal Books, April 1987 edition), back cover.
 2. R.W. Butler, "Literature as an Influence in Shaping the Image of Tourist Destinations: A Review and Case Study", Canadian Studies of Parks, Recreation and Tourism in Foreign Lands, ed., John S. Marsh (Peterborough: Department of Geography, Trent University, Occasional Paper Number 11, 1986), p. 115.

process are typically manifested on landscape.

The promotion and commemoration of literary heritage in Cavendish has resulted in two very different tourist landscapes: one is highly exploitive; the other seeks to preserve and interpret literary place for future generations. Literary tourism has thus radically altered the Cavendish landscape, but the 'Anne of Green Gables'/L.M. Montgomery theme has also been promoted in other parts of Prince Edward Island. Although the implications of this process are less dramatic elsewhere, they are equally representative of the transformation of literary place into tourist actuality. Together, such facets of landscape evolution constitute a fascinating study in regional mythologization. Concurrently, however, they also raise important issues in regional planning, marketing, and overall economic development. These themes provide the focus for Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Historical Setting

The popularity of L.M. Montgomery's novels was the initial catalyst for tourist travel to Cavendish, but the north shore of Prince Edward Island was already a popular resort area at the time the author was writing (Figure 1). In her fiction, Montgomery often referred to the presence of American visitors on the Island. The White Sands Hotel was mentioned in several of the Anne novels,³ and when

3. See, for example, Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, pp. 281-291, "The Hotel Concert".

confronted with the overbearing Princess Varvara, Marigold assumed that "she must be one of the Americans down at the hotel."⁴ In Jane of Lantern Hill, cousin Phyllis told Jane that she had visited Prince Edward Island: "We spent a summer there two years ago. We lived in a big hotel on the north shore. It's quite a pretty place. I daresay you'll like it for a change."⁵

Prior to the mid nineteenth century, a lack of transportation facilities had exerted significant constraints on development of the Prince Edward Island pleasure travel market. Those travelling to the north shore for sightseeing or other kind of pleasure oriented activities, and who could therefore be categorized as tourists, were limited to members of the Charlottetown elite. They frequented the limited number of summer guest homes located in the Stanhope and Brackley Point areas.⁶ Other travellers in that period were motivated by necessity, and as such cannot be identified as tourists.

It must be recognized that the semantic distinctions between the terms traveller, tourist, and tourism are

4. L.M. Montgomery, Magic for Marigold, p. 143.

5. L.M. Montgomery, Jane of Lantern Hill, p. 67.

6. Fred Horne, "Tourism Theme", Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 352 (Parks Canada: 1978-1979), pp. 112-113.

fraught with complexity. In the present context, tourism is defined as "the temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and their activities during the stay at these destinations."⁷ Thus, tourists are those who engage in tourism, and this term will be used to identify those people temporarily relocating to the north shore-National Park area for purposes of recreation and leisure. This group of people may include native Islanders but for analytical purposes, out of province visitors will be given primary emphasis.

The first out of province tourists began arriving in the north shore area in the early 1860's. Steam travel had made an Island vacation more accessible, and as a natural result of the interplay between forces of supply and demand, accommodation became available in prime beach locations. The beaches were perhaps the most marketable of potential tourist resources, but early advertising also stressed the attractiveness of a rural and pastoral way of life. In 1871, for instance, visitors were lured with promises of "balmy, bracing air, the repose and the

7. J. Christopher Holloway, The Business of Tourism (Plymouth, England: MacDonald & Evans Ltd., 1983), p. 3.

restfulness, and the fragrance of clover fields."⁸

Another contemporary observer also lauded the Island's virtues, and the kind of tourist experience that it had to offer.

Newport, Saratoga, Long Beach and many other places of similar character, are well enough for people of fashion, whose days and nights are a continual round of what they call pleasure; but serious, sober people, who wish for rest and refreshment to fit them in body and mind to resume the grave duties and work of life, would prefer different company and surroundings--where fast, flash women and men of the world are not found. Such a place is Prince Edward Island.⁹

As rail-lines were extended along the eastern seaboard, and most notably between Boston and St. John, New Brunswick, travel to Prince Edward Island became even easier. In practical terms, rail expansion meant that only the last part of the journey remained to be completed by steamer. Thus, to cater to the wealthy American market suddenly created, luxury hotels were constructed in the north shore area. At Rustico, the Ocean House, later known as the Seaside Hotel, was built in 1871, and it is highly probable that it was the model for Montgomery's fictional White Sands Hotel. Other hotels, such as Shaw's of Brackley Point and the Point Pleasant Hotel at Stanhope, were family run, and provided a supplementary income to

8. Patriot, August 19, 1871, as quoted in Horne, "Tourism Theme", p. 116.

9. Hon. Neal Dow, as quoted in the Patriot, October 21, 1871, as quoted in Horne, ibid.

existing farming pursuits. By contrast, the "sole function of the Seaside was as a resort hotel serving visitors in summer and abandoned in winter."¹⁰ Regardless of type, however, all these hotels attracted an elite clientele, and it was not until the second decade of the present century that the opening of farm homes to visitors signalled a change in tourism trends. The popularity of L.M. Montgomery's novels was directly responsible for this shift, and more recently, their continued fame has encouraged mass tourism in Cavendish.

Until the publication of Anne of Green Gables, tourism seems to have been non-existent in Cavendish. What was Cavendish like then? Montgomery described her home to MacMillan; Cavendish "is a narrow farming community...fronting on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is about three miles long and one wide. The narrow homestead farms front on the gulf and on each one is a house."¹¹ First settled by families of MacNeills, Simpsons, and Clarks, descendants of these Scottish emigrants stayed in the area to form a closely knit settlement, bound by ties of sober presbyterianism. Anne of Green Gables, and Montgomery's subsequent international fame, irrevocably

10. Horne, ibid., p. 120.

11. Montgomery to MacMillan, November 9, 1904, MacMillan Collection. This passage was also reproduced in Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M, p. 6.

altered the fabric of Cavendish, for out of her home community the author created "an imaginary land for children and grown-ups" which in turn generated massive public interest and visitor appeal.¹²

Mrs. Leta Andrew, an early resident of the district, still remembers the impact that Anne of Green Gables had on what was then a quiet farming settlement. As a child growing up in Cavendish, she would often "be stopped on [her] way to school by people wanting to know where Lucy Maud Montgomery's home was, and where Green Gables was."¹³ As she commented, "I felt pretty proud to be able to show them."¹⁴ This sudden influx of visitors then created a demand for tourist accommodation because prior to the publication of Anne of Green Gables "there had never been a hotel or well established boarding house in Cavendish."¹⁵ According to Mrs. Andrew, "the earliest form of accommodation was in the farm homes. People were coming to Cavendish looking for Lucy Maud and Green Gables and they fell in love with the country-side and wanted to explore it. They requested accommodation from farmers who

12. Horne, "Tourism Theme", p. 129.

13. Personal interview with Mrs. Leta Andrew, Owner/Operator of Andrew Lodge, R.R. #2, New Glasgow, P.E.I., June 25, 1987.

14. Ibid.

15. Horne, "Tourism Theme", p. 129.

were then compelled to open up their homes."¹⁶

The first formal tourist accommodation in Cavendish was built near the beach at the end of Cawnpore Lane.¹⁷ Still owned and operated by the Wyand family, Avonlea Cottages opened in 1928, and from a small canteen type establishment on the beach, it quickly evolved into a thriving network of housekeeping cottages and overnight units.¹⁸

The Great Depression of the 1930's, and then the Second World War, prevented either extensive or immediate development of the tourist market. It was only in conjunction with increased money, mobility, and the growing availability of leisure time in the years immediately after the war, that the demand for tourist space expanded, and tourist related activities began to sustain the Cavendish economy. This process was facilitated by the creation of Prince Edward Island National Park in 1937.

THE PARK LANDSCAPE

The boundary in Cavendish between the National Park (where proposed development is subject to stringent controls) and the community at large (where only the most

16. Personal interview with Andrew.

17. Now incorporated by Prince Edward Island National Park, Cawnpore Lane led to a fishing village of the same name located on the beach.

18. Field Research (June 1987).

basic restrictions are imposed) provides striking illustration of the two tourist landscapes in the area. In essence, a landscape of exploitation is juxtaposed against one of interpretation and commemoration, and the visual result adds a fascinating dimension to a study of the aesthetics of environmental transformation.

Park Creation

The popularity of L.M. Montgomery's novels was integral to the park site chosen by the Dominion government.

Initially, though, Montgomery was not particularly pleased with the park proposal. As she wrote to MacMillan in 1936:

The last of September I went down to P.E. Island and spent October there. I had not been down for four years ---the longest time I had ever spent away from it....But I found Cavendish, or part of it, in the shadow of a great oncoming change---a change that at first made me feel heartbroken but which I have now come to see will really be for the best in the long run....the Dominion Gov't is giving a National Park to every province. And they decided that the place for the P.E.I. Park was Cavendish, because it was already a sort of shrine on account of my books and because it had a magnificent sand beach and was situated between two beautiful harbours--Rustico and New London Harbours (the latter being 'Four Winds'). And, because of the Anne books they decided to buy...farms for the park.... At first...I felt very badly [but]...the Premier assured me that the woods and paths and dykes would be kept just as they were etc. So I began to feel that it was all for the best because those places will never be desecrated now. Still, there will be a good deal of change and I felt very sad my last night there. The brook and pond are in the park, too, and the old site of the school I went to. Really, when I first penned Anne of Green Gables so many years ago I had no idea what would spring from it all.¹⁹

19. Montgomery to MacMillan, December 27, 1936, MacMillan Collection. See also Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr. M., pp. 181; 183.

Local residents were even more resentful of federal intervention in the area. Perhaps the potential for increased tourism as generated by park development was not clearly recognized. Or, conversely, farmers affected by the threat of expropriation were intending to develop their land privately. In any case, it is not surprising that there was controversy about the farmland that the government took over to create the park. The expropriation proceedings were poorly handled, and in 1938, the government was forced to amend the proposed park boundaries "to accommodate farmers who objected to moving farm buildings."²⁰ Today, Prince Edward Island National Park covers an area of seven square miles, and occupies a narrow coastline strip stretching for twenty-five miles along the Island's north shore.²¹ In many areas, then, the farms that were taken over extended back from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, giving the government access to the prime beach locations so integral to tourist development. Since some of this property had been held by the same families for generations, no amount of financial compensation could replace such acute ties to land. Thus, even now, many members of the Cavendish community evince a barely concealed hostility towards park activities, and the

20. Lothian, "Prince Edward Island National Park", p. 98.

21. Ibid., p. 97.

presence of parks personnel in the area.²²

The opposing view is more sympathetic to questions of landscape aesthetics. One writer holds that the park now appears "as an oasis in the middle...[of] a roadside strip of tourist establishments."²³ Father Francis Bolger, a leading authority on Montgomery's life and work, voiced a similar opinion. Like the author, he was originally opposed to park development. Now he feels that "it has turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The area is protected from development and [he] trust[s] Parks [Canada] people to make sensitive decisions far more than land developers."²⁴

Purpose of the Park

In the 1930's, there were diverse opinions concerning the role of a National Park in Prince Edward Island, and which management policies would be the most effective. One faction viewed the proposed park as a commercial enterprise whose success would be measured by the number of visitors

22. Personal interview, Cavendish, P.E.I., June 1987. For personal and professional reasons, the individual in question did not want to be quoted as making this statement.

23. Charmaine Gaudet, "Why the Japanese Love Our 'Anne of Green Gables'", p. 14.

24. Personal interview with Father Francis W.P. Bolger, Department of History, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, June 23, 1987.

attracted. This perspective was succinctly expressed in a Charlottetown Guardian editorial:

What is the National Park for but to draw tourists to a province? If we want to sell what we are most anxious to sell--our tourist attractions--then surely our unique sand dunes and delightful opportunities for surf bathing should be ever kept in the forefront of the picture.²⁵

By contrast, federal parks personnel advocated a policy of controlled development. Cavendish would be developed as a seaside resort, and its recreational potential exploited, but only insofar as would ensure a sustained yield and prevent the destruction of the original resource. Such proposals were still far removed from modern Parks Canada planning guidelines. A Parks Canada researcher recently declared that the proposals were not "designed to protect a valuable national wilderness resource."²⁶ Instead, he concluded, the policies "cited the beaches as the number one asset and strongly encouraged their use...the role of the dunes was seen as one of luring visitors rather than that of a unique wilderness area to be protected from over-use."²⁷

Since 'Green Gables' and many of the sites associated

25. Letter to the Editor, Charlottetown Guardian, October 18, 1937, as quoted in Fred Horn, "Park Theme", Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 352 (Parks Canada: 1978-1979), p. 138.

26. Horne, "Park Theme", p. 142.

27. Ibid.

with L.M. Montgomery's life and work were purposely incorporated into the park, the nature of these changing management policies merits particular consideration. With respect to the 'Green Gables' site, the effects of such policies provide excellent illustration of the gradual re-creation of literary place.

History of the Green Gables Site

Montgomery always insisted that her "'Green Gables' was practically imaginary."²⁸ The house that has since been called 'Green Gables' provided partial inspiration for the author's first novel but it was by no means the sole contributory influence (Figure 2). Yet, since 'Green Gables' is so much a part of local mythology, such factual details either go unrecognized, or are intentionally suppressed.

The Green Gables house at Cavendish originally belonged to cousins of the author, David and Margaret MacNeill, an elderly brother and sister.²⁹ Many of the spots that the

28. Montgomery to MacMillan, December 27, 1936, MacMillan Collection. See also Bolger and Epperly, My Dear Mr M, p. 180.

29. Popular opinion has suggested that David and Margaret were the models for Matthew and Marilla Cuthebert. Montgomery vehemently denied that this was the case. As she explained, "David and Margaret Macneill...do not figure as Matthew and Marilla....The Matthew and Marilla I had in mind were entirely different people from David and Margaret". Rubio and Waterston, Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume II, pp. 38-39 (January 27, 1911).

Figure 2: The Green Gables House

author loved in childhood and later as an adult immortalized in her fiction were part of the MacNeill farm. Most significant among these sites were Lover's Lane and the Haunted Wood, but although the author did derive inspiration from this general landscape setting, it is impossible to definitively match fiction with fact.

Land records show that David MacNeill acquired what is now known as the Green Gables site in 1831.³⁰ It is thus probable that the house dates from the same era even though historians have been unable to determine its exact date of construction. Numerous additions and alterations have been made to the original structure, though, and since some of these changes influence the tourist's view of Green Gables, they deserve particular scrutiny.

When David and Margaret MacNeill were no longer able to run the farm by themselves, a cousin and her husband, Myrtle and Ernest Webb assumed control of the operation.³¹ It was during the Webb's tenure that Green Gables became a tourist attraction, and long before any intervention by the National Park, the Webbs' had named the house 'Green Gables' and were catering to tourist interest

30. Prince Edward Island Public Archives, Land Registry Records, L. 47, F. 284, as quoted in Fred Horne, "Green Gables House Report", Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 352 (Parks Canada: 1978-1979), p. 3.

