Montgomery's Island in the Net: Metaphor and Community on the Kindred Spirits E-mail List

• D. Jason Nolan, Jeff Lawrence, and Yuka Kajihara •

Résumé: La liste de courrier électronique "Kind_Spirits" portant sur les récits et les idées de L.M. Montgomery connaît un succès considérable, au point d'être devenu une île virtuelle, un objet littéraire en soi, certes fondé sur l'oeuvre de Montgomery, mais généré cependant en fonction d'un dialogue autonome et fort complexe.

Summary: This paper contextualizes the Kind_Spirits Internet e-mail list in the works and ideas of LMM. Kind_Spirits is itself a literature of a virtual island, echoing and interweaving the writings and life of LMM into an ongoing drama of its own. Enthusiasts from around the world share an ongoing complex dialogue amid the lively and diverse interactions common to any community. An early draft of this paper was originally presented at the L.M. Montgomery session at the "Message in a Bottle: The Literature of Small Islands" conference at the University of PEI in June, 1998.

This paper describes the four-year-old community of the Kind_Spirits Internet e-mail list¹ and contextualizes it in the works and ideas of L.M. Montgomery and Cyberspace. MIT psychologist Sherry Turkle's notes in her 1995 book *Life on the Screen* that recent research is leading to a growing understanding of how communities form on-line through chats, bulletin boards and e-mail lists. Recent scholarship makes it possible to see how e-mail discussion has formed a community of like-minded Montgomery enthusiasts in a pattern similar to other on-line groups, but in a manner particular to the ideas and writings of Montgomery herself.²

An e-mail list is a group electronic discussion that takes place in Cyberspace among members on topics of particular interest to members; "When we read our electronic mail or send a posting to an electronic bulletin board or make an airline reservation over a computer network, we are in

cyberspace" (Turkle 9). These lists predate what most of us know of as the Internet by many years. Members send e-mail messages or posts to a control account such as **Kind_Spirits@upei.ca**. The message is then sent to everyone on the list from this one administrative account. Members can then respond via e-mail directly to the original poster or to all members (Liu *et al.* 413-476; Coffins & Berge 2).

The Kind_Spirits list exists in three phases that co-founder Jeff Lawrence describes as pioneer, village and town phases.³ In a way, these phases can also be interpreted in the context of Van Gennep's three phases (separation, transition and incorporation) of "the rites of passage" important in the development of on-line communities (Tomas 37). This pioneer phase was initiated during Jeff's "real life" visit to PEI in September of 1994 when he found a letter by Louise Bruck in the magazine *Kindred Spirits*:

Dear Kindred Spirits;

I asked myself today, if Maud were here today would she be cruising the Information Highway? The answer is yes! I know she would love to have been able to write to all of her friends and acquaintances via a computer terminal...

I am trying to grow PEI in my backyard. I would love to talk to anyone of any age ...

My Internet address is: KindSpirit@aol.com

I hope I will be hearing from many, many Kindred Spirits soon, I will be waiting anxiously at my terminal. (Bruck 10)

At the time Bruck wrote her letter, there was no place on the Internet that Montgomery fans could call their own.

Jeff, Louise, and Kate Lane, hoped to set up some forum through which to share ideas, and an e-mail list turned out to be the best option. Jeff set up the e-mail list on a computer where he was studying at the University of Western Ontario. The name of the list, Kind_Spirits, consciously or unconsciously seems to have come from Louise's e-mail address KindSpirit@aol.com (Bruck). The list officially started on November 2nd 1994 with 3 members and 2-3 messages a day (Smith, "Kindred SpiritsEmail List" 3). By February 1995, there were over 40 members and as many as 20-40 messages a day.

The work and server load was too much for Jeff and his handmade email list software, so he looked around for a new home for the Kind_Spirits. A letter from Anna Macdonald opened discussions between list members and the Lucy Maud Montgomery Institute (LMMI) to see if the institute could take over the list. By the middle of February, the new list was up and running on behalf of the LMMI at UPEI.⁵ The pioneer phase of the list as a small dynamic group of individuals ended as the list moved into an official home.

