Writing Emigration: Canada in Scottish Romanticism, 1802–1840

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the representation of emigration to Canada in Scottish Romantic periodicals and fiction, and of the relationship between these genres and the little-studied genre of the emigrant's guide. Chapter One tracks the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*'s reviews of books on Canadian topics and demonstrates how the rival quarterlies respond to, and intervene in, the evolving public debate about emigration. Chapter Two examines depictions of Canada in *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine*, and reveals connections between these magazines' engagement with Canadian affairs and the concurrent reception of Scottish Romanticism in early Canadian literary magazines. Chapter Three argues for an understanding of the emigrant's guide as a porous form that acts as a bridge between nonfictional and fictional representations of emigration. Chapter Four reads novels with emigration plots in relation to the pressures of American, Canadian and transatlantic canon formation, arguing that these novels trouble the stark division between the American and Canadian emigrant experiences which was insisted upon by contemporary commentators and which continues to underpin criticism of transatlantic literary works. Chapter Five considers the relationship between Scottish Romanticism and nineteenth-century Canadian literature, a relationship which has often been framed in terms of the portability of a 'Scottish model' of fiction associated most strongly with Walter Scott. Overall, this thesis contends that foregrounding the literature of emigration allows for greater understanding of the synchronicity of Scottish Romanticism and the escalation of transatlantic emigration, offering an alternative to conceptions of Canada's colonial and transatlantic belatedness.

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A Note on Nomenclature

Throughout this thesis, I use ‘Canada’ in its modern sense out of convenience when referring to the territory that comprises present-day Canada – an area which between 1802 and 1840 was divided into Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Rupert’s Land, the Columbia District and the hazily-defined, little-known North-Western Territory. The term ‘British North America’ appears sporadically in materials included in this thesis but is not common until the 1830s. The vast majority of British writing on Canada in the early nineteenth century deals with the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (present-day Ontario and Québec), with Upper Canada being the especial focus of advocates of British emigration both in the literary realm and in government.

The Province of Canada, part of New France, was ceded to Britain in 1763 and renamed Québec (after one of its three constituent districts, to compound the difficulties of nomenclature). The Province of Québec was then divided into Upper and Lower Canada by the Constitutional Act of 1791. This allowed Upper Canada, at this time predominantly settled by United Empire Loyalists who had left the United States after the American Revolution, to divest itself of the protections that had been granted to the former institutions of New France (French civil law, the semi-feudal seigneurial system of land tenure, the Catholic church) when the British took over. In practice, almost all of the discussion of this thesis also centres around Upper and Lower Canada but when it is important to make it clear that only these provinces are indicated – and not, for example, Nova Scotia – I refer to them individually by name or use the collective term ‘the Canadas’.

Introduction

'No lumber is moved with such difficulty as man.'[1]

This thesis is a study of a body of writing that has helped to make early-nineteenth-century Canada a complex and elusive proposition for literary criticism: literature about emigration. In narratives of the development of the literature of English-speaking Canada, it is during the Romantic period that writing produced in Canada by people actually resident there begins to supersede writing about Canada by explorers and travellers. Juliet Shields writes of the period before 1835 that 'while a good deal was written *about* Canada . . . very little was written by people who might be called Canadians' (2016 6). Writing about emigration is, by definition, aimed at readers who are not yet resident in Canada but may go on to 'be called Canadians' at some point in the future. It falls in between the poles of 'about Canada' and 'by Canadians'. Defined by its contemporaneity, its investment in depicting an ongoing process and interpreting its meaning, it overlaps with the emergence of a homegrown literary tradition and has, as a result, proven difficult to classify.

My project traces the ways in which emigration to Canada registers in Scottish Romantic periodicals and fiction, and elucidates the relationship between these genres and the little-studied genre of the emigrant's guide. It is built on archival research into the Canadian content of five major periodicals, including books reviewed or featured in new publications lists, political opinion pieces and fictional sketches. Three of these magazines – the *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* – were, as their

[1] William Empson, 'Art. IX. *Third Report upon Emigration from the United Kingdoms, 1827*.' *Edinburgh Review* 47.93 (1828): 218.

titles indicate, based in Edinburgh, while the *Quarterly Review* and *Fraser's Magazine* were published in London by the expatriate Scottish publishers John Murray and James Fraser with heavy involvement from former *Blackwood's* contributors (John Gibson Lockhart and William Maginn, respectively). The first two chapters of this thesis concentrate on these periodicals. Chapter One tracks the coverage of Canadian affairs and literary works on Canadian topics in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*, demonstrating how the rival quarterlies respond to, and intervene in, a wider public debate about emigration. Chapter Two examines the representation of Canada in *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's*, and reveals connections between these magazines' engagement with Canadian emigration and settlement and the concurrent reception of Scottish Romanticism in early Canadian literary magazines.

Chapter Three turns to emigrant's guides, outlining the generic traits of these texts and the role they play in uniting political and material arguments about Canada's superiority to the United States. This chapter argues for an understanding of the emigrant's guide as a porous form that acts as a bridge between nonfictional and fictional representations of emigration. Chapter Four reads three novels with emigration plots – Christian Isobel Johnstone's *Clan-Albin* (1815) and John Galt's *Lawrie Todd* (1830) and *Bogle Corbet* (1831) – in relation to the pressures of American, Canadian and transatlantic canon formation. It argues that these novels trouble the stark division between American and Canadian emigrant experiences which was insisted upon by contemporary commentators and which continues to underpin criticism of transatlantic literary works. Chapter Five considers the potential of emigration literature to impact our understanding of the relationship between Scottish Romanticism and nineteenth-century Canadian literature, a relationship which has frequently been framed in terms of the portability of a 'Scottish model' of fiction associated most strongly with Walter Scott. It

argues that emphasising the contemporaneity of Scottish Romanticism with the explosion of transatlantic emigration offers an alternative to a model of Scottish literary influence predicated on Canada's colonial and transatlantic belatedness.

This thesis focuses on the Scottish literary sphere; it is not, however, exclusively concerned with materials that register the experiences of Scottish emigrants. There are several reasons for this, the first being that the period under consideration is one in which 'Scottish publications and genres dominated a globalizing English-language market' (xi), as Ian Duncan puts it in *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (2007). As a result, many of the publications and authors central to this thesis – the *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, Walter Scott – are products of the Edinburgh literary scene but are also, to a great extent, embedded in the British cultural mainstream. This overlap has a parallel in the shifting discourse surrounding emigration in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as it becomes established as a pan-British phenomenon rather than one primarily associated with the Celtic peripheries. The literature of emigration does not fall neatly into the category of Scottish writing inspired by North America or of North American writing that demonstrates Scottish influence, thereby testing the usual national (and even transnational) categories used to establish the terms of literary relationships.

In 1998, James Chandler could observe in *England in 1819* that 'Much work has been done on the question of how the literature of the British Romantic period registered in American culture. Yet . . . there is surprisingly little on the question of how American culture registered in the literature of the British Romantic period' (447). Since then, a great deal has been done to redress that imbalance and debunk the idea of transatlantic literary relations as a fundamentally one-way traffic in which influence flows only from the Old World to the New.

However, recent work in transatlantic literary studies has often tended to retain an emphasis on Anglo-American relations, rather than allowing for what Marta Dvorák has called the complex 'triangular relations' between the United States, Britain, and Britain's remaining territories in North America (63).

For example, Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor's *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader* (2007), includes only one selection that makes reference to Canada.[2] *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830* (2012), edited by Manning and Eve Tavor Bannet, also limits its scope to the United States and the Caribbean, with the exception of Tim Fulford's discussion of the Mohawk chief Major John Norton in 'Transatlantic American Indians'.[3] Kevin Hutchings and Julia M. Wright's *Transatlantic Literary Exchanges, 1790–1870* (2011) is an exception to the rule, with chapters on Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) and 'Romantic Niagara' alongside studies of the Anglo-American contexts for the work of Charlotte Smith, Frederick Douglass and Charles Brockden Brown.[4] *Transatlantic Romanticism: An Anthology of British, American, and Canadian Literature, 1767–1867* (2006), edited by Lance Newman, Joel Pace and Chris Koenig-Woodyard, juxtaposes texts produced in North America with others, normally unproblematically classified as 'British', which comment on North American affairs or make use of North American settings and subject matter. What none of these studies do, however, is link writing about the actual phenomenon of transatlantic movement into the main current of Romantic

[2] This is an excerpt from John Carlos Rowe's 2003 article 'Nineteenth-Century United States Literary Culture and Transnationality' which states that 'The new comparative American studies must include Canada as a crucial and distinct multiculture.' 35–38.
[3] A more extensive treatment of this topic can be found in Fulford's *Romantic Indians* (2006).
[4] Charity Matthews, 'Romantic Aesthetics, Gender, and Transatlantic Travel in Anna Brownell Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*'; Kevin Hutchings, 'Romantic Niagara: Environmental Aesthetics, Indigenous Culture, and Transatlantic Tourism.'

literature other than as a source of raw material or inspiration; it is treated as a topic that writers respond to rather than a process that produces its own body of writing.

This is not to say that literature that engages directly with emigration, as opposed to mining it for sentimental or sublime resonance after the fact, has been entirely neglected. Juliet Shields, in 'Highland Emigration and the Transformation of Nostalgia in Romantic Poetry' (2012), illustrates the differences between Highland poets' own portrayal of their emigration experience with the way in which the subject is taken up in English-language Romantic lyrics. Jason Rudy's 'Floating Worlds: Émigré Poetry and British Culture' (2014) examines poetry written on board emigrant ships bound for Australia. Bill Bell's 'Print Culture in Exile: the Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century' (1998) notes that 'By the early nineteenth century, the Scottish emigrant experience was one that was surrounded by print from before departure, throughout the journey, and, if anything, even more intensely so after arrival', and his enquiry into 'the connection between the circulation of texts and the preservation of cultural identity under strange skies' touches on some of the emigrant's guides that feature in Chapter Three of this thesis (88).[5] Jude Piesse's *British Settler Emigration in Print, 1832–1877* (2016) shares this thesis's emphasis on the periodical press, highlighting the fact that the already sparse field of literary criticism of emigration writing has tended to focus on novels, while historians have 'privileged personal letters' and 'forms of "booster" literature that had a primarily propaganda function' (5). My focus on the Romantic, rather than the Victorian, period means that this thesis grapples with two questions that are less urgent for Piesse: the pre-eminent position of Scottish periodicals and novelists in

[5] Robert Lamond, *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew to the New Settlements in Upper Canada* (1821) and *The Counsel for Emigrants* (1834), published by John Mathison of Aberdeen, both feature prominently in Bell's article though he focuses somewhat more on the later nineteenth century.

both British and colonial literary marketplaces, and the still-unresolved nature of the relationship between the actions of the individual emigrant and the imperial project.

Stephen Fender's *Sea Changes: British Emigration & American Literature* (1992) summarises the public debate surrounding emigration in the early nineteenth century as follows:

> After American independence, during the unrest that followed the Napoleonic Wars, British progressives and conservatives began to inscribe the domestic debate for and against reform within an argument about the viability of the new republic across the Atlantic, and particularly about the wisdom of emigrating there. Though almost twice as many British subjects left their native shores for Canada, Australia and New Zealand during the same period, it was emigration to the United States that was the lively political issue. (10–11)

Despite the brief mention of alternative destinations, in Fender's analysis the only meaningful decision that the potential emigrant makes is whether to go to the United States or stay in Britain; no distinction is made between living in Britain and living in its overseas territories and no comparison is drawn between American emigration literature and writing about emigration to the British colonies. Instead, writing about emigration to the United States is set alongside Puritan autobiography and the writings of Benjamin Franklin as a generative source of the peculiar concerns of American literature, or 'the Anglo-American thesis of the American exception' (xv). There has been no equivalent treatment of the Canadian context to rival Fender's argument about the connections between American emigration writing and the subsequent development of the American literary tradition; neither has there been any sustained comparative study of Canadian and American emigration literature, despite the crucial role such comparisons play in the texts themselves.

Shields' recent book, *Nation and Migration: The Making of British Atlantic Literature, 1765–1835* (2016), aims 'to decenter the Anglo-American focus of transatlantic literary

studies by extending the reach of archipelagic criticism to include the literature of the early American republic' (139), with chapters on migration from each of the four nations of Britain. Outside of an epilogue which explains the rationale for the exclusion, Shields' revision of the Anglo-American model does not extend to Canada, which is defined as part of a 'colonial Atlantic' (140). The understanding of Canada's literary relations as having the potential to make 'transcolonial circuits', rather than inevitably moving 'in straight lines back and forth between periphery and center' (290) is one of the most important legacies of Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* (1997). However, one of the major aims of this thesis is to demonstrate that the literature of Canadian emigration in the Romantic period, this most colonial of enterprises, should be read in relation to the equivalent discourse surrounding the United States; that Canada and the United States, as emigrant destinations, are constituted in relation to one another. Chapter One shows that the divergent positions of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* with regard to Canada's importance as an emigrant destination are directly informed by their attitude towards the United States, while Chapter Three compares the content and rhetorical strategies of Canadian and American emigrant's guides. Chapter Four provides a critique of the tendency to read *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* as quintessentially American and Canadian texts and Chapter Five offers a comparison of historical fictions about settler communities in the United States and Canada.

Emigration literature has been linked most explicitly to the Scottish Romantic canon in the resurgence of critical interest in John Galt. A crop of articles, book chapters and dissertations in recent years have called attention to the fact that Galt, more than any other author, makes direct involvement in the business (and writing) of Canadian colonisation a part of the Scottish literary sphere. Jennifer Scott's 'The Business of Writing Home: Authorship

and the Transatlantic Economies of John Galt's Literary Circle, 1807–1840' and 'Reciprocal Investments: John Galt, the Periodical Press, and the Business of North American Emigration' (both 2013) highlight the connections between Galt's career as a novelist and periodical writer and his role as secretary of the Canada Company, the joint stock company which he helped found in 1824. Kenneth McNeil's 'Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World: John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*' (2012), Victoria Woolner's 'Scottish Romanticism and its impact on early Canadian Literature' (2014) and Robert Irvine's 'Canada, Class, and Colonization in John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*' (2016) read Galt's Canadian novel in the context of transatlantic studies, the development of Canadian literature and shifting discourses of colonisation, respectively.

There have been some studies of the major British periodicals' coverage of transatlantic matters (though not of emigration specifically): Anthony Jarrells has written on *Blackwood's* approach to colonial affairs in 'Tales of the Colonies: *Blackwood's*, Provincialism, and British Interests Abroad' (2013) and Massimiliano Demata on 'Prejudiced Knowledge: Travel Literature in the *Edinburgh Review*' (2002), though this does not focus on North America in particular. Tilar Mazzeo draws on the *Quarterly Review* as part of a wider examination of 'English representations of transatlanticism' (60), mostly in poetry and novels, in 'The Impossibility of Being Anglo-American' (2006). Two articles in the journal *Symbiosis* have also addressed periodicals included in this thesis: Robin Jarvis's 'Contesting the "secret grudge": The Image of America in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1803–1829' (2009) and Nicholas Mason's '*Blackwood's Magazine*, Anti-Americanism, and the Beginnings of Transatlantic Literary Studies' (2010). Robin Jarvis's *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel* (2012) examines the reception of American and Canadian travel narratives by British readers and by

reviewers across a wide spectrum of periodicals. Jarvis is primarily concerned with reader response, which leads him to make certain qualifications to his readings of periodical reviews: 'beneath the fiction of a journal's corporate identity . . . were and are individual, historical readers. The reviews, moreover, are rich and rewarding acts of reading: they may be public, self-conscious acts, caught up in wider currents of debate and controversy, but they are readings nonetheless, and they tell us something of the way voyages and travels were read in the Romantic period' (80). This thesis takes the opposite tack – while Jarvis aims to recuperate reviews as personal responses of a special type, I am concerned with the reviews' interactions with the 'wider current of debate and controversy' and with the relationship between writing on emigration in periodicals and work in other genres, fictional and non-fictional.

With the exception of Jarvis, the critical tendency has been to examine the treatment of an issue – imperialism, travel, Anglo-American relations – by one periodical in particular. By means of in-depth study of the contents of two quarterly reviews and three miscellanies which occupy different points on the political spectrum (Whig, Tory and Radical), I have attempted to arrive at a more representative picture of the types of writing which were deemed most suited to the task of representing both the process of emigration and the North American colonies themselves. A complete list of the books on Canadian subjects and emigrant's guides to both Canada and the United States featured in the five periodicals can be found in the Appendix. The clearest conclusion to be drawn from the list, however, is that its emphasis is overwhelmingly on non-fiction. Of the seventy-four prose works identified in the Appendix as 'Books about Canada', only five are works of fiction. These are Edward Lane's *The Fugitives, or a Trip to Canada*, advertised in the new publications lists of *Fraser's Magazine* and the

Edinburgh Review in 1830; John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*, advertised in the *Edinburgh* in 1831; Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*, discussed in a *Blackwood's* article in 1837; Joseph Holt Ingraham's *Quebec and New York; or, the Three Beauties: an Historical Romance of 1775*, advertised in the *Edinburgh* in 1839, and another work by Haliburton, *The Letter-Bag of the Great Western; or, Life in a Steamer*, advertised in the *Edinburgh* in 1840. Lane's book, published in London in 1830, is subtitled 'An Interesting Tale, Chiefly Founded on Facts' and this insistence on the primacy of factual, usable information even in fictional contexts carries through every generic modulation of Canadian emigration literature.

The lopsidedness of the magazines' ratio of non-fiction to fiction is surpassed only by the almost total omission of female authors. Only Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* is noticed; it appears in the *Edinburgh*'s new publications list in January 1839 and is reviewed in *Tait's* a month later. This book will be discussed in Chapter Five alongside Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), which received no attention from any of the five periodicals on its initial publication. Of the sixty-nine works of non-fiction, twenty-eight are accounts of the author's own travels, or, occasionally, temporary residence, in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. A further seventeen are presented as more impersonal 'overviews', 'descriptions' and 'historical accounts', or state their purpose as pieces of political argumentation – David Anderson's *Canada, or A View of the Importance of the British American Colonies* (1814) and Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *Observations upon the Importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain* (1826) fall into this latter category. It is only after the end of the Napoleonic Wars that texts categorised in the Appendix as 'Emigrant's Guides and Emigrant Letter Collections', as distinct from the more general category of 'Books about Canada', begin to appear.

The chronological parameters of this thesis are partly dictated by my choice of primary materials – my survey of the reviewing trends of periodicals begins with the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802, while the post-1815 boom in emigrant's guide publication and the dominant role played by John Galt in shaping the representation of Canada in *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* means that the majority of the texts under discussion date from the 1820s and 1830s. Even more significant, though, is the fact that the first four decades of the nineteenth century see a dramatic shift, not only in the number of people leaving Britain for Canada, but in official policy on emigration and the terms of the public debate surrounding the issue.

The first British novel to be set in Canada, Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague*, was published in London in 1769, only six years after the British conquest of New France. It is an epistolary novel, predominantly concerned with the romantic entanglements of a small circle of British residents of Québec, where Brooke herself had lived between 1763 and 1768. The contemporary struggle over the political and religious future of the colony, in which Brooke's husband was personally interested as chaplain to the Québec garrison, remains in the background, alluded to occasionally but not greatly influencing the action. This is partly because the main characters' reasons for residing in Canada are couched in overwhelmingly economic terms, a sidestepping of politics that will also be an ever-present feature of later emigrant writings. The hero, Edward Rivers, is a half-pay military officer who plans to purchase an estate in Québec in order to avoid placing a financial burden on his sister and widowed mother back in England. He declares playfully that he will 'become lord of a principality which will put our large-acred men in England out of countenance. My subjects indeed at present will be only bears and elks, but in time I hope to see the *human face divine* multiplying around me' (3). The work of New World settlement is tied up with the

preservation of Rivers' social status; this will continue to be a cornerstone of the argument in favour of Canada as an emigrant destination well into the nineteenth century.

In spite of such foreshadowings of some of the directions that the emigration debate would take in the future, overall Brooke's novel stands out in Canadian literary history as a rather isolated outlier, too early and too generically dissimilar to the depictions of Canada that would follow it to be part of any coherent continuum: 'Within the Canadian tradition her book represents an interesting beginning but also a dead end' (Keith 42).[6] It is an eighteenth-century novel set in a location which would not produce its first homegrown novel until 1824, and which is generally understood to have given rise to 'a literature of information rather than a literature of imagination' in Britain (Bailey 78).[7] This description of *Emily Montague* as a 'dead end' refers to its status as a Canadian literary monument rather than its ideological position with regard to British emigration to Canada. However, it is also true that by the time Canada becomes a location of greater literary interest for British authors in the 1820s and 1830s, the discourse surrounding the movement of British citizens has undergone a great alteration. According to T. M. Devine, 'The eighteenth-century mind considered population as an invaluable military and economic resource' (135), and the opinions expressed in *Emily Montague* regarding the need, or lack thereof, for British subjects to colonise the nation's new possessions in North America are very much reflective of that 'mind'.

The correspondence between the main actors in the novel's romantic plot is occasionally broken up by missives from the father of the heroine's coquettish friend Arabella Fermor.

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[6] One exception is Marta Dvorák's 'Migrations, multiple allegiances, and satirical traditions: from Frances Brooke to Thomas Chandler Haliburton', which sees *The History of Emily Montague* as a key text for the development of a peculiarly Canadian approach to satire.
[7] Julia Beckwith Hart's *St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada* was published in Kingston, Upper Canada in 1824.

William Fermor reports back to an unnamed British nobleman on the state of the province and his views on how best to develop it.

> It is not only our interest to have colonies; they are not only necessary to our commerce, and our greatest and surest sources of wealth, but our very being as a powerful and commercial nation depends on them: it is therefore an object of all others most worthy our attention, that they should be as flourishing and populous as possible. (219–20)

He criticises the French approach to imperial expansion on the basis that 'their whole system of policy seems to have been military, not commercial' (140). Notably, however, Fermor is explicitly not finding fault with the French for their failure to promote emigration to New France, but for their failure to turn territorial gains to commercial advantage. That is, his conviction of the importance of Britain's overseas possessions does not extend to an enthusiasm for settler colonialism. The question occupying Fermor's mind is how to extract value from the North American colonies without depleting the metropolitan population, to 'support them at as little expence of our own inhabitants as possible' (220).

> England, however populous, is undoubtedly, my Lord, too small to afford very large supplies of people to her colonies: and her people are also too useful, and of too much value, to be suffered to emigrate, if they can be prevented, whilst there is sufficient employment for them at home. (219)

For Fermor, the region is valuable precisely because it comes ready-settled by French Canadians. And if the population is to be supplemented, he is of the opinion that Germans, rather than Britons, would make ideal settlers (220).

This reluctance fully to endorse British settlement extends into the main plot, as Rivers' correspondents are also sceptical about his plans to make a permanent home in Québec. His sister is convinced that 'it would be a better plan to turn farmer in Rutland' (134), while Emily Montague declares that she would rather renounce him than see him trapped in Canada by a marriage to someone without means: 'shall his Emily . . . suffer him to hide that shining merit

in the uncultivated wilds of Canada, the seat of barbarism and ignorance, which entitles him to hope a happy fate in the dear land of arts and arms?' (212). And in the third volume all the characters do indeed return to England and are ultimately able to overcome the various financial obstacles to the happy resolution of the marriage plot. A life of pleasant, retired domesticity becomes possible at home, their time in Canada a fondly-remembered interlude.

Fermor observes that 'It is long since the populousness of Europe has been the cause of her sending out colonies: a better policy prevails; mankind are enlightened; we are now convinced, both by reason and experience, that no industrious people can be too populous' (220–21). These views find an echo in one of the most high-profile travel narratives of the time, Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). In the course of his travels in the Western Isles Johnson is confronted with evidence of widespread emigration from the area, but this phenomenon does not represent a systematic 'sending out' of colonies – nor, in his view, a response to underlying structural 'push' factors. In Johnson's interpretation, the inhabitants of the Highlands may often be 'driven from their native country by positive evils', but these generally boil down to individual instances of 'ill treatment' on the part of landowners (80). The failures of this class of men render their tenants susceptible to an 'epidemick desire of wandering' that threatens to engulf the Highlands (79). Johnson's response to what he sees as a contagious bout of shiftlessness echoes Fermor's recommendations: 'the great business of insular policy is now to keep the people in their own country' (109). Both British citizenship and Highland cultural particularity are threatened by emigration: 'all that go may be considered as subjects lost to the British crown; for a nation scattered in the boundless regions of America resembles rays diverging from a focus . . . It may be thought that they are happier by the change; but they are not happy as a nation, for

they are a nation no longer' (109).

Johnson's concerns about emigration are not especially idiosyncratic; government policy proceeded along similar lines of thinking, particularly after the outbreak of the conflict with the rebellious Thirteen Colonies in 1775. During the war an official 'anti-emigration strategy' was enforced and emigration to North America was banned (Devine 135). This stance of official disapproval was not relaxed until the end of the Napoleonic Wars, at which point the issues of chronic unemployment and political discontent became increasingly difficult to ignore. So at the beginning of the period under consideration in this thesis, at what H. J. M. Johnston has called 'the dawn of an era of mass emigration', population was still viewed as a positive national good in and of itself, with emigration actively discouraged through legislation (2). The Passenger Act of 1803 set limits on the number of passengers that a vessel could transport at any one time, which meant that the price of passage was high enough to deter many of those whose economic circumstances might otherwise have led them to favour emigration. This act was not fully repealed until 1826.

In short, the development of Britain's colonies and the relief of poverty and unemployment at home were not yet connected in the official 'mind'. As we see in Johnson and Brooke, a preference for 'keeping the people in their own country' over encouraging or even tolerating transatlantic emigration precedes the American Revolutionary War, although that war intensified and politicised this stance. Neither did the establishment of the independent United States lead to any immediate consensus that the movement of people to Britain's remaining transatlantic territories should be promoted, per se.[8] As H. J. M. Johnston notes, 'it was government policy not to encourage but to divert. The government did not wish

[8] See T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (2003). 194.

to see an increase in emigration but only a redirection of it to the British provinces in North America' (18).

An article published in the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1805 provides a good illustration of the partial relaxation in attitudes towards emigration which had taken place since the time of Frances Brooke and Samuel Johnson. It too casts the mass departures from the Highlands as a loss for the British state as a whole as well as a diminution of local cultural specificity, but at the same time frames the process as an essential step leading to a wider societal gain. In this analysis, emigration is not a social evil in and of itself, to be prevented at all costs, but a necessary if regrettable side product of commercial development. 'Their removal from the country is a temporary loss, unquestionably, to the public, but one which accompanies the progress of general opulence, the extended establishment of protecting laws, and the consequent amelioration of property and produce' (195). However, the article's author, Francis Horner, cautiously advances the idea that a move to Canada might not, after all, prevent Highland emigrants from continuing to play a role as Britons. If they could only amass the finances necessary to get to Canada, 'there they would prove a benefit to the mother country' (186). The contribution to the British national interest that Horner predicts is essentially defensive in nature. The colonies might be protected from American influence by mobilising Highland 'otherness' in the service of British stability.

> Nothing would seem more expedient, therefore, for the preservation of these colonies to the mother country, than that a strong barrier should be formed, against the contagion of American sentiments, by a body of settlers whose manners and language are distinct, and who inherit antient feelings of loyalty and military valour. (199)

It does not matter whether this 'loyalty', in its original context, was to the British state; its mere existence, as an abstract quality, is enough to make it useful. Co-opting Highland social

organisation and militarism which might previously have been directed against the government is nothing new, and neither is deploying them in this very same North American context – Highland regiments had played a large part in the conquest of New France during the Seven Years' War.

It is interesting to note, then, that in 1815 Horner spoke out against government-sponsored emigration schemes being advertised in the Scottish and Irish press to a broader, non-Highland demographic: 'Shortly after the government's intention to assist emigrants was advertised in Scottish papers, the ministry was obliged to deny that it wished to excite Scots with a desire to leave. Francis Horner, the respected member for St Mawes, raised the matter in the Commons, and characterized the promotion of emigration as a "pernicious" enterprise' (Johnston 18). Far from contradicting his earlier position, Horner is responding to the fact that the early 1800s see an alteration in the perception of whom emigration is 'for'. It shifts from being a phenomenon associated predominantly with the Scottish Highlands and Ulster to, after 1815, being posited as a potentially nationwide solution to the problems of excess population and circumscribed economic opportunity. That change can be attributed to multiple factors, chief among them the end of the Napoleonic Wars which released thousands of newly-demobilised men into a workforce already beset by chronic levels of unemployment, rising prices and a woefully inadequate system of poor relief. The popularisation of Malthusian theories of population, and of political economy more broadly, helped to normalise the idea that it was in fact possible for a nation to have more inhabitants than it could support, that the economic state of the country could render a segment of the population 'superfluous'. Not everyone agreed that the answer lay in redistributing that population to undeveloped parts of the empire where they could engage in agriculture, but the emigration solution loomed large in

public discussions of the pauper problem.

There were many questions about the extent to which the government ought to intervene in order to help those who wished to emigrate to achieve their goal. Should legislation be passed to make it easier for the poor to take themselves off the hands of the parish, or would this have a negative effect on the settler societies – and if it did, was it the responsibility of metropolitan Britons to care about that? Ought emigration to be confined to certain demographic groups; that is, should it remain the preserve of the Scottish Highlanders and Ulstermen who had made up the majority of Britain's transatlantic emigrants in the eighteenth century or was it also an appropriate recourse for the poverty-stricken throughout the British Isles?[9]

One of the few in-depth studies of the government's efforts to direct (since it could not stem) the tide of emigration in this period is H. J. M. Johnston's *British Emigration Policy, 1815–1830* (1972). Johnston details several experiments in state-sponsored emigration which were undertaken between 1815 and 1826:

> There was little precedent for these experiments nor was there any exact repetition of them in later decades. They were unique to the period in which they took place. At an earlier time they would have been considered harmful; subsequently they were believed to have been ineffective. In the decade after Waterloo they represented a hesitant response to newly discovered problems. In size the experiments were extremely modest, involving only 10,500 or 11,000 persons or less than one state-aided emigrant for every nineteen who travelled independently or with assistance from private sources during the same period. (1)

In 1815 the government invited applications for the first of these schemes, scandalising Francis Horner in the process. Emigrants were to be given land in 100-acre blocks near settlements which had recently been established by demobilised British troops on the Rideau River in Glengarry County, Upper Canada. They would also receive free passage to Québec

[9] See Bumsted 138; Johnston 6; Devine 119–39.

and low-priced rations for their first six months on their new lots. ‘To qualify for this assistance, applicants would be required to deposit £16 for each male of seventeen and over and two guineas for each married woman’ (18). These financial requirements meant that paupers could not apply. Even at this early stage, an anxiety about securing the ‘right sort’ of emigrant is apparent. By the late 1830s there will be growing concern about the possibility that emigration might in fact be too attractive to the destitute and not attractive enough to anyone else, leading to a damaging deficit of capital in the colonies. The 1815 offer also contained a built-in deterrent for emigrants who did not share the government’s preference for Canada over the United States: ‘This deposit would be forfeited if a settler abandoned his grant of land to skip over the border into the United States’ (18).

Due to this proximity to the United States, Canada becomes a flashpoint for the debate about whether or not it is important for emigrants to remain within the British Empire. Contemporary commentators debate whether emigration can or should function as a mechanism for imperial expansion; whether the best interests of individual emigrants should be conflated with those of the political class; whether the most important aspect of emigration is to remove the surplus population, rendering their ultimate destination irrelevant. In all cases the act of emigration is fraught with political meaning. Generally that meaning is seen to derive from the choice of destination; from the decision to be loyal to the British constitution and disavow the false illusions of American democracy by going to Canada, for example. Sometimes, however, the very act of removing oneself from the sphere of Britain’s current economic and political struggles is cast as an inherently radical or conservative one. In 1819 emigration experiences a moment of extremely overt politicisation, framed as a panacea for radical unrest:

> In Scotland and to a lesser extent in northern England, there was evidence amongst weavers of a strong desire to emigrate; a development which did not meet the approval of Radicals. On 16 June 1819 a meeting was called in Glasgow to petition the Prince Regent for the means to go to the colonies and 35,000 or 40,000 people attended. Radical speakers insisted that emigration was not the answer. Low wages were not caused by redundant population but by misrepresentation in Parliament. (Johnston 36)

Eventually a contingent of 2,716 Lanarkshire and Glasgow weavers were sent out to land near the Rideau Settlement in 1820 and 1821 (Irvine 3). Because they were placed near the earlier settlers, the land they were given was not the best available in the province. In contrast, the efforts of the Canada Company, founded in 1826, were directed towards the more fertile Huron Tract to the southwest. In spite of this, 'the expectations of the weavers were low and the accounts that they sent back to Glasgow were cheerful. In the summer of 1827 the *Glasgow Chronicle* and the *Glasgow Herald* printed a series of letters which contained warm descriptions of the success that the weavers had made as settlers' (55). Letters from the group had already been published in Lamond's *Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration, from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, to the New Settlements in Upper Canada* in 1821. (The genre of the letter home, and its deployment as a promotional tool and as a literary form, will be examined in more depth in Chapter Three.) The idea that emigration was a palliative measure, one that allowed pressing political issues to be evaded rather than confronted, was not confined to the radical leaders who disapproved of it for that reason – it also provided part of the rationale for its promotion. According to Robert Irvine:

> In the aftermath of the 'Radical War', the emigration societies suddenly found themselves patronized by a profoundly alarmed local elite, led by Kirkman Finlay, a Glasgow merchant and MP . . . The Glasgow press (if not Finlay himself) thought that the emigrations of 1820–21 had helped restore the peace of the country, less by reducing the over-supply of labour in a slump, than by removing those who had fomented revolution. (262)[10]

[10] The Radical War was a short (week-long) period of strikes and unrest in west-central

This is assisted emigration as a kind of voluntary transportation, achieving the same end of displacing unwanted elements – although the emigrants involved did have more power to choose their destination. The Glasgow and Lanarkshire weavers wanted to go to Canada specifically; they rejected offers for assistance to go to the Cape of Good Hope. The next phase of governmental intervention also subscribed to the 'safety-valve model' of colonisation, attempting to apply it more systematically beyond the specific context of radical discontent (Irvine 261).

This next series of tentative feints towards a system of government-sponsored emigration was initiated by Robert Wilmot Horton, the Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office from 1821 to 1827. In contrast to Henry Goulburn, who had held the post when the Rideau Settlement was established, Wilmot Horton enthusiastically drew connections between his concern about the military vulnerability and underdevelopment of the sparsely-populated North American colonies and the postwar preoccupation with superfluous or 'redundant' population in Britain (Johnston 60). For Wilmot Horton, the desirability of emigration was inextricably bound up with another burning contemporary issue, the inefficacy and outdatedness of the Poor Laws: 'emigration was merely another form of poor relief and his plan presupposed the existence of a parish rate which could be used to settle paupers in the colonies instead of maintaining them at home' (62). Horton's idea was that parishes could be induced to fund emigration as a one-off expense that would eliminate the need to maintain these members of their local pauper populations in the future. Horton did not get the chance to roll this scheme out across the country, but he did spearhead a few initial small-scale

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Scotland in April 1820, culminating in an attempt to seize the Carron Ironworks in Falkirk and a small battle with government troops at Bonnymuir. Two leaders were hanged and twenty men were transported to the Australian penal colonies.

experiments in assisted emigration to Upper Canada. His chief lieutenant in these matters was Peter Robinson, a member of Upper Canada's legislative assembly and of the 'Upper Canadian ruling clique' known as the Family Compact (76). In 1823 Robinson superintended the movement of around 600 men, women and children from Cork to Upper Canada, where they were settled near the Glasgow weavers of 1820 and 1821. They were followed in 1825 by 2,024 more emigrants, also mainly from Cork, drawn from a pool of 50,000 applicants (84).

Wilmot Horton also convened Parliamentary Select Committees on emigration which met in 1826 and 1827. These did not produce any definite outcomes in terms of legislation; ultimately, the government could never be fully convinced to view emigration as a 'national responsibility', preferring instead to remove impediments to individuals emigrating under their power by repealing the Passenger Act (162). The greatest influence of the Select Committees, as Johnston points out, lies in their dominance of the public debate about emigration: 'They were, nevertheless, an important agency for publicizing information about emigration and the British colonies. Their reports were extensively discussed in the press and knowledge of their activities reached not only the educated classes, but also the poor and under-privileged' (91). In the late 1820s, articles about the issues being debated by the Select Committees constitute the bulk of the coverage of emigration and Canadian affairs in the periodical press – even though, as Eric Richards points out in *Britannia's Children* (2004), 'In reality state support for emigration was marginal to the population question and hardly affected the ongoing diaspora, which was mainly self-propelled' (118). As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this independent emigrant may not be the subject of articles on political economy, but they are the intended audience for the emigrant's guide, and reviews of works on Canadian topics also come, in time, to be addressed to a discerning emigrant reader.

Wilmot Horton's approach came under attack in the late 1820s and early 1830s, notably in the writings of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield was at this time a zealous promoter of the colonisation of Australia, but would later become involved in the affairs of Upper Canada and New Zealand. Wakefield's *Letter from Sydney* (1829) laid out a different plan for colonisation which was more concerned with the 'ideal management of colonial lands' by private associations than with government-sponsored pauper emigration (Johnston 166). In the Canadian context, similar thinking had provided the impetus for the creation of the Canada Company in 1826. This was a joint stock company formed in order to buy up the unused crown and clergy reserves, clear them and sell them on. The goal was to attract emigrants of the 'better sort' who possessed the capital to invest in the province and would be willing to pay to avoid the heavy labour of clearing a space in the forest. This shift in priorities marked a transition between '"assisted emigration", which aimed to benefit the home country by drawing off its surplus labour force; and "systematic colonization", which aimed to replicate the social and economic structures of the home country in the colony' (Irvine 260).

