Life Long Sorrow: Settler Affect, State and Trauma at *Anne of Green Gables*

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Abstract

This paper contributes a definition of 'settler affect' using Lucy Maud Montgomery's early 20th century series of novels *Anne of Green Gables* series of novels. The adopted protagonist, Anne, struggles to become 'of Green Gables' and to fit in to rural community despite her red hair, difference and impetuous character and then to succeed in life the subsequent books in the series. Empowering and disempowering 'settler affect' and traumas related to colonialism are traced as temporal-spatial relations and as affect anchored in the interactions of the characters with each other and with places. The State-sponsored transference of settler affect to modern day citizens in *Anne of Green Gables* through role-playing and immersion in tourist sites and theme parks is discussed in terms of virtual 'as-if-ness' and the semiotics of artifice.

Keywords: Montgomery, Lucy Maud; postcolonial theory; settler affect; spatialisation; Prince Edward Island, Canada.

> 'There is at least one spot left on earth where a little leisure is to be found [...] and that is in Prince Edward Island. People there have not yet forgotten how to live. They don't tear through life. Every time I [visit], [...] accustomed to the breathless tempo of existence elsewhere [...] go back to it I am impressed by this fact.' (Montgomery 'I Have Come Home')'

Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* is one of the most widely read and translated Canadian novels. Written at the beginning of the 20th century, the books series has become an international sensation. For example, it is part of the Japanese curriculum on Western literature where, in the late 20th century the heroine 'Anne Shirley' became an idealized heterosexual model for many young Japanese women, despite her red hair and non-conformist character. Elsewhere, Anne's individualism and hopefulness became encouraging symbols for the Polish

resistance during and after WWII. Both in Prince Edward Island (PEI) and internationally, *Anne of Green Gables* has become an institution. It has been made into a long-running hit play, a movie and several television series. The many adaptations have made Montgomery's work a key case in inspiring the extension of copyright time-limits by the Canadian State. The novels have an ambivalent critical reception today. They have inspired a rich critical literature on patriarchy and colonial appropriation of place by settler societies.

Figure 1: Outdoor tourist information sign showing aerial view at Anne of Green Gables National Park (Photo: the author)

This paper examines temporal, spatial and affective relations in the novels for insights into how to define and theorize empowering and disempowering '*Settler Affect*' and the traumas of colonialism that continue within Canadian society today. After a review of the literature and the existing academic analysis of the novels, I define settler affect as exaggerated attachment to place identities grafted onto colonized places. This is a contribution to Postcolonial Theory, trauma studies and to the current context of the dominant settler-colonial cultures in Canada. The ongoing relevance is demonstrated as I work through my enthusiastic family visits over

35 years to Anne of Green Gables National Park (Prince Edward Island, Canada) and related theme-parks and the phenomenon of dressing up as characters from the texts. Through the experience of the contradictions of these cultural productions, my critique emerged of the academic fetishism of *Anne of Green Gables* as a literary phenomenon, rather than a mass-market social technology for working through settler affect in the context of a Canadian 'settler-state'.

Locating Anne of Green Gables

Where is Green Gables? Montgomery describes it as the 'one spot left on earth' where people know how to live. Its rhythm is of such a convivial tempo that it represents a model for 'how to live'. Local time and place are inextricably woven in *Anne of Green Gables* and the rest of the series that follow the heroine's life. After all, Anne is 'of Green Gables' – and the series affirms this despite the orphan-protagonist's origins elsewhere in Nova Scotia and not Prince Edward Island. These works are also anchored in the provincialisms and white Anglo-Canadian colonial position of their author. Women did not have the right to vote until 1916[2] in the Dominion of Canada (1874-1942). The *Anne of Green Gables* series engages the restrictions of rural colonial life. Limited education, opportunities, horizons and material circumstances affected not only individuals such as the protagonist of the novels but all aspects of society. However, Anne, the red-haired heroine, is now widely critiqued for the self-sacrificing life-choices that she makes, even if they fit with her time, society, 'station' (class) and gender.

Anne of Green Gables elicits controversy as a series that is both conformist to late 19th century society and yet supportive of first-wave feminist political and institutional reform at the turn of the twentieth century. Anne offers a condensation point for readers as an 'ideal ego' to be emulated both for her vitality and her positive situation ethics. Without being an overly optimistic Pollyanna, Anne triumphs in most situations, including grief and loss. Often, this is done by retreating into her imagination and seducing others into her virtual fantasy worlds. The novels celebrate Prince Edward Island while they critique the narrowness of small town attitudes. The books illustrate the affective potential of place and the often neglected and intangible capacities of the environment to support personal qualities and actions. These surpass local social norms and support challenges to them. Scholarship can be strongly celebratory of these aspects of Montgomery's protagonist. For example, Frever observes the reciprocity of words and worlds in Montgomery's language:

> saturated with, rather than separate from, the natural world where nature scenes structure and shape her narrative universe. [...] She creates stories-within-stories where nature literally speaks. She invests the landscape with literal, and literary, voice. She creates human stories that are carried in the landscape itself. (60)

Despite the compromises the character makes as Montgomery's *Anne* series progresses, Anne is a culturally significant representation of femininity, of rural and colonial life, and of the precarity of life in the late 19th century. In a portrait of iconoclastic individuality and collective destiny of the 'young' Dominion of Canada, Montgomery knits Protestant doctrines of predestination and fate with agrarian household and community life. Her literary output relies on the serial format which naturalistically presents 'a woman's life' told in a mixture of autobiographical and biographical voices. The seriality and prominence of chronological development of an individual's life-cycle is supported by developing a 'storyscape' of specific sites, most iconically evoked and incarnated in the Cuthbert homestead, now 'Green Gables', the house and garden that has become Anne of Green Gables National Park. In the novels, this time-space structure of a life that González Marín calls a biographical chronotope (2000; see also Haffen; Bakhtin 1981). To put this time-space reductively, Anne advances into a predestined future built on the inheritance of the British imperial values with only the local affordances of place and her imagination as resources to support personal agency. This is interspersed with other chronotopes such as nature, home and heterosexual romance. However, more specifically for the first novels of the series, the theme of 'becoming' is central. Anne not only matures but successfully fights to be 'of Green Gables', of the family and the place. Her attachment to the place, peers and family members ultimately trumps personal ambition such that self-sacrifice is at the same time the achievement and realization of her affections and investment in people and places that scaffold the character.