31. Mrs. Webb became one of Montgomery's closest friends and the author often stayed at the Webb home when she returned to Prince Edward Island on vacation.

by running a bed and breakfast facility and tea-shop in the house. In 1914 the roof on the kitchen wing had been raised to create additional sleeping space for a growing family; as early as 1920 the Webbs' were using these bedrooms to accommodate summer visitors.³² When the house was acquired by the National Park in 1936, the Webbs' remained as caretakers for the next ten years.

Between 1936 and 1947, several other important changes were made to the house. These included "the installation of shutters on most of the windows...and green paint on the gable and dormer peaks."³³ In this context, it must be emphasized that there is no explanation for Montgomery's choice of the name 'Green Gables'. Original photographs do not show the house as having green trim and there are even some inconsistencies in the author's descriptions. For instance, Montgomery first referred to Green Gables as a "big, rambling orchard-embowered house."³⁴ In one portrait it was depicted as "dimly white with blossoming trees in the twilight of the surrounding woods."³⁵

Elsewhere, Anne described her home as "once green, rather

32. Horne, "Green Gables House Report", p. 6.

33. Ibid., p. 7.

34. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables, p. 3.

35. Ibid., p. 23.

faded now."³⁶ These statements are contradictory but cannot be interpreted with reference to any historical precedent. In the 1940's, however, questions of literary or historical accuracy were secondary to the creation of a tourist's Green Gables, conforming only to popular interpretations of place.

The early history of site development at Green Gables, as outlined above, provides a good illustration of the subtle coalescence of fiction into fact as expressed on landscape. Although Montgomery's Green Gables was largely imaginative in origin, the Webb house served as a vehicle for the creation of a tourist's Green Gables; a vehicle that gave credence to and later sustained the myth of place that the author wove into her fiction.

Green Gables and Changing National Parks Policy

National Parks personnel were initially more concerned with the orderly development of a sea-side resort at Cavendish than with questions of literary and historical authenticity. As such, there were no policy guidelines governing proposed alterations to the Green Gables house. Concurrently, the role of the park was seen as one of providing opportunities for recreation, rather than of advancing preservationist causes. Illustrative of

36. L.M. Montgomery, Anne of the Island (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1952 edition), p. 67.

prevailing attitudes was the development of the Green Gables golf course beside the Green Gables house. The course covered what had originally been the fields and back pasture of the MacNeill and adjacent farmsteads. Since each of the holes still bears a literary inspired name--the Anne Shirley, Diana Barry and the Montgomery to name but a few--an authentic literary setting was replaced by one making a mockery of literary place.

At the national level, changes in Parks Canada policy have led to new development strategies at the Green Gables site. During the 1960's and 1970's, preservationist concerns became an increasingly important part of the national conscious. Representative of this greater emphasis on preservation as opposed to recreation, was a 1979 Parks Canada policy statement that provided systematic guidelines for park selection, integrative management, and cohesive planning.³⁷ Such national happenings were then responsible for the re-formulation of policy directions at the local level.

The effects of this policy statement were immediately felt at Green Gables. For the first time, "cultural resources were clearly identified as one of Parks Canada's mandates."³⁸ Prior to the acceptance of this document

37.) Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy (Ottawa: Ministry of the Environment, 1979).

38. Personal interview with Philip J. Michael, Chief Park Interpreter, Prince Edward Island National Park, June 29, 1987.

interpret it as a partial setting for Anne of Green Gables and the life of L.M. Montgomery.⁴⁰

The first phase of this area plan concept involved structural work and cosmetic landscape changes. In the Green Gables House, for instance, the attic was insulated, the building was re-wired to meet fire safety standards, and work was done on the basement to stabilize the foundation. On the grounds, the golf green was moved away from the house, and the Pro Shop and golf cart compound were relocated from the foot of Lover's Lane to the other side of the golf course complex. Such changes reflected both a concern for environmental aesthetics and visitor safety. Correspondingly, the modern perennials that used to surround the house are gradually being replaced by the kinds of plants that would typically have been found on a nineteenth century Island farmstead.⁴¹

The next stage of the rehabilitation process was completed over the winter of 1985-86. It involved the complete refurbishment of the Green Gables house. Since the house is considered to be the focal point of the site, changes were designed to reflect the literary portrait insofar as it could be reconstructed from the author's descriptions. Most notably, Matthew's bedroom was moved

40. Personal interview with Barbara MacDonald, Park Interpreter, Prince Edward Island National Park, June 24, 1987.

41. Ibid.

downstairs for, in deference to his heart condition, Montgomery specifically stated that he slept in the small room off the kitchen. New wallpaper and floorcoverings authentic to the 1890's period were installed, and the location of many of the other rooms has been altered to conform to the fictional lay-out. Future plans call for the pantry, dairy, and porch, that were part of the original structure, and the subject of numerous literary references, to also be reconstructed.⁴²

The third, and final phase of the area plan concept calls for more sweeping kinds of landscape change. It is aimed at replacing the twentieth century environment with a setting designed to give visitors the impression that they have returned to the nineteenth century period. In essence:

The surrounding landscape will be created, where possible, according to the interpretation of features described in the novel, Anne of Green Gables. This can be accomplished by landscaping, planting, and the placing of a barn, outbuildings, and other structures on the land so as to emulate facilities and conditions that are presented in Anne of Green Gables, as well as The Story Girl, and the other literary works of Lucy Maud Montgomery. Twentieth century interferences ...will be removed from the site....Facilities that are required for one reason or another, such as the parking lot, tea room, maintenance access, security lighting, etc., will be either screened from view, or designed so that their presence is inconspicuous.⁴³

42. Ibid.

43. Green Gables Area Plan Concept, p. 27.

Certain steps have already been taken to restore elements of nineteenth century rural tranquility to what is in reality a busy tourist site. As indicated, the pro shop and part of the golf course have been relocated, and the area landscaped and replanted. On other parts of the Green Gables property two interpretive trails, Haunted Wood and Balsam Hollow, have been upgraded and the signage improved. In this sense, one placard, on the Balsam Hollow Trail is particularly illustrative of current Parks Canada policy directions. Beyond Lover's Lane in a woodland hollow that the author loved, visitors are urged to:

Pause for a moment, close your eyes and relax, take a slow deep breath. Can you smell the rich scent of wildflowers, ferns and trees that surround you? Now listen carefully for the robin, chickadee, peewee and bluejay calling among the branches. This is the essence of L.M. Montgomery's writings of Prince Edward Island.⁴⁴

This phase of the development plan also seeks to evoke the essence of literary place in more tangible ways. The area has been partitioned into several interpretative sections radiating outwards from the Green Gables House. Development proposals call for this node to be encircled by a nineteenth century farmscape, then an interpretive transition area, and finally the modern twentieth century milieu. As described in the policy document,

44. Field Research (June 1987).

the transition area is the first and most strategic contact point with the visitor. The emphasis in this area will be on psychological transformation, a change of pace, and a change of atmosphere. This area will contain a barn and various interpretive media, where the 20th century visitor will be re-oriented to the calm and tranquility of a late 19th century Cavendish farmscape. An exhibit area in the barn will contain artifacts and displays interpreting the life and works of L.M. Montgomery. An audio visual theatre will be provided for film and slide presentations about the author and her achievements.⁴⁵

In terms of landscape design, the barn will also serve "as part of the physical buffer between the parking area and the interpretive core area....The visitor's exit from the barn will be the point of entry into the Historical Interpretive Core."⁴⁶ Within this core area, facilities such as the giftshop and tea room will be concealed in a granary building, and other twentieth century intrusions will be screened out with the use of plant material.

Site rehabilitation at Green Gables constitutes one more phase in the continuing process of landscape evolution, and it provides another illustration of the transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape. The popularity of Montgomery's novels led to the creation of literary place on a pre-existing agricultural landscape. Parks Canada's interpretive and policy-making framework therefore emphasizes questions of literary as opposed to historical authenticity. The nature

45. Green Gables Area Plan, p. 28.

46. Ibid., p. 29.

of this process is clearly outlined in the policy document.

Whenever information on a particular subject area is lacking in the novel, information about the actual farm that existed on the site will become the guideline. If both of these types of sources should yield a void in information, then a functional, 19th century farmsite will be provided.⁴⁷

Since the Green Gables house is such an integral part of Prince Edward Island mythology, any changes to the existing image are stridently opposed. Indeed, the pervasiveness of this image--employed on everything from provincial tourist advertising to sweatshirts, place mats and key chains--presents problems for Parks Canada personnel who are attempting to interpret authentic literary place as opposed to place created in response to previous tourist interest. The green shutters on the house are a case in point. Although the MacNeill farm was never called Green Gables until after the publication of Montgomery's first novel, and early photographs do not show any evidence of shutters on the house, gables and shutters have become synonymous in the public mind. As such, current site redevelopment proposals to remove the shutters in an effort to make the house more authentic to when Montgomery knew it have met with strong community opposition.⁴⁸ The tourist's image of Green Gables--that

47. Ibid., p. 30.

48. Personal interview with Eleanor Lamont, Extension Officer, Confederation Centre Art Gallery and Museum, June 26, 1987.

of a white frame house with green shutters--has been so heavily marketed that potential changes to this image are unacceptable to local business people. This issue is only one example of the discrepancy between the Parks Canada philosophy and that which prevails in the community at large. Both philosophies have been expressed on landscape, though, and together, they create a community of striking visual contrasts.

THE NON-PARK LANDSCAPE

Outside the National Park, the L.M. Montgomery heritage is marked through the medium of popular culture. Local toponyms provide what is perhaps the most graphic illustration of this aspect of the transformation of the fictional into the actual (Figure 3).

Toponyms

As noted, Avonlea Cottages was the first Cavendish business to adopt a literary inspired name. In the age of leisure after the Second World War, tourist development in the community proceeded rapidly. As this tourist infrastructure was developed, a number of other establishments chose the same method of capitalizing on literary heritage.

The Shining Waters Lodge opened in 1945, and was followed by the Green Gables Bungalow Court in 1949. The

Figure 3: Locational Map of Selected Cavendish Businesses and Tourist Sites

Anne Shirley Motel and Cabins facility was built in 1952, and in the same year, a bed and breakfast operation called Blythewood also began offering visitor accommodation. The latter business has since been converted to a tent and trailer park, the first of its kind in the Cavendish area outside the National Park. Other manifestations of the literary theme on the commercial landscape are Rainbow Valley, a family amusement and waterslide park that opened in 1969, and the Kindred Spirits Country Inn and Cottages. This facility was built in 1948, but until September of 1986 it was known as the Golden Links Lodge, and catered to older, American golfing couples.⁴⁹ This name change is indicative of an important shift in the kind of tourists that Cavendish attracts. No longer is it an elite sea-side resort. Rather, the community is now attempting to serve families, and in this sense, mass tourism is becoming increasingly common. The names of two of the newest commercial establishments in Cavendish illustrate this phenomenon: Matthew's Market, a souvenir and tourist supply store, and Marilla's Pizza, a fast food restaurant, opened in 1984. Despite local protest, the use of literary allusions in this context cannot be prevented.

49. This information on Cavendish businesses is drawn from field research undertaken in June 1987. People at each facility with a literary inspired name were personally contacted to determine when the business was founded, and reasons for use of the name.

The use of literary toponyms by local entrepreneurs is a very visible manifestation of the transformation of fiction into fact as expressed on landscape. Existing copyright law does not prohibit the employment of such names, and indeed none of those interviewed recalled a necessity for any legal proceedings beyond registering the name with provincial authorities in Charlottetown.⁵⁰ In Rainbow Valley, citations from the novel of the same name are used with permission of McClelland and Stewart, Canadian publishers for Montgomery's work. Yet, 'Anne of Green Gables Land', a separate section of the park featuring a miniature Green Gables and other buildings supposedly representative of turn of the century Avonlea, is a more subliminal, and hence unauthorized depiction of literary place.

Advertising postcards boast that 'Anne of Green Gables Land' "features one-to-five scale models associated with Lucy Maud Montgomery"⁵¹ (Figure 4). Closer scrutiny reveals several discrepancies in this claim. Most significant is the church, ostensibly a replica of Cavendish church, but in reality modelled on one from Long River,

50. Ibid. On the issue of copyright law, see Lucie Hall, "Filming the Canadian Literary Classic Anne of Green Gables: The Stubborness of Kevin Sullivan", Cinema Canada (October 1985), pp. 8-11.

51. Tourist postcard, 'Anne of Green Gables Land', Rainbow Valley, Cavendish, P.E.I.

Figure 4: 'Anne of Green Gables Land', Rainbow Valley

Prince Edward Island, and in no way connected with either the author or her work.⁵² As a tourist attraction Rainbow Valley is well-run, generally tasteful, and is certainly far preferable to some of the other tourist sites in the area. Yet, in terms of processes of landscape change resulting from the popularity of L.M. Montgomery's novels, Rainbow Valley constitutes a perfect example of the effects of literary tourism.

According to Rainbow Valley manager, Gwen Macdonald, the property was originally a farm, and "site development involved extensive landscaping and the creation of artificial lakes."⁵³ With the construction of a tourist infrastructure including waterslides, a children's farm, and a space-ship gift shop, the landscape was further altered. Thus, 'Anne of Green Gables Land', where the intent has been to "create a quiet area for parents to relax and wait for their children",⁵⁴ somewhat ironically attempts to recapture the essence of Montgomery's original landscape, now destroyed through excessive tourist development.

In microcosm, Rainbow Valley is representative of the diverse forces that have irrevocably altered the Cavendish

52. Field Research (June 1987).

53. Personal interview with Gwen MacDonald, Manager, Rainbow Valley Ltd., Cavendish, P.E.I., June 25, 1987.

54. Ibid.

landscape that Montgomery knew and loved. With the growth of literary tourism, a rural agricultural landscape has been gradually replaced by one designed for purposes of entertainment and recreation. The survey pattern of the community has encouraged this process. Strongly reminiscent of a German Strassendorf settlement with narrow farmsteads extending back from a main village street, this arrangement has facilitated strip tourist development. Developers have been able to buy up individual farm properties, and since there is no zoning in the community, very few restrictions are imposed on proposed development projects. One local resident speculated that since development approval is channeled through the provincial government, "it is a matter of who you know."⁵⁵ Others echoed this concern, pointing to the fact that many Cavendish businesses are controlled by provincial politicians, or others close to sources of political power. To observers, the procedure appears simplistic: "you buy land, build, and you've got it made."⁵⁶

Cavendish today is a community of striking visual contrasts. Vestiges of Montgomery's landscape remain, but they are juxtaposed against the diverse manifestations of

55. For personal and professional reasons, the individual in question did not want to be quoted as making this statement.

56. For professional reasons, the individual in question requested anonymity.

modern tourism. The Baptist church faces west towards pastoral fields of rolling farmland. Yet, it is flanked on the east by Marilla's Pizza restaurant, and dwarfed by the space tower from Rainbow Valley. Several original farmsteads remain in Cavendish, but set as they are amidst a thriving tourist infrastructure they now form nebulous reminders of a way of life that is becoming increasingly obsolete.