Rather than being defined primarily as a stop-gap solution to pauperism, emigration came to be viewed as a process that required the movement of capital, as well as the movement of population, to be successful. It also relied upon a close identification of colonial interests with those of the nation as a whole. To subscribe to these views was to believe that colonial wealth equalled national wealth and, by extension, that emigrants were furthering Britain's imperial project by amassing capital in the colonies; that what was best for the empire was also best for the superfluous person. The evolution of the discourse of colonisation coincides with increasing radical discontent over the state of political representation in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which culminated in popular uprisings in 1837 and

1838. As part of the official response to these events, the Act of Union of 1840 merged the majority-French Canadian Lower Canada and Upper Canada, the focal point of pro-emigration advocacy, into the single province of Canada. As Canada becomes established in the British periodical press as a political entity in its own right, it can no longer serve its previous rhetorical functions as an apolitical alternative to the United States, a neutral receptacle for Britain's surplus population. This is a moment of literary, as well as political, transition.

Chapter One: Canada in the Quarterlies, 1802–1840

Voyages of Exploration

The very first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, published in October 1802, features a review of Alexander Mackenzie's recently-published account of his 1789 and 1793 expeditions in search of an overland route to the Pacific. His first attempt terminated at the 'Frozen' (Arctic) Ocean but he was successful on his second try, becoming the first European to reach the west coast of North America by land. Mackenzie was born in Lewis and raised in New York before moving to Montréal during the American Revolution, where he became an employee of the fur-trading North West Company. His explorations were undertaken in that professional capacity, in order to open up new trade routes that would help circumvent the rival Hudson's Bay Company, who held a trading monopoly over every waterway that drained into the bay, giving them control of a massive area known as Rupert's Land. Mackenzie's narrative, compiled from his meticulously detailed journals, was published as *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, Through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793: With a Preliminary Account of the Fur Trade*, in 1801.

Voyages from Montreal is one of five travel accounts reviewed in this inaugural issue; the others span the Ottoman Empire, France, North Africa and Scandinavia. In 'Prejudiced Knowledge: Travel Literature in the *Edinburgh Review*', Massimiliano Demata also points to 'two other essays on works not strictly classed as travel literature – the sixth volume of *Asiatic Researches* and George Baldwin's *Political Reflections relative to Egypt*' as proof of 'the degree of interest that the *Edinburgh* took in works that discussed distant parts of the world, especially when they concerned potential colonial acquisitions' (84). He omits from this list

Francis Horner's short examination of a pamphlet entitled *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, with Observations on the means to be employed for preventing it*. Horner criticises the author of the pamphlet in question, Alexander Irvine, the minister of Rannoch, for having 'preferred fine writing to inquiry' (62). This, coupled with Francis Jeffrey's approving observation that Mackenzie 'makes no pretensions to literary attainments; and the merit of his work certainly is not to be estimated by the elegance of its composition' (158), makes it appear that not only is it unnecessary for texts about North American travel and emigration to aspire to the status of literature, such pretensions might in fact be positively discouraged. While Demata observes that the *Edinburgh* takes a special interest in descriptions of 'potential colonial acquisitions', *Voyages from Montreal* is not framed as a text about conquering virgin lands for the British Crown either by Mackenzie or by his reviewer. Rather, it is a matter-of-fact accounting of a commercial enterprise. Jeffrey at first sets up a comparison of Mackenzie's group of North West Company men ('A small band of adventurers, exposed, for months together, in a boat of bark, upon those inhospitable waters . . .') with the Conquistadors, and specifically with the first Spanish navigator of the Amazon:

> They remind us of the romantic expedition of Orellana, and carry back the imagination to those days of enterprise and discovery, when the Genius of Europe broke into all the continents of the world, and performed and discovered wonders, that made the marvellous familiar, and obtained credit even for impossibilities. (141)

However, this sense of romance is quickly punctured, and the true terms of the *Edinburgh*'s reading of the expedition are made plain. Mackenzie's achievement is to be understood in essentially negative terms, as profoundly lacking in the exoticism of the Conquistadors, whose own primarily economic motivations have taken on a tint of the 'marvellous' with the passage

of time. ‘He has brought back, indeed, no report of prodigies, either of nature or of art, and has not found in his way, the materials of those descriptions which animate the narratives of more fortunate travellers’ (142). Mackenzie’s failure to be ‘fortunate’ does not bespeak a failure to discover all that he might have done, but rather proves that there is nothing there to be found. The relentless accumulation of the tropes of discovery narratives – ‘no traces of ancient civilization, and no indications of surpassing wisdom and virtue among the savages . . . no pyramids, nor labyrinths, nor deserted cities, nor splendid ruins’ – emphasises that it is not travel, as a topic, that is deemed unfit for flights of literary enchantment, it is Canada itself (141).

Having ‘neither reasoned with the superb philosophers of El Dorado, nor exercised himself, in gallantry and arms, with the nymphs of an Amazonian community’, Mackenzie himself is once again the obverse of Orellana, who was credited with at least the final exploit on this list (142). Instead, he is granted the measured praise that ‘though that great harvest, both of invention and discovery, be now over, the gleanings that remain for this latter age, are neither few nor inconsiderable: and Mr. Mackenzie . . . certainly has neither lost his labour nor misemployed it’ despite the belatedness of his endeavour (141). Not only is the age of wonder past, but Canada itself is a more prosaic terrain and the reader is urged to adjust their expectations to a more common-sense level. ‘His adventures, however, have all the interest that sober probability will admit of, or that his situation was capable of exciting’ (142).

Although Mackenzie plotted a route to the Pacific ahead of the United States, the actual outcomes of his journey are not viewed as the main source of the text’s value, since the region is ‘low indeed in the scale of political importance’ (158). Mackenzie’s account is evaluated not according to its contributions to scientific and geographical knowledge but as a text with

potentially broad appeal: 'Though this large volume will convey but little important information to the geographer, the naturalist, or the statesman, it will probably be perused with very general interest and satisfaction' (141). The areas visited by Mackenzie in present-day Alberta and British Columbia are not, of course, the primary focus of this thesis; they are not sites of extensive British settlement at this time and are not discussed as such in the periodical press. The *Edinburgh*'s air of uncertainty about the value of Mackenzie's discoveries, however, carries forward into much of its later coverage of British North America as a whole.

The *Quarterly Review* was launched seven years after the *Edinburgh*, prompted in large part by conservative backlash against the *Edinburgh*'s stance on the Napoleonic Wars. The nature of the two periodicals' coverage of Canadian topics reflects their political polarisation. The first Canadian text listed in the *Quarterly*'s new publications section, in the second issue in May 1809, is something of a sign of things to come: *A View of the Political Situation of Upper Canada, in which her Physical Capacity is stated; the Means of diminishing her Burdens, increasing her Value, and securing her Connection to Great Britain, are fully considered*. The question of whether 'securing her connection to Great Britain' is possible or even desirable will be a vexed one throughout the *Edinburgh*'s Canadian coverage, but for the Tory *Quarterly* the desirability of that connection is an article of faith.

The *Quarterly*'s first extended foray into North American subject matter, like the *Edinburgh*'s, is an article on an overland journey to the Pacific which also appears in the May 1809 issue. This time, the explorers are the Americans Lewis and Clark, with the text under review being *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery* (1808) by Patrick Gass, and the reviewer mentions Mackenzie's earlier expedition only in passing. The matter-of-fact observation that 'there are six degrees of latitude between the mouth of the Columbia,

and that of the river by which Mackenzie reached the Pacific' does not lead to any consideration of this gap as a physical barrier between two competing sets of national interests (304). The *Quarterly* returns to Lewis and Clark in 1815, reviewing the explorers' own account of the expedition, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River* (1814). This time the reviewer, Robert Southey, does frame the endeavour in terms of British–American rivalry. He claims that but for the 'American War' which transformed British interests in the area into American ones, this pioneering journey would have constituted yet another contribution to the score of British national greatness: 'The promotion of such discoveries is one of the glories of the present reign: government approved the enterprize, and it was on the point of being realized when the troubles in America began' (318). The Americans are reproached for not acknowledging Jonathan Carver, their forerunner from colonial Massachusetts who planned a similar westward expedition in the 1770s before being overtaken by political events. Southey is also more convinced than the 1802 *Edinburgh* reviewer of the potential economic and political value of Mackenzie's achievements, which now have an American analogue against which they can be measured:

> But it does not appear probable that this portion of that vast continent will fall to the share of the Americans. Mackenzie's route to the Pacific is both easier and shorter than that of Lewis and Clarke, and the Canadian traders have as much of the spirit of adventure as their rivals, and more capital wherewith to support it. (361)

Southey's eagerness to hark back to Britain's historical claims upon American territory, and to interpret the Mackenzie expedition in terms of its diminishing effect on the United States, is consistent with the hostile tone of his many contributions to the *Quarterly* on American subjects. However, the shift of emphasis between 1809 and 1815 is also attributable to another 'American war', the War of 1812, which made American westward expansion a pressing

political issue – in the conservative press, at least. The *Edinburgh*, in contrast, is reluctant to affix any definite significance to Mackenzie at all, and the magazine is not jolted by the War of 1812 into a renewed sense of the ideological weight of western exploration. When the *Edinburgh* reviews the same Lewis and Clark text as Southey in February 1815, it summarises the main points of interest – the Indian tribes encountered, the obstacles overcome and the unfamiliar landscapes – in very neutral fashion, with no framing of the expedition as an exercise in American nation-building. The stark differences between the two periodicals' engagement with the War of 1812, and the implications for their depiction of Canada, will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. However, the effects of their political polarisation are already visible in the meanings they attach, or refuse to attach, to North American geography.

Emigration, Canadian Travel Writing and American Society, 1805–1810

The first *Edinburgh Review* article to address British emigration to present-day Canada is the 1805 piece by Francis Horner discussed in the Introduction. Horner's point of departure is a review of the Earl of Selkirk's *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration* (1805), which includes an account of the settlement he had established on Prince Edward Island in 1803. In contrast to the *Quarterly Review*'s later portrayal of the Earl as a man possessed of faintly sinister feudal impulses, who aims to set himself up in Canada as a clan chieftain in a style no longer permitted in post-1745 Britain, the *Edinburgh* emphasises the disinterested, scholarly

origin of his involvement in Highland affairs.[1]

> Without any local connection with the Highlands, he was led, very early in life, to take a warm interest in the fate of his countrymen in that part of the kingdom. During the course of his academical studies, his curiosity was strongly excited by the representations he heard of the ancient state of society, and the striking peculiarity of manners still remaining among them. (186)

Prior to conceiving his emigration scheme, the Earl of Selkirk undertakes a tour of the Highlands, where 'he ascertained several of the leading facts on which the reasonings of his works are founded' (186). He comes to the topic neither as an insider nor as a politician, thereby guaranteeing, in the reviewer's opinion, his suitability to advise the latter on the condition of the former. What the Earl finds in the Highlands strongly echoes the impressions Samuel Johnson had received decades earlier. According to Horner, 'He learned, that the Highlanders were dispersing to a variety of situations in a foreign land, where they were lost, not only to their native country, but to themselves as a separate people' (186). However, while Johnson's belief in the danger to both Highland and British communal identities had moved him to argue against large-scale emigration to North America, the Earl of Selkirk and his reviewer both treat the inevitability of that outcome as a given. This is because they, like Johnson, view emigration as a sign of the times, of modernity as rupture with the traditions and essentialised national or regional traits of the past. To the *Edinburgh* of 1805, however, emigration is not a social evil in and of itself, to be prevented at all costs, but a necessary side product of commercial development. The Highlanders' traditional connection to one spot of land must give way to the dictates of modernisation, sacrificed to the greater economic good. Which is not to say that Horner is wholly positive about the process; he accepts it as an

[1] In a review of *A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America; with Observations relative to the North-West Company of Montreal* in October 1816, which deals with the Earl's later settlement on Hudson's Bay Company land on the Red River, in present-day Manitoba.

imperfect solution and argues that 'Emigration is not the evil, but the remedy; the sad, but single resource of those by whom the real evil is suffered. It can never repair it to them, but inadequately' (195).

This need to defend emigration as a response to outside forces rather than an active choice is explained somewhat by Horner's observation that 'we have sometimes heard such a clamour, as if emigration were a new species of sedition' (197). In Johnson's eyes, the Highlanders' willingness to abandon local attachments in favour of 'happier climates, and less arbitrary government' is indeed a form of disloyalty, a forfeiture of traditional Highland identity and British subjecthood, no matter how understandable it may be from an economic standpoint (109). For the Whiggish *Edinburgh*, the forces driving emigration are not personal but structural.

Horner combines a rather unusual insistence that Highlanders (typically portrayed as warlike and anything but conventionally industrious) share their fellow Britons' need for such features of civilised life as 'security and ease' with a standard formulation of the Highlands' temporal link with the distant feudal past. 'Not more than fifty years ago, the state of society in the Highlands of Scotland was very similar to that of England before the Norman conquest' (187).[2] The tension inherent in viewing the plight of Highland emigrants as the sign both of their embeddedness in the workings of contemporary commercial society and of their essential unfitness for this society also informs the question of the identity of Horner's 'public'. Emigration represents a 'temporary loss, unquestionably, to the public', from which the public

[2] This observation neatly foreshadows Walter Scott's claim, in *Waverley*'s 'Postscript, which should have been a Preface' that 'The gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce, have since united to render the present people of Scotland a class of beings as different from their grandfathers as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth's time'. Scott credits the Earl of Selkirk as a source: 'The political and economical effects of these changes have been traced by Lord Selkirk with great precision and accuracy' (363).

will recover (195). The public, by extension, is defined by its lack of personal involvement in emigration. Horner contrasts the Earl of Selkirk's first-hand information about the state of the Highlands with the ignorance and prejudice (which he hopes the Earl's work, and his own review of that work, will remove) of 'Those who are themselves under no necessity of seeking another home' (195). What Horner does not contemplate is that either of these texts should act as a primer for intending emigrants. The aim is to educate the reader about what is happening in this distant corner of their country, and possibly to influence government policy on the issue. Between 1805 and the 1830s this aspect of the periodical press's treatment of emigration undergoes a marked alteration, and emigration comes to be discussed as something that the consumers of periodical literature might themselves elect to pursue.

One of the most striking aspects of Horner's descriptions of what, precisely, is happening when emigrants move from their homes to the colonies is his frequent recourse to images not of transformation but of rearrangement. An emigrant community's new life in Canada is likened, predictably enough, to a plant's growth, but the specifics of the comparison are significant. 'The family of an hereditary farmer, which for ages has been fastening innumerable roots in the spot where it grew, may be torn up by force; but when cast out from its native earth, will seek for some other soil that is most nearly congenial' (195). The Highland emigrant's affinity for locations that will allow him to replicate his traditional way of life is portrayed as a process of uprooting and replanting in a similar soil. Horner also declares that 'the population must be cast in a new form' and that this new form is to be created through a 'change in the distribution of the inhabitants'; not moulding an entirely new society but shifting the existing society's excess from one part of the national space to another (190). However, the rhetorical strategy that Horner employs most frequently is a comparison

between the phenomenon of emigration and the movement of water. This trope, too, receives a particular spin; the movement of Highlanders towards North America is not just a 'flow' or a 'course' in the abstract, but draws upon the terminology of agricultural improvement. 'Since emigration must go on from the Highlands, until the class of small tenants is drained off, it seems desirable that the overflowings of our own population should contribute to the strength and improvement of our own colonies' (198).

Multiple references to draining, to levels that must be maintained or currents that might be diverted, reproduce on a small scale the tension inherent in the *Edinburgh*'s portrayal of emigration and its causes. For example, another set of references to water management highlight the potential for contradiction in the two possible metaphorical functions of water, natural flow or manmade tool: 'the disposition to emigrate arises from unalterable causes, and . . . it must take its course in the mean while, though we may endeavour to devise measures that shall attract the displaced population into new channels of industry at home' (196). Whether this process should be subject to intervention from the state, emigration societies or wealthy private individuals, or whether it ought to be left to play out according to the forces of the market, is one of the biggest questions facing the *Edinburgh* reviewers.

The October 1805 issue also reviews F. A. Michaux's *Travels to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains, in the States of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Tenessee* [sic]. Echoing the *Edinburgh*'s treatment of the far western regions of British North America in Mackenzie's *Voyages*, the region described by Michaux, 'commonly called the Western or Back Country in America', is defined as fundamentally negative space where conventional literary interest is concerned (155). 'They, however, who read travels only for the sake of the marvels they contain, will find very little amusement in it; for the author is very deficient in wonderful

stories, having neither seen mammoths, fought with cannibals, nor intrigued with Indian princesses' (156). These areas are at once unexplored and prosaic; they are poorly understood but at the same time their lack of anything 'wonderful' can be known with complete certainty ahead of time:

> Till lately, this region has been the subject only of vague and fabulous accounts, derived from ignorant or interested landjobbers; and, even now, it is but imperfectly known. This is easily accounted for, when we consider its recent occupation, its great extent, and the uninviting aspect which it presents to travellers. Here are no champaign districts, or elegant cities; nothing meets the eye but the dusky shades of interminable forests, where silence seems to have established her reign, and where the lonely traveller must hold his irksome way, amid perils and privations, without the hope of any brilliant discovery to reward his toils, and embellish the narrative of his adventures. (155–56)

The task of authors of emigrant literature is to fill in that negative space with what is actually there when all the more traditionally 'literary' possibilities are stripped away. It is a form of writing that grapples with, and comes to make a virtue of, the lack of opportunities for the emigrant to come face to face with anything 'marvellous' or even particularly new in the unfamiliar environment of the backwoods. The *Edinburgh*'s picture of the 'Western or Back Country', for example, is filled in with concrete, banal detail pertaining to the commercial development of these new states: 'Of flour alone, there was, in 1802, exported 85,570 barrels' (162).

Only four books about Canada are advertised in the *Edinburgh*'s new publications lists before 1810: George Heriot's *History of Canada* in 1804, George D'Arcy Boulton's *Sketch of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada* in 1805, Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada* in 1809 (also advertised in the *Quarterly*) and Selkirk's *Observations on the present State of the Highlands of Scotland* which is advertised in July 1805, three months prior to being reviewed. The next extended article on a Canadian subject after Horner's 1805 piece on Selkirk is Henry

Brougham's intensely critical treatment of *Travels through the Canadas* (1807), by the Scottish civil servant, painter and author of the 1804 volume *The History of Canada from its First Discovery*, George Heriot. The full title of *Travels through the Canadas* divides its contents into '*a Description of the Picturesque Scenery on some of the Rivers and Lakes'*, '*an Account of the Productions, Commerce, and Inhabitants of those Provinces*' and '*a comparative View of the Manners and Customs of several of the Indian Nations of North and South America'*. Brougham's review, published in April 1808, finds fault with all three of these features. The picturesque descriptions are overly indebted to 'the sublime, and the points of learning connected with it', the more strictly factual aspects are criticised for their excessive detail and the anthropological sections are cribbed from 'Raynal, Robertson . . . and a variety of other authors, whose works are in the most constant state of perusal by every one who reads any books at all' (213; 223).[3] These may be three slightly different objections, but they all unite in rejecting aspects of Heriot's portrayal of Canada as surplus to requirements.

Having begun his review of *Travels in the Canadas* by sardonically questioning the very need for the work's existence ('We by no means assert that this volume contains nothing which the public is indebted to Mr Heriot for publishing') Brougham gestures towards a defence he had made in 1804 of the *Edinburgh*'s extensive coverage of travel writing, and the relaxation of its high standards for literary merit in view of the genre's entertainment value (212). In a review of William Hunter's *Travels through France, Turkey, and Hungary, in 1792* Brougham had written: 'We are of opinion, that books of travels deserve a greater degree of attention, in proportion to their merits, than other works of more ordinary and easier

[3] The Abbé Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770) and William Robertson's *History of America* (1777).

composition; and we have, therefore . . . been disposed to relax in their favour that strict rule of selection, which has been our guide in some other branches of literature' (207). The need for such a defence when it comes to Heriot is made explicit: 'Such being our opinion of this heavy tome, we shall be asked, as we have frequently been on similar occasions, why we give it a place in our Review, – and especially why we proceed to analyse its contents?' (212). The reasons Brougham provides for printing a lengthy review of this particular book constitute more of an indictment of Heriot's work than an assertion of its (limited) aesthetic or informative value: 'We answer, first, because, when such books are published, the unfairness of their pretensions can only be ascertained by examining them . . . And, secondly, because there are generally some things in the poorest of books of fact, which deserve notice' (213).

In the case of *Travels in the Canadas*, the author's narrative choices and literary style are cited as an example of everything the *Edinburgh* holds to be undesirable in a piece of travel writing. Much of this criticism reflects the magazine's general ethos with regard to the genre, but the discussion of the relative merits of personal and impersonal narrative voices and the preference for a plain style relating empirical observations over any hint of 'sublimity' also reveal a specific attitude to the Canadian material. The *Edinburgh* reviewers consistently expect travel writing to mix factual instruction with broader literary appeal, and the personal perspective of the author is of vital importance to the perceived success of such a narrative balancing act. It is the combination of incident ('the difficulties and dangers of the way') with the immediate involvement of the author ('the intrepidity by which they were surmounted') that leads Francis Jeffrey to conclude that Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal* 'will probably be perused with very general interest and satisfaction'. In his review of Heriot, Brougham restates this position: 'Travels are always interesting to lovers of light reading;

because, however often the scene may have been visited, or however unfit the traveller may be to explain it, there is a charm in the story of personal adventures, which makes up for all other defects' (212).

This emphasis on 'personal adventures' echoes not only the article on *Voyages from Montreal* but another review from the magazine's inaugural issue, this time by Brougham himself. In this examination of *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape* by Joseph Acerbi, Brougham observes that 'Books of travels are interesting, either from the information which they afford concerning distant countries, or from the picture which they exhibit of the traveller's mind, and of the impressions made upon it by the scenes through which he passed' (163). This could easily serve as the *Edinburgh*'s overall mission statement about the criteria its reviewers apply to travel narratives. In the case of Acerbi, the possibility of merging factual information with the experience of absorbing this information first hand is treated as equal, if not superior, to the book's instructional value. The impossibility of dispensing with the actor and the eyewitness in the *Edinburgh*'s model for successful travel writing, far from being a rejection of 'mere fact', insists upon the unbreakable connection between the information being conveyed to the reader and the specifics (spatial, temporal) of the situation that has produced it. It is not enough for the author to know about a place; they must portray themselves in the act of gaining that knowledge. Heriot fails to take the 'middle course' and in so doing fails to locate himself within the space of his text, placing himself somewhere above rather than amidst his material.

> The author never once produces himself in person: – and that interest which the scientific writings of a Volney or a Pallas might well afford to sacrifice for the convenient form and arrangement of general treatises, is thus given up by Mr Heriot, – to whom it was a necessary recommendation, – in order to mould his dull

journal into a tedious and trifling statistical detail. (212)[4]

The failure to find a definite position, to connect the self through writing to the places described, is also, by extension, a failure of literary style and, in fact, a forfeiture of the claim to participate in the travel genre – Brougham declares that 'it is only in name that this is a book of travels' (212). Having been found wanting as a travelling observer, Heriot is also not enough of an insider to fully understand the environment he describes: 'He is struck with sentiments of regret at seeing the numbers of fine oak trees daily cut down and burnt in clearing the lands for cultivation. A native of Naples might as well regret to see the waste of ice in Greenland, or an Arab weep over the quantity of fine water thrown away at Gravesend' (222). What position does the British visitor – or, as Heriot actually was between 1792 and 1816, the British resident – occupy with regard to Canada? Does he or she really have no more connection to the customs of their nation's settler colonies than a Neapolitan to Greenland or an Arab to Gravesend?

Brougham's overall verdict is that Heriot's work is largely 'useless', but he does tentatively admit the possibility that it might have value for a particular, very small subset of readers: 'The enumeration of different townships, or districts nominally settled and only begun to be cultivated and cleared, are in the highest degree uninteresting to all but persons having estates in those parts' (220). The review strikes an uneasy balance between reproaching the author for not providing the right kind of detail and expressing doubt that this particular subject is necessary for readers to know about at all.

> There are some things, no doubt, in the volume before us, which deserve to be told; and a person going to Canada might even wish to have *all* that is contained in

[4] Peter Simon Pallas, a natural historian and author of *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire* (1802), is cited as an example of the strictly scientific traveller.

> the first part of the book. But the second half is absolutely useless; and if we allow the first to stand, we have a detail of the lakes, rivers, and cataracts, the villages, farm-houses, and townships of Canada, considerably more minute, (need we say how much less interesting?) than we possess of the county of Northumberland. It is a problem, which we own above our reach, how a market should be found for such works. (212)

While Brougham is able to imagine a potential reader for Heriot's text who is also a 'person going to Canada' he is sceptical that a sufficient number of these readers exist to create a viable 'market for such works'. In the decades following the Napoleonic Wars, however, the more traditional travel accounts are joined in the periodicals' new publications lists by texts specifically aimed at a reader who is also an emigrant, a reader for whom the detail that Brougham considers excessive is, in fact, crucial to their real-life success or failure.

While the Western Territory of the United States and Upper and Lower Canada are characterised by the *Edinburgh* in relatively similar terms as prosaic locations whose literary status is uncertain, from the beginning the *Quarterly*'s writers have a stronger conviction that there is an observable and meaningful difference between the United States and any and all British territories. In November 1809, *American Annals* by the American historian Abiel Holmes is criticised for having pretensions to be a history of 'America' as a whole while focusing on the United States to the exclusion of Spanish America and the historiography of New France contained in the French-language Jesuit Relations. The reviewer, Robert Southey, observes that 'many inconveniences in literature arise from the anomaly of calling a part of the American continent by the appellation of the whole . . . Dr Holmes will do well therefore in a subsequent edition to restrict his subject to the History of the United States, beginning with the first voyage of Cabot' (319–20). The imprecision that Southey objects to is everywhere in evidence; when Francis Horner first introduces the idea of emigration as a panacea for Highland distress in 1805, he refers to 'America' although he is speaking

specifically about Britain's North American colonies. The collections of emigrants' letters which become popular in the 1820s and 1830s display a similar tendency towards inexactitude. An article in the *Quarterly* in 1835 prints excerpts from *Letters from Poor Persons who have lately emigrated to Canada* (1832); the three letters are all addressed from locations in Upper Canada but two of the letter-writers refer to themselves as having 'come to America'.

Southey's correction of Holmes' terminology is not simple pedantry; it is indicative of the fact that for conservative commentators, there are high stakes involved in observing strict lines of demarcation between past and current British possessions in the Americas. The *Quarterly*'s coverage of the United States will be defined by what Tilar Mazzeo describes in 'The Impossibility of being Anglo-American' as 'the rejection of transatlanticism' (60). The 1790s was 'a period of time in which emigration to the United States was experiencing considerable vogue in Radical and Dissenting circles', offering as it did a potential refuge from disillusionment with the French Revolution and the political repression that events in France had provoked in Britain (61). Southey's own abandoned plan to establish a 'Pantisocracy' in Pennsylvania with Samuel Taylor Coleridge is a famous example of this trend. However, the late 1790s and early 1800s also see a hardening of attitudes towards 'exclusive national identity on both sides of the Atlantic' for a variety of reasons, particularly the United States' pursuit of its own foreign policy interests which ran counter to those of Britain, and the introduction of separate American citizenship papers in 1796 (68).

This political divergence would later come to a head with the War of 1812, but the great puzzle for British observers was to account for the accompanying sense of a widening cultural gulf between the two countries. Southey frames the question as follows: 'The colonies took

with them the opinions, and feelings, and manners of their country; none of those political earthquakes which subvert every thing have visited either the colony or the parent state, and yet the Americans have acquired a distinct national character, and even a national physiognomy' (331).[5] This American difference is understood less as the emergence of something entirely new than as a mysterious, quasi-racialised fusion of an originary British character with the American environment in which it has been placed, a process which results in something rather less than the sum of its parts: 'There is however both in the physical and intellectual features of the Americans a trace of savage character, not produced by crossing the breed, but by the circumstances of society and of external nature' (331). As Mazzeo puts it, 'British identity, and English identity in particular, is increasingly represented as stable and organic, entirely inalienable except through a total degradation into the monstrous' (68–69). The *Quarterly* is Mazzeo's main source for British Tory opinion, though she concentrates on slightly later articles on the War of 1812 written by John Barrow. However, the idea of the United States as a site of cultural degeneration is already part of the magazine's rhetorical arsenal in 1809.

The concept of British identity as 'inalienable' produces the fundamental paradox underpinning British depictions (particularly British Tory depictions) of the American republic. In Southey's 1809 piece this takes the form of a reclamation of the Pilgrim Fathers for the mother country, their flight to the colonies reframed as an exemplification, rather than a rejection, of Britishness:

> The Puritans, who had fled into Holland to avoid intolerance at home, carried with them English hearts: they could not bear to think that their little community should be absorbed and lost in a foreign nation; – they had forsaken their birth-place and

[5] For British novelists' responses to the question of an emergent American national character, see Christopher Flynn, *Americans in British Literature, 1770–1832* (2008).

> their family-graves, but they loved their country and their mother tongue, and rather than their children should become subjects of another state and speak another language, they exposed themselves to all the hardships and dangers of colonizing in a savage land. (320)

There is a great deal of agreement between the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh* with regard to the fundamental historical continuities between British and American identity and the unsatisfactory nature of contemporary American culture, but the *Edinburgh*'s writers are rarely so concerned about the last point mentioned here, the desire to avoid becoming non-British subjects. This point of divergence will be a crucial factor in the two periodicals' treatment of Canada.

Canada and Current Affairs: Catholic Emancipation and the War of 1812

1810 sees the *Edinburgh Review*'s first mention of the Canadas in relation to the issue of Catholic Emancipation.[6] Lower Canada, as the only British territorial possession in which Catholicism is not a bar to participation in public life, is cited as a reassuring example of what might be expected if the civil disabilities imposed on Catholics in Ireland were to be removed. The reviewer notes that during the American Revolutionary War:

> *it so happened, that Popish Canada was the only place which preserved its fidelity*, – the only place in which France got no footing . . . Such were the fruits of the only full and complete toleration which this country has yet extended to Catholics. Let any candid person say what would have been the consequence, if all persons of that persuasion had been disabled and disconnected from the government in Canada, even as they now are in Ireland? (37)

This comparison between Lower Canada and Ireland is taken up again in February and

[6] 'Art. I. *Substance of the Speech of Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. on seconding the Motion of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, to refer the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to a Committee of the House of Commons, on Friday, the 18th of May, 1810.' Edinburgh Review* 17.33 (1810): 1–39.

December 1816.[7] In March 1827 an article on 'The Catholic Question' once again reminds the reader that 'Canada was your only Catholic colony'.[8] The *Quarterly* also comments on 'Catholic claims' at similar moments to the *Edinburgh*, in 1810 and again in 1828, but does not mention the Canadian case.[9] However, the insistence that the situation in Lower Canada might offer an example to Ireland is by no means unique to the *Edinburgh*. Conservative periodicals such as *Blackwood's* are equally convinced of these parallels though they take a dimmer view of them: 'the Lower Province is, like the rest of Ireland, torn with intestine dissensions, peopled by a class alien in feelings to the British . . . regarding her as a conqueror, and not forgetful of the humiliation of defeat' (385).[10]

Up to this point, the *Edinburgh*'s coverage of Canadian subject matter has tended to appraise the region's potential appeal to a consumer of travel literature eager for information about unfamiliar places. The first event that moves the magazine to engage with current affairs in the Canadas is the War of 1812, which pitted the British and their Native American allies against the United States. This conflict was in one sense an extension of the Napoleonic Wars – American grievances included the British parliament's 1807 Orders in Council which forbade neutral nations to trade with France, and the impressment of American sailors into the British navy – but was also provoked by issues specific to North America. The British felt

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[7] 'Art. III. *Popular Reflections on the Progress of the Principles of Toleration, and the Reasonableness of the Catholic Claims.*' *Edinburgh Review* 26.51 (1816): 51–66; 'Art. II. *A Letter to the Roman Catholic Priests of Ireland, on the Expediency of reviving the Canonical Mode of electing Bishops by Dean and Chapter.*' *Edinburgh Review* 27.54 (1816): 310–38.
[8] 'Art. VII. *A Plain Statement in support of the Political Claims of the Roman Catholics; in a Letter to the Rev. Sir George Lee, Bart.*' *Edinburgh Review* 45.90 (1827): 435.
[9] 'Art. IX. *The Nature and Extent of the Demands of the Irish Catholics fully explained, in Observations and Strictures, &c.*' *Quarterly Review* 3.5 (1810): 114–29; 'Art. X. *A Letter to an English Layman on the Coronation Oath, &c., and the Present Claims of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.*' *Quarterly Review* 38.76 (1828): 535–98.
[10] Macleod Wylie, 'Canada and Ireland.' *Blackwood's Magazine* 43.269 (1838): 385–95.

compelled to check American westward expansion, which, it was widely believed, threatened the remaining British North American colonies as well as violating the territorial rights of Britain's Indian allies (this latter question being one that both sides were, of course, willing to let drop during postwar negotiations). Upper Canada in particular was cause for concern as much of its population at this time was of US origin, consisting both of United Empire Loyalists who had settled there *en masse* after the American Revolution and of more recent migrants. The War of 1812 played out in large part along the US–Canadian border (with the other important theatre being the Southern states; the last major engagement of the war was the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815). The amount of attention that the two periodicals pay to this conflict is indicative of their overall attitude towards the North American colonies and the importance of preserving them for the British Empire.

For its part, in February 1812 the *Edinburgh* carries an article on a pamphlet called *The Crisis of the Dispute with America* (1811), in which Henry Brougham rails against 'the ruinous consequences of an American war, and the utter worthlessness of the objects for which our rulers are contending' (291). Brougham's opinion sets the tone for the rest of the magazine's coverage, and it is followed in July by an article on *The Speech of Henry Brougham Esq. M.P. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 16th of June 1812, upon the present State of Commerce and Manufactures*. As might be expected, this is a speech in favour of conciliating (or at least not going to war with) the United States, made only two days before the outbreak of hostilities. Due to the previous outspoken opposition to the Orders in Council in the pages of the *Edinburgh*, 'the watchword of Government was let loose upon us; and we were accused of wishing to lower the flag of England to her former rebellious colonies; and, in conjunction with our Transatlantic brethren, to aid Bonaparte in his views of

universal empire: – and this because we were wanting in that *truly British feeling*, which is ready to sacrifice every opinion to that of the Minister of the day' (234). The Orders are blamed for nationwide economic distress: 'The attempts of Bonaparte to injure our commerce, have indeed been successful in a degree which few could originally have imagined; – but, when compared with the exertions of our own Government in the same cause, they sink into contempt and insignificance' (235).

One of the critical voices raised against the *Edinburgh* was, of course, that of the *Quarterly Review*. In March 1812, John Barrow had come out in defence of the government's decisions and put forth quite the opposite interpretation of the mounting international tension, in which 'England however continued to hear the ill humour, and even the menaces of America, not indeed with indifference, but with that calm and dignified moderation which is naturally inspired by consciousness of rectitude combined with consciousness of power' (7). Indeed, his only criticism of the 1807 Orders in Council is that they did not go far enough – what the *Edinburgh* sees as an unjust provocation Barrow describes as a 'feeble effort at retaliation' against previous French and American aggression that 'served as a pretext for a grievance on the part of America' (8). The article dismisses American anger over the British navy's impressment of American sailors, a practice which represented a refusal to recognise the naturalisation of British-born American citizens. Tilar Mazzeo describes impressment as 'a British denial of Anglo-American transnational identity'; that is, an insistence that not only could one not be both British and American, British origin would always supersede or eclipse American citizenship (68). Mazzeo reads the following passage from Barrow's article as an assertion of 'the impossibility of emigrants "unbecoming" British' (68):

> We presume it will not be denied that the king has a right to the services of every British seaman; that all British-born subjects owe him allegiance, which they

> cannot shake off, but which follows them wherever they go; and that *no* rights of citizenship conferred on them by a foreign sovereign can exempt them from the *duties* which they owe to their own. (26)

Barrow, who was Second Secretary to the Admiralty, defends the British navy's actions on the grounds that the expansion of the American merchant navy has created attractive employment opportunities for British merchant seamen and, he claims, for deserters from the Royal Navy as well. He cites the ease with which certificates of American citizenship can be forged, and the overall impossibility of ascertaining which of the thousands of seamen serving under the American flag actually have a right to American papers. The distrust of American citizenship papers goes far beyond the legal technicalities; it represents a refusal to admit that such papers, whatever their legal validity, could ever have the power to remove British affiliations. Barrow's remark that 'There is no difficulty whatever in discriminating British seamen from all foreigners, except Americans' is also telling, as it reflects the larger problem of how, precisely, the Americans have differentiated themselves from the British at this point in the existence of the new republic, and how much weight ought to be given to those differences (26). Barrow doubles down on that point in September 1812: 'That among a number of men sprung from the same parent stock, speaking the same language, having the same habits, and engaged in the same pursuits, an American may occasionally be mistaken for an Englishman, ought not to be a matter of surprize; much less of such wilful misrepresentations' (196). This second article is a review of the provocatively titled *Mr Madison's War. A dispassionate Inquiry into the Reasons alleged by Mr Madison for declaring an offensive and ruinous War against Great Britain; together with some Suggestions as to a peaceable and constitutional Mode of averting that dreadful Calamity*. This text, published in Boston in 1812, is by 'a New England Farmer', a pseudonym of the Federalist political pamphleteer John Lowell, Jr. The

Quarterly co-opts Lowell's expression of American party-political partisanship – anti-war and pro-impressment, opposed to the policies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison – in the service of its own more blanket anti-American position.