By March 1995, Kind_Spirits had become a village rapidly growing beyond the 100 member mark. This village phase was characterized, like a village getting its first church or schoolhouse, by its own charter (a FAQ or Frequently Asked Questions file), a growing community identity as Kindred Spirits, status within a governmental organization, and a sufficiently large population to facilitate different discussion threads. The official Kind_Spirits web page FAQ was started in February by Louise, Jeff & Morten Aasnes (Louise says that Mike Edmonds posted the first version), to document all the information that they had collected about the list and Montgomery on the Internet and elsewhere. The information from these pages formed the basis for the *official* information disseminated in the LMMI and Government of PEI web pages. By July 1995, Jeff gave up his participation in running the list to Anna, who had finished her apprenticeship as a list moderator (Coffins & Berge 1).

In the summer of 1995, the Kind_Spirits community had grown into a town of sorts. This was not unduly fast, as Internet use was doubling every few months at this time. As new list members made Kind_Spirits@upei.ca their virtual, and in some cases spiritual, home, they took ownership over the direction of the list. Much of the focus and tone of the list was moving away from the original intention of its pioneers. Whereas original members were primarily wedded to discussions focusing directly on Montgomery's works and life, interest shifted more heavily to The Road to Avonlea TV series and what became known as TANs or tangential discussions of personal issues. Members talked about shows they watched, personal events, triumphs, tragedies, and discussed tea parties and other kindredly activities. Scholarship and literary criticism survived along with these new topics but as a minor secondary thread. There were some fascinating flame wars — aggressive postings attacking comments of others — and obvious cliques or camps had become visible (Fahey & Prevost 73-74). The pioneers now lived at the edge of this flourishing and dynamic "town." Many members neither knew nor cared about the "roots" of the list, and some early members departed. Others, like the authors of this paper, went into retirement, though they are occasionally heard shouting important tidbits of information from the fringes. The structure of the list has stabilized at the point of being a rich and dynamic town and has continued to grow to its present size of over 450 members.

The existence of virtual communities on the Internet that form around a specific theme or text have been documented by Howard Rheingold and Sherry Turkle and countless graduate theses in education, sociology, psychology and anthropology (Rheingold, *The Virtual Community* 38-40; Cummins & Sayers 85; Turkle 10; Bruckman; Reid). These communities can be in the form of e-mail discussion lists, bulletin boards or even polysynchronous interactive communities called MOOs (Turkle 11-22;

Rheingold *The Virtual Community* 144-175; Nolan). Of this latter group, many exist in relation to works of literature. There are virtual simulated worlds based on works by Anne McCaffrey, Tolkien, and Canadian writer William Gibson that have developed sustained communities (Benedikt & Ciskowski 217-227; Kendall 215). There are even rumours of a virtual simulation based on *AGG* which we are presently trying to locate and visit.⁶ These virtual simulations are text-based environments that allow people to "build representations of people, places and things—and share them with others" (Nolan; Weiss & Nolan). These tend to be role-playing simulations in which participants attempt to enter into characters and situations. The goal is often to construct a meaningful social and virtual environment that reflects or reconstructs a literary environment and then communicate in real time as if you were a character in a living novel.

Another version of the virtual community is a socially constructed community of like-minded individuals such as The Well, one of the oldest on-line communities out of San Francisco (Rheingold, *The Virtual Community* 1). These forums use chats, e-mail lists and bulletin boards to communicate. The key elements that characterize these communities are that they are run by consensus, and people interact in personal and social ways that develop over time as particular habits, character traits and experiences are shared. They exhibit a strong desire for "real" interaction, and they exhibit the trait of rallying together in a time of need (Rheingold, *The Virtual Community* 36-37). The interactions of Kind_Spirits' members contain elements of both role-playing and social communities, primarily doing so through letter writing and journalizing, modes of communication that were among Montgomery's favourites. The following quotation is an example of how members weave their personal experience into LMM's journals and fiction in the creation of a synthesis:⁷

Dear Kindreds, and especially Stephanie,

When I read of the loss of your Catty, I immediately thought of this poem which LMM wrote in memory of Frede's cat, Maggie. It is especially appropriate I think, as Maggie was 17 years old too, but really, as Ruth said, it doesn't matter what kind of pet it is, the love we feel for them makes them, and they for us makes them all special. I hope you will find some comfort in LMM's words, dear "Fi"; although we don't write very often, I will always remember you being one of the first kindreds to welcome me to the list.

