

The Snow Drop and The Maple Leaf Canada's First Periodicals for Children

CAROLE GERSON

In April, 1847, there appeared in Montreal the first number of the *Snow Drop; or Juvenile Magazine*. Its editors, Mrs. Eliza Lanesford Cushing (b. 1794) and Mrs. Harriet Vining Cheney (b. 1796), were fully aware of the significance of their publishing venture; in their opening address to the public they declared that theirs was "the first magazine of the kind which has been attempted in Canada" and hoped it would find favour "among those entrusted with the care of children and youth." Its "plan" was to be "similar to that of the well-known Peter Parley Magazine"; its purpose "to interest the minds of the young by furnishing them with reading, at once attractive and useful."¹ The editors themselves were no strangers to the realm of instructive literature, for they were the youngest daughters of Hannah (Webster) Foster, known in the annals of American literature as the author of *The Coquette* (1797), a popular sentimental novel, and of a didactic work titled *The Boarding School; or, lessons of a preceptress to her pupils* (1798). While still living in their home town of Boston, Cushing and Cheney had followed their mother's example, each publishing during the 1920s several edifying historical romances intended for young readers.² The precise dates of their arrival in Canada are unobtainable; the Cushings had settled in Montreal by December, 1838, where Dr. Frederick Cushing was a physician at the Emigrant Hospital.³ Once there, the sisters leapt into the local literary scene, becoming principal contributors to the *Literary Garland* (1838-51).⁴ In that periodical's last years Cushing "was entrusted with its editorial management"⁵ but was unable to keep it afloat after the death of John Gibson, its founder and editor, in 1850.

It is therefore not surprising that the editorial pages of the *Garland* followed the progress of the *Snow Drop* with laudatory notices and almost parental concern.⁶ Both periodicals were published by the firm of Lovell and Gibson, who advertised the magazine on the cover of the *Garland* (*LG*, n.s. 5, 196). The *Garland* was particularly interested in the nationalistic significance of its juvenile offshoot, describing its audience as "the rising generation of the Province" (*LG*, n.s. 5, 196) and "those who will soon become the men and women of Canada" (*LG*, n.s. 6, 144). To prepare children for this important destiny, the *Garland* supported Cushing and Cheney's view that it was necessary to instruct as well as to amuse, and to

promote “the culture of the heart – of the home affections and fireside sympathies” (*LG*, n.s. 6, 144).

Consequently, the *Snow Drop* provided the mélange of didactic tales, sentimental verse and informative articles one would expect to find in an early Victorian publication. The identified contributors included then popular and now all but forgotten English and American writers whose work was suitable for children: Mary Howitt, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Follen, and Eliza Cook. The sources of selections, seldom disclosed in the early volumes, ranged from *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal* to the *Southern Rose Bud* (Charleston, S.C.), and included publications by the American Tract Society as well as ephemeral juvenile periodicals with intriguing titles like *The Little Truth Teller* and *Banner of Peace*.

Cushing and Cheney seem to have accurately gauged the taste of their audience (or at least of their parents), and expanded their subscription lists – including twenty-nine names in Boston – by offering one free copy to “any one who will obtain us six subscribers” (*SD*, 2, 128). In June, 1850, after their magazine had survived for three years, the editors proclaimed the commencement of a new series:

. . . we have pleasure in announcing that we have made arrangements with a gentlemen of this city extensively concerned in the book trade, who is to present our little magazine . . . in a still more elegant dress, giving it the external attraction of a new cover, and a richly embellished title page, with numerous and beautiful pictorial illustrations which will give a charming interest and variety to its pages, – while we shall continue our efforts to render the reading matter in all respects worthy the outward elegance with which it is to be adorned (*SD*, 4, 95).

The “gentleman” in question was Robert W. Lay, a fellow American (b. 1814) who had emigrated from Connecticut in 1845 and set himself up in the book trade in Montreal, specializing as an agent for American periodicals. Their publishing arrangement appears to have been congenial for nearly two years, during which period both the *Snow Drop* and the *Literary Garland* directed the attention of their readers to imported books being sold by Lay,⁷ and the editors of the *Snow Drop* frequently congratulated themselves and Lay on their growing circulation. Hints of difficulties first appeared on the editorial page of the number for June, 1852, when Cushing and Cheney apologized for the lateness of the issue and alluded to the “arduous and responsible . . . task” of conducting a children’s periodical (*SD*, n.s. 3, 188). This was followed by an advertisement dated June 17 which appeared in June 19 in both the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Montreal Pilot*, and continued to run in the latter until early October. In it, Cushing and Cheney identified themselves as “Editors and Proprietors” of the *Snow Drop* and announced the termination of their “business connection” with Lay. Their new publisher was to be John Armour, and the magazine would