In contrast to the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh* focuses throughout its coverage on the European sources of the conflict with the United States; namely, Britain's own misguided economic policies. An article on *American State Papers* in November 1812 goes so far as to declare that 'Strictly speaking, indeed, we have no real quarrel with America; our contest with that power arising incidentally out of our main quarrel in Europe' (452). After the appearance of this article the reader must wait almost two full years for an answer to the question of where the magazine's Eurocentric interpretation of the War of 1812 leaves British North America. Directly following the review of Walter Scott's *Waverley* in November 1814 comes a piece which, on the surface, deals with two rather disparate texts: Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada*, originally advertised back in 1809, and a pamphlet on *The Right and Practice of Impressment, as Concerning Great Britain and America* (1814). However, as is the case for so many articles in both the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, the titles ostensibly under discussion are really a pretext for an extended commentary on current affairs. Gray's book is not mentioned at all in the 1814 article and seems to have been chosen merely because it is one of the handful of texts about the Canadas to have previously been advertised in the magazine. The topic is not the experience of personal travel in North America in the 1800s, but the War of 1812, which was about to be brought to an official close with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814.

Specifically, the article's author Francis Jeffrey argues that it is futile to make a lasting enemy of the United States over such minor territorial holdings as Britain's remaining North

American colonies. For the first time in the *Edinburgh*'s discussion of the war, such questions as the boundary line between the United States and Canada and Indian land rights are broached, in the service of Jeffrey's point that the British ought not to take the provoking step of demanding territorial concessions from the Americans 'for the sake of trying to gain a frontier a little more convenient for the insignificant province of Canada' (258–59). Canada is insignificant because of the tenuousness of its connections to Britain, both political and cultural: 'One half of it is disaffected, and the other nearly indifferent. – Upper Canada is peopled almost entirely by settlers from the United States, who in their hearts must wish well to their countrymen and friends. – Lower Canada – thanks to our preposterous policy – is still almost entirely French, – and dislikes us only less than the Americans' (260).

The position of the *Edinburgh*'s contributors is very consistent with regard to the War of 1812. The 1812 piece on Brougham's speech is attributed to James Loch but according to the *Wellesley Index* was heavily rewritten by Francis Jeffrey, while the other two articles on the conflict are attributed to Jeffrey himself. Jeffrey had in fact been in the United States in 1813, a trip documented by Pam Perkins in 'Reviewing America: Francis Jeffrey, *The Edinburgh Review* and the United States' (2012). Perkins notes that Jeffrey did not 'use his travels as the basis of any published account of the American landscape or people, as did so many British visitors to the United States' (53). On the other hand, Jeffrey is arguably more influential in directing the public conversation in his position as editor of a major periodical than he would be as the author of yet another personal travel narrative. The periodical, as well as 'disseminating awareness of these expensive travel books' to a wide audience, has the power to frame this boom in North American travel literature in a certain way, deciding what ought to be deemed relevant and what is surplus to requirements in writing about the United States

or Canada (Jarvis 74). Jeffrey was certainly received in the United States as someone with influence. He met President James Madison and James Monroe, the Secretary of State, and 'both men debated British policy with him, evidently considering the views of the editor of *The Edinburgh Review* a matter of real interest in the American political world' (Perkins 54). Despite 'the strenuousness with which *The Edinburgh Review* had argued against the American war less than a year before' (66), Jeffrey did not express support for the American position during his meeting with Madison and Monroe, and seems to have been a little bemused by the Americans' apparent expectation that he might do so.

In December 1812, the *Quarterly* includes another article by Southey, this time focusing specifically on emigration. This piece, on *Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor,* is an early engagement with a question that will go on to dominate both periodicals' discussions of emigration after the war: the connection between overpopulation, the ineffective system of parish relief and emigration. Southey refers back to the *Edinburgh*'s views on the current economic situation: 'Every one has his reason ready for the increase of the poor . . . Mr Brougham imputes it more specifically to the Orders in Council' (320). He himself takes a wider view of the crisis: 'The commencement of the present century was distinguished in this country by two measures of prime importance; the population of Great Britain was then for the first time ascertained; and this was followed by an official inquiry into the state of the poor . . . The first result taught us our strength, the second discovered our weakness' (319). The difference between Southey's explanation for the 'increase of the poor' and the analyses which will emerge in the postwar period lies in his description of population as 'our strength' in the eighteenth-century sense. Virtually all future *Quarterly* articles on emigration, however, take the same stand against Malthusian theories of population as

Southey does here: 'the true policy of governments is not to prevent their subjects from multiplying, but to provide uses and employments for them as fast as they multiply' (327). One answer, Southey suggests, would be public works projects in which paupers can be employed in road-building and fen drainage, but the most fail-safe solution, because it is inexhaustible, is colonisation:

> Let the reader cast a thought over the map, and see what elbow-room there is for England. We have Canada with all its territory, we have Surinam, the Cape Colony, Austral-Asia, countries which are collectively more than fifty-fold the area of the British isles, and which a thousand years of uninterrupted prosperity would scarcely suffice to people. It is time that Britain should become the hive of nations, and cast her swarms; and here are lands to receive them. What is required of government is to encourage emigration by founding settlements and facilitating the means of transport. (355)

At this stage, Southey and the *Edinburgh* are not entirely at odds with regard to the future political connection between these diasporic British subjects and their homeland: 'Whether they should be held in colonial dependence, or become separate states, or when they may have ceased to depend upon the parent country, connected with her by the union of reverential attachment on one side, and common interests on both, is of little import upon this wide view of things' (355). However, Southey has arrived at the same point as Brougham and Jeffrey by a very different route. He is convinced not of the irrelevancy of ensuring that emigrant destinations will remain British but rather of the inevitability of them being so, and this stance is due to his hostility towards the United States and refusal to fully acknowledge its separate nationhood:

> In America at this day, hostile America, unhappily alienated from her dependence upon England by our misconduct and the artifices of our common enemy, and now the wanton aggressor in a war undertaken in obsequiousness to that enemy; still in America, whatever is civilized, whatever is intellectual, whatever is ennobling, whatever is good or great, is, and must ever be, of English origin. (355)

Robin Jarvis notes in 'Contesting the "secret grudge": The Image of America in the

Edinburgh Review' that in comparison to the *Edinburgh*, 'The rival *Quarterly Review* . . . took much less interest in American travels, covering only a small number of key publications' (47). While it may pay less attention to 'straight' travel narratives, the *Quarterly* does take an interest in American texts of another kind, using reviews of American literature to bolster political arguments hostile to the United States. In January 1814 a review of *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters* (1810) appears against the backdrop of the ongoing conflict and more specifically of a report made to the United States Congress criticising the British conduct of the war:

> In the mean time the book, whose title we have prefixed to this article, having opportunely reached us from New York, has suggested to us that it might not be uninstructive or unamusing to inquire a little into the character of a people whom its government are thus inflaming into unextinguishable hatred against us, and whom we are so desirous of 'conciliating'. (495).

This book, which has apparently taken four years to reach the *Quarterly*, is by Charles Jared Ingersoll, a Democratic politician – a politician of a very different stripe, that is, to the 'New England Farmer' of 1812. Ingersoll's explicit goal is to strike back at negative British depictions of the United States; it is not cast as an objective account only, but as a *'Refutation of many of the Aspersions cast upon this Country, by former Residents and Tourists*'. Inevitably, this project is not well received by the *Quarterly*, which uses it to rail against America's 'war of *conquest*, a policy the objects of which are ingenuously avowed by Mr Madison to be – the "making of *territorial* reprisal for *oceanic* outrages," and the "removing of vexations caused by the sway of *other* nations *upon their borders*." What is meant by the first of these objects but the conquest of Canada? and what by the second but the extension of dominion over the whole continent of America from sea to sea?' (536).

In the very same issue, John Wilson Croker reviews *The Lay of the Scottish Fiddle*

(1813), a five-canto poem carrying the subtitle 'Supposed to be written by W— S—, Esq. First American, from the Fourth Edinburgh Edition'. This parodic poem is the work of James Kirke Paulding, a co-writer of the satirical periodical *Salmagundi* along with Washington Irving.[11] It applies the style of Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) to a burlesque of recent naval campaigns, featuring 'Childe Cockburn' – Admiral George Cockburn, who would become infamous in American circles for his part in the attack on Washington D.C. and the burning of the White House later in 1814 – in a prominent role.[12] By selecting a parodic work for review, the *Quarterly* effectively stacks the deck in their use of American literature as an index of the progress, or degeneration, of American society in relation to a British original: 'It was to be expected that in the process of time an American wag would make his appearance . . . Childhood is every where a parodist. America is all a parody, a mimicry of her parents' (463).

The *Edinburgh*'s last word on the war comes in 1814, but the conflict has an afterlife in the *Quarterly*. In July 1822 an article on 'Campaigns in the Canadas' brings together three accounts of the military campaigns of the War of 1812, including one American text which is held up as an example of 'bombast, exaggeration, and falsehood' (407).[13] The main goal of the article is to 'offer a sketch of the war in the Canadas from its commencement to the termination of hostilities', implicitly acknowledging that this insight into events in Canada itself may not have been provided to the British periodical reader at the time, when coverage

[11] The magazine – full title *Salmagundi; or The Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq. & Others* – ran from 1807 to 1808. It is best known as the publication in which Washington Irving first coined 'Gotham' as a nickname for New York City.
[12] For discussion of both Ingersoll and Paulding in the context of the War of 1812, see Joseph Eaton, *The Anglo-American Paper War* (2012).
[13] John Lewis Thomson, *Historical Sketches of the late War between the United States and Great Britain; blended with Anecdotes illustrative of the individual Bravery of the American Sailors, Soldiers, and Citizens*. Philadelphia, 1816.

of the war was dominated by anti-American and anti-French rhetoric (408). 'During the continuance of a conflict in which embattled nations were the actors, and empires the stake, anxiety could in vain be demanded for the insignificant result of a Canadian skirmish, or the puny vicissitudes of a campaign on the Niagara' (405). Now, with a renewed sense of the importance of the Canadian colonies, which survived the war intact even though for the Americans, 'the real object was the conquest of the Canadas', the *Quarterly* aims to make up for this neglect: 'But though surpassed in magnitude and eclipsed by the achievements of our army in Europe, the details of the military operations in the Canadas and on the coasts of the United States are both interesting in themselves, and of importance to the future security of our transatlantic possessions' (405).

The Postwar Years: Canadian Travels and Emigrant's Guides

In October 1816, the Earl of Selkirk's colonisation efforts come into focus once again, this time in the *Quarterly*. 'Lord Selkirk, and the North-West Company' picks up his career at a later stage, dealing with his doomed attempt to establish a settlement on land belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company on the Red River in present-day Manitoba. This article is more critical of Selkirk's approach to colonisation than the *Edinburgh* had been in 1805; this is perhaps unsurprising since his new enterprise was controversial. Selkirk bought large numbers of shares in the Hudson's Bay Company so that he could compel the company, which had previously refused him a land grant, to authorise it. The location of the colony brought the settlers into conflict with the North West Company and the local Métis population and these tensions finally came to a head in a violent clash in June 1816. The governor and twenty other settlers were killed and the Red River colony was abandoned.

Francis Horner's 1805 *Edinburgh Review* article on Selkirk invokes the concept of uneven development to make his case that the rate of commercial progress has left the Highlanders out of place in modern Britain, while the colonies are a place where traditional social structures might be preserved. Barrow, on the other hand, casts that possibility in a more negative light: 'His intentions were, no doubt, benevolent and humane; but, an impulse was supposed to be given to them by the ruling passion of reviving, in North America, that species of feudal system which was finally extinguished in North Britain about "seventy years since"' (129). *Waverley* itself cites the Earl's earlier work, and now Barrow alludes to *Waverley*'s subtitle ''Tis Sixty Years Since' to make a point about what he sees as the anachronistic nature of the Earl's latest endeavour. This difference of emphasis speaks in part to the national identities of the two periodicals and the two contributors; for Barrow Selkirk himself is a feudal aristocrat clinging to an earlier age, while for Horner he is a fellow Enlightened Lowlander, a benevolent observer of Highland culture. Barrow's use of the term 'North Britain' underlines this point. His uneasiness about the possibility that North British feudalism might be exported to British North America also reflects a more general uncertainty about the inherent meaning of the large-scale movement of people, in cultural terms; about whether Canada already has its own regional identity or is a neutral receptacle for British social structures.

It seems that the *Quarterly*, at this stage, is no more convinced of Canada's attractiveness as a destination than the *Edinburgh* has been:

> We have strong doubts, we confess, of the policy as well as the efficacy of Lord Selkirk's plan of colonization. While we have such valuable possessions as the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon . . . almost without a population, we cannot observe without the deepest regret the tide of emigration setting so strongly to the North-westward. (142)

This is the first discussion in the *Quarterly* of an organised 'plan of colonization' in British North America. While the magazine's coverage of the War of 1812 trumpets the importance of protecting the Canadas from American expansionist ambitions this has not, as of 1816, translated into overt enthusiasm for the region as an emigrant destination. Barrow's trepidation about the Red River experiment is due largely to the specific conditions of the far northwest, to the moral dangers posed by the temptation to abandon agriculture in favour of the rapacious, corrupting fur trade. Colonisation, therefore, should be directed elsewhere; Barrow does not, however, suggest the adjacent farmlands of Upper Canada. A small flurry of publications relating to the dissolution of the Red River settlement and Selkirk's subsequent legal proceedings against North West Company employees appear on the new publications lists of the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's* in the years that follow: see the Appendix entries for 1817–20 for details.

In December 1818, the *Edinburgh* pairs *Travels in Canada and the United States, in 1816 and 1817* by Francis Hall and *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America and Lower Canada, performed in the year 1817* by John Palmer with Henry Bradshaw Fearon's *A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America* and John Bradbury's *Travels in the Interior of America* in an article on 'Travellers in America'. In spite of the references to Canada in the titles of the first two books, this is, once again, a review focusing exclusively on the United States. The piece begins by mentioning emigration: 'These four books are all very worth reading, to any person who feels, as we do, the importance and interest of the subject of which they treat. They contain a great deal of information and amusement; and will probably decide the fate, and direct the footsteps, of many human beings, seeking a better lot than the Old World can afford them'

(133). However, the reviewer is primarily interested in debunking what he sees as the anti-American exaggerations of Fearon in particular. Fearon's *Narrative* is conceived in part as a response to Morris Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey in America* (1817), which the *Edinburgh* had described in the June 1818 number as 'one of the most interesting and instructive books that have appeared for many years' (120). The *Edinburgh* reviewer highlights the fact that a negative depiction of the United States often leads, inexorably, to an opinion of Canada which from the *Edinburgh*'s point of view is disproportionately positive. The twin desires to represent Americans as 'dangerous competitors for wealth and power' but also as 'objects of contempt' means that 'of late years the tone assumed by the [anti-American] party has been that of unsparing detraction and bitter sneering at every thing beyond the Atlantic, – except the province of Canada, which the same judicious authorities represent upon all occasions as the very right arm of British strength' (121).

The author of this article is the fourth of the *Edinburgh*'s founders (along with Jeffrey, Brougham and Horner), Sydney Smith. Smith occupies a position of some notoriety in the field of Anglo-American literary relations for an 1820 article in which he poses the question: 'In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?' (79). This remark has placed Smith in the role of primary antagonist in many critics' narratives of the development of a homegrown American literary tradition in the early nineteenth century. In *Atlantic Double-Cross* (1986), for example, Robert Weisbuch argues that 'the plentiful taunts of British periodicals went to encourage a creative anger in America that in turn helped to create the very native literature whose absence was its own starting-point' (12). In Richard Ruland and Malcolm Bradbury's *From Puritanism to Postmodernism* (1991), Washington Irving's achievement of transatlantic success is framed as an effective answer to Smith's question (85).

But the question is not settled with Irving; Ruland and Bradbury also read Herman Melville's essay 'Hawthorne and His Mosses' (1850), which declares 'Let America first praise mediocrity even, in her children, before she praises . . . the best excellence of the children of other lands', as a nationalist response to Smith's 'gibe of thirty years before' (137). Richard Gravil's *Romantic Dialogues* (2000) devotes a section to 'The Sydney Smith Affair' and Smith's representative status in Americanist criticism as the epitome of British condescension.

In the 1820 article itself Smith follows up his question with many others – 'or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicists or surgeons?' – but it is the 'American book' which has, understandably, been the focus of literary criticism. It epitomises the paradox at the centre of the *Edinburgh*'s engagement with the United States; a generally positive opinion of the country as a political entity combined with a dismissive attitude towards it as a cultural one. For Pam Perkins this stance reflects the dual identity of the magazine itself, distanced from the centres of power both politically and geographically but occupying a position of cultural pre-eminence as a gatekeeper of the British literary establishment: 'If political sympathy for America is a measure of *The Edinburgh Review*'s loudly proclaimed stance of Whiggish opposition to British government policies, the *Review*'s treatment of American cultural life simultaneously helps to establish its Scottish writers as arbiters of the English literary standards against which the previous generation of Scottish literati had so carefully measured their own prose style' (59).

Smith's 1818 article makes pronouncements on American literature which anticipate his far better-known remarks of 1820:

> Literature the Americans have none – no native literature, we mean. It is all imported . . . But why should the Americans write books, when a six weeks'

> passage brings them, in their own tongue, our sense, science and genius, in bales and hogsheads? Prairies, steam-boats, grist-mills, are their natural objects for centuries to come. (144)

The article in which Smith does pass his famous verdict on American literature is a review not of an example of American poetry or novel-writing but of *Statistical Annals of the United States* (1818) – a book whose subject matter actually is the steam-boats and grist-mills. The question of what it means to add such writings to the score of 'native literature', when for Smith they are records of a preparatory period which will at some point in the future give way to a stage of society capable of cultural production is, in essence, the central question of this thesis.

Throughout this period, writers acknowledge the established fact of mass emigration in the abstract while frequently struggling to imagine the precise circumstances in which an individual might actually make the decision to emigrate, the tipping point at which economic pressures definitively outweigh the emigrant's attachment to home. Smith, who is able to imagine that at least some of his readers might be interested in the books under review for concrete practical reasons, concludes: 'As for Emigration, every man, of course, must determine for himself. A carpenter under 30 years of age, who finds himself at Cincinnati with an axe over his shoulder, and ten pounds in his pocket, will get rich in America, if the change of climate does not kill him. But any person with tolerable prosperity here, had better remain where he is' (149). Overall, until at least the early 1830s, British writers tend to be suspicious of the idea of emigration as an opportunity; they are more comfortable with it as a refuge, a final extremity.

> How, too, can any man take upon himself to say, that he is so indifferent to his country that he will not begin to love it intensely, when he is 5000 or 6000 miles from it? And what a dreadful disease Nostalgia must be on the banks of the Missouri! Severe and painful poverty will drive us all anywhere: But a wise man

> should be quite sure he has so irresistible a plea, before he ventures on the Great or the Little Wabash. (150)

It is not clear whether Nostalgia would be a similarly dreadful disease on the banks of the St Lawrence. It seems likely that it would; that the immense distance from home would not be overcome by the continuity of national political affiliation in Smith's view, but this extra level of complexity does not enter into his calculations. It will be for more conservative commentators to offer up a picture of Canada as a place where the disjunction of emigration is counteracted by the presence of familiar British institutions.

A similar article, this time on 'Louisiana', follows in July 1819, including two emigrant's guides, *The Western Gazetteer* (1817) and *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and South-Western States and Territories* (1818). The *Edinburgh*'s interest in the settlement of new areas of the United States contrasts sharply with the *Quarterly*'s choice of North American material around which to structure its opinion pieces – in July 1820 the *Quarterly* devotes an article to three Canadian travel narratives and emigrant's guides, none of which are reviewed by the *Edinburgh*. These texts are Charles F. Grece's *Facts and Observations respecting Canada and the United States of America* (1819), Charles Stuart's *Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada* (1820) and James Strachan's *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada, in 1819* (1820). While Barrow in 1816 had expressed some surprise that emigration was being directed 'to the North-westward' rather than to the Cape of Good Hope or Ceylon, here Richard Whately observes that 'the public attention has been of late so particularly directed to the Cape, that it becomes a duty to prevent, as far as our influence extends, an undue neglect of our North American colonies' (374).

In the interim between these two articles, a well-publicised assisted emigration scheme had placed around 4,000 settlers in different parts of the Cape Colony in April and June

1820.[14] South Africa was the preferred location of Robert Wilmot Horton's predecessor in the Colonial Office, Henry Goulburn, but the settlers immediately ran into difficulties. They did not have the requisite expertise to cultivate the unfamiliar soil and cope with the harsh climate, and many of them migrated away from their lands and reverted to their original trades, while others became dependent for support on the colonial government.[15] Where previously any discussion of Canada's significance has tended to occur in the context of articles on the United States, here the focus is on the factors distinguishing one British settler colony from another. This article represents the *Quarterly*'s first unequivocal advocacy of Upper Canada:

> Those whom health or inclination leads to prefer a much warmer climate than our own, will naturally prefer the Cape: those, on the other hand, who wish for a climate and soil, and produce, and culture, the most nearly approaching that to which they have been accustomed, will be more nearly suited, we apprehend, in Upper Canada, than in any other spot they can fix upon. The comparative shortness of the voyage also, will be likely to influence the decision of many emigrants; and the number of colonists of British origin already fixed there, will be an inducement to others, especially to such as have connexions or friends among the number. (374)

In listing the advantages of Upper Canada, Whately is also implicitly alluding to the disadvantages of the Cape Colony – its great distance from Britain, the challenging conditions and, above all, the documented disinclination of some potential settlers to choose the Cape because they already had personal connections in Canada. This was why the Glasgow weavers turned down the offer to go to the Cape Colony in 1819. The above arguments in favour of Canada will also become the common tropes of Canadian emigrant's guides.

As ever, Whately's review is also invested in countering 'the exaggerated descriptions

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[14] It was well publicised in the *Quarterly* itself: John Barrow authored an article on '*The Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, as a Colony to Great Britain*' in July 1819. *Quarterly Review* 22.43 (1819): 203–46.
[15] Johnston 32–48.

of Mr Birkbeck and others, of the superior advantages held out by the United States' which are deluding emigrants into choosing the United States over Canada (374). 'We would be the last to encourage an illiberal jealousy of the United States . . . but it is not going too far to feel a preference, at least, for our own colonies; – to wish that they should receive that accession of numbers and of capital from English emigration, which has hitherto, in a majority of instances, been intercepted by a foreign power' (389). A nascent Canadian identity comes into view here, one which is in perfect harmony with the *Quarterly*'s vision of Canada's role in world affairs: 'They appear indeed to come short of no British subjects throughout the world in devoted attachment to our government and (what to them is a necessary part of that attachment) in a rooted aversion to that of the United States' (390). The chief attraction of Upper Canada is still the province's status as an alternative to the United States; not merely a place with more congenial politics but one without any politics at all. Political disaffection provides an explanation for the emigrant's decision to leave Britain which is not available in the case of Canada: 'Those in whom a rooted aversion to our constitution in church and state is one of the principal inducements for emigrating to republican America, it would neither be easy nor desirable to divert from their purpose. That is the best place for them' (399). Canada, on the other hand, offers the same solution to the emigrant's economic distress as the United States, and demands no accompanying political change – or, less charitably put, allows the political underpinnings of that distress to go unacknowledged:

> For those, who, though not *radically* corrupt in their notions, nor altogether hostile to our government and religion, may have been goaded by the pressure of distress, combined with the inflammatory declamations of designing men, to feel a great degree of impatience of the burden of taxes, tithes, and poor-rates; and such men may become, by the removal of the cause of their irritation, loyal and peaceable subjects in that part of the empire which is *entirely exempt from those burdens*. (399)

The material conditions of Upper Canadian settler life – the geographical isolation on backwoods lots with undeveloped communications, the physical toil, the preponderance of agriculture and dearth of manufacturing – are themselves uniquely suited to neutralising political grievances: 'At least their angry feelings will have time and opportunity to subside, in a country where there are no tumultuous meeting in populous towns of unemployed manufacturers; but where all their neighbours, as well as themselves, have something better to do . . . than to set about new modelling the constitution' (400). The work of settlement is placed explicitly in opposition to political activity.

Stephen Fender has argued that in the postwar period, 'the dominant question was, almost without exception, the desirability of emigration to the United States. Why? Because by now the whole issue of emigration had become inscribed within the discourse for and against the extension of the franchise and a reform of the tax system. Loathe it or love it, the United States was now the "other" – the alternative, radical dispensation' (38). While it is true that a preference for the United States is consistently equated with political disaffection in the Tory press, in this analysis the only two choices are emigrating to the United States and staying in Britain. What is absent from Fender's argument is the fact that there was an emigrant destination which was held up as a place 'where the chief reform called for is to convert forests into cornfields, in which no one will hinder them from laying the axe to the root of the evil' (400).[16] For Tory writers on emigration, Canada proves that economic opportunity can be divorced from, or indeed mobilised against, the reform question; the alternative, conservative dispensation, perhaps. Given the *Quarterly*'s position, it is not

[16] Referring to the work of clearing the Canadian forests, facetiously, as 'laying the axe to the root' is quite common; John Galt's use of the term in his account of the founding of Guelph, published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830, will be discussed in Chapter Two.

surprising that the Canadians' clear demonstration that they do in fact have some interest in 'new modelling the constitution' in the late 1830s – the demand for responsible government – will coincide with the magazine's loss of interest in the colony.

Despite the political gulf between the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, where the literary aspects of Grece, Stuart and Strachan's books are concerned Whately has much in common with the last in-depth treatment of a Canadian travel account, Henry Brougham's review of Heriot's *Travels Through the Canadas* in 1808. Grece's perspective is valued as that of a local informant, while 'Captain Stuart's book is in some respects recommended by the circumstance of its *not* being written by a Canadian', since 'One who is familiar with a different state of society is at least the better qualified to convey to those similarly circumstanced a clear idea of the state of a new colony' (379). Heriot was accused of falling between two stools, unable to discriminate between information useful to his British readers and 'extraneous matter', but also unable to shed the assumptions of the outside observer, shocked by deforestation. Grece, on the other hand, is adjudged to have navigated this minefield:

> As a Canadian, his statement of the comparative advantages of settling in his own country, and in the United States, will naturally be exposed to the suspicion of partiality: but those who will judge for themselves by a perusal of his book, cannot fail, we think, to be impressed with an appearance of candour and veracity; and where he expresses himself the most strongly, he is borne out by the testimony of unexceptionable witnesses. (375)

Whately reaches the conclusion that 'Mr Strachan's book is by far the most interesting that we have seen on the subject' because it offers the best of both worlds, being split between the perspectives of traveller and insider: 'The author presents us with his own first impressions as a stranger, together with the accurate local knowledge obtained from his brother, a settler of long standing, who has access to the best sources of information' (384). Grece's writing style meets with Whately's approval because of its lack of pretensions to the status of literature: 'it

is no slight recommendation to the greater part of his readers, and we may add, to his reviewers, that he seems altogether exempt from the ambition of making a book, and conveys his information briefly and plainly, with the air of a man who writes, not because he *wants to say something*, but because he *has something to say*' (373). Stuart is not judged so favourably:

> We refrain from giving any specimens of his unsuccessful attempts at sublimity, because we think too well of the design and of the probable utility of the work, to have any pleasure in drawing ridicule upon it: but in case the author should have any thoughts of re-casting it in a second edition, or of publishing any thing further on the subject, we would beg leave to advise him to omit all extraneous matter, and say what he has to say on the subject in a plain way. (380)

Brougham criticises Heriot's style in almost identical terms: 'the eighth [chapter] opens with "*Sublime subject of the falls further pursued*;" – so that we are fairly warned of the author's intention to be exceedingly sublime, – and truly so he is' (214). The question of what is deemed 'extraneous' in a text about Canada encompasses subject matter, genre and literary style. The ideal depiction of Canada, as defined by the quarterly reviewers, will bolster its first-person, on-the-spot testimony with outside sources. Omitting either of these two elements will result in accusations of indulgent literary pretension inappropriate to the subject at hand, partiality or personal 'interest' when what is called for is objective, trustworthy information that readers can put to use, or, at the other end of the spectrum, a reliance on a statistical overview detached from the specific conditions encountered by the writer. The narrative balancing act recommended by the reviews is, indeed, an omnipresent feature of the various forms of writing about Canadian emigration. Emigrant's guides rely on an accumulation of near-identical first-person accounts which gain authority by attaining critical mass. These are usually paired with excerpts from other guides, travel narratives and newspapers, drawn from a small 'canon' of texts (which are very often those reviewed or advertised in the major periodicals).

We have another opportunity to see these critical preferences in action when another book about Canada is given a detailed treatment in the *Edinburgh* in June 1822. John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* is the first such work to receive attention in major Tory and Whig periodicals, reviewed in *Blackwood's* in December 1821 and then in the *Edinburgh* six months later. In *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel*, Robin Jarvis explains Howison's reception as follows: 'There had been support for emigration to Canada in the periodical press before the post-war crisis . . . but the desperate situation after Waterloo and the surge in transatlantic human traffic concentrated commentators' minds. Consequently, books like John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* (1821) united reviewers across the ideological spectrum' (74). While they are certainly united in recognising Howison's work as an important contribution to the store of useful information about Canada, the terms of the *Edinburgh*'s positive reaction to Howison are not, in fact, quite the same as those of *Blackwood's*.

A key to their differences is suggested by Jarvis's observation that 'whereas sometimes, in dealing with cultural traits, the United States and Canada are merged in a generalized discussion of "transatlantic manners", when reviewers engage with a politically sensitive issue like emigration, the distinction is invariably kept firmly in view' (73). This statement is true of Tory reviewers, as it is, indeed, 'far from coincidental that, the year after Barrow's broadside against Fearon, the *Quarterly* published a review (by Richard Whately) of three books under the heading "Emigration to Canada" that goes out of its way to present this option in a favourable light' (73). It is not entirely accurate, however, in the case of the *Edinburgh*, whose contributors remain generally ambivalent about Canada as a political entity, comment on emigration to the United States in a manner that is, if not overtly positive, at least neutral, and

are critical of any exaggerated insistence that Canada and the United States offer a dramatically different experience for the emigrants themselves. In July 1832, for example, in a review of Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* William Empson remarks sceptically on 'the monarchical element in the air of Canada which enables Englishmen to breathe more freely on crossing the boundary at Niagara, and to remark as striking a difference as on crossing the Rhine or Pyrenees' (502).

The *Edinburgh*'s review of Howison certainly does begin on a more expansive note than is usual in the magazine's discussions of Canada:

> It is impossible to think of the effects that have already resulted from the British settlements in North America, without feelings of pride and exultation. A greater and more important change has been effected by them, and with more permanent benefit to mankind, than perhaps by any event in the whole range of history. (249)

However, it quickly becomes apparent that the category of 'British settlements in North America' does not refer exclusively, or even primarily, to the British colonies which are still in the country's possession: 'A wilderness has been peopled – arts and civilization have been spread over an extent of country equal to a large portion of Europe – a powerful commonwealth has arisen, founded on the largest principles of political liberty which the world has ever seen reduced to practice' (249). The blurring of the distinctions between the United States and Canada which are so significant in the *Quarterly* also means that instead of offering a loyal British alternative to American political institutions and cultural degeneration, Canada's relationship to the United States has the potential to be emulative:

> When we look back to the time . . . when the small band of religionists first fled from intolerance, and sought an asylum on the bleak shores of New England, and trace them through all their struggles and hardships, and consider the prosperity their descendants now enjoy, and the still higher destiny to which they seem so rapidly advancing, it greatly heightens the interest we feel in the success of the attempts now making to direct the current of our surplus population towards the unsettled districts of Upper Canada. (250)

After this optimistic beginning, the reviewer continues: 'whatever our anticipations may be of the future destinies of this extensive province, we cannot, in a political point of view, look upon it as of much value to the mother country' (250). There are two reasons given for this: the fact that Canada 'has hitherto brought more expense than profit to this country' and the difficulty of defending it against the United States should the need ever arise (250). There is a separation between the economic interests of the individual emigrant and the greater, or more abstract, national good: 'however sanguine our hopes and expectations may be of the prosperity of this colony, they arise rather from an anticipation of the future comforts and happiness of the settlers themselves, than from any calculation on an increase to our own political power or commercial greatness' (251). This opinion reflects the *Edinburgh*'s overall lack of confidence about the political future of Canada, which does not have the *Quarterly*'s anti-American stance to lend the question more urgency.

There is also some uncertainty about who the inhabitants of Upper Canada actually are at this point in time; they are some mixture of Loyalists, French Canadians, American migrants and the most recent group of arrivals, 'Irish and Scottish emigrants, who, driven by penury and wretchedness, seek in a distant land for that sustenance which their mother country must have appeared to them, like a cruel stepmother, to deny' (251). Compared to the *Quarterly*'s comforting portrait of Canada as a site of reconciliation with the British state, here no real distinction exists between 'distant lands' within the empire and those outside of it, and the people have differing degrees of connection to Britain. Some were born in its peripheries; some are of British descent and were born in its former colonies either before or after they were severed from the Crown; some are only British by means of the still-recent conquest of New France.

Howison's *Blackwood's* reviewer is John Galt, the rest of whose many periodical writings on Canadian topics will be discussed in Chapter Two. He is unreserved in his praise: 'We have no hesitation in saying, that this is by far the best book which has ever been written by any British traveller on the subject of North America' (537). This enthusiasm extends even to the question of Howison's literary style: 'in the midst of much ornament, we have been able to discover nothing either of superfluity or of vanity . . . Our literature, in a word, has not for a long time witnessed a *debut* every way so promising, as this of Mr Howison' (537–38). One important factor here is Howison's own association with *Blackwood's* as a regular contributor of short fiction. The *Edinburgh* is also cautiously positive about Howison's style and its appropriateness for capturing the Canadian environment, though the reviewer sounds the usual note of caution against indulging in literature: 'His narrative, on the whole, is agreeably written; and although his style is somewhat too florid and ambitious, his descriptions of the wild and picturesque scenery of the wilderness he traversed, are given with very considerable spirit and effect' (255). Howison's opportunities to go overboard with landscape description are in any case limited, given the *Edinburgh*'s view of Upper Canada as an overwhelmingly prosaic environment:

> Such scenery is but of rare occurrence in the course of his route; for Upper Canada being a flat country, nothing can well be imagined more dreary and monotonous than its general aspect. He alone who has visited those regions of interminable forests can form an adequate idea of their dreariness; and even when the dull uniformity is occasionally broken by the appearance of the first feeble attempts at cultivation, the view that presents itself is hardly more attractive. (255)

This view is dominated by clearings, burnt-out trees, stumps, fences and log-houses, 'the whole forming a picture, from which the painter or lover of the picturesque would turn with disgust' (255). This applies even to the most obviously sublime element in the Upper Canadian landscape, Niagara Falls, which is not what it once was. 'Even the great cataract of

Niagara, which so lately could not be reached but by a long and toilsome journey through the pathless forest, loses somewhat of its sublimity in the eyes of the traveller, who has been carried to its very brink in a mail-coach' (260). The development of the province's infrastructure, and the commodification of Niagara as a tourist site, has replaced 'the wild Indian in his savage habiliments' with 'a bevy of giggling damsels from Albany or New-York, with pink pelisses and green parasols' (260).[17] Galt's *Blackwood's* review, for its part, takes more of a positive view of elements that the *Edinburgh* deems superfluous or passé like the 'primeval forests' and Niagara Falls (341). On the other hand, Galt's novelistic treatment of the Falls in *Bogle Corbet* is comically punctured by his protagonist's wife, who is content to view them from the window of her hotel room and declares that 'of all the waterfalls that I have seen, the best is from the tea-kettle into the tea-pot' (3: 225).

Whether as sublime spectacle or tourist attraction, from the point of view of the *Edinburgh* reviewer Niagara is rather beside the point. The review focuses above all on the useful practical information that can be gleaned from Howison's book and devotes more attention to Howison's visits to the Highland settlers at Glengarry and the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie: 'We shall spare our readers Mr H.'s description of this scene, which he has laboured very unsuccessfully to render impressive by big words and sounding epithets, and follow him rather in his visits to some of the new settlements' (260). As Jarvis puts it:

> Both reviewers attend also to other aspects of Howison's *Sketches*, such as his landscape descriptions, but it is noticeable that both begin with the material – the advice to emigrants – that is supplementary to Howison's text: they read with a purpose, and, given the importance of periodicals in disseminating awareness of

[17] Kevin Hutchings examines the different constructions of Niagara by Romantic travellers – overwhelming sensory experience, source of sublime dread, sacred site and tourist attraction – in 'Romantic Niagara: Environmental Aesthetics, Indigenous Culture, and Transatlantic Tourism, 1794–1850'. *Transatlantic Literary Exchanges, 1790–1870: Gender, Race, and Nation.* 153–68.

> these expensive travel books, the seriousness of that purpose should not be underestimated. (74)

In effect, the reviews' principles of selection make travel narratives more closely resemble emigrant's guides. Galt observes that 'it seems to be made out quite convincingly, that any industrious family, who can command a capital of 20 or 30 pounds, may safely embark for Canada, and nourish the hope of soon seeing themselves elevated into a situation of comfort and independence' (540). Almost two pages of his nine-page review are devoted to block quotations of Howison's directions on what route to take, what goods to bring along, how to procure a land grant on arrival with a table of the fees that the emigrant can expect to pay and how to go about clearing the land once it is in their possession. The *Edinburgh* is similarly concerned with the details: 'the most prudent course the emigrant can pursue, is to take his passage either to Quebec or Montreal, which can generally be obtained for about *7l* or *8l* . . . He must clear five acres of each 100 granted to him, open a road in front of his lot, and build a log-house of certain dimensions' (253).