The Cemetery

In Cavendish, as at other such sites, the grave pilgrimage is one way that visitors may pay homage to a beloved literary figure. Thus, even the cemetery where Montgomery and other family members are buried, has not escaped the pervasive influence of literary tourism.

Montgomery transferred Cavendish Cemetery into her fictional portrait of Avonlea. Elsewhere she reflected on that "old burying-ground...[whose dead were] lulled forever by the murmur of the sea."⁵⁷ Today, however, the weathered tombstones, and red slabs of Island sandstone marking the old graves evoke the essence of a bygone era; of a world divorced from the realities of a gas station, motel, and constant noise of a busy intersection lying just

57. L.M. Montgomery, The Alpine Path, p. 17.

beyond the cemetery fence.⁵⁸

Commemoration of the author takes the form of an iron arch proclaiming that Cavendish is the 'Resting Place of L.M. Montgomery' (Figure 5). This arch dominates the surrounding landscape, and dwarfs the more modest stone cairn that identifies Cavendish Cemetery. Further evidence of the pilgrimage function associated with Montgomery's grave are cement blocks leading through the cemetery to her grave site, a fence encircling the plot where the author and her husband are buried, and a Parks Canada sign indicating to the still uninitiated that this is the 'Grave of L.M. Montgomery' (Figure 6).⁵⁹

The Green Gables Post Office

When Montgomery was growing up in Cavendish, her grandparents ran the local post office. After her grandfather's death in 1898, she personally assumed the duties of postmistress. Given her literary ambitions, this position proved advantageous. Since the community's mail was channeled through the MacNeill farm, Montgomery was able to send manuscripts away without detection, and to subsequently conceal her rejection slips from the prying eyes of curious neighbours. The Green Gables Post Office

58. Field Research (June 1987).

59. Ibid.

Figure 5: Cavendish Cemetery Arch

Figure 6: L.M. Montgomery's Gravesite

commemorates this facet of the L.M. Montgomery heritage.

This post office is housed in a building that has no historical connection with either the author or her family (Figure 7). The interior, however, is set up as a postal museum with postal exhibits, Montgomery's desk, and family photographs on display. Since the rest of the community is served by rural mail delivery, the Green Gables Post Office operates on a seasonal basis. As such, it is a tourist attraction where visitors can have their cards and letters postmarked 'Green Gables, P.R.I.'⁶⁰

The Green Gables Post Office is an important part of the non-park tourist landscape in Cavendish. In terms of exterior design, it resembles the Green Gables house, and thereby captures visitor attention through the imitation of a popular local symbol. This tactic must initially foster visitor confusion as to the location of the 'real' Green Gables. More significant, though, is that it represents yet another gradation in the progressive replacement of an authentic literary landscape with a landscape devoted to the commercialization of literary heritage.

The MacNeill Farmstead

In Cavendish, one of the most meaningful and important L.M. Montgomery sites remains unexploited for tourism

60. Ibid.

Figure 7: The Green Gables Post Office

purposes. The MacNeill farmstead where the author grew up, and lived until 1912, is still privately owned and is not identified to visitors. The house was destroyed long ago but part of the old foundation has recently been excavated. Such activity at the site suggests that it may be opened to tourists sometime in the future.⁶¹ Two possible scenarios therefore emerge. If site development is undertaken with care and sensitivity for the preservation and protection of literary heritage, the farmstead site would be a much needed antidote to the landscape of exploitation that prevails in the community at large. If, however, the development process is not well planned, and if immediate economic return is the primary motivation, this unique and highly authentic site will be destroyed by forces of mass tourism.

Parasitic Development

'Anne of Green Gables' was the catalyst for tourist development in Cavendish, but today it is impossible to divorce the concept of 'Anne of Green Gables' tourism from the popularity of other area attractions. Cavendish has become a beach resort, and it is so well known that "people have to stay there. They don't know any other place or even the name of the provincial capital, but they recognize

61. Ibid. Efforts to contact John MacNeill, current owner of the property, were unsuccessful.

Cavendish."⁶² 'Anne of Green Gables' remains the major attraction, however, undoubtedly aided by the recent television movie based on the novel that has been aired in Canada, the United States and elsewhere. This movie has created even more public interest in the place L.M. Montgomery wrote about.

Not all facets of the non-park landscape bear literary inspired toponyms, but the numerous motels, guesthouses, and other kinds of visitor services scattered throughout the community are as much a function of literary tourism as are those that blatantly proclaim an association with the literary theme. It is thus existing tourist interest as sparked by the 'Anne of Green Gables' heritage that has created a tremendous potential for other kinds of development in Cavendish.

The community boasts a variety of waterslide and amusement parks. Cranberry Village, Wild 'N' Wet, Sand Spit, the Enchanted Castle, and Cap'n Bart's Adventure Park, cater to 'Anne of Green Gables' visitors but they also quite independently attract other visitors, thereby fuelling more tourist development and, by extension, the much touted multiplier effect. The past decade has also seen rapid growth in the number of fast food restaurants,

62. Personal interview with Kathie Coffin, Travel Sales Officer, Tourism Branch, Prince Edward Island Department of Tourism and Parks, Charlottetown, June 22, 1987.

road houses, and taverns; facilities that cater to the young, single, and resort oriented visitor.⁶³

Exploitation of the literary landscape has been so successful that other entrepreneurs are attempting to further exploit and capitalize on its popularity. Yet, this process has fostered what is an as yet barely discernible trend towards a placeless landscape. Two local attractions offer particularly good examples of this phenomenon. A major part of Cap'n Bart's Adventure Park is a full size replica of the United States space shuttle 'Columbia'. Elsewhere in Cavendish is King Tut's Tomb and Treasures, a family entertainment centre featuring an 'exact' replica of King Tut's tomb. This kind of tourist development has no basis in community heritage, and as such is contributing to the gradual erosion of those qualities that once made Cavendish unique and special among other vacation destinations.

LITERARY PROMOTION OUTSIDE CAVENDISH

The 'Anne of Green Gables'/L.M. Montgomery heritage has been used for promotional purposes in other parts of Prince Edward Island beyond Cavendish. Yet, whether the intent is to commemorate or exploit the literary theme, each of these sites is similarly representative of the integrative

63. Field Research (June 1987).

relationship between literary place and tourist place.

The Birthplace

Montgomery was born in New London, a small village five miles west of Cavendish (Figure 1). Now incorporated by the community of New London, her birthplace is a museum where her scrapbooks and wedding dress are on display (Figure 8). Since the site overlooks New London Harbour--a setting that provided the author with the inspiration for 'Four Winds' in Anne's House of Dreams--the birthplace has a dual significance for the literary pilgrim.

The birthplace museum opened in 1964 after the house was acquired by the government of Prince Edward Island. The site is independently operated, though, since the provincial government has always appointed a board of trustees, the L.M. Montgomery Foundation Board, to formulate management policies. According to Father Francis Bolger, the current president, "the house is now self-sufficient. It operates on visitor admissions and profits from the gift shop."⁶⁴ He hopes that this revenue will eventually allow for the house to be repainted in its original colour; a detail that Montgomery noted in her journal.⁶⁵

⁶⁴. Personal interview with Bolger.

⁶⁵. Ibid.

Figure 8: The L.M. Montgomery Birthplace Museum

As part of the L.M. Montgomery landscape now promoted to attract tourists, the birthplace is one of the most authentic sites. It is completely non-exploitive, and the prevailing intent is clearly to commemorate and remember the author. It must be recognized, though, that this museum attracts a different type of tourist from the majority of those flocking to Green Gables. Due to its location in the middle of the Cavendish resort area, Green Gables must cope with mass tourism. By contrast, the birthplace receives a smaller proportion of this group; the genuine literary pilgrims who are anxious to pay homage to a beloved author, and experience one of the settings that provided her with literary inspiration.

Park Corner

Another site that has strong associations with L.M. Montgomery is the Campbell farm at Park Corner (Figure 9). This farmstead is still owned by descendants of the author but part of the house is open to visitors as the 'Anne of Green Gables' Museum. Montgomery used the Campbell home as a model for Silver Bush in the Pat novels, and Campbell's Pond was her 'Lake of Shining Waters'; transferred into the fictional Avonlea in the

Figure 9: The Lake of Shining Waters and Anne of Green Gables Museum, Park Corner

Anne books.⁶⁶

The 'Anne of Green Gables' Museum at Park Corner boasts the largest collection of L.M. Montgomery artifacts.

Visitors can see the blue chest referred to in The Story Girl and The Golden Road, autographed first editions of Montgomery's novels, family photographs, and the mirrored bookcase that became the home of Katie Maurice and Lucy Gray in Anne of Green Gables. The museum opened in 1970 and was originally promoted as the 'Silver Bush and Story Girl House by Lucy Maud Montgomery'. Yet, since "the public didn't know who Montgomery was...the museum was not too successful."⁶⁷ It was only after 1982 when the name was officially changed to 'The Anne of Green Gables Museum' that visitation rates increased sharply.

This phenomenon raises important questions about

66. Montgomery had great affection for Park Corner. She cherished the companionship of her Campbell cousins, and thus her feelings for place were the product of an intricate web of emotional recollections. Later in life she described Park Corner as "the wonder castle of [her] childhood...that big, beautiful orchard embowered house...where Aunt Annie reigned as Queen, dispensing the gracious and lavish hospitality for which she was forever famous"(Montgomery to Weber, October 17, 1923, Weber Collection). The beauty of the road between Cavendish and Park Corner was also part of this experience of place. As Montgomery recalled: "The Park Corner jaunts were always delightful. To begin with, it was such a pretty drive, those winding thirteen miles through hill and wood, and by river and shore" (Montgomery, Alpine Path, p. 43).

67. Personal interview with Mrs. Ruth Campbell, Owner/Operator, 'Anne of Green Gables Museum', Park Corner, P.E.I., June 25, 1987.

whether the tourist landscape that has emerged between Cavendish and Park Corner is more a function of Anne of Green Gables than it is the result of public admiration for the woman who created her. Mrs. Ruth Campbell of Park Corner feels that "in the last two to three years, people have seemed to accept that the museum commemorates the writer of Anne even though the name may create confusion."⁶⁸ Similar concerns about the myth versus reality of 'Anne' were evinced by those at the birthplace museum, while Parks Canada's interpretive material emphasizes that 'Anne' was never a real person.⁶⁹ Such efforts, however, are counteracted by a variety of other influences fostering misleading impressions. In this sense, one of the most obvious attempts at replacing the factual with the fictional, is the 'Anne's House of Dreams'

68. Ibid.

69. See, for example, "Lucy Maud Montgomery and Anne of Green Gables: The Interpretation of Myth and Reality" (Parks Canada: n.d.), p. 3:

Anne was NEVER a real person. Anne was based on a whole series of personalities, both living and imaginary. Anne was a group painting in words of the imagination of Lucy Maud Montgomery. There NEVER, NEVER was a real, individual, flesh and blood Anne.

site at French River.⁷⁰

Anne's House of Dreams

The tourist's 'Anne's House of Dreams' is privately owned and operated by the Lamont family. The site "depicts the home of the fictional characters Anne and Gilbert as newlyweds in Lucy Maud Montgomery's book."⁷¹ Yet, although the words 'depicts' and 'fictional' characters are employed in the provincial visitor's guide, there are no such indications at the site to tell tourists that the house was not the actual home of Anne and Gilbert (Figure 10).

Wilber Lamont developed 'Anne's House of Dreams' as a tourist site in 1966. He claims that "it is operated purely as a hobby, and that there is no real commercial sense to

70. In this context, two recent publications also merit mention. The Anne of Green Gables Diary compiled by Shelley Tanaka (Toronto: Seal Books Ltd., 1987) and The Anne of Green Gables Cookbook by Kate Macdonald and Barbara Di Lella (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1985), both suggest that Anne had a real existence. See, for example, The Green Gables Diary, p. 90: "...Anne is in many ways a modern girl - her dreams, disappointments and ambitions are timeless. But she did live almost one hundred years ago when the people of Prince Edward Island lived without modern-day comforts...." Similarly, the 'Introduction' to the cookbook advises young readers: "Anne eventually became a good cook by following Marilla's advice, and you can too" (p. 4).

71. 1987 Visitors Guide, Prince Edward Island Canada (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Tourism, 1987), p. 74.

Figure 10: Anne's House of Dreams, French River

the site."⁷² He therefore refused to "get into debates about its authenticity" and emphasized his desire for "peace, harmony, and the freedom to operate the site without controversy."⁷³ Such factors notwithstanding, though, 'Anne's House of Dreams' offers the best illustration of a tourist attraction focussed around the literary theme that has no basis in either literary or historical fact. It is thus a good example of tourist place perpetuating the 'Anne of Green Gables' myth in ways that are aesthetically unappealing.

Despite Lamont's claim that "they don't promote [the site] heavily"⁷⁴, the surrounding area is dotted with signs directing tourists to 'Anne's House of Dreams', Marilla's Lobster Lunch, and Marilla's Country Inn, a restaurant and bed and breakfast facility that are also operated on the property. Since the site is strategically situated on the road joining Cavendish with New London and Park Corner, it lies on the central tourist route through the L.M. Montgomery-Anne of Green Gables country. In terms of geographical setting, however, the tourists' 'Anne's House of Dreams' bears little resemblance to literary place

72. Personal interview with Wilber Lamont, Owner/Operator, Anne's House of Dreams, Marilla's Lobster Lunch, and Marilla's Country Inn, French River, P.E.I., June 20, 1987.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

as described by the author. Montgomery never claimed to have based her descriptions of 'Anne's House of Dreams' or the village of Glen St. Mary on specific places but Four Winds was modelled on New London Harbour. Thus, the kind of environmental portrait that the author created in her novel is rich in allusions to the proximity of the sea. At the tourist's Anne's House of Dreams, this detail is but one example of the discrepancy between fiction and fact. Although near the coast, the house is in an agricultural area, and site development does not reflect the strong sense of place that the author evoked in her novel.

When Lamont purchased the house in 1961, it came with most of the furniture and other artifacts that are now on display. Even though he pointed out that they use the word 'depicts' in their interpretation of the literary setting, this depiction is full of literary inaccuracies. There is no kind of interpretive continuity at the site, and although the furnishings date from the turn of the century, the period represented more closely resembles the 1950's than the late 1890's.⁷⁵

The French River site also features "a beautiful granite stone honouring the legendary heroine Anne", and "scale models of Diana Barry's house and the old

75. Field Research, June 1987.

Presbyterian Church in Cavendish"⁷⁶ (Figures 11, 12 and 13). Such facets of the tourist landscape also illustrate the promotion of unrelated literary associations. Diana Barry, Anne's 'bosom friend' lived at Orchard Slope, an Avonlea homestead lying across the Haunted Wood from Green Gables. Since the probable site of Orchard Slope is marked on the Haunted Wood interpretive trail at Green Gables, the miniature replica of Diana's house at French River has no basis in either fact or fiction. Furthermore, in the novel Anne's House of Dreams, Montgomery stated that after her marriage to Gilbert, Anne moved sixty miles away from Diana. Diana bemoaned this separation because she "never [could get] farther from home than Charlottetown."⁷⁷ In this sense, the scale model replica of the old Cavendish church is equally suspect. The place for such a replica, if in fact one is even necessary, is Cavendish not French River. This latter site has no connection with either Montgomery's life or literary work.