“continue to be printed, as it always [had] since its first establishment, by John Lovell.”⁸

The precise cause of the rift is difficult to ascertain. According to Cushing and Cheney, without consulting them Lay published a prospectus in the June, 1852 number of the *Snow Drop* announcing a “junction” with the *Canadian Family Magazine*.⁹ After they severed their connection with him, he kept their magazine’s subscription lists. Lay quickly took offence at these imputations against his character and three days later countered with his own advertisement – which the *Pilot* obligingly printed immediately beneath Cushing and Cheney’s. In it he denounced their “desire to injure me before the public,” proved his integrity by reprinting a portion of a personal letter from Mrs. Cushing in which she declared him “strictly upright and honest,” and announced the imminent birth of his own juvenile periodical, the *Maple Leaf*, to arrive on the scene in two weeks.¹⁰

Cushing and Cheney chose to treat the matter with disdain. Aside from veiled references to “embarrassing and painful circumstances” (*SD*, n.s. 4, 62), they refrained in their editorial pages from overt comments on Lay or the *Maple Leaf*. Nonetheless they did obliquely acknowledge the existence of another children’s magazine by no longer claiming to publish the only one in Canada, mentioning simply that they considered theirs to be “equal to any, and superior to most, works of the kind upon the Continent” (*SD*, 4, 128). (Even when Lay suddenly died the following February, they took no notice.) However they did print on the cover of either the July or August number an advertisement which infuriated Lay (and which I have been unable to trace, since all extant issues of the *Snow Drop* have been bound without covers).

Lay was not one to suffer in silence. He reprinted his advertisement from the *Pilot* on the back cover of the *Maple Leaf*, and in a long letter addressed to his editor, which was published in the first number of the *Maple Leaf*, he explained how he had been misused by Cushing and Cheney:

It may here be proper for me to advert to my former relations to the “Snow Drop,” as you have seen an advertisement which somewhat criminales me. I will simply say that the work would not probably now be in existence if I had not taken hold of it, and for two years labored with considerable zeal and no small sacrifice to give it publicity. After superintending its publication for the proprietors for one year, they informed me that they could not go on with it, and urged me to assume the pecuniary responsibility of the work, and pay them a salary to edit it, which I obligingly did; and, as they transferred their subscription lists to me, and the perpetuation of the magazine depended on my efforts, I could only conclude it was my own. All my arrangements were made to continue it, but at the period when the “Snow Drop” promised well, I was informed by virtue of a copyright the work must revert to its

original proprietors, who felt they could proceed without any further assistance on my part.¹¹

Lay tried to recover his investment by retaining for the *Maple Leaf* the readership of the *Snow Drop*, announcing that “the *Maple Leaf* is uniform in size with the *Snow Drop*, and is intended to bind up with previous numbers.”¹² Like its predecessor, his new magazine cost five shillings per annum and consisted of monthly numbers of thirty-two octavo pages. The following winter, Lay travelled to Canada West in search of subscribers, garnering favourable press notices from Port Hope, Cobourg, Peterborough, Perth and Toronto, which were published inside the front cover of the issue for March, 1853. This trip, unfortunately, proved his last. The same issue contained his obituary, announcing his death February 18 in Toronto, “from a fit of apoplexy”, at the age of thirty-nine (*ML*, 2, 96).

The *Maple Leaf* outlived its energetic and rather irascible¹³ founder by less than two years. It was taken over by his widow, Eleanor H. Lay, who subsequently contributed half-a-dozen items to its pages. Left with three small children, Mrs. Lay solicited aid by sending copies of her magazine to “many gentlemen who are not, and have not been, Subscribers, trusting that they will now feel disposed to aid her in maintaining the issue of the Magazine, by their individual support.”¹⁴ Not trusting the *Maple Leaf*'s financial prospects, she also advertised her intention to “open a school . . . for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Misses in the branches constituting a thorough course of study.”¹⁵ Unlike the periodical, the school flourished, lasting until 1890; Mrs. Lay herself lived beyond the turn of the century.¹⁶