The *Edinburgh*'s opinion that *Sketches of Upper Canada* 'contains a good deal of accurate and instructive information, which cannot fail to be interesting to those who meditate emigration' (251), echoes to some extent the verdict on Heriot's *Travels Through the Canadas* from 1808. The difference is that while Brougham did not conceive of a wide potential readership for whom Heriot's text would be useful, Howison's book 'is particularly adapted for the guidance of those classes who are most likely to be tempted to seek an asylum in these settlements, the day-labourer, or the man of small income and increasing family' (251). The question then is whether such people are imagined to be reading the *Edinburgh*; the reviewer sees himself as balancing the demands of two possible readerships. 'At the risk of appearing tedious to our more fastidious readers, we shall devote a page or two to a selection of such

particulars as appear to us the most likely to be useful to the poorer class of emigrants' (251). Galt, on the other hand, does not envision any reader who could find the topic tedious: 'The subject of *Emigration* is perhaps the most important to which the attention of British politicians has lately been directed; and we earnestly recommend this book to the notice of all who love their country, and their country's welfare' (538). He is less hesitant, too, about directly addressing himself to an informed emigrant reader: 'Those who think seriously of following Mr Howison's advice, will of course study his book with the serious attention it deserves' (540). When the periodical review imagines a reader with certain priorities, a reader who has an equal or greater desire for practical, usable detail than for landscape description, it has great implications for the kinds of writing that will be deemed suitable for depicting Canada. Galt's own body of work on Canada, which encompasses periodical articles, sketches, fictional letters and novels – but no designated emigrant's guide – grapples with that literary problem.

Assisted Emigration and Political Economy

In the mid-1820s, the coverage of North American affairs and emigration in both the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* comes to focus almost entirely on the question of government-sponsored emigration. An article in the *Edinburgh* on 'Restraints on Emigration' in January 1824 comes down decisively on the side of systematic, organised emigration, in contrast to the ambivalence expressed in former years about the advisability of encouraging Britons to take this step: 'Whenever population is redundant and the wages of labour depressed, every facility ought to be given to emigration. Were it carried to a considerable extent, it would have the effect, by lessening the supply of labour in the market, to raise the rate of wages, and to

improve the condition of the labourers who remain at home' (342). Assisted emigration is seen here not as a systematic way of 'replicat[ing] metropolitan values' in the colonies (Fender 8), but as a temporary measure that will relieve pressure on economic resources at home:

> For, the rise of wages that must always follow every considerable emigration, would not only stimulate the principle of population, but would also weaken the motives to emigrate, at the same time that it would give new strength to the natural repugnance which every one has to leave his native country. Government, indeed, by giving bounties and encouragements to emigrants to Canada, South Africa, and Van Diemen's Land, has recently acknowledged the justice of this reasoning. They have acknowledged that emigration is not only harmless, but that it ought, in certain cases, to be artificially promoted. (342–43)

The best way of decreasing emigration in the long term, according to this line of thinking, is – emigration. The phrase 'principle of population' is an allusion to the theories of Thomas Robert Malthus, as befits the article's author, the political economist John Ramsay McCulloch. McCulloch broaches the fundamental question of whether the government policy of diverting emigration towards the colonies is sound – if the primary end of emigration is to make room for those left behind to subsist in comfort, then it does not follow that it is necessary for emigrants to continue to be British subjects once they have vacated their place of origin.

> But then it is said, that the places to which Government have authorized and encouraged emigration are subject to the Crown of Great Britain, and that there is a wide and material difference between allowing artisans to carry their industry from one part to another in our own dominions, and allowing them to settle among foreigners, and to become the instructors of our rivals and enemies! Surely, however, no one can be so silly as to suppose that even a fourth part of those who emigrate to Canada have any intention of continuing there. (343)

McCulloch is not merely sceptical about the meaningfulness of the distinction between colony and foreign country where emigration is concerned; he subscribes to the belief that the emigrants themselves will defeat the government's efforts to make emigration into a national

project by heading over the border. One major goal of Canadian emigrant literature is to debunk this last point. Canadian guides and letter collections enlarge on the 'wide and material difference' between life in Canada and life in the United States, and John Galt's novel *Bogle Corbet* (1831) contains a very complex portrayal of the relative merits of the two destinations for different kinds of emigrant (this will be discussed in Chapter Four).

McCulloch becomes the dominant voice of the *Edinburgh* on matters relating to emigration between 1824 and 1831. His next piece on the topic in August 1825 enlarges on McCulloch's opposition to the current colonial system, particularly to trade monopolies. 'We defy any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America. They are productive of heavy expense to Great Britain, but of nothing else' (291). McCulloch's argument here is that the history of colonialism is a commercial one; it is also one directed by the personal interests of individuals rather than the planned dictates of nation-building. 'The early colonies of most modern nations were founded by private adventurers, influenced either by the hope of gain, or by a desire to escape from religious persecution, without any wish to relieve the mother country of a surplus population, or to bridle subjugated provinces' (273). While Southey described the Puritans as the true bearers of 'English hearts' in the New World in the *Quarterly* back in 1809, in McCulloch's view the exportation of Britishness is an incidental by-product of individual enterprise.

McCulloch's third contribution to the emigration debate, in December 1826, is a commentary on the *Report from, and Minutes of Evidence taken before, the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Emigration from the United Kingdom* – that is, on the first published output of Wilmot Horton's Select Committee. This piece focuses on the situation in

Ireland, concluding that the only way to prevent the rest of Britain from being overrun by dispossessed Irish paupers who will 'supplant' the local unskilled workforce is to make Ireland the focal point of governmental assisted emigration schemes. If the Irish are not helped to emigrate, they will push the locals to do so, 'leaving their places to be occupied by the half-famished hordes that are daily pouring in from the great *officina pauperum!*' (56). There are distinct echoes here of the language used by Francis Horner back in 1805: 'Pauperism, like water, will find its level. It cannot be heaped up in Leinster and Ulster without overflowing upon England and Scotland' (54).

The *Quarterly*, on the other hand, carries an article on the 'Political Importance of our American Colonies' in March 1826. This is a rare review of a work actually written and published in present-day Canada (though not in the Canadas, Upper or Lower), Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *Observations upon the Importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain, by an Old Inhabitant of British America*, published in Halifax in 1825. The reviewer, John Barrow, is convinced of the need to prevent British North America from being taken over by the United States, even in the absence of any economic benefit to the mother country. In taking up the position that political value and economic value may not always be one and the same, the *Quarterly* is making a stand against the science of political economy – at least, against that discipline as it is depicted by the *Quarterly* itself, as at once inhumane and grossly out of touch with practical realities.

> An itinerant professor of political economy, that 'most exact of *moral* sciences,' came down from Scotland, a short time ago, to the metropolis of England, 'to teach our senators wisdom.' Among the many new and wonderful doctrines which he developed by virtue of his art, he astonished the graver part of his audience by demonstrating that colonies are incumbrances. (411)

This is a clear reference to the *Edinburgh*'s resident political economist, the Scotsman John

Ramsay McCulloch, and the *Edinburgh* itself is identified as a purveyor of the tenets of political economy: 'Consistently with such principles, we find it recommended, in a recent number of a contemporary Journal, in which these new lights are usually promulgated, that we should get rid of our colonies as speedily as possible' (411). Political economy is defined as a specifically Scottish discipline: it is a set of 'wild and visionary theories, hatched in the brains of Scotch metaphysicians', the 'theory of the northern sages' (411; 412). Rejecting 'that bare, rigid, and penurious economy, which would reduce every thing to a question of pounds, shillings, and pence' means basing the value of colonies on another set of criteria (411). Barrow suggests that Britain's colonies might better be understood 'as so many outworks by means of which her citadel is strengthened and secured, – as so many limbs through which her language, laws, and religion circulate and are spread to the remotest parts of the earth' (412). At the same time as he labels political economy as an outside influence – like the *Edinburgh Review* itself, an example of the undue influence exerted by Scottish intellectuals on the mainstream of British public discourse – Barrow demonstrates a much more recognisably expansionist 'imperial' understanding of the function of colonisation:

> It was once the boast of Spain, and may now be England's, that the sun never set on her dominions – let us not, at the instigation of political quacks, consent to abridge our brilliant day, but rather lengthen it, if possible, by extending our foreign possessions. – Let us regard these as constituent parts of one great empire, inhabited by children sprung from one common parent . . . Let them not be taught to consider England as an unnatural parent, whose only concern about them is how much revenue she can extort from their industry. (412)

January and March 1828 see articles on the third and final report of Wilmot Horton's Select Committee in the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, respectively. According to William Empson in the *Edinburgh*, 'Emigration, regarded as a national object, can have but two recommendations – The immediate advantage of the settler or emigrant himself – and the

subsequent advantage to be derived by the mother country' (204). Empson, like McCulloch, is open to the possibility that these two sets of interests, those of the settler and those of the mother country, might diverge. Empson's arguments exemplify the kind of thinking that is anathema to Barrow; for him, as long as emigrants are secured within British economic networks, it is not essential for them to be retained as political subjects – and for proof the reader is invited to look to the *Quarterly*'s great bugbear, the United States. 'Fifty years ago, it would have been necessary to prove by argument that it is not necessary to govern a country in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from the only really profitable relations, those of commerce. The independence of the United States first revealed this secret' (205). On the other side of the coin are the 'cumbersome subjugation of India' and 'the costly preservation of our sugar islands'.

The *Edinburgh*'s fundamental pessimism about Canada's potential to repay the effort of retaining it for Britain and promoting it as an emigrant destination, once coloured by the threat of an American conquest of Canada during the War of 1812, is now bolstered by the discourse of political economy. This does not mean, however, that Empson does not see the value in government-assisted emigration – indeed, the possibility of state intervention is the only good reason for emigration to be directed to the colonies over the United States:

> We might say, with a view to the distinction of Casual and Regulated Emigration in the present instance, that the first is little more than bleeding at the nose for inflammation on the lungs. The extent which it has reached, by parties absconding in driblets on their own means, answers no satisfactory purpose, but that of affording an indisputable symptom of the disease. (218)

The *Quarterly* for March 1828 quotes liberally from the evidence given by the weavers of Glasgow to the Select Committee; this section of the working class will also be drawn upon to furnish the fictional group of emigrants led by the protagonist of John Galt's *Bogle Corbet* in

1831. This is Southey's first intervention in the emigration debate since 1812, and he reiterates the *Quarterly*'s current line of thinking that it is imperative that 'channels are opened for a constant and regulated stream of emigration' (571), because 'The poor will continue to increase and multiply, notwithstanding the schemes of madmen and the devices of men who are the opprobrium of humanity' (572) – that is, the inhumane tenets of political economy which the *Quarterly* associates with the *Edinburgh Review*. As we have seen, an interest in political economy is not in fact at odds with support for government-assisted emigration. The difference is that the *Quarterly*'s conservative contributors consider that the existence of Britain's colonies gives the lie to the idea that population growth needs to be curtailed at all. Rather, as George Poulett Scrope argues in a review of Thomas Chalmers' *On Political Economy* in October 1832, it simply needs to be redistributed more evenly: 'the redundancy that affrights them is local, not general, and to be cured far more easily and with a happier result, by a spreading of the local excess, as fast as it appears, over "fresh soils and pastures ever new", than by putting matrimony in *taboo*' (47).

The *Edinburgh*'s coverage of assisted emigration and political economy continues in January 1830 with a review of *The Speech of Mr Sadler, Esq. M.P., on the State and Prospects of the Country, delivered at Whitby*. The author of the article, Thomas Spring-Rice, is anti-Sadler, who is anti-Malthusian. With heavy sarcasm, Spring-Rice invokes the terms of the Tory critique of political economy: 'We doubt whether our philosophical countrymen north of the Tweed, are aware of their past and present perils . . . These dangerous and designing men call themselves the Society of Political Economists' (344–45). More hostile reviews of Sadler's works appear in the *Edinburgh* in June 1829 (a review of *Ireland: Its Evils and their Remedies* by McCulloch) and July 1830 (a review of *The Law of Population: a*

Treatise in Six Books, in Disproof of the Superfecundity of Human beings, and developing the real Principle of their increase by Thomas Babington Macaulay). The latter begins 'We did not expect a good book from Mr Sadler; and it is well that we did not; for he has given us a very bad one' (297). A miniature controversy ensued, with Sadler publishing a refutation of Macaulay's review which was itself reviewed by Macaulay under the heading 'Sadler's Refutation, Refuted' in January 1831.

The *Edinburgh*'s final article on assisted emigration schemes and the Select Committees, also by McCulloch, appears in March 1831, while the *Quarterly* continues to be avidly interested in the subject of pauper emigration well into the 1830s. Emigration comes up in the context of another set of Select Committees, this time inquiring into the Poor Laws. In May 1830 an article by George Poulett Scrope comments on the Commons Committee of 1828, and again advocates emigration to the 'millions upon millions of fertile acres belonging to the British empire' (263). In January 1832 it is the turn of *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to consider the Poor Laws* (1831). The reviewer notes that 'the population, already redundant, is continuing rapidly to increase upon us' (356) but is fundamentally optimistic about the capacity of the world at large to support its people – what is called for is a redistribution into less populated areas.

> If our home soils refuse to afford us additional supplies, except at an increased cost, why not resort – we do not say to foreign soils – though that would be the proper step were there not a preferable alternative – but to the soils, at least, of our colonies, of districts who are an integral portion of the empire, and whose interests are identified with our own? (357)

The tone of this piece is a little different from Barrow's argument of 1826 that the merits of colonisation should not be evaluated solely in economic terms, that the extension of British national influence would be a worthwhile endeavour even if the colonies were not profitable.

Here, it is taken for granted that imperial expansion brings with it economic opportunity; the concept of the colony as a drag on the metropole's resources is dismissed.

> If we would but consider a fertile and favourably situated colony, like the Canadas for example, in the light of an accession to the territory of Great Britain, which is, in truth, its real character, we should recognize at once its prodigious value as a field for the utilization of British agricultural labour and capital, and a market for British manufactures. (360)

There is a marked shift at this point away from 'the plans for locating labourers immediately upon land at the cost of government, which was the particular mode of emigration recommended by Sir Robert Wilmot Horton' in favour of encouraging 'private capitalists', with the role of the government not being to direct the course of emigration but to 'confine itself to supplying their demand by merely undertaking the transport of the labourer from this country to the spot where he is wanted' (375). This article also reviews George Poulett Scrope's compilation of correspondence from real emigrants, *Extracts of letters from poor persons who emigrated last year to Canada and the United States* (1831). Tellingly, it quotes only from letters from Upper Canada, and does not mention the fact that the book also contains letters from the United States, let alone that the letter-writers' testimony does not actually present any very clear distinction between conditions for settlers in Canada and the United States.

Scrope himself becomes the *Quarterly*'s most regular contributor on matters relating to the poor laws and emigration in the 1830s: having written the piece on the Select Committee in 1830, he returns to the subject in December 1832 with a review of *An Inquiry into the Poor-Laws and Surplus Labour, and their Mutual Reaction* (William Day, 1832), then again in August 1834 in an article on 'The New Poor-Law'. He approves of a new measure that will allow parishes to borrow money to pay for pauper emigration: 'Nor are we among those who

look upon this as a *pis-aller*, to be resorted to only in the last extremity, and with lamentation and regret' (249). The difficulty that periodical writers formerly experienced in envisioning the right set of circumstances (generally, crushing poverty) which would tip the scale in favour of emigration is not in evidence here. Scrope's bullishness about encouraging emigration is bolstered by his belief that it is supplying a demand for labour necessary to the economic development of Upper Canada (not something that previous writers have taken much interest in). In September 1835, John Barrow echoes Scrope's tone of expansive confidence, reporting that Upper Canada has now triumphed over the United States in terms of attractiveness to the emigrant: 'It is satisfactory to know that the greater proportion of the emigrants who land at New York make their way immediately by the canals to Upper Canada' (420n). The running header of this piece denominates it 'Emigration – Letters from Canada' but it actually brings together a rather miscellaneous collection of items: the official publication *Papers relating to Emigration* (1835), a text on Charles Sturt's explorations in New South Wales and a report on the Swan River settlement (now Perth) in Western Australia and finally a collection of *Letters from Poor Persons who have lately emigrated to Canada* (1835). This letter collection has been selected to create a small continuous narrative, linking back to the *Quarterly*'s previous engagement with the format:

> We are induced to select, *medio acervo*, some letters from emigrants who left the neighbourhood of Frome in the years 1832, not because they are more highly coloured than others, for we can assure our readers this is far from being the case, but because they form a sort of sequel, to those of the emigrants from Corsley and Chapmanslade, places in the vicinity of Frome, from which, a few years since, when urging the same topic, we extracted several interesting passages. (426)

This need to establish that the letters are not unusual but, rather, completely representative, will come to the fore in relation to both fictional and non-fictional depictions of the emigrant experience discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

These reviews of emigrant letter collections direct the reader's attention to 'the good work of aiding the honest and industrious poor' (429) by means of assisted emigration, presenting the texts as tokens of the success of the measures which the *Quarterly* has spent a decade advocating: 'The whole collection breathes but one tone, that of exultation at having exchanged English pauperism for Canadian abundance and independence, mingled with gratitude to those who assisted them to emigrate' (425). These articles have no parallel in the *Edinburgh Review*, which takes no interest in this particular subgenre.

After Assisted Emigration: The Late 1820s and 1830s

Since the mid-1820s, mentions of Canada have generally come in articles about the colonies as repositories for emigration, while in the 1810s and early 1820s Canada tended to come up in reviews of North American travel books. Discussion of emigration to the United States is largely eclipsed at this time by the debate about assisted emigration to the colonies, and the number of articles commenting on American culture also declines in the late 1820s. The only possible exception to the dominance of the emigration question is a review in the *Edinburgh* in June 1829 of James Fenimore Cooper's European travelogue *Notions of the Americans* (1828) and Basil Hall's *Travels in North America* (1829). Again, however, while Hall visits Canada, not only seeing the sights of Montréal and Québec City but taking in the new Welland Canal and visiting the 1825 settlers sent out by Wilmot Horton, the review does not mention Canada. The literary appeal of its unfamiliar sights, posited as perhaps the only selling point of the region back in the days of Mackenzie and Heriot in the 1800s, is no longer a factor. Canada is not presented in the *Edinburgh* as part of a North American tourist itinerary, despite its inclusion in that capacity in many of the books under review.

In the *Quarterly* on the other hand, January 1830 sees a long review by Southey of George Head's *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America; being a Diary of a Winter's Route from Halifax to the Canadas* (1829). This is the only article in the entire period covered by this thesis to devote space to describing Nova Scotia, dwelling on the extremity of the climate ('floating ice islands infest the coast') and the hardihood of the locals, viewed as subjects of anthropological interest: 'the young women in groupes of three or four, holding by each others' arms, slide down such declivities, that a stranger from Europe cannot behold them without alarm' (81). Given the recent dominance of debates about political economy and pauperism, one explanation for the periodicals' neglect of Nova Scotia is suggested by Southey's portrayal of the colony as a place where emigration is not an urgent question but, rather, one which has long been settled. 'Of its value, indeed, as a colonial possession, the frequent contests in which France and England were engaged for it, are sufficient proof. Happily for the inhabitants, it is long since their well-being has been disturbed as in former times, and they have prospered accordingly' (83). Emigrants to Nova Scotia fall outside the paradigm of assisted emigration which has occupied the periodical press, owing more to communal enterprise – the review spotlights a group of Highland settlers who have come out to Cape Breton 'at their own expense; not a mouthful of provisions, nor any assistance of any kind was given them by government, except the land which was allotted them' (84).

The new publications lists for 1832 and 1833 see another large crop of books both about North America in general and Canada in particular. One collection of emigrants' letters is advertised in the *Quarterly* in 1835 and three emigrant's guides in the *Edinburgh*. Indicating the *Edinburgh*'s definition of Canadian emigration as a political and economic topic rather than a subject for travel literature, these texts are categorised as works of 'Politics and

Political Economy'. The years 1836–1838 are rather quiet in the *Edinburgh*. There is no commentary on the rebellions which took place in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 and 1838. Partly, this is a reflection of the generic limitations of the quarterly review, which make it difficult to report on current events until they have produced a suitable written document for commentary. But when that text does appear, in the form of the Durham Report, the *Edinburgh* does not review it. The *Quarterly*, on the other hand, devotes a long article to the fallout from the report in 1839.

The *Edinburgh*'s first mention of events in the Canadas in 1837 and 1838 comes in January 1839, in '*Some Remarks on the Foreign Relations of England at the Present Crisis'*, by Henry Brougham. He observes: 'That Canada should sooner or later become an independent state, and in all probability unite with the great American confederacy, seems probable. The late events in that province have no doubt augmented the likelihood of such an end to our remaining colonial empire' (524). This rather fatalistic attitude towards the political future of Canada, and the accompanying conviction that 'nothing can be more obvious than the indifference of those North American colonies either way', have not appreciably altered since Brougham's first comments on the subject in 1812 (525). In contrast, in October 1839, an article on the '*Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, delivered in the House of Lords*' departs noticeably from the magazine's company line:

> The fairest portions of the empire secured to England by her arms and commerce – her last possessions in the New World – are torn by civil commotion – law suspended – trade arrested: – on one side, the English settlers, stubborn in the pride of race, exasperated by the animosities of years, despising the ignorance which thwarted all improvement, enraged at the ferocity which menaced their homes; on the other side, an uninformed, simple, credulous peasantry, roused by a handful of demagogues into a rebellion, not the less lamentable because hopeless. (247)

The article condemns the government's failure to support the Whig Governor-General, Lord

Durham, who had been sent to Canada to inquire into the causes of the rebellions. Durham published his report in 1839, recommending responsible government, which had been one of the key goals of the rebels, and a merger of the two provinces into one single Province of Canada, which had not. It would take ten years for the colonies to be granted responsible government, but the union of Upper and Lower Canada duly took place in 1840. Given the *Edinburgh*'s usual ambivalence, not to say indifference, concerning the political value of Canada, this sudden expression of concern for 'the fairest portions of the empire' is something of an outlier. The piece is by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the author and sitting MP for Lincoln, rather than one of the magazine's more regular commentators on North American affairs such as Henry Brougham, William Empson or John Ramsay McCulloch.

The *Quarterly* is a little quicker off the mark when it comes to current events in the Canadas; the January 1838 issue includes an article which assembles four extremely topical publications: *Remarks on the Proceedings as to Canada in the present Session of Parliament* (1837), *Plain Statement of the Quarrel with Canada, in which is considered who first breached the Constitution of the Colony* (1838), *Hints on the Case of Canada, for the Consideration of Members of Parliament* (1838) and *The Canadian Controversy* (1838). But having done so, the reviewer, John Wilson Croker, makes it clear that the minutiae of Canadian domestic politics are not at the heart of the issue from the *Quarterly*'s point of view:

> We are not now about to discuss the details of the Canadian question as between this country and the colony, but as between this country and the ministry, which, by its characteristic and systematic alternation of advance and retreat, of bluster and sneaking, has been the main cause, beyond all other causes, of this deplorable rebellion. (252–53)

This recalls Pam Perkins' argument that Francis Jeffrey's coverage of the United States is 'perhaps inevitably, used in service of Scottish and British cultural and political debates'; that

the realities of American (and even more so, Canadian) life are not deemed significant in and of themselves but rather for their usefulness in furthering the periodicals' domestic political agenda (67). The preponderance of articles on government-sponsored emigration throughout the 1820s, regardless of the fact that the majority of emigrants travelled independently of such schemes, is a case in point. The priority is not to follow the progress of emigrants in their new homes but to evaluate the potential of mass emigration as a solution to the problems plaguing postwar Britain. This does not mean, however, that the entirety of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*'s coverage of Canada can be reduced to cynical political point-scoring. It might be more accurate to say that both magazines often struggle to represent Canada without having recourse to a paradigm of Anglo-American antagonism. Embracing that antagonism leads the *Quarterly* to promote Canada as an imperial alternative, while disavowing it often causes the *Edinburgh* to overlook Canada or to fold it into a generalised 'America'. As a result, aspects of Canadian life which resemble neither Britain nor the United States, such as the colonial – not republican, not metropolitan – legislative assemblies, are difficult for commentators like Croker to deal with on their own terms. Instead, Canadian discontent is seen as the expression of a desire to abandon British forms of government for American ones, with no other possibility in between: 'That real cause is neither more nor less than *the determination of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada to throw off the* BRITISH AUTHORITY, *and to erect the province into an* INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, *after the manner and model of the* UNITED STATES' (253).

Another article by Croker in much the same vein in January 1839 is followed in March by a very long (sixty-nine-page) article which includes biographical sketches of various public figures involved in the rebellions, focusing particularly on the radical leader William Lyon

Mackenzie, described as a 'Scotch peddler lad', and Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, whose account of the events leading up to the rebellions is liberally quoted to make a case against his replacement, the Whig Lord Durham. The complex political situation is described in great detail, but the radical elements are again portrayed as having fallen into familiar patterns of British–American hostility, frustrated by Upper Canada's inability to keep pace with the United States into wishing to emulate its neighbour in politics as well as economics:

> The rapid improvements which for some years have been taking place in the United States have been a mystery which few people have been able to comprehend . . . In short, the country was triumphantly declared to be '*going a-head*' and, as the young province of Upper Canada was observed to be unable to keep up, the difference in its progress was contemptuously ascribed to the difference in its form of government. (481)

Durham is accused of having blown the discontent of a few radicals out of proportion in his report on the rebellions, of having failed to recognise that the majority of the inhabitants of the province are content with their political institutions and are loyal subjects: 'Lord Durham has looked upon British North America in general, and upon the province of Upper Canada in particular, through a glass darkened' (495). The Crown's official representative is condemned as just another partial traveller who has reasoned outwards from a small sample of experience: 'as my Lord Durham, surrounded by a brilliant staff, and *unprejudiced by the conversation of a single Canadian*, ascended the great St Lawrence, and traversing the noble Lake Ontario, which is forty miles broad, proceeded to Niagara, the fine hotel of which had been previously cleansed of every visiter [sic], his lordship's career resembled the course of a heavenly meteor' (496).

After this article, nothing about Canada is published in the *Quarterly* in the whole first half of the 1840s. The *Edinburgh* follows the same pattern; in July 1840 an article on a 'New

Theory of Colonization' effectively closes the book not only on Wilmot Horton's model of emigration but on Canada, as attention is now turning towards Australia and to the 'new theory' of Wakefield's *Letter from Sydney*. Government-assisted emigration, with which Canada has been associated to the exclusion of almost any other topic for over a decade, is adjudged ultimately to have been a failure as a long-lasting solution to pauperism: 'The remedy, with all its expenses and difficulties, was after all only a remedy for the day. It aimed only by a violent effort to relieve an extreme pressure – not to provide what was really wanted, a natural and continual source of relief for a pressure which must be continually recurring' (524).

Elizabeth Waterston, in *Travellers to 1900* (1989), speculates about Canada's literary appeal for early-nineteenth-century British readers:

> In the 1780s, the British poets who were the precursors of Romanticism – Thomson, Gray, Burns – had validated an irrational response to the drama of winter, the beauty of non-urban reaches, the pride of honest poverty and independence. Then the enormous popularity of Walter Scott's work, first his poems and then his novels, coincided with or rose from or helped to develop a much more affirmative response to the Canadian wilderness. *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* (1803, 1808) popularized the notion of the wild beauty of crags and cataracts, lonely glens and mountain recesses . . . It would have been easy to identify with Waverley as one pushed through twilit Canadian forests; easy to communicate the sense of sublime silence, wild winds, and foaming rivers to a reading audience steeped in Scott and Wordsworth and Byron and Coleridge. (iv–v)[18]

Waterston does not make a firm determination about what comes first, the response to the Canadian landscape or the Romantic aesthetics that prime the reader to appreciate aspects of the natural world that harmonise with their preferences. Writing some time before the

[18] Although Waterston groups James Thomson (1700–48), Thomas Gray (1716–1771) and Robert Burns (1759–1796) together as representative pre-Romantics, of the three only Burns was writing (or, indeed, alive) in the 1780s. The dating of *The Lady of the Lake* is also incorrect; the poem was first published in 1810.

popularisation of transatlantic approaches that stress the two-way flow of influence between Britain and North America, Waterston describes the relationship as 'literary chance'. She does, however, chart a clear unidirectional influence between the works of travel writers (including George Heriot) who 'found familiar romantic images for the unfamiliar Canadian scene' and the emigrant reader: 'Their reports helped serve an unromantic purpose: vastly popular as recreational reading, these books encouraged the thousands making a hard cold decision about emigration (whether from England or the United States) to view Canada as a favorable berth' (iv–v). As this chapter has shown, however, the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviewers, in spite of their stark disagreement on the question of Canada's value as an emigrant destination, are united in detaching the 'unromantic purpose' represented by emigration from the 'romantic images' of travel writing, to the point of ignoring or even devaluing attempts at sublime or picturesque portrayals of Canadian wilderness. While Waterston views these texts' potential to direct the course of mass emigration as a by-product of their authors' primary objective, which is landscape description, their contemporary reviewers make judgements and selections that privilege the books' practical function, imagining possible real-life consequences for a divergence from strict factuality. In the texts that best exemplify this 'unromantic purpose' – emigrant's guides – it is the *Quarterly*'s view of Canada that prevails. Canada is depicted in these works as a superior alternative to the United States, a location free from politics; there is little scope in the Canadian emigrant's guide for the idea that conditions in the United States and Canada might be substantially alike. The guide's contribution to the debate is to demonstrate that the political arguments in favour of Canada espoused by the Tory periodical press are supported by corresponding material advantages; that Canada is the better proposition in real, as well as ideological, terms.

Chapter Two: Canada in the Miscellanies, 1817–1840

Although they differ fundamentally in their conclusions, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* follow a broadly similar trajectory in their coverage of emigration to Canada. Both periodicals concentrate on debates over government-sponsored emigration, on the impact the North American colonies ought to have on British foreign policy towards the United States, and on the connection between – or possible divergence of – the needs of the individual emigrant and the British national interest. Overall, with a few exceptions the quarterlies address the political and economic implications of emigration on a general, not a local, level. The most glaring mark of this tendency is that outside of a few scattered examples such as the *Edinburgh* article on the Earl of Selkirk and emigration from the Highlands in 1805, some discussion of Highland settlers in the *Edinburgh*'s review of Howison in 1822 and a brief mention of a group of emigrants to Cape Breton in the *Quarterly* in 1829, the Highland Clearances are absent from the coverage of emigration in both periodicals.

That omission raises the question of the extent to which the *Edinburgh*'s coverage of emigration and North American affairs is impacted by its being a Scottish periodical. In a review of American travel narratives in July 1824 Sydney Smith offers a rebuke to the 'set of miserable persons in England, who are dreadfully afraid of America and every thing American – whose great delight it is to see that country ridiculed and vilified' (427). In spite of the reference to 'England', Smith invokes a specifically Scottish identity for the *Edinburgh*: 'It is very natural that we Scotch, who live in a little shabby scraggy corner of a remote island, with a climate which cannot ripen an apple, should be jealous of the aggressive pleasantry of more favoured people' (433). The rival *Quarterly* at various moments identifies the *Edinburgh*'s treatment of emigration, in common with its coverage of all other political issues, not only as

Whiggish but as Scottish – political economy, for example, is labelled as the preserve of the 'northern sages'. According to Demata and Wu its Whiggishness 'in itself was an act of nationalistic assertion; the perspective of the Edinburgh Whig, it argued, was as valid as any from which to discuss issues of the day' (8). The *Edinburgh*'s influence over the literary scene establishes the mouthpiece of the 'scraggy corner' as a cultural arbiter for Britain as a whole; 'we Scotch' are able to speak on behalf of all that is contained in the imprecisely-defined category of 'England'. In 'Provincializing Enlightenment' (2009) Anthony Jarrells describes the *Edinburgh*'s project as a nineteenth-century continuation of the attempt 'to bridge the distance between a removed center of power and an important but provincial outpost [which] became part of the program for Enlightenment in Scotland' (268). Alex Benchimol's *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period* (2010) reads the *Edinburgh* as establishing a Scottish model of discourse that is exportable to other contexts: 'The immense success of the *Edinburgh Review* showcased how the key intellectual and ideological characteristics of the national public sphere in Scotland had become the means for establishing a new kind of cultural authority within the wider bourgeois public sphere of Britain and its imperial territories' (210).

What the *Edinburgh* does not do is translate its peculiarly Scottish Whig viewpoint on British and world affairs into a focus on literary texts that deal specifically with Scottish emigration. For its rivals, the cosmopolitanism of the *Edinburgh* could be seen as totalising, concerned with abstract discourses of improvement and progress to the point that it 'failed to comprehend the significance of region, attachment, and territory, both at home and abroad' (Jarrells, 'Tales of the Colonies' 276). This chapter will focus on the most high-profile of those rivals, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and on *Fraser's Magazine for Town and*

Country, a London-based publication established by a former *Blackwood's* writer in 1830. Both are monthly miscellanies whose Tory politics and generic flexibility allow for a very different kind of moveable Scottishness to be brought to bear on the subject of Canadian emigration. According to Anthony Jarrells, *Blackwood's* 'emphasis on the importance of regional features and associations for both individual and collective identity extends in a number of cases to the so-called settler colonies (such as Upper Canada)' (269). Jarrells is referring to *Blackwood's* short fiction and its political writings, both of which will be examined in this chapter, but his point about the mobility of the *Blackwood's* model will also be extended further to reveal relationships between the Canadian content of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* and the nascent periodical scene in the Canadas themselves.

Blackwood's and *Fraser's* also share an important contributor, John Galt, who plays a dominant role in shaping both magazines' coverage of colonial concerns in general and Canada in particular. A frequent writer for multiple periodicals, he also published in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, which is perhaps somewhat surprising given the radical political leanings of that publication – and it is worth noting that he did not write on North American affairs or emigration for *Tait's*, whose views on those issues were not consistent with Galt's. *Tait's* rather different approach to emigration and Canadian affairs will be discussed in Chapter Four alongside *Clan-Albin*, a novel by the magazine's editor Christian Isobel Johnstone.

Blackwood's and *Fraser's*

Blackwood's engagement with Canada begins not with fiction or political opinion pieces, but in the Political Registers of the first few numbers of the magazine. In May 1817 the 'foreign

intelligence' from the United States includes a story about 'wretched' British emigrants in New York being rehomed in 'the British dominions of Canada, or Nova Scotia . . . Passports have already been granted to 340 persons to proceed to Upper Canada' (204). In the same issue, the 'British America' section of the register announces that 'A notification has been issued from the colonial department, to such as intend to emigrate to Canada, informing them that it is not the intention of government to provide any gratuitous means of conveyance this season; and that no person can proceed to North America as a settler, with any prospect of success, unless he departs from Europe early in the season, that is, before the 1st of June' (204). That is, no assisted passage of the kind offered in 1815 will be forthcoming in 1817. The tenor of these snippets establishes *Blackwood's* as broadly similar to its fellow Tory publication, the *Quarterly,* when it comes to presenting Canada as a superior emigrant destination to the United States. This sort of news coverage, however, is something that the latter's format does not permit; while the writers of the quarterly publication take four years to receive a copy of Ingersoll's *Inchiquin* or evaluate the military campaigns of the War of 1812 in 1822, the emigrant reader can, hypothetically, receive the advice contained in *Blackwood's* in May and depart before the first of June.

In July 1817 the news from British America reports on the doings of the legislative assembly of Lower Canada and refers to the fallout from the dissolution of the Red River settlement. It also notes, under the strapline 'British Legislation', the passage of an act of parliament 'To regulate the Vessels carrying Passengers from the United Kingdom to certain of his Majesty's Colonies in North America' (439). This was an act intended to control various facets of the emigrant traffic, demanding an upper limit on the number of passengers, a certain level of provisions, that the passengers must be landed at the port they have

contracted to go to and that passenger lists must be given to local authorities on arrival. In August 'Letters from Halifax, of the 16th' gives information about the arrival of emigrant vessels: 'within the three weeks immediately preceding that date, about 1000 individuals had been landed, and immense numbers were on their way to Canada' (533–34). In September the news from British America again relates to emigration:

> A Halifax paper observes, there are advertisements in the Irish and Scotch papers stating, that vessels for the Islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, Nova Scotia, and Halifax, would convey passengers to Canada; that the ports such vessels are bound to are on the high road to the place they wish to arrive at; while every well-informed person knows, that to come from Halifax, St John's, Pictou, Prince Edward's Island, &c. to Quebec, will cost as much as to come from Britain or Ireland direct. (650)

These prosaic, baldly factual pieces gesture towards a wider textual circulation of information about the business of colonial travel, and address the 'well-informed person' with access to this knowledge, not the dupe of the unnamed non-Blackwoodian papers. The ideal reader of the September 1817 number is interested in Scottish antiquarian miscellany like 'Notices Concerning the Scots Gypsies' and such intensely local trivia as the difference in temperature between Calton Hill and the rest of Edinburgh – but they also know the price of a passage from Pictou.

After September 1817 entries of this kind cease, because this is the cut-off point for the unsatisfactory run of what was initially called the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*. As Philip Flynn notes in 'Beginning *Blackwood's*' (2006), one of the marks of the lack of innovation involved in this first attempt is the arrangement of material 'under formal headings – Original Communications, Antiquarian Repertory, Original Poetry, Review of New Publications, Literary and Scientific Intelligence' and so forth (137). These strict demarcations kept news about contemporary events taking place in the colonies walled off from literary and historical

topics. After six issues the original editors, Thomas Pringle and James Cleghorn, were replaced by John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart and the magazine was relaunched under the new title of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, courting controversy from the outset with 'The Chaldee Manuscript' (a near-libellous allegory about the writers and publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*) and vitriolic attacks on the 'Cockney School'.[1] At the same time as it perfected its 'unrepentant blend of slander, buffoonery, sensationalism, erudition and truculent High Toryism' the magazine's engagement with world affairs was diverted into new and more various generic channels (Morrison 21).