I must thank Zoie for so promptly coming up with this poem for me. Pack rat that I am, I can't believe I didn't hang on it. Daughters are SO helpful, aren't they?

Mary Evelyn

>From The Watchman and Other Poems

IN MEMORY OF "MAGGIE"

A pussy-cat who was the household pet for seventeen years...

Date: Sun, 7 Dec 1997 02:43:46 -0400

From: mary-ev@netcom.ca. (Smith, "KS: In Memory")8

In contrast to LMM's writings and correspondences, the letters are electronic and the journals are collaborative, forming one expanding narrative construct. Text-based communication may seem a poor cousin, and limited amid the graphic rich nature of the Internet, but as Anne herself remarks, "when you are poor — there are so many more things you can imagine about" (Montgomery, *AGG* 252).

As the list has grown in membership and volume, it has grown in the scope of the topics considered. From the pioneer scholarly focus on Montgomery and her writings, Kind_Spirits has grown to include TAN messages that can be seen as expressions of the "Island" way of life that Montgomery wrote about. The tangential topics, as much as any other single factor, are what reveals the complex community of Kind_Spirits. Kind_Spirits is full of personal events, triumphs and tragedies of the lives of list members. Members even debate TANs:

From: valancy1@flash.net

Subject: Re: KS: Tan: List reminiscing

Date: Sun, 5 Apr 1998

>How often I am the practical one, and yes, the spoilsport. But, my opinion is that so very many TANs are hurting the list. Far be it from my right to "notify" others of this, but I was just reading and looking for posts about LMM's writing, proper. Yes, many of the TANs are very LMMy, but then many are not. I don't have time for so many posts. I wonder how many of you are feeling a time crunch.

That is why we use the TAN option. So YOU scholarly people don't have to read them. The TANs have made this list what it is. PERIOD.

I'm sorry to be bristly, and it is NOT because the comment came from my tan. But that is WHY we use it. I can't see Anne herself discussing Tennyson to the exclusion of everything else. The reason we became and ARE kindreds is because we can share lots of commonalities.

So all you folks that only like the scholarly and aren't here to make friends, just delete our friendly tanny posts. And the only "crunch" you'll have is pressing the delete key. (valancy1)

But introductions, "delurkings," birthdays and personal discoveries figure highly, as do postings of events in Montgomery related places, and non-list happenings such as Wilda Clark and the Leaskdale Manse restoration, Montgomery Christmas and the Crawford's cookbook from Kathy Gastle

in Norval, and most recently with the appearance of Jack Hutton on the list, regular news from the Bala Museum.

The list has grown beyond its own boundaries into real life and web pages (See Appendix A). Dozens of home pages exist around the world. So many that Tansy Patch has had to index them, and Meghan has set up a webring to link them all together. While some, like Yuka's LMM in Ontario page, focus on places Montgomery lived in and visited, and Tom is building his dictionary of *AGG* characters, others allow us to visit into the lives, images, and diverse interests of Kind_Spirits members. It is even possible to join Kindred Land, a village of web pages with specific neighbourhoods for pages on Montgomery, the Kind_Spirits list, and Avonlea.

Kind_Spirits is an on-line work-in-progress that continually echoes and interweaves the writings of Montgomery and elements of her life into the ongoing drama of this community. It is both inseparable from the virtual island on which it has grown, and an intricately woven extension of the writings and life of Montgomery; "a multiplicity of voices ... all clamoring at once, frequently saving things whose meanings are tantalizingly familiar but which have subtly changed" (Stone 82). A possible motto for the Kind_Spirits community might be, "Let you and I have a story club all our own and write stories for practice" as this is a place where narrative, self, and community are constructed and shared (Montgomery, AGG 227). The few hundred Montgomery enthusiasts from around the world who discuss her published works, writing and life amid the lively and diverse interactions common to any community, call themselves Kindreds because they see themselves as part of Montgomery's world. They construct consistent characters (Rheingold, "Topic 105"), adopt names that reflect Montgomery's characters, such as "Becky of Rainbow Cottage," "Diane of 48 acres," "Ginny of The Buckeye State," "Melanie on the Red Road," and dress up web pages with pictures of themselves in postcard-like situations. They identify with Anne's notion that "Kindred spirits are not so scarce as I used to think. It's splendid to find out there are so many of them in the world" (Montgomery, AGG 174). They take up many of the issues that concerned Montgomery and look back with nostalgia to the world she created.