The *Snow Drop*, meanwhile, commenced its arrangement with its new publisher with great optimism, promising “edification of [its] readers,” “a much greater promptness of delivery than heretofore existed,” “a profusion of beautiful embellishments,” “the very highest moral tone,” and “a thoroughly religious tendency” excluding “every thing of a dogmatical and sectarian character” (*SD*, n.s. 4, 31-32). A year later it ceased publication, without any farewell statement, its final issue (June, 1853) containing a number of items “to be continued.” The *Maple Leaf* may have tried to capitalize on its rival's demise; in August, 1854, its new editor¹⁷ journeyed westward and returned with laudatory responses from Ottawa, Toronto and Cobourg newspapers.¹⁸ However, business trips were peculiarly fateful for this little journal: its founder died on the first, the magazine itself expired shortly after the second. In the last issue, the editor cautioned that the publisher was “unwilling to continue the work any longer, unless his appeal in the circular sent in this number [was] promptly responded to” (*ML*, 4, 379). Apparently it was not; by January, 1885, both the *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf* had withered and died.

During the eight months in which he superintended his magazine, Robert Lay frequently declared that he did not regard the *Maple Leaf*, "which occupies a somewhat different field," as a rival to the *Snow Drop*, "that truly valuable Juvenile Magazine, which I wish all success" (*ML*, 1, 31). This was quite true, for the *Maple Leaf* was a less sophisticated production than the *Snow Drop*, and its audience shifted during its brief existence. The term "Anglo-Bostonian," coined by Carl F. Klinck to describe the *Literary Garland*,¹⁹ is equally applicable to the *Snow Drop*. Most of its identified authors were from old or New England, as were the books and periodicals acknowledged as sources of selections. Its editors' aspirations may be inferred from their frequent choice of works by a number of prominent contributors to the most successful American periodical of the nineteenth century, *Godey's Lady's Book*, in which Cushing herself published several items after her emigration to Montreal.²⁰ Ostensibly seeking a readership of both sexes, the *Snow Drop* was actually directed towards middle-class girls, about six to twelve years in age, who needed to be educated to fulfill their future social roles and domestic responsibilities. Its readers were permitted one or two fairly imaginative stories each issue, provided the good and the bad received their just desserts. The tone of many pieces was condescending, for the editors and the authors seldom forget they were writing for children.

Such was not the case with the *Maple Leaf*. It began as a juvenile periodical, but from the first it included several items for parents. Lay hoped of his magazine that "while it shall be adapted to the young, it may be edifying to older, more cultivated minds" (*ML*, 1, 30). After Lay's death, its proportion of adult-oriented material increased; by the third volume (July, 1853), the magazine had significantly changed, as evidenced by a new cover and a new title — *The Illustrated Maple Leaf*. This modification coincided with the failure of the *Snow Drop*; presumably, the management of the *Maple Leaf* decided that to avoid the same fate they had to convert their periodical to one "especially intended for family reading," the "home circle" and the "general reader" (*ML*, 3, 31).

The words "family" and "home" signal "woman." That the *Maple Leaf* now sought an audience of women as well as children was demonstrated by its publication of fiction dealing with situations outside the range of experience normally allotted to the young. One story, appropriately titled "What Sent One Husband to California,"²¹ cautioned wives against neglecting their domestic duties; others advised women how to handle unruly sons, how to deal with servants, and how to cultivate courtesy among the lower orders. The editor appealed to the "Ladies of Montreal" to further the cause of temperance by "throw[ing] around home and social scenes a lovely intellectual charm, that their husbands and brothers may be less inclined to find happiness in convivial parties" (*ML*, 4, 32). She also alerted her readers to the dangers of "the Stage," which "gains the most

favor in new countries, where people, intent on advancement, do not stop to question the moral tendencies of the theatre and ball room" (*ML*, 4, 220). This distrust of entertainment was consistent with Lay's earlier stand against fiction, in which he had denounced "the unreal" in favour of "the true and substantial."²²

However, the contents of the *Maple Leaf* reveal that imaginative literature was acceptable if it contained "useful information," especially from the pens of Canadian authors like Catharine Parr Traill. The second major difference between the two periodicals is that the *Maple Leaf* lived up to the nationalism implied by its name. At the close of the second volume, the editor of the *Maple Leaf* implicitly disparaged the *Snow Drop* when she remarked that her periodical had "preserved from the commencement its distinguishing features – its Canadian characteristics," and added that "We ought to have a literature more decidedly national" (*ML*, 2, 188). A year later she appealed for more readers on the grounds that "The *Maple Leaf* is a Canadian work" (*ML*, 4, 188).