Blackwood's first piece of fiction set in present-day Canada is John Howison's 'Adventure in the Northwest Territory', published in September 1821. This tale is told from the point of view of a fur trader at 'one of the most distant posts of the North-West Company' (137). Trapped on the surface of a frozen lake that gets broken up in a storm, the narrator is swept away from his usual haunts and must rely on a group of Indians to guide him back to the trading post. In the course of the story he is repeatedly lost and disoriented; faced with the grandeur of the 'fantastic-shaped pyramids' of ice (138) and 'trees ranged before each other like colossal pillars' (141), he is physically and mentally overcome: 'I staggered about in a state of dizzy perturbation' (143). As Anthony Jarrells points out, 'this is language straight out of a tale of terror', a genre familiar to Howison, in which 'a narrator in a heightened state of sensation on account of fear loses his very sense of self' (275). However, 'the details of

[1] Beginning in October 1817, *Blackwood's* published a series of eight assaults on the works and personal characters of the poets belonging to what John Gibson Lockhart, the articles' author, dubbed 'the Cockney School', who are derided for their low birth, radical politics and lack of Classical learning. The primary target of scorn is Leigh Hunt and William Hazlitt is also classed as a member of the 'school', but the series is probably most notorious for its hostility towards John Keats.

landscape and ritual in which this scene of terror plays out give to it a regional specificity that suggests something other than, or in addition to, a mere tale of terror' (275). The setting is imbued with a layered history, the narrator's encounter with the Indians coloured by their past interactions with Europeans. One of the group, Outalisso, initially believes he is trying to ingratiate himself as a preliminary to forcing them into a trading relationship: 'Experience has taught us to fear white men . . . Go away, we do not wish to have any transactions with you. We are not to be betrayed or overpowered by liquid fire, or any thing else you can offer us' (140). (A footnote helpfully translates 'liquid fire' as 'spirituous liquors'.) Another Indian is convinced that he recognises the narrator as the leader of a band of men who murdered his father, and is only prevented from exacting revenge by Outalisso, who conceals the narrator in the forest and kills his vengeful comrade. It is never explicitly confirmed that the trader was not in fact present on that occasion; Outalisso explains his decision to give him the benefit of the doubt by observing rather ambiguously that 'This may be true, and you at the same time may be guileless; for we cannot always controul those who are placed under our authority' (141).

What is clear is that the natural environment and the chain of events that so bewilder the narrator are not inherently strange and alienating; he shares the scene with Outalisso for whom all of this is a matter of everyday fact. He calmly completes the ritual of burial for his vanquished enemy, providing an anthropological explanation for the narrator as he does so: '"Are you ignorant of our customs?" said he: "When an Indian dies, all his property must be buried with him. He who takes any thing that belonged to a dead person, will receive a curse from the Great Spirit in addition"' (144). In so doing, Outalisso behaves like the Highland local informants of Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), who are simultaneously embedded in an

ideological system defined as feudal or pre-modern, and capable of translating the beliefs and customs of that system into the language of the visitor from the dominant culture. 'Adventure in the Northwest Territory' conforms to the pattern of historical fiction in another way too: a few months before Howison's tale was published, in July 1821, the North West Company had ceased to exist, undergoing a forced merger with its rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. This marked the end of a sometimes-violent competition on the western frontier of the latter company's territory of Rupert's Land, and signalled the ultimate victory of the Hudson's Bay Company's government-backed monopoly. This makes Howison's piece in some small way a tale of a vanished past, of what was once an outpost on the edge of modern civilisation but has since been brought within the compass of British institutions.

This tale is followed two months later by the magazine's first fictional treatment of Canadian emigration, 'The Emigrants' Voyage to Canada', attributed to John Galt.[2] The narrator of 'The Emigrants' Voyage' is a middle-class business traveller who 'had a great number of emigrants as fellow-passengers. Being all of the lower class, they occupied the steerage' (455). This story contains no high drama, instead detailing the routine of life on board ship and narrating various realistic events like the discovery of stowaways, the general seasickness, communal entertainments and religious observances. The passengers also consume emigration literature:

> One man derived a great deal of temporary importance, from his possessing a small work which treated of North America. He placed himself in an elevated situation, and occasionally read such portions of the book as were best calculated to excite the admiration and astonishment of those around him. Many began to

[2] Strout's *Bibliography of Articles in* Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817–1825* (1959) notes that Galt mentions receiving payment for 'American Memoirs', which could be a reference to both 'The Emigrants' Voyage' and the review of Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada*, or alternatively to the Howison review – which better fits the description of 'memoirs' – alone (87).

> consider him a perfect oracle, and when any dispute took place about the new country to which we were hastening, it was invariably referred to his decision. (455)

The Scottish identity of this particular group of emigrants comes to the fore when in the gulf of the St Lawrence they meet with another ship, carrying emigrants from England bound for the same destination: 'They proved to be Englishmen, but any observer would have instantly discovered this from their ruddy, comfortable-looking countenances, which contrasted with the hard, spare, emaciated features, of the people on board our ship' (468). What Katie Trumpener describes as the 'colonial tilt, this collective amnesia whereby Scottish (and Irish) settlers misplace in transit their age-old anti-English, anti-British, and anti-imperial hatreds' has not had time to take effect (253). National divisions are reinforced and a spirit of competition prevails: the Scots become 'exceedingly anxious that we should reach Quebec before the other ship; for they supposed, that if she arrived first, her passengers would take all the land that was to be granted in the vicinity of the town, and render it necessary for the last-comers to settle far away in the woods' (468). The sketch does not follow the group to their final destination; the narrator disembarks at Québec and 'on the succeeding day saw her bear up the St Lawrence, under the influence of a favourable wind' (469). The reader does not get to see whether the 'weavers, who, before embarking for America, had never been beyond the suburbs of Glasgow', but now 'talked about the management of land with the greatest confidence', will be disappointed or vindicated (468).

When this sketch was published, Galt had recently had his first major success with *The Ayrshire Legatees*, which was serialised in *Blackwood's* between July 1820 and February 1821. He followed this up immediately with *The Steam-Boat*, which reached the end of its run in December 1821, in the same number that features Galt's review of Howison's *Sketches of*

Upper Canada. As Ian Duncan points out in 'Altered States: Galt, Serial Fiction, and the Romantic Miscellany' (2012), both serials 'thematize the magazine's infrastructure of circulation and distribution, comprising new transport technologies and the formation of new networks of reading communities across a broadly dispersed national – and international – public space' (5). *The Ayrshire Legatees*, which comprises the correspondence of the Pringle family who have gone to London in quest of the titular inheritance, also foregrounds the public reading and discussion of the letters when they are received in their home town of Garnock in the west of Scotland. *The Steam-Boat* narrates Thomas Duffle's trips on a Clyde steamer, interpolating the stories told by his fellow passengers.

According to Jude Piesse's *British Settler Emigration in Print*, the shipboard sketch becomes a staple of emigration literature in the Victorian period: 'Unlike emigrants' handbooks or colonial booster literature, these texts draw upon the availability of motion as a central topic for the periodical in order to give unusual prominence to the moving currents of the journey itself' (35). However, it is not a subject that *Blackwood's* returns to in relation to Canada in the period covered by this thesis ('The Scottish Emigrants', set aboard a ship bound for Australia, appears in June 1823). Piesse's study spans the years 1832–77 and she does not cite an example of a shipboard sketch published before the 1840s. The fact that this isolated example of its kind from the early 1820s is attributed to Galt means that the position the sketch occupies in this chapter – as an idiosyncratic entry in a chronological account of the miscellanies' imaginative engagement with Canada – overlaps with its other role as part of a cluster of Galt's *Blackwood's* tales about Scottish travellers.

For the most part, emigration is addressed in political articles in the miscellanies, while fictional sketches with Canadian settings tend not to be set in the present day but are

engagements with the colony's pre-British past. Galt's most extended treatment of Canadian colonisation in *Blackwood's* falls somewhere in between the two poles of fiction and opinion piece. One of the more frequently-noted aspects of his literary output is the extent to which it intersects with his other business interests; according to Ian Duncan, 'John Galt understood his literary career in frankly entrepreneurial terms, as a series of business ventures among others, and by no means the most important of them' (53). As Jennifer Scott has shown in 'Reciprocal Investments: John Galt, the Periodical Press, and the Business of North American Emigration', Galt's involvement with the Canada Company does not simply co-exist alongside his periodical writing career; it makes its way into the pages of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's*: 'Literary periodicals were not simply a publication venue for Galt; they served as the source of an important socio-professional network that supported his work as a businessman as well as an author' (369).

The most obvious example of Galt '[making] use of his literary connections to advertise his business endeavors with the Canada Company' (369) is a series of letters written for *Blackwood's* in the persona of 'Bandana', who is a Glasgow manufacturer (he is associated with the 'loom' in his first letter which may account for the name). Bandana writes a letter to Christopher North, *Blackwood's* composite editor-figure, on various political and economic topics once or twice a year between October 1822 and September 1826. Three of these, the instalments of April 1824 and August and September 1826, state his views on emigration and 'colonial undertakings'. The character of Bandana, who unlike his creator is not a land company insider, allows what amounts to an extended promotional piece for the Canada Company to be conveyed as disinterested opinion. The Company was founded in the same year as the first letter appeared in *Blackwood's* and received its official charter two years later,

coinciding with letters two and three.

In the 1824 letter Bandana opines that 'Lord Selkirk's work, as far as it goes, is very well; but his views were local, and directed rather to the operation of certain political changes on the habits and manners of a particular people, than to the general question, as it affects the disposal of the surplus population of a country' (433). The quarterlies, as seen in Chapter One, attend almost exclusively to the 'general question' in the 1820s, focusing their coverage of emigration on the question of systematic government intervention. However, Bandana criticises Wilmot Horton's proposal for funding assisted emigration from the poor rates on the grounds that it is not, in fact, a general solution for all of Britain – 'it is not applicable to the circumstances either of Ireland or of the Highlands of Scotland, where the miseries of an overflowing population are deepest felt. There are no local funds in those countries to be pledged in the manner proposed' (438). The Scottish poor law did not permit parishes to use the poor rates to fund assisted emigration, and until 1838 Ireland had no poor law at all. Wilmot Horton's proposed system is thus condemned as a top-down solution reliant on an abstract, levelling conception of the British polity which erases the specificities of the peripheries.

Bandana then offers a solution which happens to align with the programme of the Canada Company: 'I think, sir, it must be obvious, that if the waste lands of the colonies can be brought into profitable cultivation by poor emigrants, transported thither, as it were, in charity, the same thing might be done with far richer results, by capitalists being induced to embark in the same business' (434). The letter of August 1826 holds up the development of New York's Genesee region as an example for British capitalists to follow in the colonies. Galt made a tour of the area on his first trip to North America in 1825 and drew on

observations made there in his plans for the Canada Company.[3] The protagonist of his novel *Lawrie Todd* (1830) is also a successful land speculator in the Genesee country. In his final letter, in September 1826, Bandana has recourse to the Company's printed promotional material for his information. 'By the prospectus of that Company, a copy of which is now before me, it appears to have been formed to remove at once a great obstacle to the improvement of the province of Upper Canada' (475). At the end of the letter comes a note to the effect that 'N.B. The Company has not yet published any view of their intended proceedings' and that 'the foregoing has been made up from conversations with gentlemen in the Company's office' (478). In this way, Galt makes the reader the recipient of inside information. The pseudonymous character of these letters, which is in keeping with the *Blackwood's* house style, allows for an elision of commercial self-interest in favour of a public-spirited, detached evaluation of the emigration issue. This objectivity is attained not through a universalising overview but through the creation of a specific fictional mouthpiece for the author's opinions, a strategy employed not only by the more self-evidently fictional depictions of Canadian emigration offered in sketches and novels but by those that seem at first to be nakedly factual, the emigrant's guides and letter collections which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Blackwood's also includes more straightforward political articles on the assisted emigration debate, by other contributors as well as by Galt. In April 1827, 'The Surplus Population of the United Kingdom' by David Robinson criticises Wilmot Horton's proposals, arguing that Britain's excess population would be better employed in cultivating unused land at home and that paying to move people to a location farther from markets, where they will

[3] Gilbert A. Stelter, 'John Galt: The Writer as Town Booster and Builder.' 22–23.

not consume many British goods, is misguided. However, this does not lead him into a blanket opposition to emigration or imperialism:

> We must not be understood to be saying anything to the disparagement of the Colonies. Of the immense commercial and political worth of the North American ones, we are as sensible as any one . . . We are duly sensible that it is of vast importance to have a powerful population in the Canadas; but we are also sensible that it is of equal importance that this population should be well-affected, and should be duly proportioned in power to the population of the mother country. (387)

This concern with the suitability of the emigrant community is perhaps slightly incoherent, in that it does not offer any clear indication as to whether this 'powerful population' should be swelled through (non-pauper) emigration or left to increase naturally. However, Robinson's interest in the character of the settler colonies themselves is a common thread in *Blackwood's* writings on emigration, illustrating, just as much as a fictional sketch might do, Jarrells' point that the magazine's 'respect for the institutions and associations of provincial life' is not confined to Scotland but extends also to imperial contexts (276).

In February 1828, 'Mr Wilmot Horton and Emigration' by George Croly also voices scepticism about government-sponsored emigration schemes, but reaches the rather different conclusion that 'At the same time there should be no restriction on the voluntary emigrant. Let him make his way into the forest and erect a hut, and after he has fought out the wolves, and frightened away the backwoodsmen, and thieving *voyageurs*, and mastered the misery of solitude, and hardened his frame against a frost that would split rocks, let him found a dynasty' (194). Evidently, there is less of a consistent company line underlying *Blackwood's* response to the emigration question (or any other controversial issue of the day) than is detectable in, for example, the *Edinburgh*'s coverage of the War of 1812. Indeed, in his piece Robinson playfully acknowledges the magazine's lack of a consistent editorial tone: 'Hold the

same opinion on a subject for three years together! – How can our readers, in these days, expect it?' (377).

The September 1829 issue includes an article on 'Colonial Discontent', written by Galt under the pseudonym 'Cabot'. He lays out the problem which the Canada Company had been founded to address, and which his fictional mouthpiece, Bandana, had relayed more indirectly in 1824 and 1826: 'Instead of holding out inducements to persons of capital to go into the country, paupers only have been encouraged; and the land has been so subdivided and broken up with reserves for the crown and clergy, and small grants, that it would not be easy for a capitalist to purchase a tract for speculation sufficiently extensive to justify such an expenditure as would essentially increase its value' (336). The bulk of the article, however, is devoted to the current political situation in the Canadas themselves. Galt is more sympathetic than most British observers to the position of the French Canadians as, at the same time, the majority group in Lower Canada and a marginalised survival of a past regime. While 'It is the very nature of the English constitution to promote, by its working, the improvement of its subjects', the member of the Anglo elite believes that the French Canadians 'ought to be thankful for the good things he is forcing them to swallow' (333). Galt employs a historical comparison that invites English readers to place themselves imaginatively in the subordinate position: 'In a word, the political condition of Lower Canada may be said to resemble that of England after the Norman conquest. We have here, under other names, the Saxons and the Normans' (332). Perhaps taking advantage of the popularity of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820), with its sympathetic Saxon characters displaced from power but maintaining their cultural identity in despite of the villainous Normans, Galt is arguing that in this colonial context the roles have been reversed, the French for the first time turned into Saxons. The idea that one

can occupy one position in the cultural hierarchy in the Old World and another in the New is central to the subject of Chapter Five, the transfer of historical fiction to North American locations.

The year 1830 sees the launch of *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, which packs a huge amount of Canadian content into its first few years. The first issue of *Fraser's*, published in February 1830, includes 'The Hurons: A Canadian Tale', a rather lurid narrative about a localised but bloody battle provoked by the Hurons' capture of a French woman and child. The piece, in common with the vast majority of *Fraser's* Canadian material, was written by Galt; it is subtitled 'By the Author of "Sir Andrew Wylie"', his novel of 1822. Set in Burlington Bay, near present-day Hamilton, Ontario, the narrative begins in 'the remains of a fortified camp of a party of Huron Indians, who resisted the original invasion of their hunting grounds, when the French first attempted to establish military posts in that remote wilderness' (90). This establishes the piece as a historical tale of the previous occupants of the territory: the Hurons' old encampment is now 'close under the residence of Brant, the Mohawk chieftain' (90).[4]

'The Hurons' is followed in April 1830 by 'Canadian Sketches, No. II. The Bell of St. Regis', another historical fiction set before the British conquest of New France. The driver of the plot is a church bell ordered from France for the village of converted Indians, which is intercepted by a New England privateer and ends up in Deerfield, Massachusetts. The desire to recover the bell prompts the people of St Regis to join in a French-led attack on the offending frontier town, bringing them within the compass of recorded history as participants

[4] Joseph Brant (1743–1807) led the Mohawks on the British side during the American Revolution and later moved his people to reserve lands in Upper Canada, finally retiring to a mansion in Burlington. His son John Brant was chief between 1830 and 1832 but the reference in the tale is likely to the more well-known elder Brant.

in the Raid on Deerfield (or Deerfield Massacre) of 1704, an event documented in the captivity narrative of John Williams.[5] Williams is mentioned in Galt's story as the town's minister (and thus the unlawful possessor of the bell) but the narrative skirts the details of the raid in which 47 settlers were killed and 112 taken captive, noting only that 'a terrible conflict took place in the streets. The French fought with their accustomed spirit, and the Indians with their characteristic fortitude. The garrison was dispersed, the town was taken, and the buildings set on fire' (270). The focus is instead on the ingenious means by which the people of St Regis transport their bell back to Canada, and the Indians' veneration of it like 'a pagan multitude rejoicing in the restoration of an idol' (270). The fragment of regional history is not integrated with the historical events. 'The Hurons' is also intermittently specific, the initial setting at the Brant house in Burlington having little connection with the plot which revolves around an invented, indeterminately located 'Fort St. Louis' at an unspecified time in the French colonial era.

The May 1830 edition of *Fraser's* contains a piece on 'Canadian Affairs', also by Galt and also focused on Lower Canada. It is very similar to his 'Cabot' article in *Blackwood's* the previous year, but here Galt offers a more immediate and contemporary comparison than the Saxons and the Normans: 'It resembles in one respect the kingdom of Great Britain, which consists of two distinct nations, the English and Scotch, – with this difference, however, that the British and French dwell in a state of intermixture without incorporation, whilst the English and Scotch are domiciled apart' (389). Or as he puts it in his 1829 piece for *Blackwood's*, 'Of all people, the British are the least disposed to amalgamate with others . . . and thus it has happened that they are mingled with the Canadians as water is with oil, mixed

[5] *The Redeemed Captive*. Boston, 1707.

but not incorporated' (333). The 'Scotch' are present in two different guises, 'domiciled apart' from the English at home and combined with them as the 'British' in the colonies. They are also held up as an example of the potential for union to exist without complete uniformity: 'But although England and Scotland have been united in their legislature for a much longer period than has elapsed since the first British settlers entered Canada, yet in how little has it been deemed expedient by the imperial legislature to assimilate the laws and judicature of Scotland with those of England!' (389).

Galt is alone among commentators in these two Tory publications in not viewing the institutional protections afforded to the French language and to the Catholic church in Lower Canada as an inherent threat to imperial cohesion. In June 1832 *Blackwood's* carries a review of John MacGregor's *British America* (a Blackwood publication) by Thomas De Quincey, in which De Quincey argues that the constitution, language and religion of Lower Canada ought to be brought into line with those of the rest of the empire. As to whether this will happen naturally, or must be achieved through government intervention, De Quincey is less clear: 'It is probable, also, that the tide of emigration being in so large an overbalance British, may have the effect of diffusing and sustaining a British state of political feeling. British, we say, as not easily perceiving under what other name or presiding influence it would be possible to create such a unity of feeling amongst these provinces as would avail to bind them into one federal whole' (907). Applying the name 'Canadian' to anyone other than a French Canadian is not yet a possibility for De Quincey; 'British' is, somewhat hesitantly, identified as the only option. In June 1835, also in *Blackwood's*, Alfred Mallalieu discusses 'The Canada Question', concluding that 'We have indeed laid the foundation for two rival empires, each differing from the other in laws, language, and religion' and calling for the repeal of the Constitutional

Act of 1791 and the reunification of Upper and Lower Canada (911). George Croly's 'A Sketch of the Canadas' in *Blackwood's* in February 1838 aims to provide 'a brief sketch of these great provinces, or rather empires, which England, after having conquered by her arms, and attempted to conquer by her civilisation, must now conquer still more thoroughly by her laws, by her habits, and, above all, by the language and religion of England' (214). Galt is in agreement that 'In time . . . the British will in numbers and in power exceed the Canadians' – 'Canadians' meaning, of course, French Canadians – but is able to entertain the possibility that 'the British' may not be a homogenous grouping to begin with (390).

In October 1830 *Fraser's* begins a three-part series of 'American Traditions, by John Galt, Esq.'. Galt opens by declaring that 'All the nations of Europe have a species of legendary poetry which relates to the wars and exploits of their ancestors and founders. The Americans have nothing of this kind. They have, however, traditionary tales concerning the adventures of the first settlers not less interesting' (321). The richest source of such material is to be found in 'the Indian wars', which 'abound in instances of singular heroism, and of daring perseverance, under circumstances of danger and difficulty equal to those of the boldest enterprises celebrated in the border minstrelsy of the European kingdoms' (321). The first tale is 'Cherockee – A Tradition of the Back-woods', set on the shores of Lake Champlain. The second instalment, in August 1831, is 'The early missionaries; or, The Discovery of the Falls of Niagara', also set in the border regions of the northeastern United States. In spite of the link drawn between Indians and Scottish Borderers, Galt admits to certain difficulties: 'Owing to the uniform solemnity of the Indians, there is, perhaps, less of the picturesque in the "raids" and "frays" of the bush, than in those of the English and Scottish marches, and less diversity of individual character among their warriors than among the

ancient moss troopers' (321). Galt sees Indians as, in themselves, insufficiently idiosyncratic to meet the requirements of the regional tale.

Drawing parallels between Indians and Scottish Highlanders, however, traditionally poses fewer conceptual problems, due to the position of prominence Highlanders occupy within Enlightenment stadial theory as the ur-example of 'a people on the first rung of the ladder of social progress, sharing affinity with other contemporaneous "primitives" around the globe' (McNeil 2007). The third and final instalment of 'American Traditions' in April 1832 is set during the American Revolution, dealing specifically with the employment of Indians as soldiers on the British side – a topic made famous by Thomas Campbell in *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809). The sketch, 'as a picture of the feuds and bravery of those who were engaged in what may be called the savage war, merits to be classed with the heroic traditions of the Gael and Sassenach; which are also fast fading from the memory of the Highlanders, and the inhabitants of their neighbourhood in the Lowlands' (275). Like the memory of 1745 in *Waverley*, the events of the American Revolution are just out of reach of the current generation: 'In a few years, the traditions concerning them will also be forgotten among the survivors of the sufferers, for the progress of civilisation and commerce has supplied their descendants with new topics' (275).

In the next issue *Fraser's* turns Galt's own recent exploits into a traditionary tale of their own, entitled 'Guelph in Upper Canada':

> While the kingdom, with the Isle of Man and its dependencies, are ringing with the faults and fine things in 'Galt's Life of Byron,' we have the pleasure to present the advocates of emigration, with a View of Guelph, another sort of work of which he was the author and editor, in the province of Upper Canada. The renowned Doctor Dunlop has promised to write a history of this capital of the Western World – to be; in the meantime, we have accidentally obtained, with leave to make use of it, a private letter from Mr Galt to one of his friends, describing the founding of this second Rome or Babylon, which, until the doctor's work, in three

> volumes quarto, appear, must be interesting, to the whole civilized world, and Mr Wilmot Horton. (456)

The letter relates some 'adventures of the first settlers' from 1827, as Galt and Dunlop ceremonially christen the site of the new town by chopping down a 'superb maple-tree' which Galt 'had the honour and glory of laying the axe to the root thereof' (456).[6] Galt's letter is, in its way, a historical document when it enters the pages of *Fraser's*. He tells his correspondent that 'I am attempting to carry my colonial system into effect; corrected by the experience of the great land associations in the state of New York; but I fear the gentry in St. Helen's Place are too impatient for returns. They expect the ship to be earning a freight before she is launched'. But from the vantage point of 1830 the outcome is already known – Galt will fall foul of the 'gentry' and be dismissed, though the Company's work will continue (456). Jennifer Scott highlights the fact that this snippet is presented as a stand-in for a weightier history: 'The reference to Dunlop's manuscript suggests that this small piece will merely tide readers over until they can get their hands on a triple-volume account, which Dunlop eventually published with John Murray two years later' (373). However, Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* is not the weighty work of historiography teased in *Fraser's*, but something shorter, more discursive and more humorous. The tongue-in-cheek promise of a three-volume history is in keeping with the description of a backwoods settlement as a 'capital of the Western World – to be'. There is not yet a history of this not-yet-metropolis, so in the meantime the miscellany is the appropriate venue for its memorialisation.

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[6] Two essays in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, edited by Elizabeth Waterston, deal with this episode. Gilbert A. Stelter's 'John Galt: The Writer as Town Booster and Builder' gives a detailed account of the founding of Guelph in relation to Galt's interest in town planning, while Waterston's '*Bogle Corbet* and the Annals of New World Parishes' links the event to Galt's novelistic treatment of Canadian settlement.

1832 sees both periodicals turn to reviewing books about Canadian emigration: in July 'Canada. By Tiger – Galt – Picken' is published in *Fraser's* while 'Upper Canada, by a Backwoodsman' appears in *Blackwood's* in August. Both reviews concentrate their attention on William Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the Use of Emigrants, by a Backwoodsman* (1832), with brief mentions of Andrew Picken's *The Canadas* (also 1832), which was compiled using materials supplied by Galt. *Fraser's* does not share the quarterlies' focus on practical, usable information, choosing to excerpt sections on hunting and humorous descriptions of Canadian cookery. The impact these books might have on potential emigrants is envisioned in terms of their ability to inspire enthusiasm and the desire for emulation: the reviewer declares of Picken's work that 'It has quite Canada-bitten us; and we long to be, like the careless Jaques in the forest, hewing down the oak, and swallowing a bear for breakfast!' (642). The (probably inadvertent, possibly deliberate) transmutation of 'Jacques' into 'Jaques' conjures an incongruous reference to the 'melancholy Jaques' of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, who may live in the forest but is anything but 'careless', alongside the more stereotypical image of the *coureur des bois*, the fur-trading French Canadian woodsman.

Blackwood's review (by John Wilson) is similarly enthusiastic: 'We could sit for a whole day poring over a map of the Canadas. Compare one of fifty years date with one brought up to last Christmas, and what a difference in the pictures of that noble district of the New World!' (238). Wilson's conviction of the universal appeal of Dunlop's subject matter is firmly in line with the now-established Tory doctrine of colonial settlement as not only a solution to the problem of surplus population but a demonstration of Britain's irrepressible ebullience on the world stage, with Canada as the ideal receptacle for the overflow both of British subjects and of imperial energies: 'Sail in imagination up the St Lawrence from the

Bald Mountains near the sea, to the head of Lake Superior, thousands of miles, and you will smile to suppose what the earth must think of Mr Malthus . . . Emigration! Colonization! Mighty words – and as you dream into them, expanding over the globe' (238).

This sense of dynamism extends into Wilson's description of the current literary marketplace: 'Dozens of light pamphlets besides are floating in the air, and scores of heavy ones thudding on the ground – all about the Canadas' (239). The rapidly-changing face of the North American colonies is being matched by a proliferation of writing, and Wilson reminds the reader of the periodical's role in curating and disseminating the best of this expanding literary field: 'Our June number contained, you will remember, an account – nay, almost an abridgement – comprehensive, in its political and philosophical sweep, of all that was most valuable in Mr M'Gregor's British America' (239).[7] He then offers a few further recommendations: 'Read, likewise, Bourchette [sic]; not forget to buy "The Canadas," by Mr Picken. Read, too, those animated articles, so full of agreeable and instructive notices, by Mr Fergusson, in that prosperous periodical, the Agricultural Journal' (239).[8] Finally, Dunlop's book is presented as the high-water mark of Canadian emigration literature: 'And here is one of the best of the whole lot, a Blackwoodian Backwoodsman, who can handle a quill as well as a hatchet' (239). Wilson's approval of *Statistical Sketches* is expressed not through a detached aesthetic evaluation of the book's merits but in the context of the reviewer's intimate knowledge of the author – indeed, the phrase 'one of the best of the whole lot' suggests that Wilson is about to discuss the book when he is in fact introducing the man himself. This

[7] John MacGregor, *British America*. Edinburgh, 1832.
[8] Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America*. London, 1831; Andrew Picken, *The Canadas, compiled from documents furnished by John Galt, Esq. with the fullest general information for Emigrants*. London, 1832; Adam Fergusson, *Practical Notes made during a Tour in Canada*. London, 1833. (Originally published in the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, 1832.)

personal connection is, of course, the reason that these particular texts have been singled out for review: Galt and Dunlop were regular magazine contributors as well as Canada Company employees and investors.

These personal contacts, which had already furnished the material for *Fraser's* report on contemporary colonisation efforts in 'Guelph in Upper Canada', are also the enabling factor in another occasional series begun in *Fraser's* in August 1832. 'Historical Documents No. 1' is a text relating to Canada: 'We are indebted to Mr Galt for this very curious paper', which purports to be 'Secret Instructions to General Wolfe for the Conquest of Quebec' written by George II. Again, the stadial idea of societies co-existing at different points of historical evolution is invoked, this time to make the point that Canada as a whole is still in its infancy: 'To the public of this country it is therefore of very high interest; but in those great provinces, the two Canadas, to which the overflowing of our population has given so much importance, it will be regarded with the same sort of feeling and veneration that ancient states look back on the monuments of their origin' (109). This, then, is a history that is not in danger of being forgotten, because it is one that the newly-arrived residents of Canada can claim for their own; the origin story of British Canada, rather than the superseded histories of the French settlers or the Indians.

Galt's final contributions to *Blackwood's* come in 1833 (including a two-part American tale entitled 'Scotch and Yankees: A Caricature'), and the emphasis of the magazine's Canadian coverage shifts away from fiction and book reviewing from the mid-1830s onwards. Material about the Canadas becomes less 'miscellaneous', concentrated almost entirely in articles on current political developments. Sometimes these are focused specifically on Canada – 'Ministerial Policy in the Canadas' in February 1838, 'Canada and Ireland' in

March 1838 and 'Colonial Misgovernment' in November 1838, for example. At other times the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada and the government's handling of them (or mishandling, from *Blackwood's* Tory point of view) are included in more wide-ranging overviews of domestic and imperial affairs. Although imaginative literature about Canada disappears in these years, it might be argued that, contrasted with the (relative) lack of attention paid to contemporary Canadian politics in the quarterlies, the miscellany's willingness to grapple with the specificities of conditions 'on the ground' is an extension of its attempts to represent Canada in localised, fragmentary sketches.

Fraser's follows a similar trajectory with a couple of years' delay. In June 1834 Canadian affairs receive a passing mention in 'The First Man I was Near Seeing Hanged', an entry in a comic series of the memoirs of 'C. O'Donoghue, Late Ensign (18th) Royal Irish' by Thomas Crofton Croker: 'the finest pisintry in the world is no longer their "country's pride", however well they may answer the purposes of our good friend Tiger Dunlop and the Emigration Society in the wilds of Upper Canada, as hewers of wood and drawers of water' (717). Then in September 1835 *Fraser's* publishes Galt's last Canadian piece, for this and any other magazine, 'The Metropolitan Emigrant'. Tales depicting modern emigrants, rather than historical scenes, bookend Galt's periodical contributions. 'The Emigrants' Voyage to Canada' cuts off before the work of settlement begins, on an optimistic note: 'the emigrants waved their hats to me, and I accompanied my return of the salute with fervent wishes that the comforts, blessings, and advantages of the land to which they were hastening, might exceed their warmest and earliest anticipations' (469). 'The Metropolitan Emigrant', though its tale of a naive storekeeper's tribulations in the fictional settlement of 'Labois' ('the Wood') in Lower Canada is light-hearted in tone, is a narrative of failure. The unprepared emigrants unsuited to

life in the backwoods return home 'after having experienced in Canada the folly of emigration' (299).

Fraser's does have some Canadian material that is not focused on contemporary politics in the post-Galt years: a three-part series of 'Sketches of Savage Life' begins in February 1836, attributed tentatively to William Dunlop.[9] The first of these biographical sketches of notable Indians, 'Kondiaronk, Chief of the Hurons', creates an intertextual link with one of the magazine's previous fictional depictions of Canada. While the real Kondiaronk died of natural causes in 1701 and was buried in Montréal, the sketch veers away from the historical record to insert him into the events of Galt's 'Hurons' sketch of 1830, making Kondiaronk the captor of the wife and child of the Chevalier La Porte, commander of the fictional Fort St. Louis, and locating his grave on the spot where the earlier sketch began: 'So died the renowned chief of the Hurons; and the traveller who passes near a clump of fantastic trees, at the entrance of Burlington Bay, will observe several artificial mounds: under one of these repose the ashes of KONDIARONK' (176).

Canada in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae'

Blackwood's often approaches current affairs by bringing them within the purview of its own circle of contributors, real and fictional, not merely commenting on events but co-opting them into its sphere of influence. The magazine's engagement with Canada, for example, is not

[9] According to the *Wellesley Index*, 'The difficulty of identifying anonymous and pseudonymous writing in *Fraser's* is unusually severe.' There is a dearth of contemporary records (in contrast to *Blackwood's*) and the only scholarly resource remains Miriam Thrall's *Rebellious Fraser's* (1934) which has not been supplemented with more up-to-date research. Thrall attributes the 'Sketches of Savage Life' to Dunlop, stating that 'The following work in *Fraser's* would seem to be his', but does not explain whether her conclusion is based on any outside sources or is simply an inference based on Dunlop's association with Canada (282).

confined to book reviews, political opinion pieces or discrete fictional sketches. Canada also features in the magazine's long-running 'Noctes Ambrosianae' series (1822–35), in which the eidolons of various members of the *Blackwood's* circle step off the page and gather in the real world, meeting at Ambrose's Tavern in Edinburgh to indulge in discursive, irreverent conversation and consume large quantities of food and drink. Some members of the revolving cast of characters include the Ettrick Shepherd (James Hogg), Christopher North (the magazine's fictional editor, mostly associated with John Wilson) and the Irishman O'Doherty (representing William Maginn, before his departure for *Fraser's*).

Canada receives its first mention in November 1826, in a discussion of the forthcoming publication of the letters of General Wolfe: 'him who so gloriously fought and fell, and in his fall upheld, against France, the character of England – a service worth a thousand Canadas' (779). A more in-depth treatment can be found, however, in the October 1828 instalment, which takes the form of a dialogue between two of the series' regular characters, Christopher North and Timothy Tickler, about the state of Europe and the colonies. North declares that:

> Canada is peevish, but we shall soon settle all that. A most honoured Contributor, and a most excellent Tory – our friend Galt – reigns there in plenitude of power; and the department of woods and forests is under the control of a Lord Warden, (The Teegger,) whose learned lucubrations have figured in the Magazine. (507)

On one level, this is an excellent illustration of Jennifer Scott's point that Galt and Dunlop's status as Blackwoodians and Fraserians allows the magazines to function as a meeting place for the literary and economic aspects of their colonial activities. She writes of their reception in *Fraser's*: 'The intimate friendships at work behind the texts under consideration in the "Canada" review thereby serve as a synecdoche for the North American business venture' (372). The 'Noctes Ambrosianae', however, goes further, turning Galt and Dunlop, as characters, into a synecdoche of *Blackwood's* overall interest in, and pretended influence over,

Canadian affairs. The rest of the instalment extends the strategy of portraying British interests in Canada through a *Blackwood's* lens into other contexts, as various great world powers are comically reduced to fit within a local (or even just a Blackwoodian) orbit, with political affiliations reconfigured as concrete personal interactions. The Russian Emperor Nicholas is regarded with relative goodwill by Christopher North because he is 'a representative of that house which crushed the Jacobin power, and broke up the Continental System', but also because he is 'a good free-mason, having been made in our presence in the Canongate Kilwinning' in Edinburgh (503). The Pacha of Egypt is similarly 'An excellent fellow, lately converted to Christianity, and inrolled as a ruling elder of the Relief Kirk of Kirkintulloch' (504). The secretary of a land company may be humorously likened to an Emperor or a Pacha, and invested with a similar degree of power to 'settle' the affairs of his domain, because they have been all been endowed equally (though not with equal truth) with the main guarantee of significance, a personal association with the magazine. The wider world as portrayed, or burlesqued, in the 'Noctes' is not merely assimilable to Scottish reference points but is, in fact, run by *Blackwood's* contributors and personal friends. The extension of personal networks into the framework of the magazine is not simply a reflection of an outside reality that impacts on the periodical's content, but is an essential part of *Blackwood's* rhetorical arsenal.