Like Montgomery, list members draw from the island experience and past literature's to construct a communal space for the "race that knows Joseph" (Montgomery, *AHD* 38). This is particularly important in light of the fact that much of Montgomery's writing took place somewhere else (Leaskdale, Ontario and Norval, Ontario). And the PEI that she created existed as a virtual representation in her own mind, a text-based narrative construct, of the community she had lived in. Kind_Spirits members continue in this vein to relocalize Montgomery's world of PEI within their own Cyberspace construct, much to the consternation of some who resent this appropriation of their beloved LMM by the rest of the world.

The Kind_Spirits list itself has functioned as an ongoing and complex dialogue, a communal literary adventure in which writers come and go, images, references and debates take form and are resolved or forgotten, only to reappear months later. Within the list can be identified all the elements of life that can be found in Montgomery's novels and in her journals, with particular emphasis on the imaginative creation of self and context that is so prominent in *Anne of Green Gables* (Rubio, "Satire, Realism & Imagination" 33). Issues of gender, race, and power can be seen amid discussions of commercialism, community and traditional lifestyles "embracing contradiction" evident in Montgomery's own work (Robinson, "Pruned Down" 35). While much of the list is taken up with "sentimental" topics like the birth and death of cats and other important events in Kind_Spirits' lives, it is perhaps in the depiction of these apparent trivialities that the list members reflect on and embody Montgomery's spirit:

Who are you, anyway? I'm Kate Lane. I go to St. Louis University because I have to ... I work at a very small movie theatre and have just ended a scandalous affair involving one of my foolish co-workers ... I want to live on Prince Edward Island because I read too many L.M. Montgomery books growing up (and still read them, dammit!). I can make a very interesting noise, but I cannot describe it. Some say it sounds like a satanic squirrel, but I don't know. I love a man who's last name is Mroczkowski. Go figure. I look like no one in particular and cannot describe myself in detail. I am eighteen. I wish I were in Ireland right now on this very green hill reading a good book. (That's what I was doing when I was there, once.) ... I like the name Milo. I'm pretty random. Tell me about you,

Kate Lane St. Louis (Kind_Spirits@upei.ca). (Lane, "Who Are You...")

A quote from one of Montgomery's letters would not be out of place on this list in 1998, "How dreadful it would be not to love a cat! How much one would miss out of life" (Bolger & Epperly 164).

In her writing, Montgomery showed not only the path of skilful resistance through compromise within a patriarchal system, but how this political act served to build safe spaces for the personal and social experiences that found their way into her writing. Accordingly, the Kind_Spirits list is a "how to" guide on keeping communication playful and personal at a time when so much that we read and see is mediated by corporations and professional broadcasters.

It is important to explicitly identify the fact that Kind_Spirits is, unlike LMM's own writings, a forum for both men and women to discuss LMM. However, LMM's strong female voice seems to carve a space for women's voices, and men tend to inherit Matthew's supportive role, contributing when necessary, and remaining quiet otherwise. This is uncharacteristic of many

"open" electronic forums for women, "Too often, when women try to create spaces to define ourselves, we are drowned out by the voices of men who cannot sit quietly and listen, but need to bring themselves into the discussion" (Camp 115). This is something that Kind_Spirits can perhaps take pride in; "Even the most indomitable woman needs a port of call" (Camp 115).

One particular event illustrates both the diversity and solidarity of the list members. A member "Christy" posted to the list about an Anti-LMM page that she found. The following excerpt from the page brought many responses to the list:

To begin with, her heroines tend to be strong-willed, independent, young women who do not need a man too much... As to the character of the woman herself, she seems to have had a rebellious attitude to the role of women in her day. ...and perhaps felt compelled by this need to keep up a good image on the outside, while inside she was resisting the order that God has set up in His word. L.M. Montgomery had a real talent for writing, making her books very powerful tools for her father the devil [emphasis added].