The *Maple Leaf* was not as well written or edited as the *Snow Drop*, yet it contributed more significantly to the development of Canadian literature because it solicited and published the work of Canadian writers, and even had the courtesy to identify most of its contributors – if only by pseudonym or initials and place of residence, in most cases.²³ Many of these writers remain in deserved obscurity, like Thomas H. Higginson of Vankleek Hill, who first published in the *Maple Leaf* many of the banal poems and meditative essays later collected in his *Poetical Works*.²⁴ Of greater interest is the work of the Strickland sisters, who had commenced their literary careers as writers for children.

The first number of the *Maple Leaf* contains Susanna Moodie's only two contributions to that journal. Her essay, "The Foundling of the Storm," begins: "My Young Canadian Friends, – This is the first time that I have ever sought your acquaintance through the medium of the pen, though I feel a deep and maternal interest in your happiness and future prosperity; for I am myself the mother and grandmother of Canadian children, and as members of one common country, I cannot separate their welfare from yours" (*ML*, 1, 13). The ensuing account of an infant safely washed ashore from a shipwreck, based on a true incident, concludes with the message, "Never, my dear children, after reading this pathetic story, doubt the protecting care of God" (*ML*, 1, 14). This was immediately followed by Moodie's poem, "The Mother's Lament," describing the death of a baby; presumably the irony was unintentional. From Agnes, one of the literary Stricklands who remained in England, came three poems, two designated "For the *Maple Leaf*."²⁵ It was Catharine, however, whose instructive novel, *The Canadian Crusoes*, appeared in print the same year as the commencement of the *Maple Leaf*, who proved that periodical's most

important Canadian writer.

Traill's main contribution was a sequence of fictionalized nature lessons, entitled "The Governor's Daughter; or, Rambles in the Canadian Forest," which ran in the *Maple Leaf* throughout 1853 and later appeared in book form under various titles.²⁶ It was preceded by three items, including a pious "Anecdote of Lord Nelson" (*ML*, 1, 24-26) and followed by four moralistic stories "of real life." At least three of Traill's pieces had appeared earlier in English periodicals.²⁷ The editor of the *Maple Leaf* keenly followed Traill's literary career, and remained unruffled by her two contributions to the *Snow Drop*, one of them, appropriately enough, a nature essay titled "Snow Drops" (*SD*, n.s. 5, 38-41).

This is not to say that the *Snow Drop* lacked Canadian content. It even solicited a little poem from Charles Sangster, also titled "Snow-Drops" (*SD*, n.s. 3, 56), and in its final issues many pieces were designated "For the Snow Drop." Through most of its run, however, its local material was self-consciously Canadian, drawing on romantic history and travel, or on colourful indigenous activities like tobogganning and making maple sugar. With the exception of several stories in the first volume, its poems and tales of contemporary daily life were not written by Canadians and not set in Canada, and its articles providing factual information or describing wild animals usually drew on foreign examples.

These differences notwithstanding, the *Maple Leaf* and the *Snow Drop* presented their young (and older) readers with similar views of the world and of Canada. Their common moral stance is indicated by their mutual reverence for Harriet Beecher Stowe. The *Snow Drop* published two of her stories, the second preceded by her portrait and a page of laudatory comments;²⁸ the *Maple Leaf* went one step further and serialized all of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.²⁹

The world portrayed by both journals was primarily feminine and domestic. It was permeated by non-denominational Christian morality, though both magazines contained few Bible stories or specifically religious pieces. Instead, they assumed that God was present in the secular world and consciously directed human history; one anonymous writer described the timing of the discovery of America as follows: ". . . the moment when all this beauty was to be opened to the world, was selected by that Providence, who guided three fragile vessels over the then unknown ocean to Safety" (*ML*, 4, 319). In the pages of the *Snow Drop* and *Maple Leaf* children were sheltered from most of the controversial social and political issues of the day, other than slavery (which both abhorred) and temperance (which both supported). The *Maple Leaf* expanded its horizons somewhat further, publishing one article denouncing long working hours for children³⁰ and another advocating better education for women,³¹ as well as commenting

editorially on cholera in Montreal and the outbreak of the Crimean War. Articles presenting factual information leaned towards natural history and phenomena, faraway places, famous people, and historical events. Descriptions of pragmatic matters, like the manufacture of glass or the function of the barometer, were quite rare. In addition, in a series of well-written pieces "Aunt Lizzie" (probably Mrs. Eliza Cushing) conducted readers of the *Snow Drop* on visits to Laura Bridgeman, an artist's studio, and the British Museum; subscribers to the *Maple Leaf* were enlightened about Chinese silk, ice bergs, and the life of a first year student at Cambridge. Both magazines supplied crochet patterns and musical selections, and invited children to submit answers to "charades" and "enigmas" as well as samples of their own literary efforts. The *Maple Leaf* also published a series of Cottage Plans with the hope of inspiring improvement in the architecture of Montreal.