Montgomery has been criticised as failing readers because her heroine ultimately conforms to social norms. Anne appears to ultimately retreat from confrontation and any competition which could constitute an aggressive critique or assault on hegemonic, patriarchal values. In her quest to become 'of Green Gables', she fails to break from the social roles that formed the conventions of women of the late nineteenth century. Yet as a protagonist, Anne illustrates the potential for recasting attitudes and conventions by imagining and discovering new possibilities within them. Scholars such as Epperly, Pike and McLulich abhor the idea of this Anne as a 'feminist' figure, given the character's conformity to the domestic status quo. Beyond ambivalence, 'anguish' would be an apt word to describe contemporary critical reaction to the gender stereotypes that become increasingly prominent in Montgomery's *Anne* series and the subsequent *Emily* series. This reception is an important indicator of the continued affect that surrounds and adds to the aura of the text. I am interested in diagnosing why the series remains such a lightning rod for fascination, adoration and condemnation? On the one hand, Anne seeks a legitimate position in a patriarchal, social system mithat is prescribed in the novels as the security of normal order. When this is disturbed, things go poorly for the characters. On the other hand, Anne consistently struggles for a voice, giving words to her own vision of her life and world, however limited or childlike, against the in-

junction to not inscribe one's own feelings in one's own discourse, as is affirmed by the uncomplaining Matthew and by Marilla, the stern 'phallic mother' (Woods 148). If the series portrays challenges, loss and disappointment in life events and actual outcomes, the protagonist nonetheless maintains her own voice and point of view and does not abandon herself to fate.

Other scholars argue that contradictions in *Anne of Green Gables* need to be integrated into its reception spanning over a century of readers. The books should be considered in the context of their times (Robinson 35; Drain 40). Thus it would not be surprising that the characters ultimately fulfill gender, racial and colonial stereotypes. Despite their ambivalences, the novels of the series stage a continuing negotiation and recasting of the conventions and limits of women's roles, rights and status in the centuries after European colonization(Montgomery *The Selected Journals*; *Anne of the Island*). For example, as Macdonald shows, later books in the series such as *Anne of the Island* present women as university graduates 'with their virtue intact and their engagements secure' (165). However, this fidelity to the historical epoch is itself important as it allows the novels to be read symptovmatically for wider cultural dispositions, such as settler affect.

The following sections develop the problematic of space, time and affect in the novels in order to understand the nature of trauma and gain insight into 'settler affect' as both a past and contemporary phenomenon. Hypothetically, the character of Anne appears to be a collective psychological pressure point, a hang-over of the colonial cultural formation of the Canadian national identity that responds to and represses histories of dispossession. The process of the protagonist beginning as an outsider and becoming an insider means the character of Anne supports the readings seen above. However, she also illustrates the contradictions and ambivalence of settlers' position in the process of colonization. Based on site visits, this ambivalence and repression of the violence of colonial displacement of peoples and the erasure of their cultures and lived geographies is reproduced through theme parks such as those constructed at and around the Green Gables National Park in Prince Edward Island. This underscores the relevance of settler affect today.

Colonial Spatialisations: Ambivalence and the Erased Landscape

Compared with literary and historical scholarship, there are relatively few geographical and sociological engagements with Montgomery's writing and the mass popularity of *Anne of Green Gables*. An unsettling aspect of these texts lies precisely in the fact that Montgomery invests the landscape with so much meaning. She has been criticized for ventriloquizing and colonizing the landscape with her own values as a descendant of white English, Scottish and Irish settlers. This effaces and silences earlier histories of occupation by Indigenous Mi'kmaq and by French settlers. Montgomery acknowledges that before the arrival of the English, PEI was Abegweit in Mi'kmaq and Ile St. Jean for the French. Deloria and many other have

noted the importance of place for Indigenous value systems. These 'others' are either absent in the series, or negative contrasts that are unreliable and without initiative (Geissler and Cecil 199; Robinson 22-3). Indigenous people and place names are mentioned only once, nostalgically, in the series:

> Through the open window, by which Anne sat, blew the sweet, scented, sun-warm air of the August afternoon; outside, poplar boughs rustled and tossed in the wind; beyond them were the woods, where Lover's Lane wound its enchanted path, and the old apple orchard which still bore its rosy harvests munificently. And, over all, was a great mountain range of snowy clouds in the blue southern sky. Through the other window was glimpsed a distant, white-capped, blue sea of the beautiful St. Lawrence Gulf, on which floats, like a jewel, Abegweit, whose softer, sweeter Indian [sic] name has long been forsaken for the more prosaic one of Prince Edward Island (Montgomery *Anne's House of Dreams* 1-2).

French Acadian farm-hands such as 'Little Jerry Buote from the Creek' are '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' or girls 'from the creek [...] helpless and bewildered, quite incapable of thinking what to do, or doing it if she thought of it' (Montgomery *Anne of Green Gables* 23, 5, and 86).