The stone cairn that commemorates 'Anne of Green Gables' demands special scrutiny. Erected in 1973, it honours 'A Living Legend in Literature, Anne of Green Gables'. At the most superficial level, it is simply a commemorative medium but concurrently, it is one that also

76. 1987 Visitors Guide, p. 74.

77. Montgomery, Anne's House of Dreams, p. 5.

Figure 11: Model of Diana Barry's House

Figure 12: Model of Cavendish Church

Figure 13: Commemorative Cairn, French River

purveys a host of subliminal meanings. The physical shape of the cairn is highly suggestive of a gravestone, and the trailing rose design etched on the granite marker reinforces this interpretation. To the casual visitor, the inscription must imply that Anne was a real person; a living legend in literature. In this context, the cairn has macabre dimensions. Situated away from the house in a small grassy plot, it is a landscape metaphor for Anne's tomb. In a sense, it caters to the grave pilgrimage aspects of literary tourism where visitors pay homage at a memorial to a fictional character who had no actual existence. This interpretation is of course purely speculative, but such facets of the hidden landscape must, however subliminally, contribute to visitor perceptions and impressions of place.

It is unrealistic to expect a privately run site to meet the same kind of professional standards as Green Gables, for example, where Parks Canada has access to a wide variety of financial and technical resources. Yet, literary accuracy and a measure of authenticity are not too much to demand, and French River boasts neither. Lamont contends that "the whole area will develop into an 'Anne of Green Gables' area whether we like it or not."⁷⁸ He is clearly anxious to capitalize on this trend, and is

78. Personal interview with Wilber Lamont.

planning "extensive, original, and innovative expansions" to the French River site.⁷⁹ Although he refused to elaborate on the nature of this future development, it is evident that literary promotion has become far more than a hobby, or is even loosely based on a desire to remember and commemorate the Island's most famous literary figure. Rather, this kind of promotion has become a commercial enterprise, and in a broad sense, presages a future where literary inspired tourist development in no way reflects the author's evocative literary insights.

Conclusions

In her many novels, L.M. Montgomery created a mythologized picture of Prince Edward Island. Landscape was not simply the basis of literary setting; it was a metaphor for romance, magical childhood, love of home, and an elusive spiritual utopia. Yet, in developing these themes, Montgomery immortalized the geographic settings with which she was most familiar. To some extent, then, she transferred environmental fact into fiction. Tourist development, both in Cavendish and other parts of Prince Edward Island, has since led to the reversal of this process. The fictional has been given factual identity in a number of literary inspired tourist attractions and

79. Ibid.

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facilities.

Cavendish today is a study in contrasts. Within the National Park, landscape reflects the preservationist ideology. Outside the park, the commercial ethic prevails and has resulted in a landscape of exploitation. In other areas, literary heritage has been both commemorated and exploited with varying degrees of authenticity. In each case, though, the popularity of literary associations has provided a catalyst for tourist development and hence landscape transformation. Significantly, much of this tourist development does not mirror literary insights. Yet, since literary images have shaped visitor perceptions of place, and indeed are widely employed in advertising and promotional material, this discrepancy between fiction and tourist fact has important implications for the tourist business.

Chapter 7

MEASURING AND DEVELOPING LITERARY TOURISM

Prince Edward Island. The name calls up an image of serenity...a view of fishing boats bobbing gently in the gulf and rows of spruce trees outlining cultivated fields. The landscape is cool and green, washed by steady breezes off the sea....Seagulls fly low overhead....The deep blues of the gulf meet the pale blues of the sky, with puffy white clouds forming in the distance. Steep red sandstone cliffs rise from the water....we stall, suspended in time, listening to the gentle waves and dreaming of endless peace and tranquility.¹

The 'Anne of Green Gables'-L.M. Montgomery heritage is an integral part of popular images of Prince Edward Island. The pastoral landscape that the author immortalized in her fiction has long been employed by those involved in the business of marketing place to tourists. Yet, while the transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape has thus far been considered as an evolutionary process, it is a phenomenon that has significant implications for regional economic development and planning.

At the local level, promotion of the 'Anne of Green Gables' theme attracts either return visitors, or encourages tourists already in the area to take advantage of a particular service or attraction. In an official

1. Shirley Elder and Richard Lyons, "The Quiet Pleasures of Prince Edward Island", National Geographic Traveller, 3 (Summer 1986), pp. 87, 90, 92.

sense, however, the promotion of literary place is the responsibility of Prince Edward Island Department of Tourism and Parks. Although the 'Anne' motif is part of an overall provincial marketing strategy, it is nevertheless one that is integral to the creation of a particular environmental image. The 1987 marketing and media plan made specific reference to this idea.

Prince Edward Island truly is a special place in today's world....There is the remoteness, the passiveness, the drama of North Cape and East Point, and the place of literary legends....Expressed are those magnificent landscapes, deeply-inscribed in the minds of first-time visitors, life-long residents or even people who've never touched our shores, but who've read Lucy Maud Montgomery's captivating passages.²

It is therefore instructive to review the current marketing plan developed by Prince Edward Island Tourism with a view to determining the importance of the literary theme in regional promotion. Further, because of Montgomery's popularity in Japan, special emphasis will be placed on Japanese images of Prince Edward Island, and provincial response to this unique interest in the author.

Questionnaire Responses

Results of a 1984 attraction survey carried out by the

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2. One of the World's Great Islands! Prince Edward Island, Canada: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan and Three-Year Marketing Strategy (1987-1989) (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Department of Tourism and Parks, 1987), p. 3. Hereafter cited as Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan.

Department of Tourism and Parks, highlight the significance of literary associations to visitors' experiences. This survey involved 745 questionnaires completed by tourists exiting Prince Edward Island at the Borden and Wood Island ferry terminals between June 25 and August 31.³ The data revealed that 9.7% of those interviewed had visited the Green Gables house (Table 1). Among the smaller sample who indicated that they had visited adult attractions, the second largest number of mentions was achieved by Green Gables, with 20% of the total (Table 2).

The outcome of a survey of first-time visitors conducted by the Departments of Tourism and Parks, and Regional Industrial Expansion in 1986 also suggests that literary heritage was an identifiable attraction. The 1986 study was based on a total of 4,060 interviews carried out between May 15 and October 31 at the Cape Tormentine, New Brunswick, and Caribou, Nova Scotia, ferry terminals. Among members of the sample survey, 219, or 5.5% had decided to vacation in Prince Edward Island because of either the 'Anne' books or television movie broadcast the preceding December.⁴

3. Prince Edward Island 1984 Attractions Survey, p. i.

4. Prince Edward Island: 1986 Inbound Survey, First-Time Visitors, p. 8. Visitors were asked to indicate the main influence for their decision to visit P.E.I. A total of 80 parties (2.0%) cited the 'Anne' books while 139 parties (3.5%) mentioned the movie. Since 3,993 of the respondents completed this question, the percentages were calculated accordingly.

Table 1

Adult Attractions Visited, Prince Edward Island
1984 Attractions Survey*

Attractions	Responses**				%
	1st Named	2nd	3rd	Total	
1) National Park	93	64	28	185	17.9
2) Charlottetown Festival	53	25	9	87	8.4
3) Woodleigh Replicas	51	22	7	80	7.8
4) Anne of Green Gables House	47	37	16	100	9.7
5) Cavendish Beach	38	10	11	59	5.7
6) Royal Atlantic Museum	32	15	6	53	5.1
7) Lobster Suppers	10	24	18	52	5.0
8) Car Life Museum	10	7	2	19	1.8
9) Rodd Mill River Resort	9	4	2	15	1.5
10) Commercial Campgrounds	9	4	2	15	1.5
11) Green Gables Golf Course	8	4	4	16	1.6
12) Marineland Aquarium	8	11	1	20	1.9
13) Old Charlottetown	8	6	4	18	1.7
14) Rainbow Valley	7	5	2	14	1.4
15) Deepsea Fishing	7	7	3	17	1.6
16) Provincial Parks	5	8	2	15	1.5
17) Marco Polo Land	-	7	3	10	1.0
18) Beaches in General	5	7	3	15	1.5
19) Other Counts	101	84	56	241	23.4
Sub-total	501	351	179	1,031	100.0
Non-response	<u>244</u> 745	<u>394</u> 745	<u>566</u> 745		

*Children's Attractions Visited was a separate category in the survey. Attractions named in this category included such things as amusement/waterslide parks and playgrounds. Green Gables was clearly identified as an adult attraction.

**If respondents had visited any adult attractions, they were asked to specify which ones (ordering them from 1 to 4). The first, second, and third named attractions were tabulated independently. Fourth named attractions made up the category of other counts; attractions named by such a small number of respondents that they could not be identified separately.

Source: Prince Edward Island 1984 Attractions Survey: For the Period June 25 to August 31, 1984 (Charlottetown: Department of Finance and Tourism, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1985), p. 8.

Table 2

Visited Adult Attractions, Prince Edward Island
1984 Attractions Survey

Survey Question: Did you visit any adult attractions?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Parties</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1) Yes	502*	67.6
2) No	<u>241</u>	<u>32.4</u>
<u>Sub-total</u>	743	100.0
<u>Non-response</u>	<u>2</u>	
<u>Total</u>	745	

*When this number is compared with the total number of mentions accorded the Green Gables House (Table 1), it becomes apparent that 19.9 (20%) of those who visited any of the adult attractions visited Green Gables ($100/502 \times 100 = 19.9\%$).

Source: Prince Edward Island 1984 Attractions Survey: For the Period June 25 to August 31, 1984 (Charlottetown: Department of Finance and Tourism, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1985), p. 7.

Further, since the majority of first-time visitors cited sightseeing as the main purpose of their trip to Prince Edward Island, Tourism Department officials feel that an interest in visiting Green Gables or other 'Anne' sites was also part of this broad category of activity. Indeed, because the survey only asked respondents to identify the main reason for their trip, the importance of literary attractions to visitation cannot be divorced from other factors such as sightseeing and visiting friends and relatives. Further, and according to the report, "two out of three first-time visitors plan to visit specific attractions or types of attractions."⁵ Since Green Gables, Cavendish, the National Park and the Charlottetown Festival's 'Anne of Green Gables' musical were consistently among the most frequently named attractions, the 'Anne' influence on visitor perceptions and attitudes was again felt to be more striking than the figures indicate.⁶

The survey also sought to assess the kind of general expectations that first-time visitors had of Prince Edward Island. Although tourist images of the province are derived from a variety of sources, the study revealed similarities between visitor perceptions of landscape and Montgomery's literary descriptions. The majority of those

5. Ibid., p. 3.

6. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

interviewed anticipated "rolling hills, green countryside with most of it farmland, picturesqueness, rocky terrain and red soil."⁷ Overall impressions of place were closely tied to images of farming, "sandy beaches, fishing villages, red soil, greenness, coastal inlets, bays and rivers, and restfulness and relaxation."⁸

The popularity of 'Anne' attractions in both the north central area of the province (Queen's County), and as part of the Charlottetown Festival's summer musical package, cannot be separated from public interest in beaches and other kinds of activities. Yet, since the survey showed that 'Anne' played a significant role in the kinds of attractions that first-time visitors expected to visit, as well as in their images of place, one would expect to find that the literary theme is integral to current and proposed marketing strategies.

Marketing Strategies

Prince Edward Island Tourism has developed a three year marketing plan to be implemented between 1987 and 1989. This model is based on a gradual shift in marketing priorities from the Atlantic to the long-haul tourist markets (Figures 14, 15, 16). As illustrated, the primary

7. Ibid., p. 2.

8. Ibid.

Figure 14: Prince Edward Island Tourism, 1987 Marketing Model

Source: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, Addendum A.

Figure 15: Prince Edward Island Tourism, 1988 Marketing Model

Source: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, Addendum B.

Figure 16: Prince Edward Island Tourism, 1989 Marketing Model

Source: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, Addendum C.

thrust in the first year of the program (1987) was directed towards the Atlantic market with 40% of available financial resources targetted to areas within a five hundred kilometre radius of Prince Edward Island. Correspondingly, 30% of departmental resources were focussed on areas within a 1000 kilometre radius, and 20% on the 1700 kilometre market area. In 1988, the model calls for 40% of advertising efforts to be directed towards the middle markets, while only 30% will then be devoted to the primary Atlantic market. In the final year of the plan, the peripheral market will be developed with 30% of the marketing budget targetted to areas lying beyond 1000 kilometres but still within a 1700 kilometre radius. Concurrently, the Atlantic focus will diminish to 20%. Over the course of the three year program, a constant ten percent will be allocated for promotion in specialty markets (Japan for example), undertaken in cooperation with the private sector. In essence, "marketing programs, advertising, and promotions related to all areas beyond the approximate 1700 kilometre radius are suspended for the duration of the three-year marketing strategy, permitting orderly growth."⁹

The tourism department has identified a variety of products that are associated with the Island in existing

9. Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, p. 5.

market areas and which "are most likely to act as lure elements in creating new visitation."¹⁰ Of particular importance is the 'Green Gables and L.M. Montgomery Theme' which, in conjunction with other attractions like the scenic drives, beaches, lobster suppers, and heritage sites, is a major part of the promotional strategy. The 'Anne' theme is also promoted through material boasting specific tourist attractions, including Cavendish, the National Park, and the Charlottetown Festival (where the 'Anne of Green Gables' musical is a key attraction).

Prince Edward Island Tourism has identified a particular advertising strategy for each of the three market zones identified above. In the Maritimes, the aim is to "communicate [the province] as a friendly family vacation destination, offering a wide variety of activities and experiences, yet familiar and close to home."¹¹ In the Ontario/Quebec region, the Department is attempting to "communicate Prince Edward Island as the vacation destination in Atlantic Canada"¹² while in the north-eastern United States, the focus shifts to promotion of the province "as the foreign vacation destination offering a wide variety of activities and experiences close by in

10. Ibid., p. 7.

11. Ibid., p. 9.

12 Ibid.

Atlantic Canada."¹³

Complementing this marketing strategy are a variety of travel sales initiatives. The Tourism Department has established a new travel packaging partnership with Prince of Fundy Cruises of Portland, Maine, now offering add-on Prince Edward Island travel packages to its Nova Scotia tours. Negotiations are underway with the Magdalen Islands to create a similar partnership with the Province of Quebec. Continuing initiatives include work with the Atlantic Canada Tourism program, sponsoring familiarization tours to trade and media interests, and involvement with motorcoach marketing committees in both Canada and the United States.¹⁴

Although the 'Anne' theme is part of these provincial advertising packages, two other travel initiatives demand particular scrutiny. In cooperation with Bantam Seal Books and Fiesta Holidays, the Tourism Department was recently involved in a national 'How I Picture Green Gables' contest. Children between the ages of eight and fourteen had the opportunity to draw a "picture of what [they felt] Anne's home, Green Gables, look[ed] like."¹⁵ First prize was a trip for a family of four to Prince Edward Island

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

15. Seal Books, "How I Picture Green Gables", Contest Entry Form.

including seven nights accommodation, use of a rented car for one week, one lobster supper, and tickets to the 'Anne of Green Gables' musical at the Charlottetown Festival. This contest gave the Island exposure at 1,500 bookstores across Canada. It must be emphasized, however, that it did not simply give just the Island exposure across a wide market area; rather, and of significance, it promoted Prince Edward Island as the home of Anne of Green Gables. In this way, one very specific and identifiable image of place was presented for public appreciation, and must in turn have had some effect on subsequent perceptions of place.