The July 1829 'Noctes' follows up with Galt as part of a rundown of recent happenings all around the world, noting that 'Mr Galt has returned at this very moment from Canada' (136). (He had just been dismissed by the Canada Company.) In the next edition of the 'Noctes' in September 1829, the conversation again turns to the colonies, and specifically to the disproportionate representation of Scotsmen within the imperial infrastructure:

> Tickler: Why, in truth, we need hardly pretend that we have not had – by hook or by crook, no matter – our own share of the fat things. India – army, navy, council, bench, and direction, are pretty well ours. In the West Indies we are the drivers almost universally, and our planters are at least half and half. – Nova Scotia – the name speaks for itself – and as for Canada, why it's as Scotch as Lochaber – whatever of it is not French, I mean – Even omitting our friend John Galt, have not we *hodie* our Bishop Macdonell for the Papists – our Archdeacon Strachan for the Episcopals – and our Tiger Dunlop for the Presbyterians? and 'tis the same, I believe, all downwards. (393)

This pride in Scottish imperial achievements is consistent with what Katie Trumpener identifies as the ideological mainstream of Scottish Romanticism, represented by Scott's depictions of 'the subsumption of nation into empire as . . . a moment of acute cultural suffering and loss, which gives way to a future of unexpected compensations' (247). The greatest compensation of all is access to 'Our Colonial Empire – I say *our*, for *ours* it is – British, not English' (392). However, Tickler will not submit fully to the comforting conclusion that the benefits of Britishness are ample recompense for post-Union Scotland's loss of political autonomy: 'in losing our independent Parliament we lost everything that made this nation a nation, and we have been countyfying ever since' (394). He goes further: 'From a kingdom, we have already sunk into a province; let the thing go on much longer, and from a province we shall fall to a colony – one of "the dominions thereunto belonging!"' (399). Tickler would likely be surprised to know that modern criticism has tended to conclude that his fears had already been realised; that Romantic Scotland is characterised by its 'shifting between the coordinates of colonized and colonizer' (*Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* 2). From Tickler's point of view being 'countyfied' or provincial is one thing; being placed on the level of the possessions that are intended to compensate for that provincial status is another. Tickler's arguments are not received without pushback; the Ettrick Shepherd, as the representative of the peasantry, retorts with a reminder of losses visited upon

one segment of the Scottish people by another: ‘Weel, if the gentry lose the land, the Highland anes at any rate, it will only be the Lord’s righteous judgment on them for having dispossessed the people before them. Ah! wae’s me – I hear the Duke of Hamilton’s cottars are a’ gaun away, man and mither’s son, frae the Isle o’ Arran’ (399–400). This in turn prompts North to introduce the ‘Canadian Boat Song’:

> North: By the bye, I have a letter this morning from a friend of mine now in Upper Canada. He was rowed down the St Lawrence lately, for several days on end, by a set of strapping fellows, all born in that country, and yet hardly one of whom could speak a word of any tongue but the Gaelic. They sung heaps of our old Highland oar-songs, he says, and capitally well, in the true Hebridean fashion; and they had others of their own, Gaelic too, some of which my friend noted down, both words and music. (400)

The ‘Canadian Boat Song’ builds upon the Shepherd’s remark about Highland dispossession, with such lines as ‘No seer foretold the children would be banish’d, / That a degenerate Lord might boast his sheep’ and ‘The hearts that would have given their blood like water, / Beat heavily beyond the Atlantic roar’ (400). As soon as the song is over, however, the discussion shifts abruptly to another type of emigration entirely. The Shepherd comments ‘Hech me! that’s really a very affectin’ thing, now – Weel, Doctor, what say you? Another bowl?’ and another member of the company, the Rev. Dr Wodrow, complains that ‘wi’ a’ your wise discourse, friends, ye’ve given me very little light yet about my tway callants’ (401). The ‘Canadian Boat Song’ may be affecting but it has no relevance to the topic the group had previously been discussing, which is Wodrow’s dilemma about how best to establish his two sons in life. Tickler offers a suggestion:

> Doctor Wodrow, there’s nothing for it but colonization. Wilmot Horton for ever, say I. If I were a stout carle like you, with a parcel of strapping olive plants rising about my table, by the Ghost of Nebuchadnezzar I would roup off, turn every thing into cash, and make interest with Peel for a few thousand square miles of improvable land somewhere in Australia. I’ll be hanged if I would not. (401)

Where Highland emigration is eclipsed by, and Lowland emigration folded into, the Britain-wide potentialities of assisted emigration in the quarterlies, in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae' the lament for Highland exile sits side by side with commercially-motivated colonisation in a way that is jarring and unresolved.

There has been a great deal of debate over the authorship of the 'Canadian Boat Song'. Gerard Carruthers, in 'Remembering John Galt' (2012), is of the opinion that Galt's 'hand has been too readily dismissed' and that 'in fact, no completely persuasive candidate has been found who is much more convincing an author for the text than Galt' (38). The evidence is inconclusive as none of the writers floated as candidates for authorship – Galt, David Moir, even Walter Scott – ever claimed the popular, much-reprinted song in their correspondence or autobiographical writing. Much depends on how much credence is attached to the account of the song's provenance given in the 'Noctes'. If North's statement that he has received the song in a 'letter from a friend, now in Upper Canada' is to be taken at all seriously – that is, if there is any reason to believe the song was actually sent from Upper Canada by some person or persons unknown, and not simply composed along with the rest of the 'Noctes' in which it appears – then Galt is certainly a possible author (though he had left Canada by September 1829). If not, then the likelihood would be that the song was written by the author of this particular 'Noctes', John Gibson Lockhart. Thomas Richardson, in 'John Gibson Lockhart and *Blackwood's*: Shaping the Romantic Periodical Press' (2013), sees Lockhart as the most likely author: 'For Lockhart, "exile" is a metaphor. Clearly there were many Scots who literally had been removed from their country, and even Lockhart himself at this time felt something of the exile after four years in London. But the whole of this "Noctes" sets up the idea that the entire Scottish nation has been exiled without having to travel one step from home: it is the country

that has been lost to the people' (43).

One factor which enables Richardson's reading of the 'Canadian Boat Song' as a text that is not really an attempt to depict Canada at all, and which helps account for the general difficulty of attributing the song, is that it is entirely lacking in Canadian specificity. Thomas Moore's 'A Canadian Boat Song' (1804), by way of contrast, does include certain location markers: 'We'll sing at St. Anne's our parting hymn' (4) and 'Utawas' tide! This trembling moon / Shall see us float over thy surges soon' (13–14). The poem's subtitle is 'Written on the River St. Lawrence', and these three details point the reader with some knowledge of Lower Canadian geography towards the town of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, at the confluence of the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. Moore's singers are Canadians – French Canadian *voyageurs* – who are among their native scenes. The *Blackwood's* song, on the other hand, does not attempt to describe the singers' current surroundings, the emphasis being on the Canadian-born Gaels' nostalgia for 'the lone shieling of the misty island' (400). As the short fiction discussed in the previous section has shown, a certain geographical and historical vagueness tends to prevail in the magazines' efforts to apply the principles of the regional tale to Canadian settings, and this is also true of the 'Canadian Boat Song'.

After Highland exile and Australian colonisation have been dispensed with, the conversation turns to a fanciful proposal of an emigration *en masse* of the *Blackwood's* circle and the establishment of an imagined Blackwoodian state. North declares: 'Let political affairs go on here in their present course for another Session or so, and Great Britain will be no place for the like of us to leave our bones in. We may as well lie by a little longer, and then, by Jupiter, and then – if nothing turns up – why, the best thing we can do will, I devoutly believe, be to pack up bag and baggage, and endeavour to found a free and Christian state somewhere

of our own' (401). For the name of their colony they settle on 'New St Kit's', after Christopher North (403), and envision it as a refuge from the 'religious degradation, insecurity, and oppression of a once proud, and virtuous, and truly Protestant country' – from the recently-passed Roman Catholic Relief Act, essentially (402). This High Tory opposition to the current state of British politics is imbued with echoes of another type of emigration again, that of the flight of religious dissenters to colonial America. The 'Noctes' format is capable of juxtaposing all of these different iterations of one process – emigration – because it functions as an extended metaphor for the miscellany itself. Each viewpoint or experience is given its own mouthpiece, and they all proceed to shout across one another while sharing the same strictly delimited space.

While Canadian affairs are accommodated in the space occupied by the 'Noctes', the 'Noctes' themselves also prove to be transportable to a Canadian setting. In November 1837, George Croly discusses a book by 'an Englishman, writing in Nova Scotia' (673). The book in question is Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *The Clockmaker: Or, the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville* (1836) and this is the only review of a work of fiction about the North American colonies – let alone written there – in any of the five periodicals surveyed in this thesis. The character of Sam Slick, a shrewd, voluble Yankee who serves as a vehicle for satirising not only American 'slickness' but what Haliburton sees as the rather stodgy, unambitious colonial society of Nova Scotia, originated in the *Novascotian* newspaper in 1835. Before Sam Slick, Haliburton had been one of the contributors to 'The Club', published in the same paper between 1828 and 1831. These were sketches in the vein of the 'Noctes Ambrosianae'; as Gwendolyn Davies describes them in 'The Club Papers: Haliburton's Literary Apprenticeship' (1985) they 'ostensibly celebrat[ed] the meetings of a society of

gentlemen gathered in a Halifax chamber for good conversation, good port, and the taste of a fine Havana' (66). On one level, they can be read simply as a colonial copy of the metropolitan literature that dominated the local marketplace:

> That the 'Noctes' conversations were as popular with contemporary colonial readers as with British ones, is clear from the frequency of their appearance in Maritime newspapers and from the enduring popularity of *Blackwood's Magazine* in regional subscription libraries. Thus, there would be few among the Club's readers who would not be familiar with the 'Noctes' conventions and would not recognize the parallels in structure and conception between the fifty-two Club pieces and the seventy-one 'Noctes' conversations. (Davies 71)

The literal mobility of *Blackwood's*, and its empire-wide popularity, makes the audience for the 'Noctes' series, rooted though it is to one particular spot in Edinburgh, theoretically infinite. However, as the following passage from Davies makes clear, that mobility is unidirectional: 'just as the Ettrick Shepherd delighted readers everywhere with his Lallans speech and comic philosophy, so Mr Merlin from the banks of the Yarrow regaled Nova Scotians with his pungent observations on provincial life and literature, all of it delivered in broad Scots dialect' (71). The Ettrick Shepherd can address 'readers everywhere' but Mr Merlin's speech is confined to Nova Scotia. Indeed, Haliburton's *Blackwood's* reviewer calls on the author to stop wasting his talents in the backwater of Nova Scotia and satirise English public life instead. 'Or, if he must remain on the other side of the Atlantic, can he not give some share of his talents to the illustration of our affairs in Canada? That country, to which Radicalism, Popery, and the guilty ambition of the United States look with a combined hatred of British feelings and Britain' (677). (By 'Canada', Croly means 'the Canadas', or possibly, judging by the reference to 'Popery', Lower Canada in particular.) However, in 1830 the Club had anticipated *Blackwood's* offer. During a visit to Britain one of its characters, the Major, receives a visitor:

> No less a personage than Old Blackwood the bookseller. I thought the fellow was mad, he treated me with so much deference and respect. After some hesitation he disclosed the object of his visit, by saying that Galt, who, you know was lately in Canada, having brought home a file of the Novascotian, he had read with amazement several numbers of the Club; and, as Professor Wilson was getting into years, and O'Doherty had somewhat impaired his faculties by hard drinking, he would either pay down a large sum per annum for the copyright of our Reports, or, if the whole club would remove to Edinburgh, he would use his purse and influence to forward our fortunes.

In what Davies describes as a 'highly original reversal of the colonial mentality' (72), the Major indignantly refuses the offer: 'Faith I roared in his face and assured him that in one month after I communicated his proposal, our friend the Editor would post off to Scotland, and run him through the body.'[10] In this way the Club acknowledge their literary debt to *Blackwood's* while winkingly placing themselves foremost as Blackwood's preferred group of erudite revellers, and the whole exchange is routed through the figure who connects Canada and Scotland across the periodical sphere, John Galt. Galt, too, proves to be a highly mobile personage, not only travelling to Canada under his own power in the 1820s but returning as a character, a personification of the connection between the British periodicals and Canadian colonisation, in the 1830s. In the 'Noctes' Galt is a representative of Canada; in the *Canadian Literary Magazine* he is an emissary from *Fraser's*.

Illustrious Literary Characters: From *Fraser's* to the *Canadian Literary Magazine*

The first issue of the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, published in York, Upper Canada in April 1833, features an image of Walter Scott:

[10] 'The Club.' *Novascotian*. Vol. III (4 February 1830): 86. Quoted in Davies, 71–72.



Fig. 1. ‘Sir Walter Scott.’ *Canadian Literary Magazine* 1.1 (1833)

This engraving is touted as a great technical triumph for the magazine:

> Mr Tazewell, our Artist, has bestowed considerable pains upon the accompanying Portrait – the first we believe ever engraved in Upper Canada – engraved too on Canadian Stone, and from thence, by means of a Canadian press, transferred to Canadian paper. The sketch is borrowed from *Fraser’s Magazine*; and we think Mr Tazewell has been extremely happy in transferring the likeness to our pages. (41)

The original belongs to *Fraser's* 'Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters', a series that ran from 1830 to 1838, each entry consisting of a page-length biographical sketch by William Maginn and a portrait by Daniel Maclise.

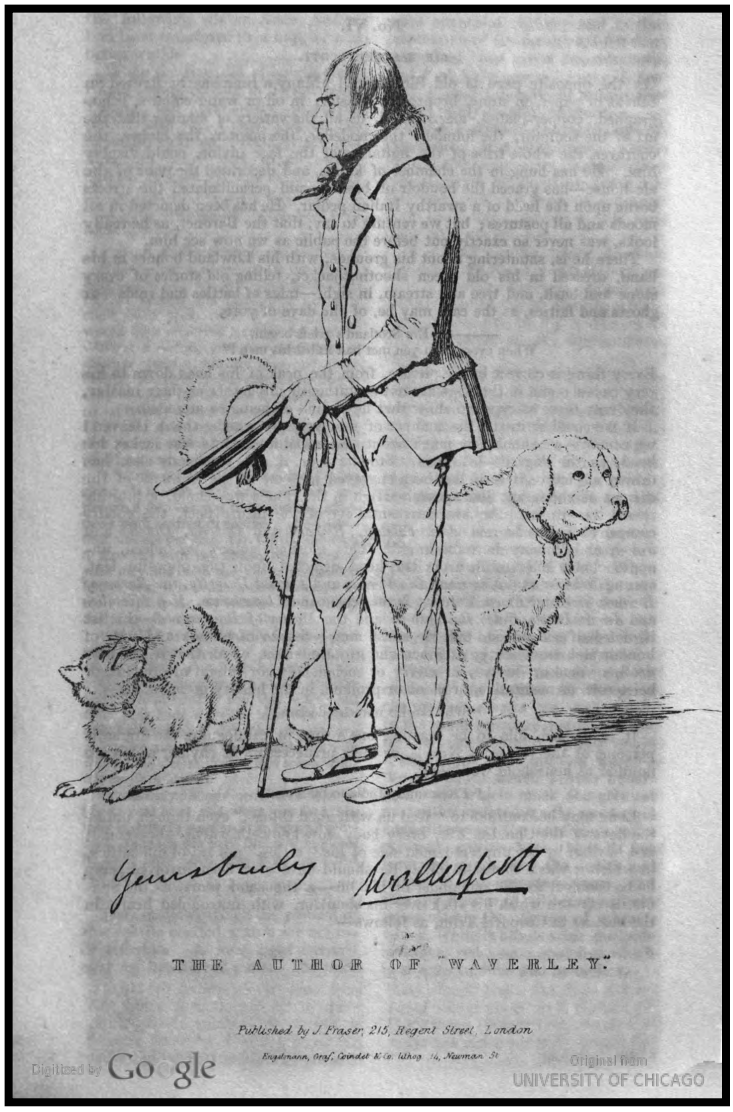


Fig. 2. 'The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters. No. VI. Sir Walter Scott.' *Fraser's Magazine* 2.10 (1830)

Miriam Thrall describes the Gallery as 'the first attempt which any English magazine had made to give informative, intimate accounts of the most prominent living men of letters',

though by the time the *Canadian Literary Magazine* reproduces Scott's portrait it has become a memorialisation (19). The article in which the image appears a dispute between the editor and one of the magazine's contributors, Guy Pollock, about 'the best mode of testifying respect to the memory of Sir Walter Scott in this Province' – Pollock favours a monument while the editor argues that the interests of the 'infant Colony' of Upper Canada would be better served by 'blending utility to the living with honor to the dead' and establishing a much-needed library and museum in Scott's name (42). The piece ends with a 'Dirge on the death of Sir Walter Scott: written, we believe by Mr D. Chisholm, of Three-rivers . . . who has thus patriotically sung a lament for his illustrious countryman on the banks of the majestic St. Lawrence' (44). The fact that the recently-deceased Walter Scott was selected as the first subject of Canadian periodical portraiture is by no means surprising. However, a note from the editor throws up an interesting wrinkle:

> We had originally intended to have placed in our first number the Portrait of a distinguished personage intimately connected with this Colony. But a variety of unforeseen obstacles concurred to prevent this intention from being carried into effect, and we have endeavored to repair the disappointment as well as possible. (41–42)

In the very next issue that personage is revealed, unsurprisingly, to be John Galt. Scott and Galt are the sixth and seventh subjects of *Fraser's* portraiture, appearing in November and December 1830. In *Scott's Shadow*, Ian Duncan quotes from a letter Galt wrote to William Blackwood in 1821, in which he remarks: 'What a cursed fellow that Walter Scott has been, to drive me out of my old original line' (215). In its original context this is a reference to the pre-eminence of Scott's brand of historical fiction, against which Galt asserts his own method, which he calls 'theoretical history' (and which will be a crucial element of his novelistic depictions of emigration, discussed in Chapter Four). In the *Canadian Literary Magazine*

Scott has displaced Galt again, but for once the intention really was for Galt to have taken precedence. In Galt's case, however, his image is not simply transferred from *Fraser's* to Canadian paper – it is altered. While both pictures show a map of the Great Lakes region hanging on the wall behind Galt, the *Fraser's* original only marks Lake Ontario, and very faintly, Lake Simcoe:

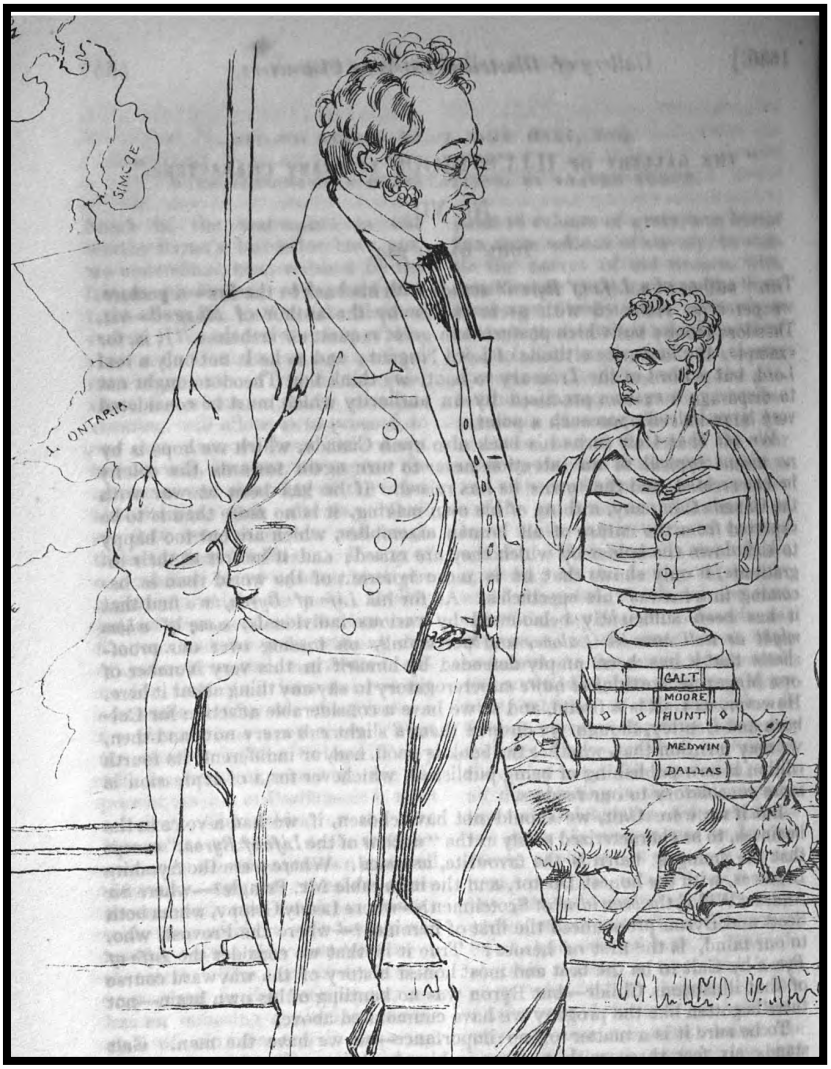


Fig. 3. Detail from 'The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters. No. VII. John Galt, Esq.' *Fraser's Magazine* 2.11 (1830)

The *Canadian Literary Magazine* version makes the map clearer, with bolder lettering, and fills in more detail, adding Lakes Erie and Huron – and putting York, the magazine's place of publication, on the map.

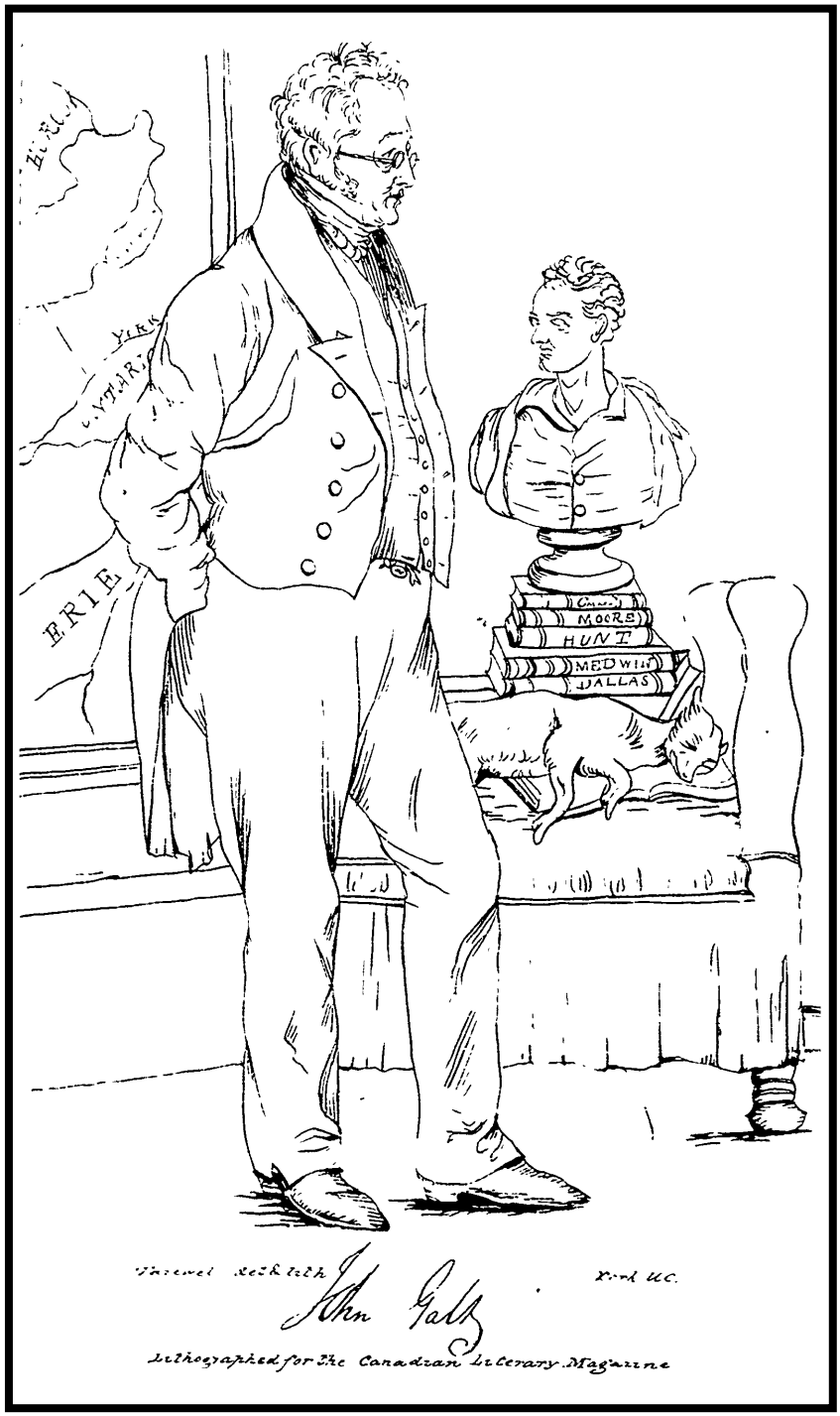


Fig. 4. 'John Galt'. *Canadian Literary Magazine* 1.2 (1833)

While the magazine lays claim to Scott as the central figure of a national literary heritage that is shared by the colonies, Galt is encoded as a local figure, associated with the Canadian landscape. This does not mean, however, that the magazine claims any of Galt's literary achievements for Canada; the accompanying biographical sketch enforces a strict geographical division between Galt's two careers. 'As an Author – not as a Superintendant of Emigrants – is Mr Galt chiefly known on the other side of the Atlantic', while on the Canadian side, 'Of the early history of John Galt we know nothing, except that he was born in Scotland' (105). The article acknowledges that 'The name and writings of Galt have also been of considerable avail in attracting public attention in Great Britain towards Upper Canada' but does not go into his North American writings in any detail (105). Instead, 'His claim to a niche in the Temple of Fame must indeed rest solely upon his merits as a Scottish Novelist; for his Life of Lord Byron, though it has gone through several editions, is but a sorry and insipid production' (106).

Although Galt is so central to the representation of Canada in *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* that he is figured in the 'Noctes' as its ruler, the author of this piece does not think of him as a 'transatlantic' writer but rather as a Scottish writer with Upper Canadian business interests. The possibility of a literary career that might be understood as both Scottish and Canadian remains just out of theoretical reach. The editor of the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, in his inaugural 'Address to the Public' in April 1833, 'cherish[es] the hope that I shall receive the support of every individual who feels a desire that Canada should possess a Literature of its own' (2). When this vision of a homegrown literary tradition is realised, and retrospectively narrated in literary histories, it will not have much of a place for Galt's periodical writings – or, for the most part, for his emigrant novels. Galt's Canadian writings constitute a body of

work that hovers somewhere between two national literatures, tending to slip out of view in the historiography of both, and the germs of that process can be seen here, in his own time.

Early Canadian Magazines and Scottish Romanticism

The three-issue run of the *Canadian Literary Magazine* was only the latest in a decade's worth of abortive attempts to establish a local periodical scene. It is notable as one of the earliest literary magazines to be published in Upper Canada; in the 1820s and 1830s the major hub of English-language publishing was still Montréal. Literary periodical publishing in the Canadas is something of a disjointed, stop-and-start affair. The short-lived, bilingual *Quebec Magazine*/*Magasin de Quebec* ran between 1792 and 1794, followed by the *British-American Register* (also bilingual) for 28 weeks in 1803. Then there is a lull until the early 1820s, which sees something of a flurry of activity before another pause in production until the 1830s. Not including religious magazines, significant titles include *The Scribbler* (1821–27), a 'weekly essay' which bears a greater generic resemblance to the *Spectator* or the *Idler* than to its Canadian contemporaries, and the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* (1823–25) edited by David Chisholme, who was also the editor of the *Montreal Gazette* newspaper. Chisholme left the *Canadian Magazine*, a miscellany, to edit the *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal* (1824–26), which conforms more to the quarterly review model although it appears at rather irregular, not-always-quarterly intervals. The early 1830s saw the launch, and rapid disappearance, of the *Canadian Casket* (Hamilton, 1831–32), the *Montreal Museum* (1832–34) which was the first periodical in British North America explicitly aimed at female readers and also had a female editor, Mary Graddon Gosselin, and

the *Canadian Literary Magazine* (York, 1833).[11]

When the *Literary Garland* began publication in Montréal in December 1838, no Canadian literary magazine had ever survived for more than three years (the *Scribbler* had lasted for six but as a single-author weekly paper it is something of a special case). The first number of the *Literary Garland* opens by dwelling self-consciously on its place in this succession of noble but abortive endeavours:

> Dispiriting as is the influence of the failure of all who have preceded us, we enter upon the arena with no fear for the result . . . we throw ourselves unreluctantly upon the good faith of an honourable community, to whom we offer a secure pledge, that for one year at least our efforts shall not be relaxed. If, at the expiration of that time, the GARLAND shall not have gathered a stem sufficiently powerful to support itself, it must fall and wither, as has been the fate of many a more beautiful and classic wreath. (3)

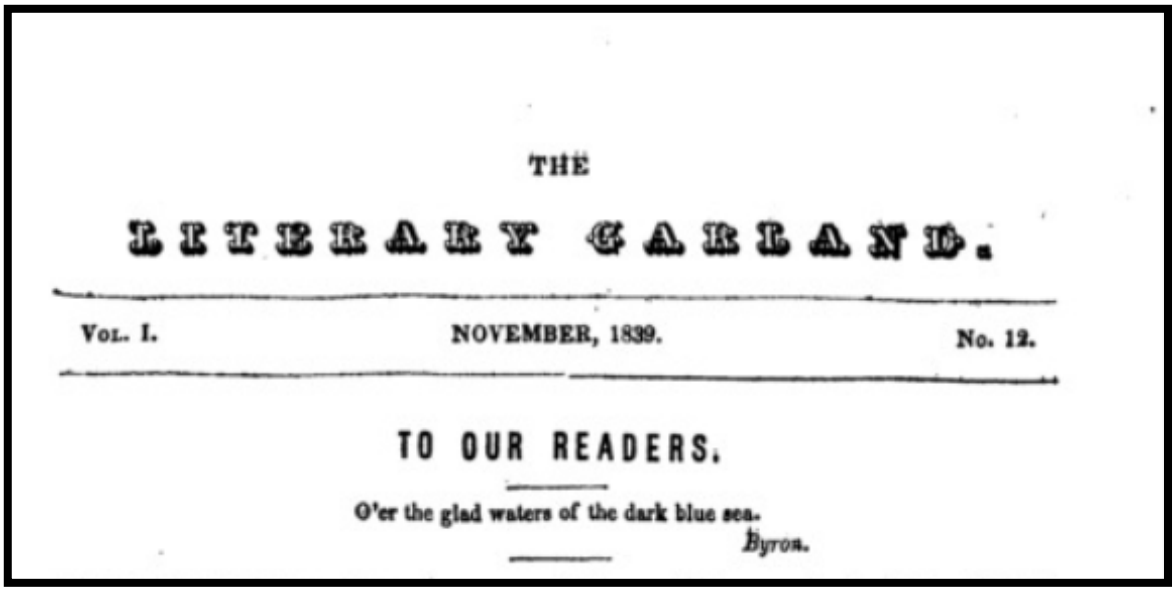
In fact, the *Literary Garland* would run for thirteen years until the death of its editor John Gibson in 1851. It is the first success story in terms of financial viability, longevity, and the number of locally-based contributors it was able to employ. The chapter on 'Magazines in English' in *The History of the Book in Canada* (2004) explains that the halting development of the Canadian periodical scene is attributable to the fact that 'early magazines in British North America faced an environment that was implicitly biased against them. At best, they were perceived as provincial organs designed to transmit the culture of distant centres. The imitative form and large amount of "borrowed" content tended to reinforce this perception' (241). This implies that a successful Canadian magazine, one that participates in what Carole Gerson has called 'the creation of a national literature that distinctively and appropriately

[11] See Vincent, Alston and MacLaren, 'Magazines in English' and Carole Gerson, 'Women and Print Culture' in *History of the Book in Canada. Volume One: Beginnings to 1840*. See also Gerson's *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (1989).

referred to Canada', will predominantly feature original Canadian content (*A Purer Taste* ix). The 'Club' sketches and the redeployment of *Fraser's '*Gallery' would seem to be epitomes of 'imitative form' and 'borrowed content', though they also demonstrate some of the ways in which 'use of the borrowed form of the magazine was marked by a struggle to adapt it to local circumstances, so that over time it came to speak as much *for* as *to* the cultural consciousness of its readership' (240).

The *Literary Garland*, in contrast to earlier examples like the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* and the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, is made up entirely of fiction and poetry. However, as Gerson points out, 'While the majority of its contributions came from Canadian residents and were directed towards Canadian readers, its fiction was primarily non-Canadian in content. Especially popular were Oriental tales, Old World pastoral idylls, European medieval romances, Irish and Scottish dialect anecdotes, and English silver fork stories' (45). The *Literary Garland* avoids the dry factual pieces on the fur trade or the history of Montréal or local agriculture which are the lifeblood of the *Canadian Magazine*, and this results, ironically, in a dearth of 'Canadian' content, if that is defined in terms of subject matter or setting as well as authorship. Insisting on a strict distinction between the local and the imported, or original and 'borrowed' content, also obscures some of the strategies these periodicals use to engage with British (and particularly Scottish) Romantic literary culture, and the significance of their response to British writings on Canadian emigration.

The epigraph to the *Literary Garland* offers a striking example of the adaptation of imported content to local circumstances:



THE

LITERARY GARLAND.

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1839. No. 12.

TO OUR READERS.

O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea.

Byron.

Fig. 5. Detail from 'To Our Readers'. *Literary Garland* 1.12 (1839)

The most obvious interpretation of 'O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea', which is the opening line of Byron's *The Corsair* (1814), would be that the 'dark blue sea' is the Atlantic Ocean; that this is a recognition of the *Literary Garland*'s colonial, transatlantic situation as an outpost of culture 'o'er the sea'. However, the line's original context within Byron's poem complicates matters a little:

> O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
> Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,
> Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
> Survey our empire, and behold our home!
> These are our realms, no limits to their sway –
> Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey. (1–6)

In this context, 'empire' and 'home' are located on the sea itself, with no stable resting place which can be used to determine the relative positions of centre and periphery. The *Literary Garland*'s own explanation for the choice of epigraph, in this address 'to our readers' reflecting on the magazine's successful first year of existence, is somewhat different again: 'Inappropriate as our motto may have seemed, it was, at the moment of adoption, the best that

occurred to our memory, as imaging the buoyant hopes with which we threw ourselves upon the stormy billows of public feeling' (537). No mention is made here of the wider world beyond the Canadas. The meaning of the epigraph is confined, apparently, to the *Garland*'s attempt to gain a place within local print culture, the sea imagery wholly figurative. The editorial then expands upon the reference to the tenor of public feeling in 1838:

> When the day was laden with tales of blood, and the night was one long dream of glory, to cast before an excited people, a peace offering, humble and unpretending in its character as ours; the more especially when the death-knells of similar efforts, undertaken under more smiling auspices, and in times less 'troublous', were hourly dinned into our ears. (537)

This reminds the reader, in case they had forgotten, why the 'billows' of public opinion were 'stormy' at the moment of the *Garland*'s first appearance – 1837 and 1838 were red-letter years, marked by popular uprisings in Upper and Lower Canada. It also, in highly dramatic fashion, links these political events to the inauspicious state of Canadian letters. The 'death-knells' that menace the *Garland* are conflated with the 'tales of blood' that accompany the struggle for responsible government in the Canadas. While the choice of *The Corsair* hints at the magazine's enthusiasm for the immensely popular genre of the Oriental tale, according to the editor's gloss the epigraph has been selected for its applicability to a peculiarly Canadian situation. But at the same time, Gibson's description of the motto as potentially 'inappropriate' is, perhaps, an acknowledgement that in their new context Byron's words become extremely opaque. Their reference points may be global, local or metaphorical, and such geographic instability is a frequent result of these magazines' engagement with mainstream Romantic literature.

That mainstream is represented, overwhelmingly, by Scott and Byron. The first three numbers of the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* in 1823 contain lengthy extracts

from Walter Scott's latest novel, *Quentin Durward*. Little is offered in the way of criticism; the goal is to provide a few edited highlights for the benefit of readers who have not yet acquired a copy of the novel. So too for *Saint Ronan's Well* in February 1824 and an 'Extract from the Novel, now in press, called RED GAUNTLET, by Sir Walter Scott' which appears in July 1824. The *Canadian Literary Magazine* of April 1833, rather than simply helping colonial subjects to gain access to the literary giant of the far-off cultural centre, suggests ways in which Scott might be made part of the public life of the colony. He will be commemorated in York; he will be the subject of a dirge composed in Trois-Rivières. In other cases, the geographical position of the periodical writer and reader in relation to Scott is unclear, or rather incoherent. For example, in the first number of the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, the extract from the Great Unknown's *Quentin Durward* follows an article on Walter Scott the poet, which includes a biographical sketch:

> He smiles frequently, and we never saw any smile which tells so eloquently that union of broad good humour, with the keenest perception of the ridiculous . . . we have even seen him walk for upwards of half an hour in the great Hall of the Parliament House of Edinburgh, without any stick at all – having only his hand placed on his left knee, where, we believe, the grand defect lies. (24)

Scott in this instance is not transported to Canada but is in Edinburgh, in the flesh, where the writer appears to have been a frequent observer of his motions. What is slightly unsettling about the piece, however, is its lack of acknowledgement of the current distance between Scott and the Montréal offices of the *Canadian Magazine*. Instead, the reader is left with the sensation that the writer might at that moment go into the Parliament House and see Scott again.

This phenomenon recurs in the *Canadian Magazine*'s third number, in a piece on 'Lord Byron's Palinade to the Edinburgh Review': 'The Poet commences Canto X. of Don Juan,

still unpublished . . . We quote the conclusion, which is very beautiful; and will be felt to the core by every heart north of the Tweed' (265). These words are actually lifted wholesale from a longer article published in Leigh Hunt's *Literary Examiner* on 9 August 1823, retitled and placed in the *Canadian Magazine*'s 'Original Poetry' section without attribution.[12] The *Literary Examiner* can address itself to Scottish readers without implying that the entirety of its audience is located in Scotland; this does not place the conventions of the metropolitan periodical under any particular strain. Indeed, the British periodical, as Jude Piesse points out, 'also functioned as a particularly porous point between national boundaries and catered for colonial and American, as well as for British, readerships' (26). On occasion, those readerships are not merely addressed implicitly, as part of an audience imagined as infinite, but directly. In November 1823, Lockhart acknowledges the reprinting of *Blackwood's* in pirated American editions: 'Two different editions of our Magazine, by the way, are published every month within the United States: and one of them at least beats the original hollow, in the weighty matters of paper, ink, and typographical execution, as well maybe, where there is neither the hurry, nor the expense of authorship' (571). He calls on these unauthorised American distributors to enter into an exchange with their Edinburgh progenitors: 'Would it be too much for one or both of the publishers who are thus thriving upon our exertions, to make some return now and then in the shape of a parcel of American books?' (571).