Overshadowing the rather cozy atmosphere of these magazines were the weighty burden of individual moral responsibility,³² and the inevitability of death. In several admonitory stories published in the first volume of the *Snow Drop*, a little girl's thoughtlessness actually contributes to the deaths of other persons. On the whole, fortunately, authors prescribed less drastic consequences for children guilty of laziness, disobedience or selfishness, preferring repentance and reform to irreversible punishment. They did not, however, seek to protect their young readers from the reality of death.

In the *Maple Leaf* and the *Snow Drop*, as in other children's literature of the period, death strikes randomly and frequently, selecting the young and the innocent. In both periodicals the number of pieces – usually poems – describing the death of a small child averages close to one every two issues, making this one of the topics most frequently encountered by their youthful subscribers. While startling to a modern reader, the popularity of the subject is not surprising in an era of high infant mortality, when it was likely that most children would have experienced the loss of a sibling, cousin or friend. The purpose of these pieces is to console the living with the reassurance that the beloved child is now safely with God, happier in heaven than on earth. It is clear today that literature of this nature helped reconcile adults and children to the arbitrariness of death; unfortunately its sentimental platitudes often belittle and betray the genuine grief that inspired it. I hesitate to accuse the editors of either periodical of morbidity, yet it is interesting that both Dickens' *Household Words* and the work of Hans Christian Andersen were represented in the *Snow Drop* by stories about the deaths of children,³³ while the sole Christmas piece to appear in the *Maple Leaf* during its entire run was a poem describing a dying little girl's last Christmas tree.³⁴

Several tales ending in death were given specifically Canadian settings, like Caroline Hayward's two stories in the *Maple Leaf* about drowning, one

involving children, the other a lovely young bride.³⁵ On the whole, however, life in Canada was depicted as quite benign, and Canada itself was usually limited (not surprisingly) to eastern Ontario and western Quebec. Readers of the *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf* were regaled with stories celebrating the romance of Canadian history, but about present-day realities they learned little. One story in the *Snow Drop* acknowledged the poverty of Irish immigrants in Montreal, and both magazines referred to the Indians with the condescending sympathy typical of their era. One writer even managed to combine recognition of the white man's mistreatment of the Indians with a temperance message, claiming

. . . the native tribes of Canada were in general a simple-hearted, inoffensive and hospitable race of people . . . until they found themselves the victim of treachery and oppression, and their worst passions were brought into exercise, and kept excited by the *strong drink* given to them by *christian* hands. (italics original)³⁶

The *Maple Leaf* in particular presented information about Canada's flora and fauna, while the *Snow Drop* printed a letter from the daughter of the governor of Vancouver Island, more interesting for its unexpectedness than its contents.³⁷ The closest any writer came to touching on sensitive political matters was Catharine Parr Traill's story of the 1837 rebellion in Upper Canada in which (predictably) she favoured the "brave volunteers" who rallied to suppress the rebels.³⁸

Perhaps the most surprising feature of these two Montreal periodicals is their utter lack of attention to contemporary French Canada. They eagerly adopted colourful aspects of French-Canadian history – especially the adventures of the explorers – as the heritage of English Canada, yet they seemed oblivious to the French identity of the city in which they were publishing. I suspect that the reason underlying this cultural insularity was religious prejudice. In the last numbers of the *Maple Leaf*, a vicious anti-Catholic bias appeared in an unfinished serialized novel set in Ireland.³⁹ While the *Snow Drop*'s intolerance was less explicitly expressed, in one particular instance the early failure of the French to colonize the shores of the St. Lawrence was attributed to their lack of "earnest motive or high principle, such as united the Pilgrims of New England in their social compact, and gave them strength of endurance in all their trials."⁴⁰

The *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf* are less notable for their depiction of contemporary Canadian life than for their illustration of the cultural tastes prevailing in Central Canada in the middle of the nineteenth century. Most of their material was indistinguishable in tone and setting from that produced for children in England and the United States. When their contributors did turn to Canada, the country they presented was almost exclusively English-speaking and Protestant. Its past was more exciting than its present, its trees and animals more interesting than its cities and citizens,

and American slavery was a more pressing social issue than any within Canada itself.