In conjunction with this particular initiative, the Province also entered into a package tour partnership with Canadian Pacific Airlines, Toronto based Fiesta Holidays, and Murphy Tour Service of Charlottetown. Developed around the concept of fly-drive vacations, four travel themes were featured in 1987: Country Inns, Island Inns, Golf P.E.I., and Anne of Green Gables. The fact that 'Anne' provided a motif for this kind of package holiday is a significant testimony to the importance of literary, and now movie associations, to public recognition of place. In this sense, the wording of the promotional brochure was particularly revealing. Developed around the general theme of "Prince Edward Island, Seen Through The Eyes of Anne of Green Gables" it read:

You've seen the heart-warming CBC mini-series. You've read the classic story of Anne Shirley, the talkative orphan who brings love and laughter to Green Gables. Now, see the Lake of Shining Waters, Green Gables and Anne's House of Dreams. Explore the picturesque island countryside that gave birth to the most beloved heroine in Canadian fiction. Prince Edward Island, through the eyes of Anne of Green Gables.¹⁶

The price of the tour included seven nights hotel accommodation at one of two selected Charlottetown Hotels, a rental car for the week, 'Anne of Green Gables' musical tickets, and a set of six paperback 'Anne' novels.

The brochure directed visitors to the major 'Anne' sites but although Montgomery was identified as "the esteemed author"¹⁷ of the series, it was Anne, and not Montgomery who was the focus of the promotional material. Advertising brochures such as this help to obscure the distinction between fiction and fact. The intent is clear. As Kathie Coffin of the Provincial Tourism Branch put it: "Anne is on such a pedestal, there is tremendous disappointment when people find out that she wasn't real."¹⁸ Since it hurts the tourist image of place that Anne never actually existed, this fact tends to be glossed over. Even Prince Edward Island Tourism "doesn't make a big deal" out of the

16. Fiesta-Prince Edward Island Canada. Fly-Drive Holidays Promotional Brochure (1987). On this point, also see Bryant, "Travel Trends: Green Gables Fans Offered Package that Includes Show", p. H2.

17. Ibid.

18. Personal interview with Coffin.

myth versus the reality of 'Anne'.¹⁹ Rather, since the fictional character has become a business with a proven potential for significant economic return, to emphasize that this business is rooted in half-truths and in certain instances intentional fabrication, would be to destroy that which has legitimised the dream.

In the North American market, the success of the 'Anne of Green Gables' television movie has created a new interest in Prince Edward Island as a vacation destination. According to Coffin, the liaison with Fiesta Holidays for the 'Anne of Green Gables' tour was a spin-off from the popularity of the movie, as was the 'Trip to P.E.I.' contest with Bantam books.²⁰ Requests for 'Anne of Green Gables' musical tickets were up 14 percent in 1987, accommodation in the Cavendish area was booked solid all summer, and the Tourism Department fielded an increased number of inquiries from prospective visitors.²¹ Parks Canada site visitation statistics for 'Green Gables' also provided graphic evidence of this trend (Table 3). "Anne of Green Gables: The Movie" was broadcast in December of 1985. From May to October of 1985, the Green Gables site received 165,124 visitors; an

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

Table 3

Green Gables Site Visitation Statistics, 1983-1987

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
May	1,220	2,596	2,435	2,921	4,822
June	9,239	20,233	18,112	20,958	25,151
July	58,806	57,833	58,607	81,950	97,567
August	54,907	57,500	58,101	79,370	82,002
September	22,021	20,687	22,697	25,850	36,112
October	4,908	3,355	5,172	6,243	10,142*
November	-	-	-	-	48**
<hr/>					
Total	151,101	162,204	165,124	217,292	255,844

% Increase
from Previous
Year

- 11.1 2.9 52.2 38.6

*Number of visitors until Thanksgiving Day was 7,591
(2,551 visitors from October 11-31).

**In 1987 the season was extended to November 1.

Source: Parks Canada, Prince Edward Island National Park,
Unpublished Data (1987).

increase of 2,920 visitors from the previous year. In the same time period in 1986, 217,292 tourists visited Green Gables. This figure translates into 52,068 more visitors or a 52% increase in visitation levels. Although less dramatic, this trend continued into 1987. Over the Spring, Summer, and Fall, 255,844 visitors were recorded; a 38.6% increase from 1986 numbers.

It is still too early to assess the long-term economic effects of the movie (and its sequel), or indeed to even anticipate the development of a marketing plan to capitalize on such forms of free publicity. At present, the 'Anne of Green Gables'-L.M. Montgomery theme is but one facet of the North American marketing strategy. The Department has also launched a major foreign initiative, though, and in Japan, literary heritage provides the sole medium for the creation of tourist interest.

Analyses of Markets

In Japan "the Green Gables identity is the one singular unifying element which creates interest" in Prince Edward Island as a vacation destination.²² An analysis of Japanese images of place, and a review of the provincial response to the tremendous market potential in this area, offers the best illustration of the integrative

22. Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, p. 12.

relationship between literary images and tourist images, and the subsequent economic implications of such pervasive environmental attitudes.

First translated into Japanese in 1954, Anne of Green Gables has long been part of the elementary school literature curriculum in that country. L.M. Montgomery's popularity in Japan continues to grow, and young Japanese women have come to regard both the author and the place that she wrote about with cult-like fascination. The reasons for this obsession with landscape are diverse, and no interpretive explanation should be seen as either exhaustive or definitive. Yet, it is this fascination with literary images of place that is now directly responsible for Japanese travel to Prince Edward Island.

Noriko Myatake has translated books by and about Montgomery into Japanese, and has also visited Prince Edward Island on several occasions. She offered a variety of explanations for Montgomery's revered status in Japan. First, there is a lack of appropriate reading material for young Japanese girls for, as she put it, "not much literature has been written [in Japan expressly] for teenagers, and for the past thirty years Lucy Montgomery's books, almost by themselves, have filled that vacuum."²³ Concurrently, though, there are other,

23. As quoted in Gaudet, "Why the Japanese", p. 13.

undoubtedly more significant reasons for the author's fame. In Gaudet's opinion,

in Japan's rigid, male-dominated society, Anne's independence and spontaneity are attractive to many people, particularly girls and women. Yet, Anne is sensitive, family-loving and loyal--qualities the Japanese value highly. She also loves nature.²⁴

And, as Myatake argued,

[Montgomery's] books are full of descriptions of natural beauty and of close relationships among villagers. These things have almost been lost in big cities like Tokyo. They make us take a second look at our own country.²⁵

Parks Canada is well aware of the Japanese interest in L.M. Montgomery. At the Green Gables house, Japanese visitation statistics have been recorded since 1986 (Table 4). From May to November of 1986, 1,186 Japanese tourists visited the site. In 1987, this number rose to 1,674; a 4.8% increase in visitation levels. By itself, this increase is marginal. Yet, when the data is set against the results of a 1986-1987 Tourism Canada image and marketing study, the potential for Japanese market development shows up graphically.

Designed to identify international travel trends to Canada and the United States, members of sample surveys conducted in four different countries--Japan, England, West Germany, and France--were asked a variety of

24. Gaudet, ibid.

25. As quoted in ibid.

Table 4

Comparison of Japanese Visitors at the Green Gables
House

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
May	20	58
June	99	178
July	172	352
August	735	794
September	75	236
October	75	55
November	- 2	1*
<hr/>		
Total	1,186	1,674

% Increase from previous
year

4.88

*In 1987 the season was extended to November 1.

Source: Parks Canada, Prince Edward Island National Park,
Unpublished Data (1987).

questions pertaining to their selection of a vacation destination, and the kind of tourist experience that they were seeking. The Japanese sample totalled 1,519 and when individuals were asked to name five places in Canada that they might go on vacation, 3.0 percent of the respondents mentioned Prince Edward Island (Table 5). When a map of Canada was provided, and the respondents were then asked to identify another three possible holiday destinations, the number of people indicating P.E.I. rose to 6.0 percent. Most significant, however, is that in both cases, Prince Edward Island was mentioned more frequently than some comparatively larger provinces including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. Similarly, when questioned about places in Canada that they would be most interested in visiting, 2.0 percent of those surveyed specified P.E.I. as their top choice, with another four percent who counted the province among their three top choices (Table 6).

The demographic data on the Japanese respondents is even more revealing. These figures indicate that most of those expressing an interest in Prince Edward Island as a holiday destination were young females between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four, in a middle to high income bracket, and living in either the Tokyo or Osaka areas (Table 7). Income levels presumably mirror the high cost of travel from Japan to Prince Edward Island, but the

Table 5

Japanese Awareness of Vacation Destinations in Canada

	5 places people might go on vaca- tion (unaided)	3 more places people might go on vaca- tions (aided)	Total unaided and aided mentions
Total respondents (100%)	1519 %	1519 %	1519 %
<u>Provinces and territories</u>			
Newfoundland/Labrador	4	8	11
P.E.I.	3	6	8
Nova Scotia	1	2	3
New Brunswick	1	2	3
Quebec	54	39	80
Ontario	61	65	90
Manitoba	2	4	6
Saskatchewan	1	1	1
Alberta	22	26	41
British Columbia	58	44	83
Yukon	3	6	10
Northwest Territories	2	3	5
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
St. John's	2	4	6
Montreal	48	27	75
Quebec City	10	9	19
Niagara Falls	33	37	69
Toronto	33	19	51
Ottawa	25	18	43
Point Pelee National Park	*	4	4
Banff National Park	14	10	24
Jasper National Park	4	7	11
Calgary	7	6	13
Edmonton	4	5	9
Vancouver	51	17	68
Victoria	11	14	24
Vancouver Island	3	10	13
Yoho National Park	1	3	4
Pacific Rim National Park	1	3	4
Whitehorse	2	3	5
No places mentioned	20	9	9

*Less than 0.5%

Source: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: Japan,
 Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism
 Administration (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited,
 1987), p. 43.

Table 6

Vacation Destinations in Canada: Japanese Interest
in Visiting

	<u>One top Choice</u>	<u>Three top Choices</u>
Total respondents (100%)	1519 %	1519 %
<u>Provinces and Territories</u>		
Newfoundland/Labrador	1	3
P.E.I.	2	4
Nova Scotia	*	1
New Brunswick	*	1
Quebec	14	51
Ontario	43	73
Manitoba	*	1
Saskatchewan	-	*
Alberta	8	20
British Columbia	22	58
Yukon	1	3
Northwest Territories	*	2
<u>Miscellaneous</u>		
Montreal	12	45
Quebec City	2	7
Niagara Falls	35	53
Toronto	5	21
Ottawa	2	15
Banff National Park	6	15
Jasper National Park	1	4
Calgary	1	3
Vancouver	17	44
Victoria	2	9
Vancouver Island	2	7
No places mentioned	8	8

*Less than 0.5%

Source: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: Japan,
Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism
Administration (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited,
1987), p. 51.

Table 7

Japanese Interest in Visiting Prince Edward Island

By Sex, Age, Income and Region

	<u>5 Places</u>	<u>2 More Places</u>	<u>1 Place</u>
	<u>in Canada People Might Go on Vacation</u>		
Prince Edward Island:	50	84	31
number of mentions among			
<u>1,519 people surveyed</u>			
Number of mentions by:			
Sex			
Male	11	18	4
(%)	(22.0)	(21.4)	(12.9)
Female	39	66	27
(%)	(78.0)	(78.6)	(87.1)
Total	50	84	31
%	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)
Age			
18-24 Years	21	21	14
(%)	(42.0)	(25.0)	(45.2)
25-34 Years	19	30	13
(%)	(38.0)	(35.7)	(41.9)
35-44 Years	6	19	4
(%)	(12.0)	(22.6)	(12.9)
45-54 Years	3	8	-
(%)	(6.0)	(9.5)	-
55-64 Years	1	5	-
(%)	(2.0)	(6.0)	-
65+ Years	-	1	-
(%)	-	(1.2)	-
Total	50	84	31
%	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)
Income in Yen			
Under 4M	7	11	6
(%)	(14.0)	(13.1)	(19.4)
4M-6M	14	24	9
(%)	(28.0)	(28.6)	(29.0)
6M-10M	18	29	11
(%)	(36.0)	(34.5)	(35.5)
Over 10M	6	10	3
(%)	(12.0)	(11.9)	(9.7)
Total	45*	74*	29*
%	(90.0%)	(88.1%)	(93.6%)
Region			
Saporo	1	2	2
(%)	(2.0)	(2.4)	(6.5)
Sendai	1	1	2
(%)	(2.0)	(1.2)	(6.5)
Tokyo	24	50	15
(%)	(48.0)	(59.5)	(48.4)
Nagoya	3	2	3
(%)	(6.0)	(2.4)	(9.7)
Osaka	15	21	6
(%)	(30.0)	(25.0)	(19.4)
Hiroshima	1	1	1
(%)	(2.0)	(1.2)	(3.2)
Fukukita	5	7	2
(%)	(10.0)	(5.9)	(6.5)
Total	50	84	31
%	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

*Difference presumably explained by incomplete response to income question.

Source: Adapted from Computer Tables, International Travel Study, Japan: By Sex, Age, Region, (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited, April 1987), pp. 191, 194, 201; Japan: By Life Cycle, Income, Type of Trip, and Ever Visit Canada and U.S.A. (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited, April 1987), pp. 191, 194, 205.

young female market that shows up so strongly in the data again suggests that literary associations may be largely responsible for high recognition of the province in Japan. Indeed, since Montgomery's novels have traditionally appealed to adolescent girls, this eighteen to thirty-four demographic cluster is hardly surprising. Furthermore, since both Tokyo and Osaka have been the site of media and retail sponsored exhibitions focussed on L.M. Montgomery and Prince Edward Island, one would tend to expect greater recognition of the province by members of a sample survey living in these areas as opposed to those residing elsewhere.

The future travel trends suggested by the data are particularly striking when these figures are compared with those from the other countries in the study--France, West Germany, and the United Kingdom (Tables 8, 9, and 10). In each instance, Prince Edward Island was among the least recognized of possible vacation destinations--in the United Kingdom, for example, fewer than 0.5 percent of the respondents had any knowledge of the province.²⁶ Thus, the most logical explanation for this strong contrast with

26. This result cannot be explained. If literary associations are indeed responsible for recognition of Prince Edward Island, it is surprising that there is less recognition of the province in the United Kingdom than in France or West Germany. Perhaps in all three cases, the percentage values are too small to make any assumptions.