But where does this leave the readers of the *Canadian Magazine*'s article on Byron, readers who, by definition, are not north of the Tweed – partly because of the limited geographical circulation of the magazine, and partly because the *Canadian Magazine* addresses itself explicitly to a Canadian readership? One possible answer might be that the

[12] '*Don Juan. Cantos IX. X. XI.*' *Literary Examiner* 1.6 (1823): 81–85.

invitation to participate in the early days of a national literature only applies to 'Canadian content'; that the reprinted British material requires Canadians to alter their mental orientation and read as though they are actually in Britain, the distance between Canada and the imperial centre sliding in and out of focus according to the subject matter at hand. Another (deceptively complicated) possibility is that the *Canadian Magazine* itself holds two editorial viewpoints, Scottish and Canadian, simultaneously. While the *Literary Examiner*'s review of *Don Juan* moves on to consider Juan's adventures at the court of Catherine the Great and in London, the *Canadian Magazine* excerpts only the section of Canto X pertaining to Scotland and to Byron's own Scottish upbringing ('But I am half a Scot by birth, and bred / A whole one'). It also adds an extra snippet of biographical information which is not present in the *Literary Examiner*: 'Lord Byron had the early part of his education at Aberdeen, and his mother was a Miss Gordon, heiress to a patrimonial estate in that country, and of an ancient family there' (264). As the article becomes Canadian, it – and its subject – also become more Scottish.

This assumption that the reader will take a particular interest in the Scottish aspects of Byron's life and work echoes the conclusions of the *Canadian Magazine*'s earlier article on Scott's poetry, which does not consider the empire-wide popularity of his writings but, rather, their particular significance for Scottish readers:

> Now, a poet like Walter Scott, by enquiring into and representing the modes of life in earlier times, employs the imagination of his countrymen, as a means of making them go through the personal experience of their ancestry, and of making them acquainted with the various courses of thought and emotion, by which their forefathers had their genius and character drawn down. Other poets, such as Byron have attempted an analogous operation, by carrying us into foreign countries, where society is still comparatively young, but their method is by no means so happy or complete as Scott's, because the people among whom they seek to interest us, have national characters totally different from the people of Scotland – whereas those whose minds he exhibits as a stimulus, are felt at once to be great kindred originals, of which our every-day experience shows us copies, faint indeed, but capable of being worked into stronger resemblances. (20)

The surface explanation for such an analysis of Scott's special appeal to his own countrymen is that the editors of the *Canadian Magazine*, David Chisholme and A.J. Christie, were both Scotsmen, writing primarily for members of a small literary-minded clique within Montreal's Anglophone mercantile community. However, in the opposition between Scotland and 'foreign countries, where society is still comparatively young' and the remark that 'our every-day experience' is one of contact and identification with Scottish national character, there is little to suggest that this piece is directed towards a readership outside Scotland, even a diasporic Scottish one. This would seem, then, to be the clearest possible example of a periodical failing to fit its form of address to its colonial readers, to register their distance from the imperial centre. However, these same readers are also the target audience for articles on local Canadian history, and for lofty editorial pronouncements about the role the magazine aims to play in the literary development of Canada's own 'young' society: 'Let US be permitted to mark a period in the history of CANADA, and open a page in which her future historian may descry the feeble glimmer of the first rise of a great, prosperous, and independent nation!' (6).

The twin threads of ownership in Scottish literary culture and colonial self-assertion come together in these magazines' reception of British writing about Canada – and their disappointment with what they see as the misrepresentation of Canada in *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review*. The first issue of the *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal* (July 1824) comments on the only Canadian travel book that is also reviewed by both the *Edinburgh* and *Blackwood's*, Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada*. The generally positive response to the book in the two Edinburgh periodicals is not replicated here: 'assuredly the volume before us, whether we consider it in the light of "the travels for pleasure of a gentleman of fortune" . . . as the production of a tourist in search of the picturesque . . .

the ravings of an emigrant agent – or the specious theories of a political economist – is equally and deplorably destitute of truth, information, sound sense, discretion and judgement' (31). Having acknowledged 'the severe test by which a book of travels is tried, when it is read in the country which it professes to describe' (32), the reviewer makes it clear that the most offensive aspect of Howison's text is that it has been presented as a worthwhile depiction of Canada in the Scottish periodical press:

> But, in our opinion, the most extraordinary circumstance which attended the publication of the first edition of this work, was the marked respect and unqualified approbation which it experienced from those two great leading periodical publications of Scotland – the Edinburgh Review, and Blackwood's Magazine. That the latter, however inconsistent with its avowed principles and conduct, should endeavour to speak favourably of a production coming from the hands of a frequent and laborious contributor to its own pages, is not so surprising; but that the former, which is renowned all over the world for the splendour of its talents – the correctness of its information – and the general, though severe and impartial, accuracy of its critical comments and reasoning – should lend its pages to the propagation of one of the most puerile, and, in many respects, one of the most false and unreflecting descriptions that was ever given of Canada, is to us a matter of much surprise and curiosity. (32)

While both *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh* make a point of excerpting Howison's advice to emigrants, the *Canadian Review* reproaches Howison with having failed 'to recount in plain and familiar language such facts as might afford his countrymen an insight into the commercial and agricultural peculiarities of this country as might enable them to judge with preciseness whether it would be adviseable for them to emigrate when misfortune assails them at home' (33). The *Canadian Magazine* for August 1824 disagrees with its new rival's criticism of Howison and, by extension, with its judgement on which aspects of settler life ought to be relayed to British readers:

> Mr Howison is blamed by the Canadian Review for his minuteness of detail, and it is denied that it is necessary 'for a Tourist to be a judge of Potatoes'. Here again we must take the liberty of dissenting from this writer and maintain that in conformity with the object of Mr H's publication as expressed in its secondary

> title, ('practical details for the information of Emigrants of every class,') it was his duty to be minute in his details. And we would inform this Reviewer that to the Emigrant who comes to Canada it is a matter of some consequence to know the fitness of the soil and climate for raising Potatoes, so material an article of food. (123)

Both magazines are broadly in agreement that it is desirable for representations of the Canadas to meet the needs of the emigrant rather than the tourist, and as a result books describing Canada for a British audience are harshly criticised for departing from strict, unadorned factuality. For example, the *Canadian Review* for March 1825 declares Edward Talbot's *Five Years Residence in the Canadas* (1824) unfit for purpose due to its 'sickly affectation of sentiment, a carelessness in stating facts, and a love of the marvellous, which render these volumes of little value to those who wish to obtain accurate information on the actual state of Upper Canada' (85). It mocks the novelistic arrangement of events and the author's tendency to be impressed by things which to the native or permanent resident are unremarkable:

> Travellers certainly see strange sights; though we must confess that we have times innumerable visited the Island of Orleans in the boating and snipe-shooting days of our youth, 'when the brownest nymph to us was fair' without ever meeting with any sentimental Squaws, or hospitable pilot's wife standing on end in black silk, or encountering such pleasant adventures as pop unsought for, on our Hibernian Emigrant. (87)

In concluding that emigration and settlement are matters of sober fact, rather than subjects for imaginative literature, the *Canadian Review* mirrors the preferences of the British periodicals, which, as we have seen, review no fiction from the North American colonies except Haliburton's and have no time for any detours into the sublime or picturesque in Canadian travel writing. Furthermore, with a few exceptions – all of which are by Galt, whose own theories about the role of fiction in creating accurate representations of emigration will be discussed in the next two chapters – the miscellanies' fictional sketches with Canadian settings tend to select historical subject matter rather than broaching the contemporary

phenomenon of mass emigration. Instead, emigration is approached through such filters as the Bandana letters, the 'View of Guelph' and the 'Noctes', in which primary sources such as the Canada Company literature or Galt's letter from Guelph are surrounded by a framing device, or the real-life activities of *Blackwood's* contributors are exaggerated, making them akin to fictional characters. These strategies, which suspend the topic of emigration between fact and fiction, also carry over into the most overtly non-fictional genre of all, the emigrant's guide.

Chapter Three: The Emigrant's Guide

'Deliberate, Decide, and Dare!'[1]

In the years following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the periodicals discussed in Chapters One and Two show in their new publications lists a surge in the number of texts about Canada which emphasise their function as guides rather than accounts of personal travel, with titles like *Hints to Emigrants*; *The Emigrant's Friend*; *The Emigrant's Directory*; *The Counsel for Emigrants*.[2] In the Appendix to this thesis these titles are distinguished from 'Books about Canada' and guides to the United States are included alongside their Canadian counterparts. I make this distinction in order to highlight two trends: first, that this format emerges slightly later than the narratives of exploration and travel which are advertised and reviewed prior to the late 1810s and second, that, while American guides are also an object of interest, Canadian guides outnumber them by twenty to nine, with four guides that cover both locations. While the periodicals prioritise different kinds of writing about America or by Americans, emigrant's guides and collections of emigrant correspondence occupy a position of predominance in the category of writing about Canada.

Emigrant's guides take a multitude of forms and display varied understandings of the 'guidance' that it is their task to provide. In the broadest sense, though, an emigrant's guide can be defined as a text that is addressed with some degree of explicitness to the potential emigrant who seeks detailed practical information, rather than at a general readership. It

[1] Epigraph, Charles Stuart, *The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada; or, Sketches of the Present State of that Province.* London, 1820.
[2] William Bell, *Hints to Emigrants.* Edinburgh, 1824; Ellik Rosier, *The Emigrant's Friend*. Glasgow, 1833; Francis Evans, *The Emigrant's Directory.* Dublin, 1833; *The Counsel for Emigrants*. Aberdeen, 1834.

typically takes the reader through the emigration process, beginning with the passage to Québec City or Montréal, moving on to the journey from these Lower Canadian ports to Upper Canada, then giving advice on the best locations for new settlements and explaining how to obtain grants of land and how to clear and develop them. Some guides piece together information from multiple sources, while others are narrated in a style somewhat closer to that of a travel narrative. Guides are often rather hybrid in nature, drawing heavily for their content on two other more internally coherent forms, the travel narrative and the letter. The repurposed, and sometimes fictionalised, letter proves to be ubiquitous in emigrant's guides, ranging in kind from those which are entirely fictional, lacking any former life as pieces of private correspondence, to those that are taken out of their original circulation as private documents and redeployed as public texts. In a context which demands guarantees of the correspondence between written descriptions and practical actions, the letter functions as a kind of empirical anchor. The value many authors place on their ability to be comprehensive, to provide an overview that any emigrant can draw on rather than a 'partial' account, can seem rather at odds with this other common method for shoring up a guide's claim to disinterested documentary realism, the privileging of the naive, 'small picture' testimony of emigrants in lower stations of life. But far from depreciating in value due to the writers' limited perspective, this material actually derives its evidential worth from this very quality.

The rather nebulous generic identity of these texts – letters reprinted in periodicals with framing narratives, letters edited into pro-emigration pamphlets, guides that invoke the tropes of the personal letter, guides that juxtapose the correspondence of real emigrants with more impersonal, statistical writings – also draws attention to the question, as yet rarely broached, of the status such material ought to have within the realm of literary criticism. Outside of

Stephen Fender's 1992 study of American emigration literature, *Sea Changes*, few attempts have been made to analyse emigrant's guides explicitly as literary texts. Even in studies of the 'literature of settlement' such as Carole Gerson's chapter by that name in the *Cambridge History of Canadian Literature* (2010), the materials discussed in this chapter are not given much consideration – although they fulfil the function of describing the experience of settlement – on the grounds that their efforts are directed too explicitly towards stimulating further emigration. Gerson draws a distinction between texts written 'to entice emigrants from the British Isles to the New World' and the canonical settler narratives of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill (87). Too 'propagandistic' to be fact, these texts' claims to be of practical utility above all else are still generally accepted at face value, with little to no attention paid to the connections between emigrant's guides and the representation of emigration in other literary genres, even when the guides draw explicitly on these genres.

In 'Print Culture in Exile' (1998), Bill Bell groups all emigrant's guides under the heading of 'official print culture', as opposed to the circulation of more trustworthy information in 'unofficial print'; that is, via the personal letter. This gives the impression that all such printed texts were produced under the auspices of land companies or government-sponsored emigration schemes and that the guide's role in promoting settlement should therefore be understood very literally, as a vehicle for the furthering of business interests. And it is true that some guides have connections of this kind, one example being a pamphlet of letters written from Canada Company settlements in 1830 and 1831, all of which comment favourably on the work of the Company.[3] Robert Lamond's *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration, from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, to the New Settlements in*

[3] *The Following are Copies of Letters from Settlers in Upper Canada to their Friends here* (1833).

Upper Canada (1821) publishes letters from Scottish weavers whose emigration had been funded by a Glasgow emigration society. It is, however, extremely rare for any piece of writing advocating emigration to Canada in any genre not to include an argument about Canada's superiority to the United States, while at the same time attempting to define itself not as political rhetoric but as a plain-speaking, measured weighing up of the facts. To exclude emigrant's guides from consideration as literary texts on the grounds of their failure to clearly signal the dividing line between empirical fact and ideological manipulation bespeaks a somewhat narrow understanding of the genre's rhetorical aims, and of the great degree of interchange between the guide and works less liable to be considered propagandistic, such as the narrative of individual travel.

The *Quarterly*'s 1820 review of three Canadian texts is a case in point. Two of the three, Charles Stuart's *The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada; or, Sketches of the Present State of that Province* (1820) and Charles F. Grece's *Facts and Observations respecting Canada, and the United States of America* (1819), can, as their titles suggest, be classed unproblematically as emigrant's guides. The third, James Strachan's *Visit to the Province of Upper Canada, in 1819*, is not a guide in the strict sense of the term; it traces the course of the author's individual travels, often pausing to describe various brief encounters with fellow travellers or informed settlers, and to narrate conversations on topics the author considers relevant, such as the possibility of applying North American navigational techniques to explorations on 'the river Zaire' or the opinions of a former fur trader about the possibility of a successful expedition to the North Pole. Strachan's book is also the only one of the three which is narrated in the first person.

However, it is not so easy to draw a firm distinction between Strachan and his

contemporaries. It is usual for travel writers of all stripes to comment on the progress of human settlement in the province and give opinions on the best sites for further development: John Howison, for example, visits the Talbot settlement and the Highland-dominated area of Glengarry and describes them in detail in *Sketches of Upper Canada* in 1820. And Strachan still regards his book as a practical primer above all else, making the claim that 'almost every thing which an Emigrant going to Upper Canada wishes to know, will be found in this small Volume' (3). The appropriateness of Strachan's work to its task is reasserted by a guide published fourteen years later, the *Counsel for Emigrants*, which quotes him as an authority.

In her annotated bibliography of early Canadian travel literature, *The Travellers – Canada to 1900*, Elizabeth Waterston ascribes considerable agency to travel writing as a force for not simply reporting but directing the course of Canadian settlement. 'Because of these travellers' reports, in the decades that followed their publication, explorers, settlers, and tourists chose, avoided, or emphasized particular paths and places. And Canada evolved' (iii). However, Waterston's definition of 'travel writing' explicitly excludes the kinds of writing which are the focus of this chapter. She suggests that readers might want to supplement the works listed in *Travellers* with 'a selection from another shelf: guide books, railway and steamboat brochures, settlers' memoirs . . . articles in periodicals' (viii). This means that the type of intervention which the authors of emigrant's guides have in mind – that is, a direct engagement with the practicalities of a contemporary, ongoing process – is not part of her thesis. Separated from the kinds of travel writing to which Waterston allots a large role in shaping public perception and even government policy, guides, periodical writings and first-person narratives appear to be considered more as memorabilia; ephemera, even, accompanying events rather than directing them. Waterston makes this statement as part of an

argument about the contingent, almost haphazard nature of Britain's exploration and colonisation of Canada. The power of individual pieces of writing to influence that process is, in this context, proof of that lack of an overarching narrative. 'There is little sense of a manifest destiny, unrolling inexorably. Instead there is a sense of luck, of chance' (iii). As the mention of manifest destiny suggests, Waterston's interpretation of the discourses surrounding Canadian settlement is greatly concerned with differentiating Canada's historical development from that of the United States. This is an aim which is, in fact, shared by emigrant's guides to a degree equal to, and often greater than, more 'pure' examples of the travel writing genre. They are not simply reflections of the different trajectories followed by Canada and the United States in the process of European colonisation; they attempt to shape that process.

Charles Stuart's *Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada* is divided into twenty sections including a 'General Topographical Sketch of Upper Canada, together with the Emigrant's Route through it', sections on the different areas now 'opening for Settlement', the local government's role in assisting newly-arrived emigrants, and an 'Earnest Warning to Emigrants from Europe' against taking the decision to emigrate lightly. Stuart also addresses the question of the extreme Canadian climate, one of the major obstacles that the authors of emigrant's guides perceive to be standing in the way of a universal acknowledgement of Canada's suitability for settlement. For Stuart, the problem is that the difference between Upper Canada and the Lower province has been insufficiently understood: 'The wintry climate of the eastern parts of Lower Canada, first encountered after traversing the boisterous waves of the Atlantic, has stretched a shade of gloom over the whole' (2). William Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* also paints a picture of a British public vaguely aware of Canada as an icy waste, associating it rather with 'General Wolfe, who, in the reign of George

the Second, took Quebec' than with contemporary debates about emigration, and with their low opinion of its importance bolstered by political economists.

> The people of England . . . may possibly have heard that Quebec was not worth the taking, – more especially if they have listened to the philosophy which proves that colonies are a burden to the mother-country, or have read in Voltaire's Candide, (I think, for having no books here except the Bible, I am obliged to quote from memory,) 'that France and England were then engaged in a contest for some acres of ice and snow in North America.' Now to these worthy folk we are about to tell something worth knowing. (28)

Voltaire's phrase is indeed from *Candide*, though Dunlop does not get it quite right – the original reads 'quelques arpents de neige vers le Canada' (63; ch.23). This translates to 'a few acres of snow somewhere around Canada' or 'in the general area of Canada'. The word *vers* conveys a vagueness, a sense that the region is too marginal to merit any great precision in delineating its borders.

Unable entirely to deny that Upper Canada has cold winters, its advocates focus instead on the aspects of its climate that compare favourably with Britain. According to Dunlop its 'remarkable peculiarity . . . is its dryness' and 'The diseases of the body, too, that are produced by a damp atmosphere, are uncommon here', so that 'Though the cold of a Canadian winter is great, it is neither distressing nor disagreeable' (28–30). These apparently empirical observations are immediately politicised; Dunlop is especially eager to allay suspicion that the climate of Upper Canada might be worse than that of the United States. He admits that 'There is no part of Upper Canada that is not to the south of Penzance, yet there is no part of England where the cold is so intense as in Canada', but immediately tempers this by countering, 'nay, there is no cold in England equal to the cold of Virginia, which, were it on the European side of the hemisphere, would be looked upon as an almost tropical climate' (28). For Stuart the healthiness of the climate appears to recognise national borders: 'when a similar parallel of

latitude in the United States, was visited with that dreadful disease, which is commonly called the yellow fever, Upper Canada, including its western district, experienced only a fever of a mild and totally non-infectious type' (32).

This pattern of comparison is what sets Canadian emigrant's guides apart from their American counterparts. Stuart's *Emigrant's Guide* contains a section on the 'Comparative Advantages between Upper Canada and the United States of America', while Charles F. Grece's *Facts and Observations respecting Canada, and the United States of America; affording a comparative view of the inducements to emigration presented in those countries* (1819) also, as the title suggests, conforms to this model: 'From a perfect conviction, therefore, of the truth and utility of my remarks and experience, I have been induced to draw a comparison between the Canadian Provinces, and the Western States of North America' (ix). Making a case for Canada always entails making a corresponding case against the United States, while the many guides to the 'Western States' (mostly Ohio and Illinois) published at the same time do not mention Canada at all. The primary object of Grece's book is 'to divert the tide of emigration from the remote tracts, and wilds of the back settlements, and other regions of the United States, to the more hospitable, contiguous, and accessible districts of the Lower and Upper Canadas' (3). For the authors of American guides, however, the prospect of emigrants choosing the British colonies over the United States is rarely, if ever, addressed. American emigrant's guides present two potential outcomes: emigrating to the United States or remaining in Britain and accepting 'the depressed condition of the voteless British poor paying their tythes and taxes to a hard-hearted parish, a distant Church authority and an unrepresentative government' (Fender 38). Such a binary would render the Canadian guide incoherent. It depicts a two-step process with three possible end points always in view, the

decision to emigrate followed by the decision not to go to the United States.

The case for Upper Canada relies partly on claims about the material superiority of the province – its climate, its soil, its accessibility from the Eastern seaboard, the ease of obtaining land, the low taxation. But taking advantage of these benefits (which the guides insist are a matter of observable fact) is also a performance of patriotism, the rejection of an American alternative. Grece declares that 'an Englishman, by removing to that part of America, will not only be performing his duty as a good subject, but may add to his own comforts and enjoyments in a very great degree' (72). According to Stuart, Canada offers those who are impoverished and discontented in Britain 'the fairest field of hope and of exertion, while the sacred flame of patriotism may glow, unclouded by foreign manners and by foreign domination' (4). Even the phenomenon of American migration to Upper Canada is turned against the Americans:

> the State's-man, (enthusiastically attached to his country as he is in some respects,) knows nothing of the sentiment of British patriotism . . . reared amidst the habits, and accustomed to the principles of a more erratic life, he resides in his native place, or naturalizes himself in another, with equal readiness; and, unlike the European, he can at once become the attached and faithful subject of whatever foreign domination he may adopt. Hence, in the last war, the state-settlers in Upper Canada, were, in general, fully as loyal and as energetic as any other class of the people. (Stuart 200)

The Americans' loyalty to their chosen home of Upper Canada and to its colonial government is a sign that the original sin of American independence has given rise not to a firmly-rooted American national identity but to an infinite flexibility of affiliation. Canada, on the other hand, is for those true Europeans who find the transference of loyalty impossible.

Both Grece and Strachan have one primary textual antagonist: Morris Birkbeck, author of *Notes on a Journey in America* (1817) and *Letters from Illinois* (1818). According to Strachan, Birkbeck's *Notes* 'have excited much consideration; and all assertions have been

believed, without investigation. Though I think him a bad man (I know him only from his book), yet he is much to be pitied, for his choice is miserable; and, by this time, he begins to feel it' (62). Birkbeck's sufferings, as imagined by Strachan, are occasioned by his isolation from society. In contrast to Upper Canada, Illinois is a wilderness, where 'Mr Birkbeck dare not leave home, for any distance, without a guide; and his children cannot go twenty yards from the house, without being lost' (63). Grece echoes Strachan in rather more prosaic terms: 'The articles sold on a single market-day at Quebec or Montreal, would supply the whole population fifty miles round Mr Birkbeck's English *Prairie* for years!' (47). The 'prairie' (a word that Grece dwells on as deeply outlandish) is 'a wild and trackless region, where not a single human face, besides those of his own retinue, can be seen; not a hut or cabin, can he behold' (63). The American settler 'must wander many miles in search of some one to assist him in the very commencement of his operations' only to discover that his labour requirements will be supplied in a way that makes a mockery of his utopian aspirations: 'In this transatlantic *elysium*, is our poor deceived emigrant surrounded with slaves, or lost in desolation!' (64–65). Slavery is the ultimate proof of the hypocrisy at the heart of American republican democracy and the authors of Canadian guides do not hesitate to highlight this black mark.

In contrast to the 'icy waste' school of thought, Strachan and Grece represent the United States as the more intimidating landscape, with the distance to markets and affordable land making Upper Canada seem compact in comparison. The homeliness attributed to Canada here is not simply a question of geography, however, but of political affiliation: 'How different the situation of a loyal farmer, possessed of Mr Birkbeck's substance: if he should come to this province, he need not go ten miles from a flourishing settlement' (Strachan 64).

This picture of a ready-made, ordered society, contrasted with Birkbeck's impermanent, almost quixotic grafting of a house onto an inhospitable landscape that threatens to swallow him up, works to naturalise the concept of transferring an entire social structure to new ground while rendering the radical utopian narrative of building a new and different society in an unspoiled refuge from Old World tyranny a false and 'miserable' illusion.

Putting forth an image of Canada as economically dynamic but politically settled and unchanging, an unproblematic facsimile of metropolitan social structures, makes it difficult for guides to discuss local politics and institutions with any specificity: 'It is true, a feeble attempt has recently been made to introduce among us the *spirit of reform*; which is only another phrase for a spirit of anarchy and misery. In Canada every person of fair character is eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives. But I will not pursue a subject that would lead to a discussion foreign to the direct object of this publication' (Grece 71). The fact that the qualifications to vote in the Canadas resemble those of the United States more than those of pre-Reform Act Britain is an uncomfortable one.[4] It would be unthinkable to cite the increased possibility of gaining access to the franchise as an argument in favour of emigration to Canada; Canada is imagined as the alternative to such politically-motivated decision making.

The first self-described emigrant's guide to be advertised in the *Quarterly Review* (in

[4] According to Michael E. Vance's 'Advancement, Moral Worth, and Freedom: The Meaning of Independence for Early Nineteenth-Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada', 'Every emigrant after three years' possession of his land grant was entitled to the vote (another radical demand achieved through emigration) and, according to a correspondent with the *Glasgow Chronicle*, it was not uncommon "to see a poor Glasgow weaver, who came among us with scarce a stitch to cover his nakedness, strutting between the stumps of his trees as pompous as an Edinburgh Magistrate"' (169). The *Glasgow Chronicle* in question is from 22 April 1820.

July 1816), *The Emigrant's Guide; or, a Picture of America: Exhibiting a View of the United States, divested of Democratic Colouring,* defines 'guidance' rather differently from Stuart and Grece. Here, the balance is tilted almost entirely away from practical advice – indeed, away from the actual emigrant experience altogether – and the majority of the 77-page pamphlet concentrates on the broader political point that the United States should be avoided and the British colonies chosen in their stead. The title page also promises '*A Sketch of the British Provinces; delineating their native beauties, and superior attractions'* but for the most part this is a pro-Canadian guide insofar as it is an anti-American one. The pamphlet's author, identified only as 'An Old Scene Painter', gives an account of the state of American society that would be very familiar to readers of the *Quarterly*. His commentary on the 'late contest' of the War of 1812 and the inalienable nature of British identity bears great similarities to Southey and Barrow's writings on these subjects: 'Can a man divest himself of those ties which nature so powerfully enforces? Can he discard from his feelings those tender regards for his parents and relatives he so lately possessed?' (49). He is dedicated to debunking the mischaracterisation of the United States 'by those who have been dazzled by the infatuating sounds of democracy, independence, liberty, and equality, as the only happy spot upon earth; where all the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, flow spontaneously, or are to be obtained without that perseverance and industry which are required for their attainment in other civilized nations' (7).

Where other guides focus on the actions required to effect a successful move across the Atlantic, the *Picture of America* offers a retrospect of failed emigration: 'Flattered, or rather misled, by this chimera, thousands have inconsiderately emigrated to the new world; and have experienced that disappointment which always attends premature conclusions drawn from

false reasoning, or a want of that information which is necessary to ensure success in any undertaking' (7). The implication, of course, is that sound reasoning based on an adequate supply of information would lead the emigrant to reject the illusions of the United States and refuse to follow in the footsteps of those 'who fled from *imaginary* evils in their native land, to experience *real* ones in that which their phrensied imagination depicted a paradise, bartered their English guineas for a quantity of republican soil worth nothing!' (66). As well as this insistence that emigration to the United States will inevitably result in disappointed political hopes, the Old Scene Painter also enumerates some practical consequences: 'misguided' emigrants 'are now sweeping the streets, confined in penitentiaries, or toiling to clear the woods in the inhospitable regions of the Indian frontier. There cannot be a more striking proof given of the helpless condition in which aliens are placed when in the United States, and the frequent assistance they stand in need of, than by noticing the different societies established for their relief' (60).

These mentions of material, as well as ideological, pitfalls of emigration to the United States, no matter how exaggerated, bring the *Picture of America* back within the compass of the emigrant's guide genre. The short section on 'the Canadies' which comes after 60 pages on the ills of the United States also argues for Canada's superiority in concrete terms:

> The native worth and peculiar advantages of these provinces make them objects of envy to the United States: the richness of the soil, the innumerable streams by which they are watered, the valuable furs with which they abound, and, above all, the rise of the tides in the St. Lawrence which affords the practicability of cutting dry docks, tempted that insatiate democracy to sacrifice all other considerations in the endeavour to annex them to her unwieldy possessions. (76)

The Canadian counter-argument, even in the context of a polemic against such broad, abstract concepts as American republicanism and national character, is rooted in practicalities, in 'preferring real blessings to ideal ones' (76). On one hand are 'the phantoms of ideal

happiness emanating from democratic equality', on the other 'the advantages which the British provinces offer to British settlers, the encouragement they afford, and the security they ensure' (77). The argument that emigration need not, after all, be a jump into the unknown is at the heart of all examples of the emigrant's guide, no matter how loosely they might otherwise seem to fit into that literary category.

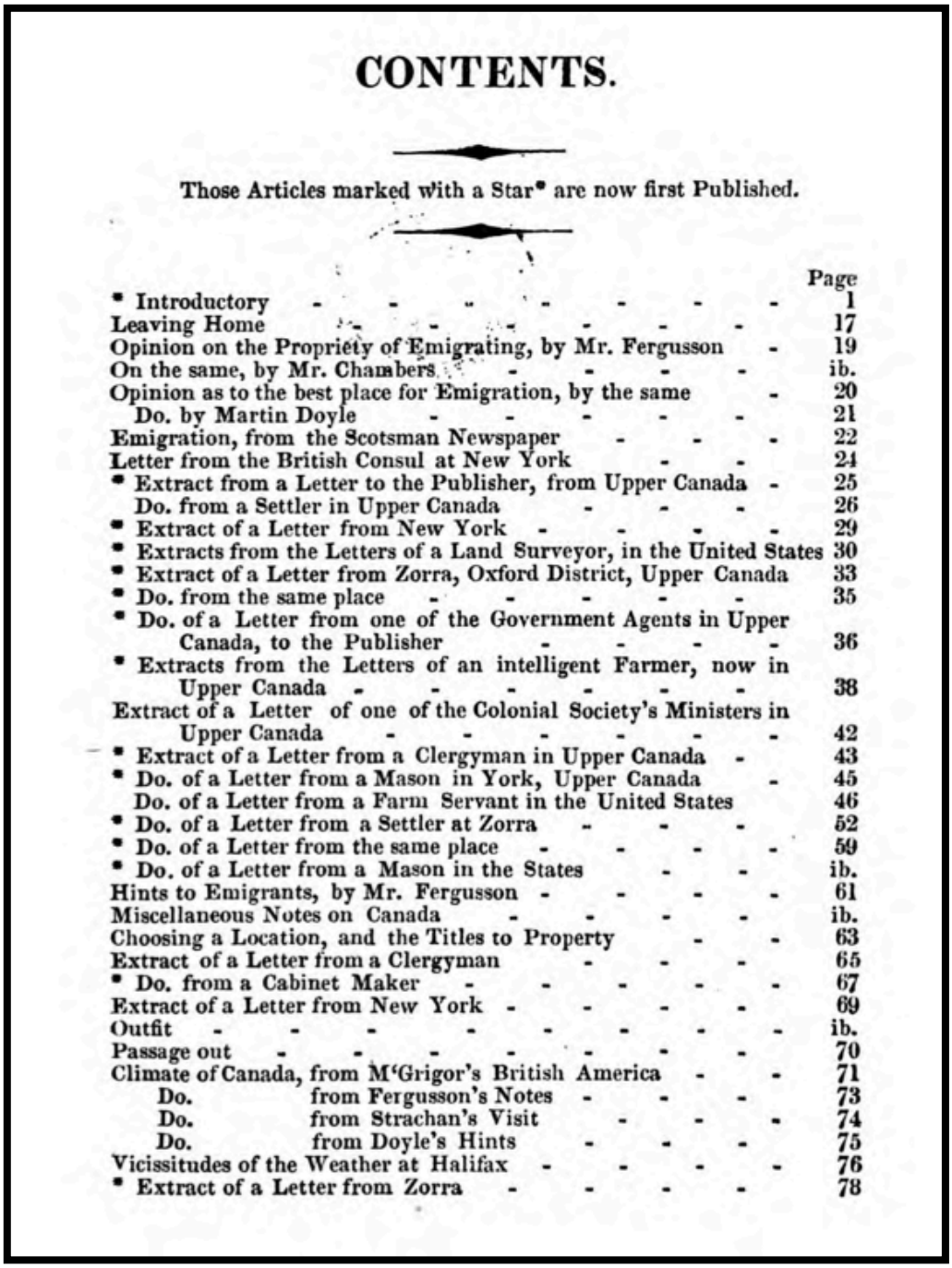
The full title of this text is *The Emigrant's Guide; or, a Picture of America: Exhibiting a View of the United States, divested of Democratic Colouring, Taken from the Original now in the Possession of James Madison, and his Twenty-One Governments. Also, A Sketch of the British Provinces; delineating their native beauties, and superior attractions*. The conventional labels 'Picture of America' and 'Sketch of the British Provinces' are in this case literalised by the author's pseudonym of 'Old Scene Painter', and he extends this idea into an image of the United States as an artwork in President Madison's personal collection. Indeed, an additional argument against the United States is that it is a hostile environment for the arts, as the Old Scene Painter explains rather bathetically: 'A herald-painter would starve to death in America; nor would landscape, portrait, miniature, or marine painters, meet a much better fate; in short, any profession connected with the fine arts would find no asylum, unless it were a premature grave' (60). In most cases, however, when the authors of emigrant's guides and travel accounts use the term 'sketch' to describe their works – which they do with some frequency – they are calling upon a set of less literal associations. In *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century* (2008), Tim Killick sums up the literary sketch as 'a mode that seeks to avoid strong rhetorical claims, and which situates itself as a non-judgemental first impression' (21). The authors of emigrant's guides are eager to do both of these things; working with subject matter which carries an assumption of real-world consequences for the

accuracy, or lack thereof, of their representations, they acknowledge the limits of their perspective. Stuart is careful to point out that his text is only partially based on his own experience: 'He pledges himself for the general truth of what he shall state as *facts* . . . He says the general truth, for much of what he advances must, of course, be on the report of others; and of such parts, he can only be responsible for the probable correctness' (5). Grece, too, states that his facts 'originate in my own personal knowledge, and from the most unequivocal information of those who have resided in, or visited those parts of the transatlantic continent which have not been to me the scenes of ocular demonstration' (ix). It is notable, too, that two authors who title their Canadian writings 'sketches' – Howison with *Sketches of Upper Canada* and Dunlop with *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* – are also contributors of more traditional examples of the sketch form to *Blackwood's*.

The *Counsel for Emigrants*

The more hybrid form of the compilation, already present alongside letter collections and single-author guides in the Appendix's list of American guides in the 1810s, becomes more common for Canadian guides in the 1830s – a lag perhaps caused by the time required to amass a sufficient body of authoritative travel accounts that can serve as source material.[5] The *Counsel for Emigrants*, published in Aberdeen in 1834, combines materials, mainly letters, that are being published for the first time with extracts from previously-published but still very recent guides and travel narratives:

[5] Two examples of this type of guide are Robert Holditch, *The Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America.* London, 1818, and John Knight, *The Emigrant's best Instructor, or the most Recent and Important Information respecting the United States of America: selected from the works of the latest travellers in that Country, particularly Bradbury, Hulme, Browne, Birkbeck, &c.* London, 1818.



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Fig 6. Table of Contents, *Counsel for Emigrants* (1834)

Each section is pieced together out of quotations from these two mutually corroborating sources of information, the emigrants' personal testimony acting as a guarantee of the truthfulness of claims made by the authors writing for publication, and vice versa. The

promotion of Upper Canada in particular is furthered by the inclusion of an account of the far worse weather conditions that allegedly prevail in the Maritimes, and the opinions of the published authors are then buttressed by the observations of an emigrant on the spot, in 'Extract from a Letter, written at Zorra, in Upper Canada, dated 3d July, 1832': 'The weather at present is very hot, but I can endure it. It makes me sweat to excess; although warmer, I think the atmosphere is more light and animating than in Scotland . . . The advantages of Zorra are, good and cheap land, well watered, and a healthy climate' (79).