These asides allude to an 'erased spatialisation' that persists and juxtaposes its past place-names of displaced cultures against current activities or place identities – such as the clash of metre as well as meaning in the name 'Abegweit' against 'Prince Edward Island.' The landscape of place names becomes a reliquary. However, erasure creates seams and wrinkles in the present tense stories attached to place (Shields 'Imaginary Sites'). The result is similar to a repressed trauma that appears as gaps and absences. Montgomery's romanticized landscapes are full of affordances for play, imaginative resources and potential. Does she achieve this through emptying them of their actual history and previous inhabitants? The result is a landscape that is banal in the sense of missing-meaning and affective absences. These invite Anne's place-making and investment of identity.

Anne's Voice

Anne gives a certain voice to the orphaned, marginalized and the despairing. The traumatic and traumatizing character of Anne, the orphan and marginal Other is a 'from-away,' as the term Prince Edward Islanders still refers to those born off-island. Anne performs a variety of tactics of resistance, not direct confrontation. Anne struggles to refuse subordination, even if the books do not always present an ideal character who is a 'winner' in the modernist sense of clearly consolidating her victories over losers. Instead she demands and puts faith in others' ultimate willingness to acknowledge her as a legitimate peer. The novels dramatize the moment

of resistance and the resentment of the privileged against the underprivileged who wish to become 'established insiders' (Scotson and Elias). The point of this mode of resistance is to reclaim dignity, not to overpower the Other (Seeburger).

As such the protagonist, Anne, is a witness to not only a set of tactics to conform, survive and thrive but Anne is also witness to others, historically real and imagined, who are voiceless and unremembered. There is a complex pattern of acknowledged and repressed inequality, as critics have identified. Anne grasps the mantle and privilege of the white settler. She emerges as a model colonizer of the landscape. She imaginatively and practically engages in:

> Taking possession of place and people, renaming and redefining Avonlea and PEI [...] the appropriator of a land that Montgomery claims for herself through childhood nostalgia. [...creating] a false and biased representation of the Island.
>
> Anne [...] commences to alter the landscape through language and description by renaming previously named (already twice colonized) landmarks. Just as Montgomery changes Cavendish to Avonlea, superimposing the map of her fictional landscape onto that of Queen's County, so Anne changes Avonlea to 'Anne's land.' [...] an occupation that makes the familiar unfamiliar to the residents [...] but that does the opposite for the newcomer (Geissler and Cecil 196).

The fictional recolonization of the actual environment is accomplished through renaming which lays the basis for bodily engagement that concretizes this new spatialisation. Out of many possible concretizing examples, Geissler and Cecil give the case of Anne's first reaction to 'The Avenue,' so called by the Newbridge people (197). Anne says,

> 'They shouldn't call that lovely place the Avenue. There is no meaning in a name like that. They should call it – let me see – the White Way of Delight. Isn't that a nice imaginative name? When I don't like the name of a place or a person I always imagine a new one and always think of them so' (Montgomery *Anne of Green Gables* 12).

This taking possession of a place, re-spatialising it according to one's own needs, is both colonising and constructing. It creates not only a place but a system of reference and orientation that stretches beyond one place to bring an entire set of places into a constellation that is both an imagined geography and history. How are we to adjudicate between the one reading that condemns the erased spatialisation of colonial settler society and the character's spunky struggle to be a part of that place? Anne gives her own names to places as settings for the games and romantic stories she imagines. She substitutes a personal spatialisation of imagination, representations and practices for the realities of rural agricultural everyday

life. She constructs not only an imaginary world but a 'place to stand'. In the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century gender relations in rural Canada, this is an achievement. However, this is not a personal spatialisation but one that is articulared part and parcel with a wider set of dispositions of the late colonial British Empire.

Affect

Amongst readers and critics, there is a strong investment of affect in these positions for – and against – the proto-feminist and settler Anne and the plot lines of the series. Why is *Anne of Green Gables* so provocative? Hemings notes that the strongly-felt reception of Anne on both sides is a clue that can helpfully remind us that 'affect plays a role in both cementing sexed and raced relations of domination, and in providing the local investments necessary to counter those relations' (558).

As developed in recent 'Affect Theory', affect is more than emotion (Wetherall; Davidson Park Shields). Following Deleuze, 'affect' is the melodic rising and falling of sentiment and outlook, which he characterizes in Spinozian terms. On one hand, affect is a rising movement of the 'joy' of empowerment and increasing capacity and a sense of self-perfectability (*connatus*). On the other hand, it is a falling movement of 'melancholia' of moments of reduced capability and potentiality. These can be imagined as the contrast between times when one's heart soars, and when one's spirits sag; joy on seeing a loved one, and trepidation on spying one's nemesis approaching. Affect is virtual, that is intangible. It is a relation between dispositions or emotional states that is not merely psychologically internal to the subject but affect is relational and thus located between the subject, as a change set of capacities, skills, and dispositions marshalled to the occasion and their changing social and environmental context. The 'Affect Theory' approach ties the personal to social context of dispositions rather than treating it as a psychological matter of private emotions (Deleuze; Pfister and Schnog; Wetherall). Not only does this move beyond a Cartesian view of the subject as autonomous from the environment; sentiments are thus related to power and agency. Isaki and others consider settler affect as a 'circuit' amongst and between subjects, material entities and places that remain engrossed in broken political attachments (*A Decolonial Archive*).