Her writing is certainly not pure, lovely, and of good report. These books will soil children's minds. They make suggestions that are contrary to Scripture in promoting Humanism and casting devilish activity as good. (http://www.balaams-ass.com/journal/homemake/lmmont.htm)

Many flocked to see this Christian Right rant. While all were offended by the intolerance, others were also embarrassed at the radical attack on their beloved Montgomery and Anne that cited their own Christian beliefs as justification. One member's thoughtful and passionate response is particularly worth noting:

KS: Christianity

I don't think LMM books are specifically about Christianity. They are about faith, and unconditional love. There is a certain feeling of spirituality that one can find in them. Isn't it ironic that one of the world's most wonderful and pure things: religion, can cause so much war and pain? People like those who formed that anti-LMM page are religious fanatics. Religion in the right dose can work wonders, but the way THEY use it causes sadness and discomfort. It's sad there are people so obsessive.

Kindredly Yours,

Dryad (KKville@aol.com). (Dryad, "KS: Christianity")

These Kindred Spirits have learned from Montgomery's example, found their own voice and carved out a safe space together amid fragmented social experiences and the high-tech commercialism of the Internet. Marilla's own words describe this incongruous mixture of tradition and technology of

these on-line Kindred Spirits "... but it weren't no wonder, for an odder, unexpecteder witch of a child there never was in the world, that's what" (Montgomery, AGG 268).

Kind_Spirits is itself a literature of an island, a virtual island, in which members share many characteristics of physical island dwellers. The e-mail list is an island of shared belief, choice, and experience, created by and for members in their own image. And it reflects what they imagine living in Montgomery's fictional world would be like: "I've always heard that Prince Edward Island was the prettiest place in the world, and I used to imagine I was living there, but I never expected I really would" (Montgomery, AGG 21). List member's language is a particular combination of informal chat, technical discourse, and phrases from Victorian, biblical, and east coast sources that develops in the particular isolation of on-line discourse. They love the list and the expression it affords them no matter who they are or where they are in the world; Kind_Spirits allows them to share in Montgomery's fictional world of PEI.

As Montgomery wrote about a PEI that was rapidly changing under the pressure of the twentieth century, she actually wrote much of it from Leaskdale and Norval in Ontario. There she wrote of a world that David Weale describes in the *Island Magazine* (3) as "a traditional folk society," with an inherited integrity and character, and it provided in its own way for the needs of its inhabitants. There was much about it to extol, and much to criticize. Anne may have sometimes lamented that her island left "no scope for imagination"; however, it served her well. Kind_Spirits members are working on the edge of the twenty-first century where communication is instant and narrative can be communal. And they are writing in a communal place that exists only in the collective consciousness of Cyberspace about the shared experiences as self described members of this "race that knows Joseph." They look back to yesterday's created fiction with tomorrow's technology.

This is a community of conflict and commerce, support, gossip, events and tangents, and even the odd academic query. Communication consists of updated versions of topics that can be found in Montgomery's letters and journals. Always alive and ever-changing. To quote Anne, "You don't know what's going to happen through the day, and there's so much scope for imagination" (Montgomery *AGG* 40). And though people come and go, the list is most often a place that evokes in new members an immediate sense that they have come home to a place of like-minded people that they never thought they would find:

But there was a surprise for me around the bend in the road. A few months after joining the Kindred Spirits E-Mail list on the Internet, I received a letter from a young girl ... Right away, I sensed there was something special about this girl ...

Then we discovered chatting over the computer, and we really spent a lot of time together, becoming closer every day. One night, I made a thoughtless mistake, and I hurt her feelings excruciatingly. It was then, that it was brought home to me, just how dear Zoie had become. It reminded me of when Anne broke her ankle, and Marilla came to realize how much Anne meant to her.

Zoie and I are together every day, via the internet ... I am so proud to have a daughter at last, who is everything and more I ever dreamed she would be, my own beloved heart-daughter, Zoie.