Within the total spectrum of Canadian literature, the *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf* occupy perhaps a footnote; had they appeared in England or the United States, they would merit even less attention. They made little impact upon the Canadian literary scene, beyond furnishing several publishing opportunities for the Strickland family, and when they expired no successors arose to take their place. Yet their mere existence is significant, for it demonstrates that in the colonies of Canada, as in England and the United States, the education of children was viewed as a serious matter, and children themselves were important enough to deserve a literature of their own distinct from that produced by evangelical and temperance societies.⁴¹ It is true that interest in a national children's literature was imported to Canada by immigrants from England and the United States. It is also true that the country lacked both the cultural identity and the ability to resist the influx of foreign publications necessary to sustain its own production of literature for children. For a few years, a few individuals sought to change this. Their enterprises were perhaps doomed from the start; studies of early American children's periodicals reveal that

between 1802 and the outbreak of the Civil War, at least twenty-five children's periodicals were begun. Most of them were notably unsuccessful in attracting readers; fewer than one in five managed to continue publication for as many as ten years, and only about one in three was able to sustain itself for as long as three years.⁴²

The *Snow Drop's* lifespan of six years and the *Maple Leaf's* of two-and-a-half, both supported solely by subscription, indicate that for a while they found an appreciative audience. Their importance today lies in the insight they provide into this audience, and in the glimpse they give of the taste and values of pre-Confederation Canada.

NOTES

¹ *Snow Drop*, 1 (April 1847), 2-3. [The *Snow Drop* will be identified hereafter as *SD*. References, by issue number and page, will be inserted in parenthesis in the text.]

²Cheney, Mrs. Harriet Vaughan. *A Peep at the Pilgrims in Sixteen Hundred Thirty-six*. Boston: Wells & Lilly, 1824.

----. *The Rivals of Acadia*. Boston: Wells & Lilly, 1827.

Cushing, Mrs. Eliza Lanesford. *Saratoga: A Tale of the Revolution*. Boston: Cummings, 1824.

----. *Yorktown: an Historical Romance*. Boston: Wells & Lilly, 1826.

³*Dictionary of American Biography* (1931), VI, p. 549.

⁴From December 1838, until the *Garland's* demise in 1851, Mrs. Cushing's pen produced a steady stream of poems, historical romances, didactic tales, and verse dramas. Most of these were published before 1847, the year of the commencement of the *Snow Drop*. Mrs. Cheney's work first appeared in the *Garland* in August, 1839; the bulk of her contributions, primarily poetry and serialized historical fiction, was published between October, 1848 and November, 1851.

See Mary Markham Brown, *An Index to the Literary Garland* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1962).

Mrs. Cushing's verse drama, *The Fatal Ring*, has recently been reprinted in *Women Pioneers*, vol. 2 of *Canada's Lost Plays*, ed. Anton Wagner (Toronto: CTR Publications, 1979).

⁵Henry Morgan, *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Ottawa: Desbarats, 1867), p. 88.

⁶See "Our Table," *Literary Garland*, n.s. 5 (April 1847), 196; (June 1847), 292; n.s. 6 (March 1848), 144; n.s. 8 (Feb. 1850) 96; (April 1850), 192. [The *Literary Garland* will be identified hereafter as *L.G.* References, by issue number and page, will be inserted in parenthesis in the text.]

⁷*L.G.*, n.s. 8 (Nov. 1850), 480; *SD*, n.s. 1 (Oct. 1850), 128.

⁸*Pilot*, 19 June 1852, p. 4.

⁹The prospectus has not been bound with the magazine; it may have appeared on the cover or on a separate sheet of paper. About the *Canadian Family Magazine* I have been able to discover nothing.

¹⁰*Pilot*, 22 June 1852, p. 3.

¹¹*Maple Leaf*, 1 (July 1852), 30-31. [The *Maple Leaf* will be identified hereafter as *ML.* References, by issue number and page, will be inserted in parenthesis in the text.]