Is this a reason why feminist critics decry the books' betrayal of readers' investments in Anne as a champion of young female independence in outlook, discourse and action? That is, even while elaborating an articulate and passionate heroine, Anne defers to her context of patriarchal norms and to male competitors. For instance, she surrenders her prize university scholarship to remain near to her adopted home and in favour of Gilbert, the boy to whom she is attached despite him being her schoolroom arch-rival. Thus,

> Anne felt a queer little sensation of dismayed surprise. She had not known this; she had expected that Gilbert would be going to Redmond also. What would she do without their inspiring rivalry? Would not work, even at a coeducational college with a real degree in prospect, be rather flat without her friend the enemy? (Montgomery *Anne of Green Gables* 170)

The 'queer little sensation' is an example of the trace of affect in Montgomery's text, a disposition that is experienced but not controlled because it is outside of the subject herself. Affect theory understands this as anchored in relations between subjects that affect their capacities. Anne inevitably fails to produce a subject totally in control of the omnisciently 'known' sociotechnical projects and the 'expected' next moves in the plot. Her project is not only driven by a claim to rights and to a position within a judgemental social and economic system but driven by affect as a flow of inspiring, empowering as well as flattening, disempowering interactions with her 'friend the enemy'. The focus of the *Anne of Green Gables*, however, is family and home. These are the primary values that triumph over 'going away' to university or independent success The book closes with neither Anne nor Gilbert going away for further education and hints at a closer liaison to come. Anne comments:

> 'I'm just as ambitious as ever. Only, I've changed the object of my ambitions. I'm going to be a good teacher—and I'm going to save your eyesight. Besides, I mean to study at home here and take a little college course all by myself. Oh, I've dozens of plans, Marilla. I've been thinking them out for a week. I shall give life here my best, and I believe it will give its best to me in return.' [...]
>
> 'I don't feel as if I ought to let you give it up,' said Marilla, referring to the scholarship. [...]
>
> 'Oh, Marilla, don't you go pitying me. I don't like to be pitied, and there is no need for it. I'm heart glad over the very thought of staying at dear Green Gables. Nobody could love it as you and I do – so we must keep it.' (Montgomery *Anne of Green Gables* 178)

The novels negotiate a set of life choices for rural youth, to stay or leave, and the idea of studying by correspondence rather than the social ritual of an educational institution. She reaffirms her faith in her performative ability to capably respond to circumstance. Either decision requires the sacrifice of the advantages of the alternative. In the case of *Anne of Green Gables* this decision is staged in the context of early childhood loss of family and recovery from this trauma (Slater). Remaining at, becoming 'of Green Gables', is the antidote to a traumatic reenactment of being detached again from family and the figure of the mother in particular. Anne, the adopted orphan who has made Green Gables her home and transcended 'the pain of neglect and abandonment' (Slater 168), thus chooses conven-

tion and social role over independence. As the quotations above make clear, she asserts her right to choose and not be pitied or thought of as lacking ambition. Against much discussion in Avonlea (2008:178) and more recent feminist critics, she argues that the affects of home are a more powerful basis for action than further public education.

This is not surprising, given the centrality of themes and pressures to settle during the late 1800s and early 1900s through the period after the depopulation of both urban and rural communities, including those in the Canadian Maritimes, by the pandemic of Spanish Influenza (H1N1) in 1918 (of which one quarter of the American population was infected and an estimated 675000 and at least 50000 Canadians died that year). *Anne of Green Gables* is an indicator of the importance of settling, place-making, and the reinvention of domesticity by waves of European settlers on North American soil. Home was a central preoccupation, despite the obvious importance of immigration and mobility to this project.

Settler Affect

In the postcolonial literature, 'settler affect' has not been well theorized to date and references are scattered. Settler affect can be defined as an intense attachment to newly settled territory that tends to be discursively emptied of Others who might complicate settlers' attachments to it. For Perry, this barely veils the uneasiness of settlers in relation to Indigenous peoples – 'the white fear of the colonised' – and the psychological and ontological insecurity of North American space that had been transformed into land purportedly free of Indigenous people (Wallace 136). Settler affect is a diasporic condition of investment in a new place as attachment is transferred from a prior site. It founds a new geography of identity for settlers. As an investment in place-making, settler affect is central to the dialectic of colonizer and colonized, setter and Indigene (Memmi). However, as a reflection of cultural power of colonizers, the new place identities tend to repress and mythify previous place images and identities for the colonized (cf. Cézaire). However, settler affect masks the traumas of relocation and leaving behind a past. Most European settlers had to start a new life in North America because they did not have the resources to make frequent return visits to a homeland. Settler affect is a collective identity and, as a such, a vehicle that supports and maintains settler colonial society (see below). Fanon makes the argument linking colonialism as a psychological violence entwining a colonizer with colonized in geographical space as well as temporally in terms of the past, present and future:

> In the sphere of psycho-affective equilibrium it is responsible for an important change in the native. Perhaps we have not sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's

> brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it (Fanon 209).

Cultural theorist Bianca Isaki uses the phrase 'settler affect' to refer to the everyday domestic culture and sexualities of Hawaiian settlers (*A Decolonial Archive)*. This paper continues Isaki's focus but as the founding voices of Postcolonial Theory such as Fanon, Memmi and Césaire note, settler affect 'disfigures' the colonized as well as the colonial mind. In Dangerous *Emotions,* anthropologist and philosopher Alphonso Lingis uses the phrase in this relational sense to describe this colonial circulation of affect that emerges as a relation between settlers and the dispossessed which takes the form of 'colonial affect' amongst the colonized, a trauma that develops from mundane slights and inequities.