Table 8

Awareness of Canadian Vacation Destinations - France

	5 places people might go on vaca- tion (unaided)	3 more places people might go on vaca- tions (aided)	Total unaided and aided mentions
Total respondents (100%)	1484 %	1484 %	1484 %
<u>Provinces and territories</u>			
Newfoundland/Labrador	15	27	41
P.E.I.	1	3	4
Nova Scotia	2	7	8
New Brunswick	1	3	4
Quebec	91	19	95
Ontario	65	51	83
Manitoba	6	11	16
Saskatchewan	2	5	7
Alberta	8	10	17
British Columbia	36	37	62
Yukon	2	8	10
Northwest Territories	4	9	13
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
Montreal	68	3	75
Vancouver	31	20	51
Niagara Falls	17	14	31
Toronto	30	13	42
Great Lakes	14	2	16
Ottawa	16	8	24
Point Pelee National Park	1	7	9
St. Lawrence Region	6	*	7
Victoria	1	6	7
Gaspé National Park	3	2	5
Winnipeg	7	3	5
No places mentioned	7	18	3

Source: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: France,
 Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism
 Administration (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited,
 1987), p. 38.

Table 9
Awareness of Canadian Vacation Destinations -
West Germany

	5 places people might go on vaca- tion (unaided)	3 more places people might go on vaca- tions (aided)	Total unaided and aided mentions
Total respondents (100%)	1481 %	1481 %	1481 %
<u>Provinces and territories</u>			
Newfoundland/Labrador	17	21	35
P.E.I.	1	3	5
Nova Scotia	7	11	18
New Brunswick	2	3	4
Quebec	72	25	83
Ontario	70	47	88
Manitoba	16	17	31
Saskatchewan	7	8	14
Alberta	19	18	34
British Columbia	42	32	64
Yukon	9	18	26
Northwest Territories	3	5	8
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
Montreal	61	9	70
Toronto	46	12	58
Niagara Falls	19	18	37
Vancouver	35	15	49
Ottawa	26	12	38
Winnipeg	13	12	25
Calgary	9	7	17
Victoria	6	11	17
Halifax	7	10	17
Edmonton	5	5	10
Regina	4	5	9
Thunder Bay	3	5	8
Klondike National Park	2	5	7
Dawson	2	5	7
Quebec City	3	2	6
Point Pelee National Park	1	5	6
No places mentioned	10	13	4

Source: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: West Germany, Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited, 1987), p. 38.

Table 10
Awareness of Canadian Vacation Destinations -
United Kingdom

	5 places people might go on vaca- tion (unaided)	3 more places people might go on vaca- tions (aided)	Total unaided and aided mentions
Total respondents (100%)	1618 %	1618 %	1618 %
<u>Provinces and territories</u>			
Newfoundland/Labrador	8	16	23
P.E.I.	*	*	*
Nova Scotia	7	13	19
New Brunswick	1	2	3
Quebec	63	34	82
Ontario	86	56	96
Manitoba	12	14	25
Saskatchewan	6	5	10
Alberta	29	33	52
British Columbia	73	43	91
Yukon	6	23	28
Northwest Territories	3	8	12
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
Niagara Falls	39	26	65
Vancouver	53	16	69
Toronto	49	11	60
Montreal	43	16	59
The Rockies	20	1	21
Calgary	17	12	29
Vancouver Island	8	10	17
Klondike National Park	2	12	14
Ottawa	20	10	30
Banff National Park	7	5	12
The Great Lakes	13	1	14
Winnipeg	10	9	19
Edmonton	4	5	9
Victoria	4	5	9
Jasper National Park	2	7	9
Quebec City	4	3	8
Thunder Bay	1	5	6
No places mentioned	3	3	1

*Less than 0.5%

Source: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America: United Kingdom, Prepared for Tourism Canada/U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration (Toronto: Market Facts of Canada Limited, 1987), p. 36

Japan where there is a high awareness of Prince Edward Island, must lie in the relative popularity of Montgomery's novels.

Promotions in Japan

In Japan, the image recognition process has undoubtedly been facilitated by a variety of Japanese based promotional and commemorative activities. For many young Japanese girls, L.M. Montgomery is an idol, and entrepreneurs have been quick to capitalize on this phenomenon. Two of the most extensive exhibits on the author and Prince Edward Island have been financed by Seibo, a large Japanese department store. Organized as shopping mall displays in December 1985 and November 1986, these exhibits featured material on both Montgomery and her native province.²⁷ At the store's expense, artifacts from the Silver Bush Museum including the Blue Chest, the bookcase mentioned in Anne of Green Gables, and the family organ were shipped to Japan for display. George Campbell, a descendant of the author, has also benefitted from Montgomery's popularity. He has enjoyed two all-expenses paid trips to Japan as part of these exhibitions, and "is under contract to Seibo and can't

27. Personal interview with George Campbell, Owner/Operator, 'Anne of Green Gables' Museum, Park Corner, P.E.I., June 29, 1987.

promote on behalf of any other organization."²⁸ He suggested that "Seibo liked the kind of clientele that such an exhibition would attract and so they did it for their own store to bring more customers in."²⁹

A number of other Japanese organizations are also engaged in commemorating the L.M. Montgomery heritage. Laputa Corporation, for instance, has obtained permission to reproduce the cover illustrations from each first edition of Montgomery's novels on postcards, notebooks, address books and similar paraphernalia.³⁰ Through Campbell's efforts, this material which "was being independently produced by the Japanese just because of their own love of Montgomery" is now distributed in Prince Edward Island.³¹ Other testimonials to the author's fame proliferate. Of purely Japanese origin

are Anne-inspired handicrafts and cooking books, festivals and clubs devoted to the author and her island, an animated television series and stage production both based on Anne, and most recently, a television documentary about Montgomery made [in the summer of 1986] in Prince Edward Island.³²

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Presumably Michio Kondo of Laputa Corporation obtained permission from McClelland and Stewart, Canadian publishers for Montgomery's novels to use these original illustrations. This assumption could not be verified.

31. Personal interview with George Campbell.

32. Gaudet, "Why the Japanese", p. 10.

Area residents such as Mrs. Andrew recall that the Japanese film crew was anxious to depict Island country life both as it is today and as it was in Montgomery's time. As part of this documentary, Andrew "helped a Japanese girl make a rhubarb pie" and was filmed while weeding the garden around her home.³³

One of the most significant manifestations of Japanese interest in Montgomery are package tours run by the Shinozaki-Shorin Publishing Company. Based in Tokyo, this company holds the Japanese rights to the author's novels and has begun to offer tours to Prince Edward Island for readers anxious to actually see the settings that provided inspiration for the creation of literary place. One observer claims that

the way many Japanese feel about Anne, Montgomery and the Island is almost like a religion....In this religion, Anne is a saint, Green Gables the cathedral and the trip [to Prince Edward Island] is a pilgrimage.³⁴

Through package tours, Shinozaki-Shorin is attempting to provide a medium for the fulfillment of this pilgrimage function. Significantly, the Shinozaki-Shorin tours include nine days and nights in Prince Edward Island. Other travel packages usually offer only three days on the Island with the rest of the time spent in other Canadian

33. Personal interview with Andrew.

34. Michio Kondo, as quoted by Gaudet, "Why the Japanese", p. 10.

of a typical Japanese tourist, excluding airfare, at around 627 dollars Canadian.³⁷ It is therefore not unusual for such tourists to spend thousands of dollars on souvenirs. A Parks Canada official has concluded that

the majority of people who come from Japan are young girls. They spend \$10,000 to \$15,000 to come over and they come to spend. Each of their friends gives them going away money and then the tourist has to buy her friend a present equal to half the value that was given.³⁸

Since gift money usually ranges from fifty to one hundred dollars, this custom translates into a distinct spending pattern. Indeed, "a single Japanese tourist often has the buying power of ten."³⁹ Higher priced items such as quilts, woolens and local crafts (particularly handmade 'Anne of Green Gables' dolls) are favoured by the Japanese. As Edith Huestis, owner of 'Memories Giftshop' across from the L.M. Montgomery Birthplace Museum in New London noted: "When the Japanese tours come in, they spend."⁴⁰

Japanese tourism in Prince Edward Island is a new phenomenon. Indeed, although officials at the Canadian

37. Ibid.

38. Personal interview with Michael.

39. Ibid.

40. Edith Huestis, as quoted by Jan Wong, "A Yen for Anne: Japanese Fans of Green Gables Heroine Give P.E.I. Economy a Lift", The Globe and Mail (August 15, 1987), p. D2.

pavilion at Expo 70 held in Osaka, were well aware of Anne's appeal, and used the fictional character as a pavillion theme, Coffin maintains that the provincial tourism "department didn't even realize the market potential in Japan until seven or eight years ago."⁴¹

The marketing strategy was initiated with the production of a Prince Edward Island guide book in Japanese.

Provincial representatives then went to Tokyo in December 1986 to promote the province personally. Assisted by the Japanese government, such promotional activities were both consumer and buyer oriented. In the first instance, the tourism branch participated in the Seibo sponsored Tokyo shopping mall exhibition. Featured was a "huge display on P.E.I. generally with Anne of Green Gables all over the panels."⁴² Buyer oriented promotions took the form of displays at the World Travel Fair where Prince Edward Island was promoted to tour companies and other agencies as an international vacation destination having particular appeal for the Japanese.

Complementing these promotional efforts is a specific travel theme that has been developed for no other purpose but to lure Japanese visitors to Prince Edward Island. As

41. Personal Interview with Coffin. On this theme, also refer to "Good-bye Green Gables - Hello Expo 70!", Maclean's, 82 (July 1969), p. 11.

42. Ibid.

Anne of Green Gables, and by extension the Prince Edward Island setting that is so integral to the story, the Japanese, it is claimed, "have to see everything that has to do with L.M. Montgomery."⁵⁵ A pioneer schoolhouse display at Orwell Corner provides an excellent illustration of this phenomenon. Whereas "U.S. visitors will see it as a pioneer village, the Japanese see it as the time period of Anne."⁵⁶

An understanding of this fundamental difference in perceptual orientation, and the frame of reference used by each group of tourists to view landscape, is essential to the development and implementation of successful marketing strategies. The typical Japanese tourist is undoubtedly attempting to see Prince Edward Island as Montgomery described it in her many novels; in effect to experience the literary sense of place. Indeed, as the results of several provincial visitor surveys suggest, it is not only the Japanese whose impressions of Prince Edward Island have, to some extent, been shaped by literary associations. Whether this kind of literary experience in place is possible in a thriving resort community like Cavendish, is highly suspect. Paradoxically, the success of Montgomery's fiction in creating an international

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

Figure 17: Green Gables Advertising Theme - Japan

Green Gables... My Dream
赤毛のアンは、私の夢

Source: Highlights of the 1987 Marketing Media/Plan,
Addendum F.

Pacific Airlines to facilitate Japanese access to the Island. Prior to the spring of 1986, "Vancouver was the only port of entry for Japanese flying into Canada."⁴⁶ Canadian Pacific now offers direct flights from Tokyo to Toronto, and this increased accessibility, it is hoped, will translate into an increased number of Japanese visitors to Prince Edward Island. To further capitalize on this market, Canadian Pacific has purchased Charlottetown's Prince Edward Hotel and, in cooperation with the Province, is involved in funding a two year travelling exhibition in Japan based on landscape photographs and quotations from Spirit of Place.⁴⁷

In conjunction with other marketing initiatives, the Province is anxious to create a climate of mutual understanding between hosts and guests. Their aim is to "encourage the development of understanding...amongst Island operators and the Japanese travel trade."⁴⁸ A form of translation guide service will be provided for specialty tours, and some form of translation service will eventually be made available at sites such as Green Gables. To aid the creation of this tourist climate, the Provincial Tourism Department has had a Japanese woman on

46. Gaudet, "Why the Japanese", p. 12.

47. Ibid.

48. Highlights of the 1987 Marketing/Media Plan, p. 26.

staff for the past three years. Coffin indicated that this "resource person helps [the tourism branch] deal with Japanese tourists more effectively and efficiently" than was the case previously.⁴⁹ Although Japanese tourists come to Prince Edward Island to experience Canadian culture, "this resource person familiarizes the tourism bureau with such things as language and customs that will help them to improve the quality of the tourist experience for the Japanese."⁵⁰ Canadian Pacific has adopted a similar strategy and now has a Japanese salesperson on the staff of the Prince Edward Hotel. It is presumed that once the Japanese "know that there are people on hand to service them, (this will create more interest in visiting the Island and organizing Japanese based package tours to P.E.I." ⁵¹

In the future, similar kinds of initiatives are planned. The Province has already hosted marketing seminars designed to assist local tourist operators in learning how to cater to Japanese visitors and more were scheduled for the winter of 1988. It is argued that even a small gesture, such as displaying informational signs in Japanese, helps to foster goodwill between host and

49. Personal interview with Coffin. See also Wong, "A Yen for Anne".

50. Coffin, ibid.

51. Ibid.

guest.⁵² Another manifestation of this process is Avonlea Tours, a Japanese guide service operated by the Park Corner Museum, that offers day tours through the L.M. Montgomery area for Japanese visitors.⁵³

Japanese and U.S. Tourists Compared

Given the potential economic implications of Japanese tourism, it is hardly surprising "that local operators have been largely receptive" to provincial input.⁵⁴ The Japanese market is a lucrative one and Prince Edward Island Tourism is making a concerted effort to exploit the market potential in this area. Apart from the U.S. market, drawn primarily from the New England states, Japan is the main foreign market from which the Province hopes to attract visitors. Yet, while both American and Japanese tourists require accommodation and other basic amenities, the markets differ greatly in terms of the emphasis that is placed on the 'Anne of Green Gables' theme. Although the television movie (and its recent sequel) have made those in the United States more aware of

52. This strategy has been employed at the 'Anne's House of Dreams' site at French River. Informational signs and the restaurant menu are posted in Japanese. Whether the signs raise the expectation that Japanese is spoken in the establishments is quite another matter.

53. Personal interview with George Campbell.

54. Personal interview with Coffin.

Anne of Green Gables, and by extension the Prince Edward Island setting that is so integral to the story, the Japanese, it is claimed, "have to see everything that has to do with L.M. Montgomery."⁵⁵ A pioneer schoolhouse display at Orwell Corner provides an excellent illustration of this phenomenon. Whereas "U.S. visitors will see it as a pioneer village, the Japanese see it as the time period of Anne."⁵⁶

An understanding of this fundamental difference in perceptual orientation, and the frame of reference used by each group of tourists to view landscape, is essential to the development and implementation of successful marketing strategies. The typical Japanese tourist is undoubtedly attempting to see Prince Edward Island as Montgomery described it in her many novels; in effect to experience the literary sense of place. Indeed, as the results of several provincial visitor surveys suggest, it is not only the Japanese whose impressions of Prince Edward Island have, to some extent, been shaped by literary associations. Whether this kind of literary experience in place is possible in a thriving resort community like Cavendish, is highly suspect. Paradoxically, the success of Montgomery's fiction in creating an international

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

visitors will come to an area in small numbers initially, restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, visitor numbers will increase. With marketing, information dissemination, and further facility provision, the area's popularity will grow rapidly. Eventually, however, the rate of increase in visitor numbers will decline as levels of carrying capacity are reached....As the attractiveness of the area declines relative to other areas, because of overuse and the impacts of visitors, the actual number of visitors may also eventually decline.⁴

As depicted, this model identifies the diverse phases that a resort area is projected to pass through before reaching a point of saturation. Tourism trends in Cavendish fit into this schema much as they do into Plog's model.