¹²He appears to have retained very few of the *Snow Drop's* contributors. The only identified authors to appear in both periodicals were "A. F. C." from Montreal, J. Popham, Agnes Strickland, Catharine Parr Traill, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

¹³Lay seems to have had a predilection for publishing entanglements. His letter to the editor explaining his side of the *Snow Drop* dispute, which appeared in the first number of the *Maple Leaf*, was followed by a letter in the second number defending himself against charges that he had misappropriated the funds of the Lower Canada Agricultural Society. Its secretary claimed that

In regard to the publisher of the Agricultural Journals, the Directors in December, 1850, made an arrangement with Mr. R.W. Lay, of this city, to publish the Journals for a period of five years, and to collect the subscriptions due to the Society for the Journals, previous to the 1st of January, 1851. Mr. Lay published the Journals only for one year, and discontinued it from the 31st of December last, and has not yet paid to the Directors any part of the amount he collected for them, or made any regular statement to them. The Directors, in consequence, were obliged to have the Journals published on their own account, and arranged with Mr. John Lovell for the present to publish it for them from the 1st of January last. The expense of publishing 1000 copies in English and 1500 in French, for this year, will be about £300, exclusive of the editor, translator and wood engravings.

(*Agricultural Journal and Transactions of the Lower Canada Agricultural Society*, vol. 5 no. 6 [June 1852], p. 178.)

Lay replied that he had “strictly fulfilled [his] agreement with the society, which was to publish the journal for one year only, with the privilege of continuing for five years,” and that he had “accounted faithfully to the society for everything due to them.” His account of their motive for “defaming my character” is obscure, since he claimed that “I am quite prepared to defend myself, but, in so doing, shall be obliged to allude to facts, which, while they exonerate me, will seriously implicate others. . . .” (“Publisher’s Letter,” *ML*, 1 [Aug. 1852], 61-62.)

¹⁴“A Card.” Inside front cover, *ML*, 2 (May 1852).

¹⁵*Transcript* (Montreal), 4 May 1853, p. 4.

¹⁶The addresses given for Mrs. Lay’s school in Lovell’s annual *City Directory* move gradually westward through the 1870s and 1880s — following the westward expansion of the city — into neighbourhoods of increasing respectability. Mrs. Lay herself is last listed in 1904.

¹⁷The identity of the editor of the *Maple Leaf* remains a mystery; all that can be deduced from the magazine is her sex. It is clear that Lay did not edit it: the first two numbers contain letters from the publisher to the editor, and the style of the editorials is more elegant and “feminine” than Lay’s. After his death the previously clear distinction between publisher and editor blurs. Beginning in January, 1854, the words “Printed for E.H. Lay” replace the words “Robert W. Lay” on the front cover. The editorial in the last issue of the *Maple Leaf* implies that there has been more than one editor, and that the second was close to the Lays personally.

¹⁸These were printed inside the front cover of the *Maple Leaf*’s last three numbers, for October, November and December, 1854.

¹⁹Carl F. Klinck, "Literary Activity in Canada East and West, 1841-1880," in *Literary History of Canada*, ed. Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 146.

²⁰Mrs. Cushing, "A Tale of the Richelieu," *Godey's*, 19 (July, Aug. 1839), 13-19, 73-80; "Lines to a Pot of Mignonette," *Godey's*, 19 (Aug. 1839), 81; "Time's Changes," *Godey's*, 24 (March 1842), 150-54.

²¹*ML*, 3 (Dec. 1853) - 4 (Jan. 1854).

²²*ML*, 2 (Jan. 1853), inside back cover.

²³In his introductions to the various volumes of the *Wellesley Index Index to Victorian Periodicals*, Walter E. Houghton states that before 1865 approximately 96.4% of the prose published in English periodicals was unsigned. The editors of both the *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf* have been kinder to modern bibliographers, although the state of Canadian bibliography is such that it is difficult to discover anything about the writers whose complete names and places of residence are given, and impossible to trace most of those identified just by initials or pseudonyms.

²⁴*The Literary Works of T.H. Higginson (Persolus), consisting of Prose and Poetry*, bound with *The Poetical Works of Thomas Higginson* (Vankleek Hill: A.W. Otto, 1888).

²⁵Agnes Strickland, "The Highland Emigrant's Farewell" [for the *Maple Leaf*], *ML*, 2 (Jan. 1853), 30; "The Vision" [for the *Maple Leaf*], *ML*, 2 (May 1853), 140; "The Raising of Jairus' Daughter" *ML*, 2 (June 1853) 187.