Montgomery's novels are not the right sources from which to attempt an archaeology of the impacts of imperialism on the colonized. This limitation does not prevent us from commenting on the importance of *absences* both in the novels and for the cultural dispositions described by them. The absence of traces of Indigenous Mi'kmaq and French Acadiens in Anne's rapturous soliloquies about places means that these Others are not included in the books as either structuring presences, cues for literary imagination or notes of conflict and complication in the communities presented in the novels. This structure of disavowal and repression of history is at the core of settler affect: an unsettling nostalgia for a peopled landscape and insecure clinging to an environment that is given grafted meaning in imported European cultural terms. This is couched in absence. Settler affect permits a sense of dwelling in contexts that challenge the norms of European cultures: the diurnal cycle (challenged by winter days that are too short); activities that depend on a temperate climate (resisting or ignoring the opportunities presented by the local environment); the cost of imported luxuries such as European musical instruments and fashions; maintaingin the seasonal timing of, for example, harvest festivals that do not actually coincide with the timing of local harvests, and shunning the Indigenous diet, cuisine and symbolic meals (for example, ignoring local shellfish and lobster was shunned as impoverished Indigenous 'Indian food' by settlers in the Maritimes until World War II). Settler affect thus becomes manifest and embodied in a range of sensations, from the hunger of those who will not deign to harvest local food, to the strain of maintaining European airs, to nostalgia for distant homelands. This was not only an issue for colonists, but was internalised by both settler elites and the colonized.

Colonial Trauma and Settler Affect

The problem with settler affect is that grafting attachment and imported place-identities onto colonized places is never perfect and requires perpetual repression of local realities and history. It necessitates both Anne's stories and Mont-

gomeries story-telling. Settler affect rests both on colonising investment in place and as a response to trauma: the mishaps and wounds of repressed others and the erased spatialisation of previous place identities. Montgomery's series inadvertently documents the traumas of the marginalised, poor and outsiders of late-colonial settler-society. She offers a pastoral plot structured around suturing the seams of violent dispossession and displacement, a settler colonial spatialisation that is inevitably compromised by the continuing presence of conflicting spatialisations of previous occupations of the land that realised other capacities of the environment and found other affects in relation to it.

While Slater, Keats, Haywood and Thompson have recently commented on the personal trauma of the orphan-protagonist and her passage to recovery at the heart of the novels, less attention has been given to the society-wide traumas that Montgomery's work illustrates. These include traumas of colonisation, dispossession and diaspora. The structuring absences of novels, such as the original *Anne of Green Gables,* highlights the tensions that characters negotiate as part of their historical context. Van Alphen notes that experience that has not been processed cannot be narrated, constituting trauma, not memory. Trauma can be defined as experience or stimulus that cannot be processed, understood or responded to, creating a sense of incompleteness in the subject (Slater 170). History and imagination structure an opposition between social acknowledgement and 'remembrance versus aesthetic pleasure and distraction' (Van Alphen cited in Apel 56). Trauma is not only an episode or experience that is, in a sense, buried alive and unprocessed, but becomes an absent presence which is untranslatable. It is a relation which cannot be formed, and which thus can be thought of as 'a force or voice or prod that cannot properly land in or near them. Yet the call [ie. the prod or provocation] faithfully diverts [...the traumatized] and something happens, jostling them, relating them to the unrelatable,' an address to someone who realizes with a shock that they are addressable even if they don't understand their place(ment): 'an exchange that she doesn't understand, as well as in a position of a woman, in a sexual division which she also doesn't comprehend' (Ronell).

Trauma, Apel notes, is played out across three domains, the human, technological and geographical. Anne's performance of childish unruliness and misplaced play (misplaced into serious adult life) can be read as a critique of the arbitrary power of hegemonic morality. Above all, Anne laments her non-conformist red hair. This distinction is described by Anne as an inherited stain or blemish. This superficial stigma is a corporeal sign of other traumas: Anne says 'I read of a girl once in a novel who had a life-long sorrow, and it wasn't red hair' (Montgomery *Anne of the Island* 24).

Some analysts have pointed to the significance of trauma as an organizing tool to understand Montgomery's novels (Slater; Veracini). *Anne of Green Gables* refers frequently to 'lifelong sorrow' (Montgomery *Anne of Green Gables* 11).

Anne's progression from orphan to integration in Avonlea has been examined as modelling post-traumatic recovery in children (Keats; Haywood). Later in the series, the protagonist grieves for the death of her son in war (Thompson; Gammel 90). Indeed, many of the texts in the series deal with parent-child, and particularly mother-child, relations and its mediation via, for example, moralizing neighbours (Slater). There is a symmetry between a child without parents, and a-creative, unreproductive brother-sister household of adults without children. This union mirrors the practice of sending orphan children from England to the colonies as farm help, essentially a practice of child slavery under the guise of the family unit. The multiple absences – parents, siblings, home, travel to war and distant places—and disrupted family relations that result, create an agonizing lack at the core of the books.

In *Anne of Green Gables,* Marilla's consternation at being sent a girl rather than an able-bodied boy to do farm help, set against Anne's earnest hope that she will be a wanted child and the way this beguiles Matthew, is the opening scene of an ersatz family unit of surrogate parents and a surrogate daughter. Anne seeks conditions of livability, a position within the social order, which in the colonial context means merging her otherness as the orphan from elsewhere with red hair into a position within the household, church, school community and place. While Anne's position as a kind of Antigone in this drama persists, the non-European point of view might linger on the artificial nature of this family, and its constructed relations which echo the artificial and constructed connections of settler society to the colonised landscape, climate and Indigenous inhabitants. Although Montgomery naturalizes and settles the social institutions in Anne's life-story into the storyscape of a pastoral Prince Edward Island, they are all as fabricated and fragile as Anne's newfound family at Green Gables.