Mary Evelyn Smyth. (Smith, "KS: In memory" 5)

Can a community be constructed? Is an e-mail list an island? What justifies describing these thousands of e-mail messages as a village or a town? Probably the best answer is to look at the people who invest so much of themselves in the day-to-day goings on in the list. The very public friendship of perennial Kind_Spirits mother figure and her "heart-daughter" Zoie, which reminds many of the relationship of Marilla and Anne, is a wonderful illustration of how the list helps form the community spirit. Mary Evelyn Smith has herself met other 50 Kind_Spirits members in real life. And the drive for members of electronic and Cyberspace communities to meet "in real life" has been well document by Howard Rheingold (Rheingold, *The Virtual Community*). The Kind_Spirits community has many of the strengths and weaknesses Montgomery wrote about: touching moments of support and trying events of conflict.

In one sense, nothing is more intentional and constructed as this global community. As Elizabeth Epperly noted, in an address to the Montgomery Clan, "The Montgomery readership clan now has millions of members" (Epperly 14). With few physical links, they have only their own voices with which to forge a communal sense of identity and community in Cyberspace. But the literary expression of this collective is more rich and diverse than could ever arise from a single pen or keyboard. The community spans the globe, and members are all looking for "A bosom friend — an intimate friend, you know — a really kindred spirit to whom I can confide my inmost soul" (Montgomery, *AGG* 65).

Here is the current list of subscribers to Kind_Spirits as of June, 1998 (From: listproc@upei.ca), showing the truly global nature of the members.

Canada - 42	China - 1
Germany -2	Denmark -2
England 11	Finland -2
France - 1	Holland -1
Hungary - 1	Italy - 2
Japan - 6	Korea - 3
New Zealand - 3	Norway -2
Spain - 2	Sweden - 5

Switzerland - 1	USA - 28
NET ⁹ - 75	ORG - 8
COM - 173	EDU- 91

As Laura Robinson notes, "Montgomery shows individuals who successfully manage to achieve a level of community acceptance and individual freedom; however, she clearly suggests that clan and community are constructs" (Robinson, "A Born Canadian" 1). The community "feeling" Montgomery constructed from her experiences and memories of life in PEI is what energizes this group of Kindred Spirits. Like Anne, they desire nothing more than to have a home. They also strive to be part of a community. Like Anne's first forays into island life, tentative, fragile and full of social *faux pas*, many members tentatively "delurk," join in the conversations, and eventually gain prominence among Kindred Spirits.

While our thesis may be novel, we think that all you need is a little exposure to the list and its wonderful folk, and you will see that Kind_Spirits is as Marilla describes Anne, "hard to understand in some respects. But I believe she'll turn out all right yet. And there's one thing certain, no house will ever be dull that she's in" (Montgomery, AGG 116). As Anne followed Browning's Pippa, the community of the Kind_Spirits list makes the world a more rich and dynamic place; Anne's on-line, and all's well with the world.

Postscript

I would like to conclude this paper with an announcement. As of June 1998 there is now a new list called LMM hosted at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (More information is available at http://noisey.oise.utoronto.ca/lmm/list.html). This new list is entirely focused on Montgomery scholarship sponsored by the Osborne Collections of Early Children's Books of the Toronto Public Library. This list is moderated by Yuka Kajihara and Jason Nolan, all messages are screened by the list moderators and only topics directly related to Montgomery scholarship are forwarded to members. We all hope that this forum will integrate well with the myriad of paths that Kindred Spirits have found on the Internet.

Appendix A

The following are the URLs for popular Kindred sites:

LMM in Ontario* noisey.oise.utoronto.ca/lmm

The AGG Encyclopedia Page www.sky.net/~tgrel/anne.html

Kindredland www.geocities.com/Heartland/Estates/6945/

Bala Museum www.bala.net/museum LMMI www.upei.ca/~lmmi

PEI Government pages

on LMM www.gov.pe.ca/lucy/

The P	oetry of	
LM N	lontgomery	

www.geocities.com/Paris/Rue/2633/lucymaud.html

Jenni's Kindred Spirits Quilt

www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/5235

Jenni's Welcome letter to

Kindreds

www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/2544/letter.html

Tansy Patch's Kindred

Connections

www.primenet.com/~tansy/kindred.html

California Tea Oueen members.wbs.net/hompages/c/a/l/californiateaqueen.html

KS cookbook listing

favourite recipes www.geocities.com/~trgorham/kscookbook/cookbook.html

LM Montgomery:

Dreamer of Dreams

w3.on.net/~wilmhoff/ginny/maud.htm

Meghans' Web Ring

http://www.puc.edu/Students/mskelly/ksring.html

Roselawn Lodge

http://www.bala.net/roselawn/

Official LMM in Leaskdale

Page

http://www.uxbridge.com/people/maud.html

Mr. Oguma's Road to

Avonlea Page*

 $http://www.asahi\text{-}net.or.jp/\sim\!FG5M\text{-}OGM/index_e.htm}$

Notes

- 1 The authors would like to thank all the members of the Kind_Spirits list for their help in putting this paper together, especially Louise Bruck for her stories of the early list and Jenni from Indy (Jennifer E. Chance) for helping us avoid some simple errors.
- 2 See Benedikt 122-123; Tomas 37; Stone 82; Reid; Rheingold, The Virtual Community 17, "Internet Discussion"; Turkle 186; Coffins & Berge 1.
- 3 The majority of this paper developed as a Cyberspace collaboration between Jeff, Yuka and Jason in the spring of 1998. Initial planning for this paper occurred during face to face meetings in 1996 at the last conference sponsored by the LMMI. The authors met for four 90 minute meetings in a text-based virtual reality environment (MOO) called MOOkti (http://noisey.oise.utoronto.ca:9996). At the end of each meeting transcripts of the meeting were distributed via e-mail where we worked separately until the next meeting.

4	Jeff Lawrence
	Tania Kaspszak
	Ikuko Asai
	Sanguine Sunflower
	Judith Pfohl
	Bob Miller
	Loren Heisey
	Judy Lindeman

Louise Bruck
Mike Edmonds
Kelly Jane Torrance
Pat Hanby
Morten N. Aasnes
Becky French
Jill Walker
Julie Meyer

Kate Lane Carolyn Duff Jenny Bischoff S. K. Wyckoff Shelly M. Miyasato Jason Nolan L.M.M. Institute Yuka Kajihara

- 5 According to Louise Bruck, the first post to the list at UPEI was Mon, 6 Feb 1995 11:04:43 -0400 (AST) From: "David L. Cairns" **<cairns@atlas.cs.upei.ca>
- 6 Just as we were sending this paper off in the mail, we finally discovered Green Gables

^{*} Bilingual Japanese/English sites

- on the MOO. It is a wonderful quiet place full of friendly people. And in order to keep the mood and spirit of Green Gables, they asked that the participants' names not be given, nor the address. But if you happen across it, you will be welcomed cordially.
- 7 All references from the Kind_Spirits list are messages that are archived on a server at UPEI. and can be accessed by list members by sending commands (such as help) to listproc@upei.ca.
- 8 Delurking is a Cyberspace act by which a member of a virtual community ceases to be just an observer and finally identifies herself and starts actively participating in the discourse of the community (Fahey & Prevost, 1994).
- 9 The Internet designations .NET, .ORG, .COM and .EDU do not indicate a specific country of origin.

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- **D.** Jason Nolan is a PhD candidate in education and a faculty member in the Division of the Environment at the University of Toronto. His research interests include designing and researching narrative-based virtual learning communities and learning in non-school settings. His reviews have appeared in Canadian Children's Literature.
- **Jeff Lawrence** is the co-founder of the Kindred Spirits email discussion list and an early proponent of LMM's presence on the Internet. He is a doctoral candidate with the M.E. Müller Institute for Biomechanics in Bern, Switzerland.
- Yuka Kajihara has written numerous articles on LMM in the Japanese language press in Canada and in Japan, and writes a monthly column on LMM in a Japanese journal of translation. She is "Osborne Collection Assistant" at The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library, and co-founded, with Jason, a scholarly electronic forum on LMM, viewable at http://noisey.oise.utoronto.ca/lmm/list.html.