²⁶*Lady Mary and Her Nurse; or, A Peep into the Canadian Forest*. London: Arthur, Hall, Virtue, 1856.

Stories of the Canadian Forest; or Lady Mary and Her Nurse. Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1861.

Afar in the Forest; or, Pictures of Life and Scenery in the Woods of Canada. A Tale. London: Nelson, 1869.

In the Forest; or, Pictures of Life and Scenery in the Woods of Canada. A Tale. London: Nelson, 1881.

(Source: Carl Ballstadt, "The Literary History of the Strickland Family," Ph.D., London, 1965).

The only one of these I have examined, *Stories of the Canadian Forest*, was adapted for an American audience. Some information about Canada was added, some of the natural details modified, and the English class structure of the original subdued; the nurse addresses the little girl as "my dear" instead of "my lady", and several servants have been deleted.

²⁷Traill claimed that "Generosity of the Poor" (*ML*, 1 [Dec. 1852] 166-71) had previously appeared in "Chamber's Journal"; I have been unable to verify this. In addition, "The Volunteer's Bride" (*ML*, 4 [May 1854], 129-38) was first published as "The Interrupted Bridal" (*Home Circle* 1 [1849], 6-7), and "The Two Widows of Hunter's Creek" (*ML*, 4 [March 1854] 86-94) first appeared in the *Home Circle*, 1 (1849), 33-35.

²⁸Stowe, "Christmas; or, The Good Fairy," *SD*, n.s. 4 (Dec. 1852), 164-71; "The Tea Rose," *SD*, n.s. 5 (March 1853), 66-72.

²⁹This was probably pirated, given the *Maple Leaf's* editorial view that "Our neighbours on the other side of the line have adopted the republican plan, that of the sovereign right to draw from the productions of others. If we reprint from some of their works, they will have no cause of complaint" (*ML*, 1 [Sept. 1852], 95.).

³⁰Philip Musgrave, "Early Closing Association," *ML*, 2 (April 1853), 101-07.

³¹"Education in Canada," *ML*, 4 (July 1854), 189-92.

³²See Ann Scott McLeod's *A Moral Tale: Children's Fiction and American Culture, 1820-1860* (Ph.D. Maryland, 1973; Ann Arbor Microfilms) for a thorough analysis of the fiction which was selected and imitated by the *Snow Drop* and the *Maple Leaf*.

³³From "Dickens' Household Words," "A Child's Dream of a Star," *SD*, n.s. 1 (Oct. 1850), 104-07; Andersen, "The Dead Child and the Angel," *SD*, n.s. 1 (Sept. 1850), 80-81.

³⁴Caroline Hayward, "The Christmas Tree," *ML*, 4 (Feb. 1854), 57-58.

³⁵Caroline Hayward, "Running The Rapids," *ML*, 2 (March 1853), 68-71; "The Coroner's Inquest," *ML*, 4 (June 1854), 171-74.

³⁶*SD*, n.s. 3 (May 1852), 134. "H.", the author of this piece as well as many other contributions to the *Snow Drop*, was probably Mrs. Harriet Cheney.

³⁷"Letter from Vancouver's Island," *SD*, n.s. 1 (April 1851), 299-301.

³⁸"The Volunteer's Bride," *ML*, 4 (May 1854), 129-38.

³⁹Caroline Hayward, "The Gap of Dunloe," *ML*, 4 (Sept.-Dec. 1854).

⁴⁰"H.," [Mrs. Cheney?] *SD*, n.s. 4 (July 1852), 5-6.

⁴¹Contemporary with the *Maple Leaf* and the *Snow Drop* was the *Lifeboat*, a children's temperance periodical produced in Montreal from 1852 to 1856. It was highly praised by Cushing and Cheney (*SD*, n.s. 3 [May 1852], 159). Several missionary magazines for children were also published in Montreal during this period: *The Children's Missionary and Sabbath School Record* (1844-?) and the *Juvenile Presbyterian* (1856-?).

⁴²R. Gordon Kelly, *Mother was a Lady. Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals, 1865-1890* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 4. His conclusions are based on the research of Betty L. Lyon, "A History of Children's Secular Magazines Published in the United States from 1789 to 1899" (Ph.D., John Hopkins, 1942).

Dr. Carole Gerson lives in Vancouver, where she does research in nineteenth-century Canadian literature. This article is her first (but not her last) venture into the field of children's literature.