Montgomery's novels, beginning with the initial book, *Anne of Green Gables* in particular, offer Green Gables and Anne's surrounding sites of adventure and imaginative play as a topology, or place-and-time which is a kind of Edenic, primitive scene 'where desire meets reality and traces of trauma make sense' (Lichtenberg-Ettinger 95). Bracha Lichtenberg-Ettinger refers to these as a 'matrixial', womb-like time-space that can be imagined between conception and birth. In terms of the chronotopological structure, however, rather than a past state, Anne's Eden is in the present, displacing past experience with an erased spatialisation that effaces inconvenient evidence of prior inhabitation and is amenable to being recast as a personal identity through the medium of melodrama.

Deeper traumas of settler colonialism are signalled by the witness of the displacement of genocidal relations to prior inhabitants (Isaki *A Decolonial Archive*; Rifkin; Shomura; Veracini). Indigenous peoples and the French Acadian settlers had their homes and farms ceded to the British as part of a rebalancing of European powers in the aftermath of 150 years of war leading up the Seven Years War

(1751-58). Colonial Trauma is the aftertaste of dispossession. Its absence from the novels is occasionally broken by hints of Anne's own experience of loss and marginality. These asides regarding colonial trauma dialectically open up corresponding elements of settler trauma to analysis.

In the case of Montgomery's textual production, the mass-market novel is a material and technological site of mediation and repair where the wound of the emptied landscape is sutured via imaginative naming practices and the performative quality of play, cultivation and dwelling. Where Anne casts places as the landscape of romantic poetry and idealized gender relations, her fluent re-spatialising of these sites both hints at the melancholia (in Spinoza's sense) of a lost past and blocked ethnic ambition (echoing the oppression of the Irish and Scottish by the English, for example). This melancholic landscape also hints at another register by making some aware of the distance between Anne's actual and imagined worlds: the erasure of other voices and earlier histories of the occupation of the land.

Spatialisation: Topoi of settler affect

Places are used as topoi of identity and a narration of self and community. Recast as affective sites of longing, memory and solidarities of Anne's friendships, places form a virtual reality that maps affect onto place. In the books of the series, Anne's expressive exclamations tumble one after the other, eliciting a sense of the character's euphoric projections of her dreams onto her surroundings, transforming the raw potential of nature into a rural utopia. This mythic landscape of pseudo-medieval chivalry offers a discourse of 'grandeur' which is superimposed on the rudeness of rural Prince Edward Island (Boltanski and Thévenot).

The imposition of affect onto the landscape and place is made to 'speak back' to us the reader in an 'echology' of self-reinforcing values. However, the renaming of sites and topography as places-for-this and places-for-that is a widespread, cross-cultural practice, if not an anthropological universal (Shields *Genealogies of Social Space*). These cycles of social spatialisation have the effect of anchoring affect and structuring action by concretizing it in specific places and sequences of places, and in relation to other places and regions (Shields *Places on the Margin)*. Spatialisation is the ongoing process of everyday spatial practice and habits that extend a space from bodies to the environment as a process of dwelling that includes representations of that space (eg. Maps) and the spatial imaginary of what is possible where. It is a process of 'spacing' and 'placing' human life. Spatialisation creates 'places for this and places for that', allocating gesture and action to locations understood as normatively appropriate (Shields *Genealogies of Social Space*).

Accompanying the novels' resonant identification with place that binds people to environmental location and social stations, is a hierarchical discourse of inclusion and an exclusion of inferiors (Robinson 21). Constructed concentrically

around Anne as the main character, these social circles are modelled on the family relations of kinship. Outsiders and those 'from away', as Islanders say, are held at a distance, not to be trusted and, at the most, pitied. At times this is the butt of Montgomery's satire, as in the character of Mrs. Lynde 'who looked upon all people who had the misfortune to be born or brought up elsewhere than in Prince Edward Island as foreign' (Montgomery *Anne of Avonlea* 13).

The characteristic traumas and repressions of late colonial settler society point to affect that disable and disempower subjects who experience a loss of ability to coherently link together the events of a narrative biography in terms of normative expectations of actual and real relationships to others and to themselves. While Montgomery's focus is on settler affect and social relations in Avonlea, the condition of colonial trauma includes those dispossessed and colonized. It is thus a unifying pathology which binds the colonizer and colonized, the dispossessor and the dispossest, the proud Anglo-Canadians of Avonlea, the disappeared 'Indians' and 'half-grown little French boys' and girls 'from the creek [...] helpless and bewildered' who are only marginally noted in the series. Place-identity and belonging in a place, such as in Anne's stories within the overall novel, stands in for genealogy, that is for family and clan relationships and social status. Place and sites are not only romantic topoi but empowering props that support the heroine as a base for action who elaborates a selective social inclusion and exclusion The chronotope frames the plot line. Can we further hypothesize that this also points to a continuing condition of Canadian identity: a tender spot of inconsistency between announced cultural ideals and actual social relations with the Other that must be continually assuaged?

Settler Affect, Artifice and Dressing-up as 'Anne'

What is certain is that the character of Anne and the book series continue to have an impact today. This is facilitated by human intervention, not only by authors but the Canadian State that has created an Anne of Green Gables National Park based around the original setting of the novels. Kessler notes that through Montgomery's novels:

> Millions [...] have been imagining Prince Edward Island. [...] guided by Montgomery – she might as well have written *A Field Guide to Prince Edward Island*. The reality of place altered by time has been tempered by a parallel and potent reality generated by Montgomery readers for almost a century (Kesler 230).