As noted above, before Montgomery immortalized the area in Anne of Green Gables, tourism was non-existent in the community. After the novel was published, small numbers of tourists began arriving and local residents slowly started opening their homes to visitors. After the Second World War development proceeded rapidly, and with the provision of more tourist facilities, and growing public recognition of the area as a vacation destination, visitor numbers continued to increase. Parks Canada visitation statistics for Prince Edward Island National Park help to document this trend. From a figure of 87,851 visitors in the 1950-1951 fiscal year, the annual attendance rose in 1960-1961 to 412,463; in 1962-1963 to 1,009,021, and by the 1970-1971

4. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle...", p. 6.

Chapter 8

MODELLING TOURIST GROWTH

A recent letter to The Charlottetown Guardian expressed concern over excessive commercialism in Cavendish. As the author put it: "It is surprising Miss Montgomery's headstone hasn't become a whirling dervish from her turning over in her grave....Have we not heard of the word overkill?"¹

'Overkill' has become a serious problem in Cavendish, and indeed, throughout the entire L.M. Montgomery area extending outwards from that community. Montgomery created literary place from the pastoral landscapes of her native Prince Edward Island but tourist development has subsequently altered these settings so that only vestiges of authentic literary place remain. Yet, tourist images of Prince Edward Island have, in many cases, been shaped by familiarity with either Montgomery's fiction, or more recently, by director Kevin Sullivan's television movies that successfully captured the author's evocative environmental insights. Although tourist advertising seeks to capitalize on literary myths of place, the landscape that inspired these myths is rapidly being destroyed. Together, then, these forces have contributed to a situation with serious implications for the future of literary tourism. Since tourist development in Cavendish

1. As quoted in "Overkill Causing Concern", Winnipeg Free Press (August 22, 1987), p. 46.

has evolved through several distinct stages, both Plog's and Butler's research on tourism trends provides a useful organizational framework within which to study this process. Indeed, these models both highlight the cyclical nature of the tourist business, and suggest some important issues that should be addressed by the recently formed Cavendish community planning committee. This chapter therefore examines the Cavendish situation within a framework of the Plog and Butler models, and explores some of the issues that underlie the planning process.

Tourism Trends

In an attempt to differentiate between particular groups of tourists, Plog related tourist type to choice of a vacation destination. He identified five types of travelers ranging from allocentrics to psychocentrics, or, from those at the forefront of tourist exploration, to those only interested in visiting well developed resort areas (Figure 18). As illustrated in Plog's model, these tourist types were set against selected international tourist destinations. Complementing this typology, however, were three stages of tourist development ranging from a discovery phase, through local response and initiative, to institutionalization where Plog claimed that there was a loss of local control and a standardization of tourist facilities and services. As the area moved through

Figure 18: 'Plog's Model of Tourist Types

Source: Charles Kaiser Jr., and Larry R. Helber, Tourism Planning and Development (Boston: CBI Publishing Company Inc., 1978), p. 8.

mid-August, the Green Gables house typically receives 3000 visitors per day.¹² In many locales, "historical sites limit the numbers of people allowed in at a time and offer tours so people are channelled through in controlled groups."¹³ Due to the massive interest in 'Anne of Green Gables' and the site's appeal for bus tours on tight schedules, it has not been feasible for Parks Canada to make the public wait, otherwise, in the estimation of one Parks Canada official, "tourists would be lined up to the highway."¹⁴ As a result, the furniture in the house is moved closer to the walls every year to widen traffic-ways, and "on a peak day, if someone takes a bit longer signing the guest book than usual, the line backs up through the house to the front door."¹⁵

As discussed, the impact of the 'Anne of Green Gables' television movie is readily discernable in Parks Canada site visitation statistics (Table 3). The sequel film, aired in Canada in December 1987, will presumably have a similar impact. As such, it may be speculated that visitor numbers will increase even more in subsequent years. The effects of this burgeoning number of "literary worshippers"

12. Personal interview with Barbara MacDonald.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Personal interview with Michael.

Figure 19: Butler's Model of a Resort Area's Cycle of Evolution

Source: R.W. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources", Canadian Geographer, XXIV (1980), p. 7.

visitors will come to an area in small numbers initially, restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, visitor numbers will increase. With marketing, information dissemination, and further facility provision, the area's popularity will grow rapidly. Eventually, however, the rate of increase in visitor numbers will decline as levels of carrying capacity are reached....As the attractiveness of the area declines relative to other areas, because of overuse and the impacts of visitors, the actual number of visitors may also eventually decline.⁴

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4. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle...", p. 6.

season had peaked at 2,093,992."⁵ Since 1971, visitor use has always exceeded the one million mark. In 1975-1976, for instance, 1,594,996 visitors were recorded. In 1980-1981 annual attendance remained constant at 1,590,721, and by 1985-1986 the number of visitors had risen slightly to 1,616,379.⁶

Increases in National Park visitation have helped to fuel tourist development in Cavendish. Currently, the community is moving through what Butler has termed the development stage. The tourist market area is well defined and an advertising campaign has been designed to promote the site in known tourist generating regions.⁷

Other characteristics of this stage as identified by Butler are also directly applicable to Cavendish.

Natural and cultural attractions will be developed and marketed specifically, and these original attractions will be supplemented by man-made imported facilities.

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5. "Prince Edward Island National Park: National Parks Attendance, 1950-1977", Park Use Statistics 1976-77 (Environment Canada - Parks: Socio-Economic Research Division, 1977), pp. 65-67. It should be noted that in this case, fiscal year is defined as the period from April 1 to March 31 of the following year.
 6. "Prince Edward Island National Park", Park Use Statistics (Environment Canada - Parks: Socio-Economic Branch, Selected years); "National Parks, Atlantic Region, Prince Edward Island", Information from the Public Use Data Base 1986-1987 (Environment Canada - Parks: Socio-Economic Branch, July 1987).

Changes in the physical appearance of the area will be noticeable...The number of tourists at peak periods will probably equal or exceed the permanent population. As this stage unfolds, imported labour will be utilized and auxiliary facilities for the tourist industry (such as laundries) will make their appearance. The type of tourist will also have changed, as a wider market is drawn upon....⁷

Each of the aforementioned processes can be documented in Cavendish. Literary attractions and natural resources such as the extensive sand beach are widely employed in current marketing strategies. Yet, such authentic attractions are today supplemented by imported and contrived facilities like the Sand Spit, King Tut's Tomb and Treasures, and a replica of a United States space shuttle.⁸

Cavendish as Montgomery knew it no longer exists. In many places the community is little more than a strip of tourist establishments, and with only fifty-two year round residents, the number of tourists and outside tourist operators far exceeds the permanent population of the village. As such, labour must be imported for the summer months to staff the many tourist sites and facilities. Auxiliary tourist facilities such as Butler's example of laundries are evident on landscape, and literary tourists are but one part of the broader phenomenon of mass tourism. The local economy is highly dependent on tourism revenues and in this sense, Cavendish is now poised on the

7. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle...", p. 9.

8. Field Research (June 1987).

brink of what Butler has called the consolidation stage. Whether the community will move through this phase and then begin to stagnate is dependent on the nature of current policy decisions. Yet, those advocating that the visitor season and market area be extended are pushing Cavendish towards consolidation. In this stage, the total number of visitors would continue to increase but the rate of increase would decline.⁹

Limits of Local Control and Contrasting Perceptions

Tourist development in the Cavendish area shows no signs of abating. Construction is proceeding at a phenomenal rate, and the fact that visitor accommodation was fully booked throughout July and August of 1987 testifies to the region's continuing popularity as a vacation destination.¹⁰ Indeed, as noted above, a Prince Edward Island tourism official maintains that "people have to stay in Cavendish. They don't know about any other place on the Island, or even the name of the capital but they recognize Cavendish".¹¹

High visitation rates exert tremendous stress on local facilities. During the peak period of mid-July to

9. Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle...", p. 8.

10. Field Research (June 1987).

11. Personal interview with Coffin.

mid-August, the Green Gables house typically receives 3000 visitors per day.¹² In many locales, "historical sites limit the numbers of people allowed in at a time and offer tours so people are channelled through in controlled groups."¹³ Due to the massive interest in 'Anne of Green Gables' and the site's appeal for bus tours on tight schedules, it has not been feasible for Parks Canada to make the public wait, otherwise, in the estimation of one Parks Canada official, "tourists would be lined up to the highway."¹⁴ As a result, the furniture in the house is moved closer to the walls every year to widen traffic-ways, and "on a peak day, if someone takes a bit longer signing the guest book than usual, the line backs up through the house to the front door."¹⁵

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12. Personal interview with Barbara MacDonald.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Personal interview with Michael.

entering the Park will arguably have a spill-over effect into Cavendish, thereby fueling more tourist development. There is, however, an inherent paradox in this process. As Montgomery's novels continue to be exploited, there remains little of the literary place that many tourists come to the area specifically to see. Aided by the success of the television movie, L.M. Montgomery and anything associated with her has suddenly become very lucrative but, for many in the area, much of the tourist development resulting from this phenomenon has "spoiled the countryside."¹⁶ Others do not hesitate to describe certain attractions as "offensive."¹⁷ In a similar vein, one observer commented: "It is very sad what has happened to Cavendish."¹⁸

Overdevelopment may be a concern identified by some in the community as a serious problem but there is no agreement on what the potential solutions to this problem might be. While some feel that Cavendish is simply "a lost cause"¹⁹ others are working through a recently formed

16. Personal interview with Andrew.

17. For personal and professional reasons, the individual in question did not want to be quoted as making this statement.

18. Personal interview with Christine Burdett, Owner/Operator, Blythewood Trailer Park, Cavendish, P.E.I., June 29, 1987.

19. For professional reasons, the individual in question did not want to be quoted as making this statement.

community planning committee--an organization made up of local residents, and with a jurisdiction extending from Stanleybridge to Rustico--in an attempt to effect policy changes. This latter course of action demands particular scrutiny because if the community hopes to avert the saturation stage (as per the Butler model) and a corresponding decline in popularity, strict policy guidelines must be developed and immediately implemented.

Organization of a planning committee in Cavendish has been hampered by the fact that the community only has fifty-two permanent residents. Although most parts of the Province have some form of local government, there has never been enough of a population base in Cavendish to sustain a municipal structure. The planning committee is a separate entity from the Cavendish Tourist Association, the latter being a voluntary body made up of local business people engaged in promoting the community. The committee, in contrast, emerged from a Provincial government task force which, at local request, was set up to conduct a preliminary study of the issues and problems associated with tourist development. The task force recommended the formation of a planning committee whose specific mandate was "to determine what type of planning will take place in the area."²⁰ Barry Clark, a local tourist operator, and

20. Personal interview with Barry Clark, Owner/Operator, Shining Waters Lodge and Cottages, Cavendish, P.E.I., June 27, 1987.

one of six area residents on the planning committee, indicated that 1988 would be a particularly significant year in terms of the planning process. He held that the committee intended to "come up with an official plan, present it at a public meeting and if...accepted, the Provincial government [would] decide whether the same group [would] administer the plan or whether others should come in."²¹

In formulating the plan, the committee will be assisted by a consultant appointed by the government task force. There are a variety of issues that Clark hopes to see addressed. As part of its mandate, he feels that the plan should "ban or restrict development which would be noisy, harm the water and air, create smoke, or otherwise disrupt the peacefulness of the area."²² It must also "limit the number of bars and drinking establishments in the community" and attempt to "monitor the type of attractions constructed to ensure that quality workmanship is used."²³

As presented, these recommendations seem both reasonable and necessary and, judging from the nature of much current development, they are long overdue. One must

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

question, however, whether these guidelines will be sufficient to preserve the few remaining elements of the rural and pastoral in Cavendish. It has even been suggested that the proposed community development plan has encouraged the rapid growth now taking place. Since "the emerging idea is that development has to stop, people are trying to get in while they can."²⁴ Thus, since it is obviously not feasible for existing development to be torn down, the plan may be implemented too late to have a significant effect on the preservation of an aesthetically pleasing and valued rural landscape.

Significantly, no guidelines have yet been developed to identify how the plan will be implemented or enforced. In this context, however, prevailing attitudes towards what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable kinds of development merit particular attention. The "majority of people in Cavendish are content with present development", and some go so far as to suggest that "it is only the older and more conservative people who have negative attitudes towards current tourist attractions."²⁵ Popular opinion evinces "satisfaction with Cavendish and [contends] that there could be a lot more development if it is done

24. Personal interview with Eleanor Lamont.

25. For personal and professional reasons, the individuals in question did not want to be quoted as making these statements.

tastefully. This would encourage people to stay longer and spend more money in the community."²⁶ Clark, for example, feels that "there should be more retail space opened up in Cavendish because the more people that stay and spend, the better it is for the area."²⁷ Overdevelopment was not seen to be a major concern because of the National Park's extensive landholdings in the area, and the fact that the planning Committee's jurisdiction extends to the limits of two neighbouring communities, Rustico and Stanleybridge.

Since Cavendish is a summer resort community, it is not surprising that the profit motive prevails. Tourism has replaced farming as the economic base of the community and the tourist business is highly seasonal. Money must be made during the summer months. What appears to have gone unrecognized, however, is the concept of short-term, versus long-term tourism. The planning committee has a self-imposed mandate to control development but the interpretation of limits to growth, and the kinds of attractions that are appropriate for the community appears to vary widely. Such differences of interpretation would not be so serious if Cavendish was only being promoted as a beach resort. Due to the strong emphasis placed on literary heritage, though, many tourists, and most notably the

26. Personal interview with Clark.

27. Ibid.

Japanese, come to the area expecting to find the unspoiled rural landscape of Montgomery's fictional portraits. If this landscape is destroyed as is presently occurring in Cavendish outside the National Park, the potential for visitor dissatisfaction will increase. Word of mouth advertising has the potential to counteract the most sophisticated promotional package designed by a marketing department. If tourists are not satisfied with the quality of their vacation experience they will not return and may influence others to act in the same way.

Quality of the tourist experience is an amorphous concept that resists precise quantitative analysis. In the case of L.M. Montgomery's Cavendish, and indeed the entire 'Anne of Green Gables' area that extends outward from that community, mass tourism is too new for the attempt to assess visitor satisfaction levels in a numerical way. It must, however, be recognized that there are several categories of literary tourists and that such differences will influence the way in which place is perceived.