For example, at Anne of Green Gables National Park, place, the architecture of the farmhouse decorated as the Green Gables of the novel and the garden landscapes which inspired the settings in Montgomery's books mediate between the past time of the storyscape of *Anne of Green Gables,* the present time of the con-

temporary reader and visitor and an imagined future time in which the social and natural world of the novels endures. In the present, it is recreated. In future time, it is perpetuated, projected forward as a taken-for-granted continuation of the built environment mirroring the literary storyscape. By actualizing the past in present, tangible form that recreates the storyscape, the novels are inserted alongside other, once actual, histories of Prince Edward Island.

Not only are the books bestsellers and classics of Canadiana, despite its distance from major international airports, Anne of Green Gables National Park is one of the most visited tourist sites in North America, not far behind Disneyland, Niagara Falls, Yosemite and Banff National Park in the Rockies. Recalling the serial structure of the novels and the way they trace Anne's coming to be 'of Green Gables', there are opportunities for readers to insert themselves into the storyscape by visiting Green Gables or theme parks such as Avonlea PEI. This involves creating an embodied relationship with the plot, characters and spatialisations presented in the texts thereby bringing the 19th century setting into the personal present of fans.

There is an intricate relationship between the lives of readers, the fictional storyscape of the books and the projected, 'virtual' Anne and her world. Here virtual is used in the specific sense of the intangible, 'ideal-real'. Virtualities are real but not actual, ideal but not abstract. This distinguishes them from real-actual material objects, ideal-actual probabilities such as statistics or risks and ideal-abstract representations despite the centrality of the fictional story to this case. However, there is a continuous movement between these categories. For many contemporary readers, the protagonist's everydayness lies in the possibility to actualize a character through the logic of an artifice (by which Anne becomes a strategic, imagined mask). This involves a fluid orchestration of the material, abstract fiction and virtual 'as if-ness'.

This is a phenomenon that is more than a text. Actualizing the character takes physical form on bodies via dress-up costumes made available to visitors at Anne of Green Gables National Park and at historical and theme park sites such as 'Avonlea', a theme park that recreates the village scenes of the novels with animators dressed in period-costumes. Straw hats with attached red yarn braids are favourite childrens' souvenirs that symbolically transform young girls into Anne. On visits to these sites, staff paid attention to the arrival of these exuberant 'Annes' and supported their imagination and play acting. Sometimes their erzats costumes include period dress as well as the hat and red braids. During site visits, what is actually the old Cuthbert homestead presented as a virtual 'Green Gables' in the National Park came alive and was actualised as Green Gables through the animating excitement and laughter of these girls.

Through the semiotics of masquerade, the character of Anne is brought to bear on lived situations as a *dramatis persona.* This mask-like resource is available to visitors whether as an inner voice or enacted (Jakobson). There is no question of schizophrenically mistaking oneself for a character in the novels. It is play, masquerade, acting, 'as-if' the character as sketched by Montgomery. This has something of the quality of a daydream. 'Anne' serves not as a script (such as one might expect from a book) but as a 'dress-up' character, she as a paradigm for interaction between the self, others and environment that unlocks otherwise limited orthodoxies of readers' own embodied identities. To walk 'like Anne' in the National Park's garden and 'Enchanted Forest' – or better still, to run with her childs' abandon through these spaces – is to translate the pastness of the story into the presentness of contemporary everyday familial, social and environmental relationships, unlocking new affordances and playing with Anne's celebrated social naivété and her romanticism toward the environment. Re-enactment, Michelle Bastian points out, is characteristic of a particular modernist sensibility toward time and the historical. Following the heterosexual context of the novels as a script, young women choose costumes to dress as 'Anne', men as 'Mathew' or 'Gilbert'. Affectively, bodies dress-up to discover the possibilities that lie in becoming 'as if', or virtually 'Anne', 'Mathew' or 'Gilbert' (the animators pose as Marilla, but no tourists acting as Marilla or other adult characters were observed on visits to a range of these sites). This is generally fun and entertaining despite the very diverse, international nature of the visitors and regardless of their familiarily with the novels. Playing Anne impacts on subjects' sense of agency and their capacity as historical subjects. They draw from one historical context and deploy these capabilities and affect in present contexts – historical and theme parks set aside for these reenactments and in everyday life. This is not merely the act of borrowing a costume to play-interact with recreated buildings and props such as agricultural hand-tools. In addition to practice, there is a subjective fantasy of placing oneself in the historical time-space, as if 'in the shoes' of the characters to emulate their subjectivity, character and spirit. Collectively, this also extends to a virtual emulation of the solidarities and dispositions of historical social life, which like the novels is likely to not include ethnic and racial Others. This demands a prodigious performance on the part of the many foreign tourists, supported by the wide translation of *Anne of Green* Gables. Tourists may go on to other opportunities to don costumes and re-enact the period of colonization (cf. Deloria 2001) but this is a topic for another paper.

Anne as Citizen: Transference and Affect

These flows between registers constitute a continuing translation, 'transference'[3] and displacement in which the relationships within the text can be partaken by the reader themselves (cf. Serres 83). This reproduces the experience of settler affect toward place and the Other. A visitor may perceive their own reception of the text in both imagination and in the actual stage-set of the Green Gables house and theme parks such as Avonlea PEI. Anne of Green Gables National Park rein-

carnates the conditions that the narratives present. The trajectory of the transference moves from a first relation of intimacy and identification between reader and character in the text to the enactment of the character in the tourist activities and sites. The National Park is a playground organized and ultimately validated by the Canadian State. It is necessarily non-inclusive in the sense that the characters provide a limited set of subjectivities, a limited racial and ethnic palette into which all visitors much inscribe themselves. Even if the story is for everyone, it offers a limited range of possible social interactions beyond which action will jar with the colonial frame of the story. Furthermore, it requires active innovation on the part of readers and visitors, a topic worth further investigation. Crucially, if we are to critique Montgomery's characterisation of Anne, becoming 'as-if' Anne through artifice brings the critique of historical politics to the present and turns it back on ourselves as would-be, virtual colonizers and tourists of settler affect.

Unsurprisingly, *Anne of Green Gables* is a gender story endorsed by the Canadian State. It is a fantasy that the Canadian and others can 'put on' like a costume, particularly for women. It is one which emphasizes the importance of household and family, and of land and place rather than a more generalized and abstract public sphere of citizens. It interpellates the feminine with a colonial form of citizenship. The subjects of Montgomery's novels negotiate the challenges of maintaining particular social forms such as the family unit faced with the traumas, challenges and precarity of settler colonial socioeconomic arrangements. The intensity with which the land and place is presented, the stress of the protagonists' fantasies as a ritual of naming and inscribing new meanings in the landscape turns sites into topoi rather than mere locations.

In support of Suffragette movements for women's franchise, Montgomery's books present a female citizen-subject with a sense of political commitment to causes, a sense of rights, duties and allegiance within the British Imperial framework and an engagement with the public sphere of not only literature but newspapers and not only church volunteer activities but employment in education. The books stage and attempt to resolve the tensions between women's private sphere in the family and place-bound household, while at the same time being politically active and engaged with public debates in written media that went beyond morality and personal conduct to the economy and war.

Previous critics have noted that, as taken up in national ideology, *Anne of Green Gables* is a staple of the English-language school curriculum and popular television mini-series and documentaries. '*Anne*' is a story 'Canadians' tell themselves; knowledge, and a narrative and an identification, which is a mark of insidership in Canadian identity (Cohen). However, the Canadian State is unusual in that there is a particular investment in ideologies and identities of place as land, rather than as people. It is an expansive '*territory-state*' rather than a populous nation-state (Shields 'The Aesthetics of the Territory'). The storyscapes of *Anne of Green*

Gables adhere to this paradigmatic Canadian aesthetic and spatialisation by aligning the protagonist with place. It presents readers with a paradigm of how to engage land (to be 'of' place) and Others through the mannered form of naming places and performing potentiality—a most appropriate trope for a settler society.

Settler-Affect and the Settler-State

The intersection of the Canadian State with the settler affect and colonial time-space of Anne's coming to be 'of Green Gables' indicates the coalescence of a wider network of agendas and projects around the novels. These are commercial, community, governmental and collective. Anne can easily be seen as a model for certain forms of settler-colonial citizenships that have outlasted the explicitly colonial period to continue to endow the present with settler affect and colonizing impulses, especially with regard to Indigenous and marginalized populations (Rifkin; Geissler and Cecil; TRC). *Anne of Green Gables* has not been considered from the perspective of citizenship studies, despite the involvement of what we might term the Canadian 'settler-State' in commemorating Montgomery's life and the book series in a National Park as a quintessentially Canadian historical story.

The *Anne of Green Gables* series repress a story of dispossession and displacement of previous cultures and inhabitants whose presence persists in the reliquary of place names. Insufficient for Anne's project to achieve insider status and become' of Green Gables', these place names are displaced by the character's personal fantasies, further marginalizing and erasing past spatialisations of place and region. Ultimately this renders the landscape and history of Prince Edward Island imaginary and therefore un-real, placeless and portable. It further begs the question, who is Anne? Although specifically sketched, she is a placeholder, a bearer of common affects of the disempowered who struggle to resist and demand recognition. This is one aspect of the series' international success and portability to other cultural and geographical contexts as different as Eastern Europe and Japan. It allows anyone to potentially imagine themselves 'of Green Gables' because it is an abstract storyspace. Further study may wish to examine the parallel relationship between this placeholder-character and the storyspace, and the citizen and the settler colonial state.

Anne of Green Gables has been critiqued for reenacting and romanticizing the process of colonial appropriation and settlement. However, investing the land with affective meaning allows it to support the protagonist's ways of relating to and imagining herself and others in ways that exceed the limits of local convention. Affective topoi become an aid to agency that empowers Anne to move from trauma and fantasy to reintegration and ambition. This is part of the significance of the character and novels for audiences and a reason why the novels now also exist as a National Park. A century on, the novels and theme parks offer an invitation to settler affect. This is a refuge for growing national reflection on the legacy of colo-

nial violence and ongoing dehumanization and 'cultural genocide' toward Indigenous populations (Truth and Reconciliation Commission). Settler affect that reinvests in a pastoral spatialisation is also a consolation to the now-global awareness of dispossession, enclosures of the commons, explusions from homelands and loss of home. At the outset, we asked, where is Green Gables? It is not so much a specific place, such as the National Park of that name, nor a literary setting. That is, it is a mistake to reduce Anne of Green Gables to a literary text. Green Gables is a topos of settler affect and the traumas of colonial society that persist into the present day.

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2 The right to vote was unequivocally granted to women on the same terms as men by the federal goverment in 1918, but each Province introduced universal sufferage at dates beginning in 1916 and lagging as late as 1940 (Quebec) and 1951 (Northwest Territories). Prince Edward Island (PEI) introduced women's sufferage in 1922.

3 Freud defined transference in 1914 within the analytic situation as 'new editions or facsimiles of the impulses and phantasies which are aroused and made conscious during the progress of the analysis; but they have this peculiarity, which is characteristic for their species, that they replace some earlier person by the person of the physician. To put it another way: a whole series of psychological experiences are revived, not as belonging to the past, but as applying to the person of the physician at the present moment" (SE 7 1953:115).