At the most simplistic level there are those tourists who visit Green Gables simply because it is a much publicized attraction. Such visitors probably have only cursory knowledge of the novel and its author. An emerging group of visitors are those who have decided to visit the area because of the television movie. Seeking the Green Gables house as depicted in the film, they will undoubtedly

be disappointed with reality.²⁸ More complex are the true literary pilgrims who are very familiar with some, if not all of Montgomery's novels, and who are therefore attempting to capture the experiential sense of place that the author wrote about. This sense of place is difficult, if not impossible, to find in Cavendish today and advertising that creates impressions of the rural and pastoral where none exists thereby helps to foster a false sense of place.

It is unrealistic to expect that the planning committee has the cure for every community ill. Yet, if stringent development controls are not implemented, the future of

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28. In the television movie, yet another image of the Green Gables house was presented. Further, this house has since been depicted on the front cover of the French edition of Anne of Green Gables. Presumably, this will affect some visitor's perceptions of the Green Gables site. It should also be recognized that the sequel film received widespread publicity. For selected examples, refer to any of the following: Linda Aisenberg, "Megan Follows and Jonathan Crombie: Anne and Gilbert, Canada's Favourite Sweethearts, Come of Age in Anne of Green Gables - The Sequel", Chatelaine, 60 (September 1987), pp. 48, 104, 108; Tony Atherton, "Anne's Back: The Girl from Green Gables Returns in a Sequel as Hot as the Original", Ottawa Citizen (December 5, 1987), pp. C1; C9; Jim Bawden, "Anne of Green Gables - The Sequel", The Toronto Star (December 5, 1987), pp. F1; F12; Robert Fulford, "Anne's Secret Quality Keeps Her Coming Back", The Toronto Star (December 5, 1987), p. F1; Brian D. Johnson, Barbara MacAndrew, and Ann Shortell, "Anne of Green Gables Grows Up", Maclean's, 100 (December 7, 1987), pp. 46-50. By increasing popular awareness of 'Anne', such forms of publicity should similarly foster some interest in the Prince Edward Island setting that inspired the story.

literary tourism may be further jeopardized. In the immediate future, tourism is expected to continue to flourish but unless it is planned and carefully managed like any other economic enterprise, the risk of market saturation and decline in visitation rates is very real. In Cavendish, only time will show whether the planning committee is able to play a significant role in restricting over-development and creating a more aesthetically appealing tourist landscape. It can be argued, though, that current proposals may not go far enough.

The final plan has not yet been formulated but prevailing community attitudes suggest that there is no real understanding of what questions of landscape aesthetics imply. Since literary heritage was the catalyst for tourist development, and is still today the one element creating tourist interest in Cavendish in markets outside the maritime provinces and eastern United States, those vestiges of the literary landscape that remain must be protected from excessive commercialism. The planning committee should not only act to restrict the most obvious kinds of noxious development--those creating smoke, noise, or having other harmful environmental impacts. The literary sense of place has been destroyed through more subtle means: too many fast-food restaurants, gaudy souvenir shops, and a variety of tourist attractions that have no basis in community heritage.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to prepare an area plan for tourist development in Cavendish. The questions addressed here have centred around the creation of a literary landscape, and the diverse processes effecting its transformation into a tourist landscape. Such foci notwithstanding, though, it is important to briefly identify some of the issues that should be recognized by the planning committee, if the literary landscape that attracts many tourists is to be protected from further erosion.

Ideally, this committee should consider banning any new commercial construction in the community for a two year period. In halting the development process (which to date has been characterized by a complete lack of any controls), this restriction would give planners the time to evaluate what kinds of tourist attractions would best complement the literary theme, and more generally, reflect community heritage. Furthermore, it would also allow the committee to formulate, and begin to implement policies of controlled development. Since Cavendish has never had a municipal organization, there has never been a zoning ordinance in the community. Such existing development is only subject to provincial regulations as they pertain to water, and sewage disposal systems. In this regard, there are already indications that capacity levels are being reached. In the summer of 1986, Rainbow Valley, an area amusement park, was

closed for twenty-four hours due to sewage contamination of the water supply.²⁹ Availability of parking is another issue that should be recognized in the community development plan. On a typical summer weekend, there are not enough parking spaces at some of the attractions (Thirsty's Roadhouse and Bar for example) to accommodate the number of visitors. To compensate, many cars are parked on the side of the highway creating a traffic hazard.

If suggestions like these are to be incorporated into the development plan, there will have to be an accompanying shift in popular attitudes towards the tourist business. In effect, a preoccupation with maximizing profits in the short-term must be modified so that long-term tourism is given priority. Apart from 'Green Gables', most of the existing tourist development in no way reflects Montgomery's literary insights. 'Overkill'--in this case the tasteless exploitation of the literary theme and the unregulated construction of other, unrelated attractions--is a problem that must be dealt with by the planning committee.

29. Field Research (June, 1987).

Conclusions

The transformation of a literary landscape into a tourist landscape raises a multitude of complex issues. Fictional portraits of place have become the basis of a thriving industry but the popularity of literary heritage, and the introduction of tag-along tourist attractions, are destroying the landscape that was the initial tourist resource. Although vestiges of Montgomery's landscape remain, excessive commercialization, or indeed the invention of literary place as has occurred at French River, suggest an all pervasive attitude: profit at the cost of landscape aesthetics and literary accuracy.

Landscape is not a static entity. Although one may look longingly back to the peace and tranquility of rural, nineteenth century Avonlea, Montgomery portrayed a mythical golden age that never actually existed. Her journals provide graphic illustration that life in Cavendish was far from idyllic. Yet, Montgomery always found solace in pastoral nature.³¹ Tourist development

31. Rubio and Waterston, eds., The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume I; The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery, Volume II. Montgomery's journals are replete with references to the pettiness and narrow mindedness that prevailed in Cavendish. An entry dated November 24, 1905, for instance, reads:

Last night there was a party at Wedlock's...and I was invited....I didn't know many of the guests and wished I knew fewer for I had to talk to those I did know and they were sinfully uninteresting. How can people live in such an interesting world and be such bores (Volume 1, p. 311).

has radically altered the landscape that Montgomery knew, loved, and wrote about, but instead of blaming tourism in the general sense for the negative impact, it is policies of uncontrolled development that lie at the root of current problems. Questions of landscape aesthetics tend to come last in the planning process. In this instance, however, the continued and successful promotion of the initial tourist resource, the literary theme, is dependent upon the preservation and rehabilitation of the literary environment. If the brief recommendations outlined above appear somewhat drastic, it is only because over-development, as is presently occurring, may have drastic consequences for both the community and the future of its tourist business.

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31. Correspondingly, though, Montgomery often wrote about the solace she found in nature. See, for example, March 11, 1904 where she commented:

...I am no longer a prisoner-I can get out to the dear comradeship of woods and field again. I went across the snowy fields to Lover's Lane. I love that place idolatrously - I am happier there than anywhere else. What is the power of that silent shadowy wood lane, even in its white winter solitude? Why can it always steal away the sting of life and pan the oil of gladness into my heart? I do not know why or how - but it always does... (Volume 1, pp. 292-293).

Chapter 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Empires have toppled...a world has passed away...since I, as a child, played on the silver beaches of Prince Edward Island. But they are still there...still beautiful...still calling to their exiles with a voice we always hear. And in our dreams we go back to them!¹

In creative literature the subliminal dimensions of landscape and place that are often revealed yield fertile ground for geographical scholarship. L.M. Montgomery's vivid prose--an expression of her acute environmental sensitivity and attachment to Prince Edward Island--is particularly suited to geographic analysis. Not only did Montgomery create lasting images of place in her fiction but the wide-ranging appeal of such fictional portraits has fostered tourist development in Cavendish and the surrounding area. The aims of this thesis embraced subjective literary criticism as well as more objective appraisals of processes of tourist development. Drawing on a diverse conceptual background (including the geographic literature, a variety of material on Montgomery and her work, field observations, and tourism documents), this study has examined how the author used landscape in her fiction, assessed the subsequent transformation of

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1. L.M. Montgomery, "Memories of Childhood Days", The Maritime Advocate and Busy East, 26 (May-June 1936). Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, P.E.I., Accession No. 2537, Item no. 30.

this literary landscape into a tourist landscape, and offered planning and policy guidelines for future tourism management.

Summary of the Research

Many geographers have applied the tools of geographic analysis to a study of the fictional realm. This research draws on the regional, historical, humanistic, and landscape traditions in the discipline. Yet, scant attention has been paid to children's literature, and also neglected has been the importance of literary imagery in tourist promotion. This thesis both reflects, and builds on, existing themes in the geographic literature. Similarly, it contributes to a body of research on Montgomery and her novels. Until recently, the popular success of her fiction led many critics to dismiss it with either minimal or disparaging commentary. There is today a growing recognition of Montgomery's considerable literary skill, including her use of satire, the folkloric element in her novels, and her penetrating social portraits. Concurrently, though, others' analyses of the regional component of her fiction has addressed only its relationship to a particular genre of Canadian literature, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century regional school. Montgomery was clearly a regionalist, but the enduring appeal of the regional idyll that she created has

implications that have hitherto gone unrecognized.

As illustrated by the six novels considered in the present study, Montgomery used landscape in a number of different ways. In Anne of Green Gables, she manipulated the geography of her native Cavendish to create the fictional Avonlea. Thus, landscape was the basis of literary setting. In subsequent novels, the Prince Edward Island landscape became synonymous with romantic sentimentality (Anne's House of Dreams), childhood (Magic For Marigold), home (the Pat series), and ultimately, utopia (Jane of Lantern Hill). Montgomery's changing response to landscape and place mirrored her own life-patterns. Initially, the burden of care demanded by her Grandmother MacNeill made her look longingly back towards a golden, and seemingly untroubled childhood. After her marriage to Reverend Ewan Macdonald, and moves to pastoral charges in southern Ontario, Montgomery increasingly imbued landscape with mythical qualities. Prince Edward Island became a place of the soul; fiction was the medium that allowed her to recapture elements of the past and escape from an often intolerable present.

For Montgomery, writing served a therapeutic purpose. For her millions of readers, however, the mythic creations of her fiction have shaped strong sensory images of Prince Edward Island. In part, it is public fascination with L.M. Montgomery's world that has facilitated the transformation

of her literary landscape into a tourist landscape.

The popularity of Anne of Green Gables was the catalyst for tourist development in Cavendish, and historically, such processes of tourist development have fundamentally altered the settings that Montgomery wrote about. Today, forces of mass tourism are creating an 'Anne of Green Gables' land out of the community so that only vestiges of authentic literary place remain. The contrast between Prince Edward Island National Park (where literary heritage is preserved and interpreted through the Green Gables site), and the community at large (where the commercial ethic prevails), provides excellent illustration of the two tourist landscapes in the area. Beyond Cavendish, the L.M. Montgomery-'Anne of Green Gables' theme has been marked in a number of ways. Some are purely commemorative; the birthplace museum at New London, for example. Others, and most notably the French River site, have no basis in either literary heritage or historical fact. Indeed, instead of the promotion of literary place, they represent its invention. Such discrepancies notwithstanding, these sites are also representative of the effects of literary tourism on landscape, a central concern of this thesis.

Irrespective of these processes of landscape change, provincial marketing strategies and other advertising initiatives promoting literary place, suggest that nineteenth century Avonlea--the world of 'Anne of Green

Gables'--is still very much a part of twentieth century Cavendish. Further, visitor image surveys show that popular perceptions of Prince Edward Island have been shaped by literary associations. For the Japanese, particularly, the province is perceived and evaluated within a literary frame of reference. Green Gables, and the appeal of Montgomery's evocative environmental imagery, are the lure elements fostering Japanese interest in Prince Edward Island as a vacation destination.

In Cavendish, and indeed throughout most of the L.M. Montgomery area extending outwards from the community, there appears to be little recognition of the difference between short and long-term tourism. The prevailing mentality emphasizes immediate gain to the possible detriment of future popularity and sustained tourism yield. As a result, the literary landscape is being destroyed, and a situation created where visitor images and expectations of place (insofar as they reflect literary associations) will have no basis in environmental actuality.

As reference to the Butler model indicated, though, Cavendish is approaching the saturation stage of the resort area cycle of evolution. If saturation is to be averted, and the future of literary tourism protected, this study has recommended that stringent development controls be implemented. Current proposals as drafted by the Cavendish

community planning committee do not appear to be sufficient to halt the over-development that is presently occurring.

Concluding Thoughts

This thesis has addressed a number of integrated themes. Literary imagery has fostered lasting impressions of Prince Edward Island in the general consciousness but a study in the evolution of regional mythology has applications beyond purely academic introspection. Literary tourism, and a tourist landscape where an increasing number of attractions in no way reflect the author's literary insights, raises other questions. Will literary pilgrims become dissatisfied with a tourist place that meets few, if any, of their expectations? Can visitor satisfaction levels be assessed numerically (through a questionnaire, for example) and then be compared with fluctuations in visitation rates over time? In conjunction with continued over-development, what might such trends imply for the future of literary tourism? And finally, what long-term impacts will the 'Anne of Green Gables' made for television movies have on both tourist development and visitor numbers?

There are yet no answers to the above questions. As shown in this thesis, though, uncontrolled tourist development is destroying the basis of the tourist

resource - the literary landscape and myths of place. L.M. Montgomery used fiction to conceptualize and articulate her intense spiritual attachment to Prince Edward Island. Those engaged in the tourist business cannot afford to ignore the significance of literary images in the formation of visitor attitudes and expectations. Nor should they define environmental aesthetics in any but a literary context since outside the maritime provinces, and possibly parts of the eastern United States, it is the literary theme, and not the beach resort, that attracts visitors.

The L.M. Montgomery-'Anne of Green Gables' heritage is an important component of the Prince Edward Island tourist industry. Yet, the kind of tourist development now occurring does not make for a healthy landscape. The aesthetics are suspect, the community identity artificial, and the promoted diversity illusory. At issue, then, is the extent to which the forces reviewed in this thesis will blot out the literary atmosphere, and lead to an increasingly placeless landscape--a landscape wherein neither Montgomery, her fictional characters, or ultimately, visitors attracted by the author's landscape imagery, would belong.

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1

A List of L.M. Montgomery's Novels
(By date of first publication)

Anne of Green Gables, 1908.
Anne of Avonlea, 1909.
Kilmeny of the Orchard, 1910.
The Story Girl, 1911.
The Golden Road, 1913.
Anne of the Island, 1915.
Anne's House of Dreams, 1917.
Rainbow Valley, 1919.
Rilla of Ingleside, 1920.
Emily of New Moon, 1923.
Emily Climbs, 1925.
The Blue Castle, 1926.
Emily's Quest, 1927.
Magic For Marigold, 1929.
A Tangled Web, 1931.
Pat of Silver Bush, 1933.
Mistress Pat, 1935.
Anne of Windy Poplars, 1936.
Jane of Lantern Hill, 1937.
Anne of Ingleside, 1939.

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