The repetitiveness, the accumulation of near-identical accounts from a variety of sources, is, in large part, the point. The epigraph to the *Counsel for Emigrants* is 'In the multitude of councillors there is safety' (from the Book of Solomon), and the spectre of the underinformed emigrant, the emigrant who does not keep abreast of the available printed information, hovers as a cautionary example to others. In the opening 'advertisement' of his 1833 *Emigrant's Directory*, Francis Evans, a land agent in Québec, cites the persistence of this problem as his reason for entering the literary marketplace:

> to this determination I was strongly led, by observing the vast increase of Emigrants that arrived at Quebec last season, and who, generally speaking, had very little correct information respecting the British provinces, and were, in every sense of the word, 'Strangers in a strange land,' and therefore liable to be imposed on by interested persons, who cared little for their future prosperity. (v–vi)

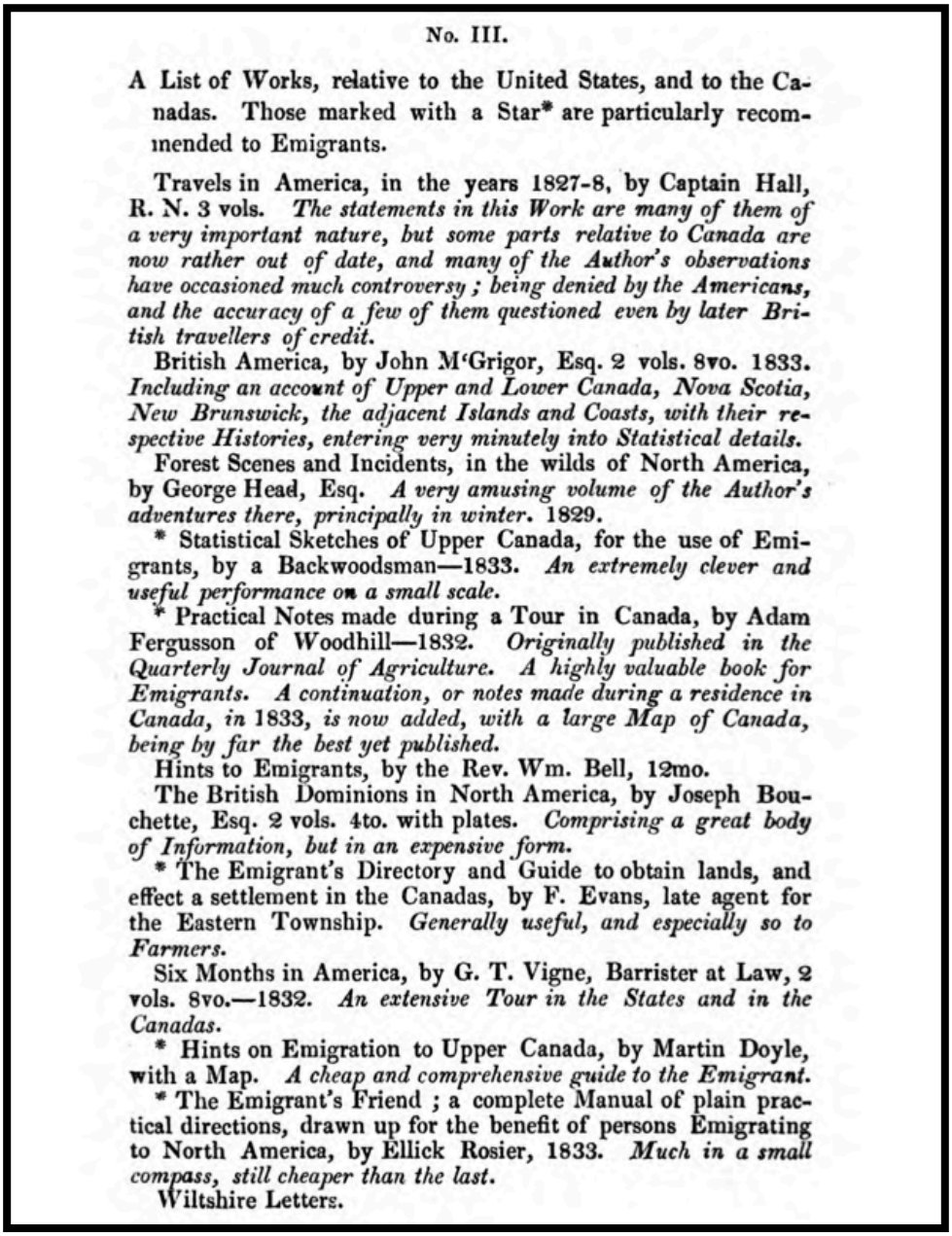
John Bowie, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh without any other literary works to his name, has a similar motivation for publishing his short collection of letters, *Emigration to Upper Canada* (1840):

> Soon after the proceedings of the Meeting of Highland Proprietors, held at Edinburgh on the 10th January last, relative to Emigration from the Highlands, were made known, it was suggested to me, that as many of the poor Highlanders possessed little or no information as to Upper Canada – that a few plain practical hints might be of service to intending Emigrants. (1)

The author has to prove himself the opposite of an 'interested person' who aims to impose his will on the reader, all the while maintaining his claim to special knowledge of his subject. This results in a scrupulous detailing of the provenance of information: Bowie, like most other compilers of excerpts from real emigrants' letters, retains the writers' names and places of origin, as well as the dates and places of composition of their letters. One short letter is included solely to vouch for the writer of another: 'The Doctor is a fine man, and is to be depended on, for he will not flatter the people, but tell the truth; for he is not a land agent to any party, nor yet a land jobber, as he has no interest in it no more than I, but he has the welfare of both countries at heart' (5). Another method of disavowing 'interest' is to gesture towards a canon of works that will confirm the statements contained in one's own work. Stuart recommends that his readers also consult 'the recent work of Mr C. F. Grece, of Montreal', which the *Quarterly* helps to facilitate by pairing the two authors together (248).

Evans' publishers perform a similar operation by drawing a direct line between the *Emigrant's Directory* and William Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada*, published a year earlier. The appendix to the *Directory*, made up of excerpts from other authors on topics not covered by Evans himself, 'may, in the spirited language of the "Backwoodsman," be called a chapter of "*Odds and Ends,*" and has been extracted from the latest and most authentic publications on British America, Emigration, &c' (iv). Evans' publishers also 'most cordially approve of the motto from Napoleon, prefixed to the "Backwoodsman," viz. "*Ships, Colonies, and Commerce*"' (iv), endorsing the idea of Canada as a site of pre-eminent importance within the British Empire, worthy of notice because of, rather than in spite of, its mercantile, unromantic qualities. In fact, this line – Napoleon's acknowledgement of the material advantages which Britain would eventually successfully leverage against the French

– also appeared on the halfpenny in circulation in Canada at this time, as if to hammer the point home. This tendency to appeal to other guides and travel narratives as a method of self-authentication reaches its peak in an appendix to the *Counsel for Emigrants*, which offers a reading list:



No. III.

A List of Works, relative to the United States, and to the Canadas. Those marked with a Star* are particularly recommended to Emigrants.

Travels in America, in the years 1827-8, by Captain Hall, R. N. 3 vols. *The statements in this Work are many of them of a very important nature, but some parts relative to Canada are now rather out of date, and many of the Author's observations have occasioned much controversy; being denied by the Americans, and the accuracy of a few of them questioned even by later British travellers of credit.*

British America, by John M'Grigor, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1833. *Including an account of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the adjacent Islands and Coasts, with their respective Histories, entering very minutely into Statistical details.*

Forest Scenes and Incidents, in the wilds of North America, by George Head, Esq. *A very amusing volume of the Author's adventures there, principally in winter.* 1829.

* Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the use of Emigrants, by a Backwoodsman—1833. *An extremely clever and useful performance on a small scale.*

* Practical Notes made during a Tour in Canada, by Adam Fergusson of Woodhill—1832. *Originally published in the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture. A highly valuable book for Emigrants. A continuation, or notes made during a residence in Canada, in 1833, is now added, with a large Map of Canada, being by far the best yet published.*

Hints to Emigrants, by the Rev. Wm. Bell, 12mo.

The British Dominions in North America, by Joseph Bouchette, Esq. 2 vols. 4to. with plates. *Comprising a great body of Information, but in an expensive form.*

* The Emigrant's Directory and Guide to obtain lands, and effect a settlement in the Canadas, by F. Evans, late agent for the Eastern Township. *Generally useful, and especially so to Farmers.*

Six Months in America, by G. T. Vigne, Barrister at Law, 2 vols. 8vo.—1832. *An extensive Tour in the States and in the Canadas.*

* Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada, by Martin Doyle, with a Map. *A cheap and comprehensive guide to the Emigrant.*

* The Emigrant's Friend; a complete Manual of plain practical directions, drawn up for the benefit of persons Emigrating to North America, by Ellick Rosier, 1833. *Much in a small compass, still cheaper than the last.*

Wiltshire Letters.

Fig. 7. Appendix III, *Counsel for Emigrants*

Many, in fact most, of these books are also those singled out for review by the major periodicals, or at the very least inclusion in lists of newly published works, which suggests a certain consensus about the major texts within this subgenre. This list also clearly illustrates the variety of literary approaches considered to be consistent with providing accurate information to the potential emigrant: there are cheap pamphlets, guides of the same type as the *Counsel for Emigrants* itself, and 'amusing' travel narratives.

The note that Basil Hall's work, published only six years earlier, is now out of date, is a significant one. The importance of contemporaneity, of establishing a precise correspondence between the guide and the current state of the province, is made very clear in the editor's preface to the *Emigrant's Directory*:

> In the spring of the last year, Mr Evans extracted the following pages from his larger Work, and transmitted them to a gentleman in this city, with the intention of having them published immediately, but very shortly after they had been received several new publications on the Canadas issued from the press, in consequence of which it was thought advisable to delay the printing of this Work for a short time, particularly as the season for emigration had nearly closed, and therefore the necessity for the information . . . was not of a pressing nature. (i)

The imperative to keep up to date with a constantly-evolving set of circumstances, to time one's book to coincide with the current 'season for emigration' lest it become outmoded by the following year, provides the Canadian emigrant's guide with the clearest rationale for its own existence and, indeed, its continual regeneration. William Dunlop positions his own contribution to the field of emigration literature as a corrective to those predecessors who have not clearly signalled the limits of their personal experience: 'being only acquainted with one section of the country, [have] described it as an epitome of the whole' (3). He denounces the inaccuracy or 'partiality' of the majority of other authors, claiming as his peer only 'Mr.

Gourlay, who wrote a really valuable and useful statistical account of the province'.[6] However, the weakness of Gourlay's text, and the reason Dunlop's has become necessary in 1832, is that the former has been rendered incapable of capturing the truth of the contemporary Canadian situation by its distance in time from the subject at hand: 'his work is now eight or nine years old, and in a country like this, where the population doubles every seven years, and improvement goes on with a rapidity altogether unknown in older countries, an old book on statistics is of little more use than an old almanac or newspaper' (3–4).

'These Artless Letters': The Uses of Emigrant Correspondence

As well as being included in compilations like the *Counsel for Emigrants* and printed in newspapers, emigrants' letters were also collected and published as standalone texts, usually in pamphlet form. As noted in Chapter One, in 1832 the *Quarterly* reviews George Poulett Scrope's *Extracts of Letters from Poor Persons who emigrated last year to Canada and the United States* (1831) as a vehicle for discussion of the Poor Laws. Another collection, *Letters from Poor Persons who have very recently Emigrated to Canada from the Parish of Frome, in the County of Somerset* (1832) is the cornerstone of an article on emigration as a solution for pauperism in 1835. These collections bring together letters written by emigrants who had gone out from two neighbouring parishes, Corsley in Wiltshire and Frome in Somerset, with the assistance of funds from the poor rates.[7] In fact, the letters from Corsley are acknowledged as having influenced the Frome group's decision to follow in their footsteps: 'These letters . . . gradually removed the apprehension, which was at first entertained, of the consequences of

[6] Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*. London, 1822.
[7] 'Wiltshire Letters' in Fig. 2 (the Appendix to the *Counsel for Emigrants*) refers to Scrope's collection.

landing poor families on a foreign shore' (4).[8]

The 1835 article in the *Quarterly* makes it clear that one attraction of such letters, when taken out of their original sphere of influence, is simply that they are proof of the possibility of easy transatlantic communication:

> Our readers will observe that, far from being separated for ever from all intercourse with their friends and families, the emigrants . . . may and do keep up probably as close an epistolary intercourse with the friends and relatives they have left behind as if they had only removed to another part of the United Kingdom. Such indeed is the facility of communication at present between the colonies and the mother country, that a son or brother, who has settled in Canada, is virtually no farther removed from his father or sister, who stays behind in Sussex, than would have been the case a century back if he had removed only into Lancashire. (426)

Tokens of Canada's increasing proximity, of a geographical, psychological and temporal gap that has been successfully breached, these letters are also held up as proofs of an economic and social experiment gone well. The fruits of assisted emigration are 'the comfort, independence and happy prospects that are so strikingly depicted in these artless letters' (429). It is this artlessness, the apparent lack of any ability to filter or shape their subject matter, that gives letters their value as pieces of empirical evidence.

Stephen Fender observes that 'Paradoxically one of the commonest features of the rhetoric of emigration is an explicit refusal to persuade' (157), something which is even more true for the advocates of Upper Canada, due to the imperative to present the province as the non-political, common-sense choice in comparison to the foolishly utopian or déclassé, culturally degenerate United States. The incorporation of letters allows the emigrant's guide to

[8] See also Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines and Mary McDougall Maude, eds. *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers' Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (2000) for a study of the circulation of letters connected with the Petworth Emigration Scheme, in both manuscript and print. This was a private sponsored emigration scheme which settled agricultural workers from the southeast of England in Upper Canada between 1832 and 1837.

distance itself from appearing to persuade, as is well illustrated by a piece from the *Counsel for Emigrants*, 'Extract of a Letter from a person who went out to Canada, last year, now at Anderson's Point'. The anonymous writer begins: 'Tell J– and G– to bring no tools with them, as what I brought with me were of no use, not being the sort used in this country at all, at all.' He continues, 'We are all content with the British Government, and are loyal subjects thereof; indeed little attention is paid to politics, it being more profitable to cultivate the ground' (123). Although, through the removal of names and the excision of any message to J– and G– that might *not* have been deemed as useful to the reader as the advice about tools, this person has been framed as a general exemplar, a type of the emigrant, the retention of some of that minute detail is what legitimises the political statement.

The letter collection is not, of course, confined to Canada. John Knight, author of an American compilation entitled *The Emigrant's best Instructor* (1817), brought out a volume the following year entitled *Important Extracts from original recent letters, written by English Emigrants in the United States, to their friends in England*. He directly solicits contributions from his public: 'The Editor will feel greatly obliged, by *recent* and *important* Letters from the Western States, being forwarded to him, at No. 77, Hanover-street, Manchester, and pledges himself punctually and speedily to return them, if required' (2). Knight does not specify the conditions a letter would have to meet in order to be considered 'important', but one way in which his letter-writers differ from their Canadian counterparts is in talking politics: 'We are going into a state Government . . . and altho, I am to act as clerk at the election, I shall not know whom any person votes for, except myself' (4). The editorial interjections are also overtly political: 'The writer of the following letter, was keeper of a public house near Middleton, in Lancashire, at which some reformers met, who had some

incendiary spies amongst them; many of the *dupes* were afterwards apprehended under the Suspension act: he also was apprehended, but in a few weeks after, he was liberated.' This incident pushed him to 'seek an assylum [sic] from such cruelties' (6).

The correspondent in question conceptualises the freedom he has found in the United States in both abstract and prosaic terms: 'If you come to America, you will not find it like England: the laws are so mild and the liberty so sweet, that it is far superior to England. I can sleep without my door being double bolted; yea I can lie with them open' (7). Another letter, from Paterson, New Jersey demonstrates a similarly abrupt transition between description and political opinion: 'the falls, about a quarter of a mile from the town, present a romantic scene: to me it appears like a Paradise. No fawning, cringing adulation here: the squire and the mechanic, converse as familiarly, as weavers do in England. We call no man master here' (24). The 'Paradise' is the view of the falls, but the syntax leaves open the possibility that the term might also be intended to apply to the writer's experience of republican democracy. However, the distinction between the evidence offered in American and Canadian letters should not be overstated. Indeed, the *Counsel for Emigrants*, despite advocating strongly for Canada as the superior destination, also includes letters from the United States: 'As the manner of living, and of *getting on*, in Canada, is much the same, in many respects, as in the States, the following letter from the latter will be found interesting even to those who intend settling in Canada' (46). Scrope's correspondents are also split between Canada and the United States, a fact that the *Quarterly* ignores in its review.

Fender's *Sea Changes*, one of the few studies to give serious literary consideration to American emigrant letters, places them in conversation not with their counterparts from Canada or elsewhere, but with the American literary tradition. 'It follows, then, that even the

emigrants' letters are part of American literature. In fact a highly typical part, for they conform to that specifically American genre of which the best known instance is Benjamin Franklin's, the exemplary autobiography, or personal narrative set out as a how-to-do-it guide for the rest of the community' (20). To perform a similar operation for Canadian letter collections, claiming them as early expressions of 'Canadianness', would be an oversimplification. Instead, it might be more accurate to say that two substantially similar bodies of evidence – testimony about the everyday realities of settlement in Canada and in the United States – are being put to opposed rhetorical ends, a fact that will come to the fore again in the discussion of novels about the emigrant experience in the next chapter.

The compilers of emigrant's guides present letters as a form of almost unmediated access to facts, inherently free from personal 'interest' and any pretensions to rhetoric. The *Counsel for Emigrants* warns that 'We should not implicitly trust, in every instance, to the accounts of any one writer on emigration, as far as he recommends a particular country or district . . . These authors have often private and interested reasons for the advice which they give in this respect' (xii). As against this, it offers the reassuring confirmation of its own pro-Canada argument provided by the accounts of eyewitnesses who, crucially, do not have access to any information outside of their own limited sphere of experience. Of course, this testimony is often very much mediated and curated. Scrope describes his editorial approach in the following terms:

> The reason why it has been thought advisable to publish only a selection of passages from these letters, instead of the whole, is that the greater part of them is made up of repetitions of information already given, of remembrances to friends in England, and other matters of no public interest, which it would have been a useless expence to print. But there has been no concealment of unfavourable passages or accounts. (2)

What Scrope means by this last line, however, is not that his book unflinchingly reproduces

the letter-writers' criticism of their new lives, but that no negativity of that kind exists: 'In fact, I am assured, that no such accounts have been received at all, directly or indirectly, from any of the emigrants' (2). Scrope also provides occasional editorial commentary on the letters themselves. For example, when Thomas Hunt, '*(day-labourer, of Chapmanslade, in the parish of Corsley,) dated Nelson, U.C. Nov. 14th, 1830*', observes, 'I see in the paper great lamentations for our departure from Chapmanslade. *More need to rejoice**', a footnote expands on his point at considerable length:

> * This is the Emigrant's pithy reproof of the maudlin sentimentalities of those persons who so pathetically deprecate the 'tearing away of our peasantry [sic] from their homes – the snapping asunder the ties of country, kindred, &c.,' . . . Mighty cruelty, to be sure, the assisting families whose labour will not keep them from pauperism and misery in this country, to remove to another part of the British dominions where they may command all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, and look forward to still higher prospects. Great cause of grief and lamentation this! 'More need to rejoice' as Thomas Hunt says. EDITOR. (24)

For historians and critics who are interested in using emigrant correspondence as a means of recovering the letter-writer's true historical experience, the value of this sort of publication can appear highly suspect. Bell's conclusion that 'as a result of their increased scepticism about the reliability of officially produced documents, the poor had learned to privilege the private letter over the printed text as a source of information' leaves no place at all for the betwixt-and-between format of the private letter that enters the 'world of dubious print' (91; 93).

In his study of emigrant correspondence, *Authors of Their Lives* (2006), David Gerber raises the objection that the ideological biases and editorial manipulation at play in the process of publishing emigrants' letters make such texts useless as historical evidence. He writes: 'In contemporary publications . . . the excerpted, undated letters all sound the same, [and] are devoid of discussions of family except when they demonstrate why Canada is a suitable place

to settle'; a fact that Scrope, for instance, is at no pains to conceal (10). However, this suggests to Gerber that the editor of the emigrant's guide 'radically trimmed his evidence – or worse, made it up – in order to make his point' (10). In response to such a possibility, his study 'uses no letters that were published in the nineteenth century in popular print media or in published compilations, in which the editor was a third party not originally involved in the correspondence' (11).

However, what Gerber does not take into account here is that the authors or editors who put such letters into public circulation express the same reservations about the potential for bias – and offer their documents as a counterpoint to propagandistic, 'interested' testimony. Their entire strategy for establishing their works as fact is to foreground the same pitfalls mentioned by Gerber, then elaborately disavow them. For example, the preface to the *Counsel for Emigrants* assures the reader that 'It will easily be perceived that the letters here first printed . . . were not written with the most remote idea of their being published, and bear, from their concurring testimonies, evident proofs of the truth of their representations' (131). The question, in the context of a literary study, is not so much whether this assurance can be believed, but what it means for the guide to take on the characteristics of a form to which critics have tended to read it as being diametrically opposed.

The tendency on the part of many published letter-writers themselves to transmit their observations to their readers in a 'journal' format, or conversely, to employ generalisations and speak of an unknown 'reader' in a piece of writing ostensibly serving as private reflection, may make them less the hapless victims of editorial practices than participants in a discourse in which the divisions between public and private language are always blurred. Although these texts are deployed to further ideological arguments, for them to work in this way they

must above all be seen to lack that very intention. They have tended to be dismissed as objects of historical or literary study on the grounds of their failure to clearly signal the dividing line between empirical fact and ideological manipulation, but reading emigrant's guides alongside the genres which they mine for much of their content reveals a more complicated picture. The guides' own anti-rhetorical assertions are not simply an attempt to defraud, to impose on credulous readers with texts that pass themselves off as private communications, but are part of a more sophisticated manipulation of the characteristics both of personal letters and of fiction.

The guide depends for its success on the creation of an imagined relationship between real letter-writers and a readership who are not the letters' intended recipients. The *Counsel for Emigrants* states that the letters it prints 'may, indeed, be as much depended on as if they had been written by the intimate friends of those who peruse them . . . When actually settled, he will be directed in his operations by its pages, nearly the same as if an experienced and friendly neighbour were at his side' (131), with the most important phrase being the repeated 'as if'. If the letters were functioning as real letters, in the context of a genuine friendship, then emigrant's guides would not exist.

William Dunlop's *Blackwood's* reviewer, John Wilson, makes use of the magazine's tone of chummy intimacy to take issue with Dunlop's claim that his motivation for publishing his advice in book form is 'sheer laziness'. He does this in a way that does not undermine the reader's sense of Dunlop's veracity but, rather, aims to enhance it by personally vouching for his character: 'This is a falsehood. Nay, we beg leave to go a step farther, and tell the Backwoodsman that he is a liar. We might as truly say that sheer laziness is the characteristic of the life of a tiger' (239). 'Tiger' was Dunlop's nickname; the *Dictionary of Canadian*

Biography attributes it to an 'unsuccessful attempt to clear tigers from Sagar Island in the Bay of Bengal, in an effort to turn the place into a tourist resort'.[9] Wilson hastens to reassure the reader that his excessive self-deprecation renders the bluff Backwoodsman more, not less, trustworthy as a reporter of facts. 'For though ignorant of the chief points of his own character, on all other subjects of which he treats, he is a well-informed man and Backwoodsman. He lies on the laziness in which he never lay; but on all matters of statistics he is an apostle of truth' (240). The notion that reliability as a witness to one's own experience goes hand in hand with a lack of self-awareness about one's fitness for that task is fundamental to writing about emigration; it is most apparent in the guide's privileging of first-hand testimony that was not originally designed to fulfil a public function: the letter.

In fact, while the reviewer may see it as evidence of his 'universal philanthropy', the reason that Dunlop gives for describing his literary endeavour as an act of labour-saving is that his book is explicitly placed in generic relationship to the letter (240). *Statistical Sketches* is posited as a replacement for a more sprawling correspondence with individual recipients, as Dunlop describes a situation in which demands for his expertise on Canadian matters begin to transcend the limits imposed by personal acquaintance: 'I have been receiving letters from intending emigrants, containing innumerable queries respecting Upper Canada; – also from the friends of such children of the forest *in posse*' (1). The writer is in the process of becoming a public authority on his subject and individually-addressed letters are no longer sufficient to the task.

> But, after having written some reams in answer to them, and when every other packet brought one, and no later ago than last week I had two to answer, things began to look serious, and so did I: for I found that, if they went on at this rate, I should have no 'valuable time' to devote to my own proper affairs. And therefore

[9] Gary Draper and Roger Hall, 'Dunlop, William.' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. 1988.

> . . . I set myself down in something like a pet, to throw together and put in form the more prominent parts of the information I had been collecting, to the end that I might be enabled in future to answer my voluminous correspondents after the manner of the late worthy Mr. Abernethy, by referring them to certain pages of *My Book*. (1–2)[10]

It is in no way unusual for a book of advice for emigrants to grow out of a writer's personal correspondence; Morris Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois* is one high-profile example and Birkbeck explains the transition from private letter to public, printed work in the following terms:

> Most of these Letters were written to my intimate friends; others are in reply to applications made to me by entire strangers, for advice or information, some directing their inquiries to one point, and some to another. In answering, I generally kept pretty much to the tenor of the questions, as there would have been no end of the labour of communicating to every one, separately, information on every topic; yet, to some or other of my correspondents, I have had occasion to touch on most subjects interesting to an emigrant.
>
> This consideration has induced me to publish the Letters, in the hope that, as a collection, they may be useful to others, as well as to the individuals to whom they were severally addressed. (iii–iv)

These responses to specific questions asked by specific people will, Birkbeck believes, add up to a comprehensive overview of the subject that will benefit readers who were not those letters' intended recipients. This outcome is, however, treated as secondary and belated, almost a happy accident. At the other end of the scale, William Cobbett's 1829 *Emigrant's Guide* is addressed to the widest possible audience from the outset. The motivation for this book's composition is the same as Dunlop's at the beginning of *Statistical Sketches* – the author declares himself to be overwhelmed by 'a pile of letters, nearly a hundred in number, from anxious tradesmen and farmers, requesting my advice on a subject so momentous to them' (27). Yet the two texts put the letter, or the idea of the letter, to very different uses.

[10] John Abernethy, *Surgical Observations on the Constitutional Origin and Treatment of Local Diseases* (1809).

Although Cobbett makes it very clear that the *Emigrant's Guide* is intended wholly as a public service and makes no pretence of being personally acquainted with any of the people who have applied to him for advice, his approach to the task of informing his public *is* still to write it a letter:

> thinking thus, being thus applied to, and it being quite out of my power to give answers, or to give an interview, to these respectable applicants, for whom I feel most deeply interested; thus situated, I will, in a series of LETTERS, give such information and advice as I think likely to guide any rational man through the enterprise of emigration, not only with perfect safety, but with ease and pleasure. (27–28)

Dunlop's narrative strategy, on the other hand, falls somewhere in between the two poles represented by Birkbeck and Cobbett. *Statistical Sketches* is not a repurposing of an already-existing correspondence for public consumption, but neither does it break with the notion of a personal address to an individualised reader entirely. Instead, it stands in lieu of letters; it pre-empts them with a guidebook which simultaneously shapes Dunlop's observations into a less immediate, more 'literary' form and maintains the fiction that every 'gentle reader' is indeed that budding emigrant whose thirst for information of the utmost practical relevance to himself has prompted the book to be written.

> Now, gentle reader, that you have got this length, permit me to compliment you on your patience; a virtue which I shall no longer call upon you to exercise, than by requesting you, in the diplomatic phrase, to accept the assurances of my highest consideration, until we meet, as I hope we shall do next summer, on the banks of Lake Huron. (119–20)

Carving out a space where comprehensive, omniscient overview and intimate personal address exist side-by-side without either fully reconciling or cancelling one another out, Dunlop draws on the characteristics of a literary system in which he is already embedded, one that blurs the boundaries between the circle of personal acquaintance and the source of authoritative fact, addressing a theoretically infinite readership – the periodical miscellany. What is significant

about the process of folding the world of Canadian colonisation into the fabric of *Blackwood's* is that it, like the emigrant's guide as a genre, represents a turn away from strict factuality towards a different method of authentication, one which exploits the features of personal forms of communication for explicitly public ends. The following two sections will examine a pair of rather anomalous variations on the emigrant letter mode which also exist in something of a generic netherworld: one which inserts fictional letters into a letter collection, and one which subjects a real letter to the fictionalising influences of *Blackwood's*.

'Dressed in the Garb of Fiction': The Case of Bridget Lacy

The Canadian volume of the 2006 collection *Women Writing Home*, *1700–1920: Female Correspondence across the British Empire* includes correspondence which circulated only in manuscript form alongside some letters which were offered to the contemporary public, among them several excerpts from *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada*, published in Dublin in 1833. Although *Authentic Letters* is generally attributed to Thomas William Magrath, described in the preface as 'the gentleman who has kindly permitted his name to be inserted in the title page' (12–13), its editor was the Reverend Thomas Radcliff, the recipient of the majority of the letters, which were written by various members of his family circle who had emigrated from Ireland to Upper Canada.[11] These include the aforementioned Magrath, who also contributed an 'Account of Canadian Field Sports', as well as Thomas Radcliff's sons

[11] Magrath is generally given as the author in catalogue listings, including those of the Bodleian Library and National Library of Scotland, while *Women Writing Home* credits Thomas Radcliff. The confusion has probably been caused by the layout of the title page, which reads: *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada; with an Account of Canadian Field Sports, by T. W. Magrath, Esq., The Etchings by Samuel Lover, Esq., Edited by the Rev. T. Radcliff*.

William and Thomas and the two female letter-writers who are featured in *Women Writing Home*, the Reverend's daughter-in-law Rebecca Radcliff and her maid Bridget Lacy.

What is notable about this selection is that while Mrs Radcliff's correspondence is deemed perfectly genuine, the editors of *Women Writing Home*, Cecily Devereux and Kathleen Venema, suggest that Bridget Lacy is likely to be a fabrication; or at least, her letters are.

> The authenticity of 'Bridget Lacy's' letters is somewhat dubious: although they are represented, with the other materials in the volume, in the preface to the 1833 edition in which they appear as letters 'from actual settlers' it is also noted that they are not, like the others, 'under real signature'. Indeed, it is not even clear if this person existed and wrote them, if they were altered in any way by their first editor, or if they were actually written by someone else using the imagined voice of an Irish servant. (xl)

The note mentioned here is inserted at the end of Bridget's second and final letter, and states that 'The name of this correspondent is the only fictitious one introduced. The facts, however, are correct. – Editor' (237). The editor does not go so far as to claim that Bridget is the pseudonym of a specific individual, or that these letters ever functioned as private correspondence, only that they reflect 'facts'.

Devereux and Venema's reasons for finding the Lacy persona 'dubious' are abundantly clear, and numerous. Bridget's correspondence begins with an oddly expository greeting to its recipient, one Mary Thompson:

> Dear fellow Servant, and fellow school-fellow,
>
> For we were edicated together, and printiced out together – and my blessing on the Committee of fifteen, and my blessing on them that taught us to read and write, and spell, that you may know all about me, and I about you, though there are rivers, and seas, and woods, and lakes between us. (167–68)

This summary of a shared history of which her correspondent would already be perfectly aware, the amusing redundancy of the phrase 'fellow school-fellow' and the spotty use of

spelling mistakes to suggest Bridget's Irish accent all function to establish a character whose version of events will be clearly inflected by her social class and personal peculiarities, both indicated by her linguistic shortcomings. The heavily foregrounded idiosyncrasies of Bridget's opening gambit contrast sharply with the very first letter in the collection (from Magrath to Thomas Radcliff), which begins 'My Dear Sir, I am glad to hear that your sons are coming to this country' (15), thus performing a similarly informative function for the general reader while at the same time remaining a plausible manner of opening a private letter. Mrs Radcliff's first letter is far more personal in tone than Magrath's businesslike missive – 'My dearest Mr R, Until this day I have been unable to hold a pen' – but the object of Bridget's letter appears so clearly to be the introduction of Bridget herself to an audience to whom she is unfamiliar that it is not difficult to see why Devereux and Venema are sceptical about its status as a piece of correspondence (60).

This verdict is further borne out by Bridget's exaggerated misunderstanding of her new environment. Examples include her bizarre theory about the racial identity of the area's original inhabitants, based on a mishearing of the name 'Niagara' – 'when my master comes back from the waterfall of Niggeraga, (the [sic] say they were all Niggers here once), we are to set out for the estate he has bought in the Huron Tract' – and her naive speculations about the cause of the local Indians' skin colour: 'their pelts are all red, with roasting themselves I suppose at them big fires in the woods at night' (176–77; 230). Furthermore, Bridget's intermittently idiosyncratic spelling is intensified when she uses something close to free indirect narration to describe the speech of another person, an Irishman who challenges Bridget's master to a boxing bout, for which '"he begged his honour's pardon for giving him the trouble of bating him, which he well desarved, for coming fornent so fine a man entirely"'

(176). This kind of narrative device seems an unlikely one for a personal letter; it would be more at home in a fictional sketch.

All this evidence leads inexorably to the question which *Women Writing Home* does not explicitly raise: what reason could there be for including 'the imagined voice of an Irish servant' in a work otherwise composed of the correspondence of one particular middle-class family? What purpose do Bridget's writings serve in the overall narrative of this family's emigration experience, if someone has indeed gone to the trouble of inventing them out of whole cloth? This is an especially pertinent question in light of this statement from the preface of *Authentic Letters*: 'Most publications upon Canada have been dressed in the garb of fiction, with ability, with humour, and with interest; – the following, deficient in that attraction, must owe its recommendation to statements supplied from the information of those who have experienced what they represent, and who have written without exaggeration' (13). The editor does not mean that most previous publications about Canada have been novels or poems or tales, but rather is attributing some fictional quality to literary skill of any kind (something which the author or compiler of any travel account or emigrant's guide will always take care to modestly disavow).

Some of the individual contributors to *Authentic Letters* are at pains to disassociate themselves from this dangerously fiction-like literary aptitude. William Radcliff, after a trip to Niagara, refuses to provide an account of the province's only acknowledged site of touristic interest: 'You will expect some account of that wonder of wonders; – you are doomed to be disappointed; – not so much, however, as if I attempted to describe it. You know *my talent* don't lie that way. I can enjoy the sublime, but I cannot talk of it. Better observe a solemn silence' (130). However, in order to back up his argument about the proper way to appreciate

Niagara – or the impossibility of conveying that appreciation in words – Radcliff appeals to a fictional character, the wife of the emigrant protagonist of Galt's *Bogle Corbet*, published two years earlier. 'I am strongly disposed to vindicate Mrs Bogle Corbet, in having chosen the retirement of her bed-chamber, to view this tremendous rush of waters, uninterrupted even by the scientific remarks of her husband, whose good taste would have done ample justice to the astounding subject' (130–31).

In addition to this invocation of fiction in support of a declaration of stolid anti-fictionality, there remains the troublesome presence of Bridget. She fulfils a function somewhat analogous to the letter-writer of humble origin in an emigrant's guide, one which the well-informed, middle-class Radcliffs cannot. Devereux and Venema do mention the question of class while explaining their rationale for including the Lacy letters in their collection: 'They are nonetheless reproduced here because there are so few records of working-class women's experience of travel and settlement, because they work to decentralize the middle-class woman's account of travel and settlement, and because they were printed with Radcliff's in 1833' (xl). What they do not mention, however, is how that class position relates to the letters' fraudulence. When Bridget, rather than a more self-aware writer or an editorial voice, observes that 'they say they're civil enough in Canada, not all as one as the States, where they have the impudence of Old Nick, in making free with their betters. You would not believe, dear Mary, the forwardness of them Yankees' (171), the reader is being presented with a heightened, more novelistic version of the testimony of the *Counsel for Emigrants*' multitude of councillors. The character of Bridget gives the reader the opportunity to perceive the reality of the situation by reading between the lines; reading past the obfuscatory, excessively personal viewpoint of a writer who is not able to evaluate her

environment, so cannot be suspected of manipulating her readers. If a Bridget Lacy does not exist, it seems to be necessary to invent her.

Fictional Letters, Regionalism and the Novel

The trajectory of the (almost certainly) imaginary character of Bridget within *Authentic Letters* resembles nothing so much as the progress of Win Jenkins in Tobias Smollett's *Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), down to the phonetic approach to spelling which reveals a regional accent and uses that accent for comic purposes; in Win's case Welsh, in Bridget's, Irish. There are also echoes of that novel's other female letter-writer, Win's almost equally orthographically inept mistress Tabitha Bramble. In perhaps the clearest illustration of the humorous intent of the Irish dialect in Bridget's letters, she describes her employer's decision to appoint her to the position of cook: 'as I dressed a dish or two that plazed the master, she said, she'd put me into the kitchen where I might show my talons' (224–25). This is also one of Tabitha's favourite spelling errors: 'Give me leaf to tell you, methinks you mought employ your talons better' (78).[12] Bridget's two letters are also given a narrative arc which leads not to the expected resolution of a marriage ('I have *changed my situation* since I came here') but, in a comical puncturing of expectations, to a promotion from maid to cook and an open-ended flirtation with a pair of fellow Irish immigrants (223). Bridget's progress, like Win's, is revealed through her correspondence with a bosom friend back home, Mary Thompson fulfilling the role of Win Jenkins' interlocutor Mary Jones.

[12] See the chapter on 'Women, Celts, and Hollow Voices: Tobias Smollett's brokering of Anglo-British linguistic identities' in Janet Sorensen's *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (2000) for a discussion of the connections between faulty written English, provincialism and gender in Smollett. 104–37.

Ian Duncan's 'Altered States: Galt, Serial Fiction, and the Romantic Miscellany' argues that although its epistolary format had become outdated by the early nineteenth century, *Humphry Clinker* remained a significant point of departure for authors seeking to filter the experience of travel through the distancing, yet not definitively estranging, gaze of a provincial observer. Duncan's primary example is *The Ayrshire Legatees*, the combined correspondence of a provincial family with varying amounts of education and worldly experience, in which 'Galt does not simply revive the obsolescent form of the epistolary novel. He revives a particular instance of it: Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, published in 1771, at the apogee of the form' (57). Galt also returns explicitly to *Humphry Clinker* in his 1830 novel *Lawrie Todd*, whose hero declares that his story's Tabitha Bramble analogue, Miss Beeny Needles, will 'find I am not a Lismahago' (3: 59). The comparison here is multi-layered, since not only are both characters, Lawrie and Lismahago, beset by the attentions of a rapacious, ageing spinster, they are both recently returned from long sojourns in North America. The two men's life stories are, however, utterly dissimilar in tone; Lismahago's is a lurid tale of Indian captivity and transculturation, Lawrie's an optimistic narrative of personal success, the spread of civilisation and the benevolent power of a lightly ironised 'Providence'. This divergence highlights the very different roles played by North American travel in Smollett and Galt's novels. In *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, the passage to the United States and Upper Canada, respectively, does not, as it does for Lismahago, cause Galt's protagonists to undergo profound physical or cultural transformation. Rather, they bring their established personalities to bear upon their new surroundings, with great success in the case of Lawrie Todd while for Bogle Corbet it is a more ambivalent experience.

In the same way that contributors to *Blackwood's*, fictional or merely anonymous,

express their opinions of an author and his works in familiar terms in the letters pages, in person in the 'Noctes' and formally in reviews, the revival of *Humphry Clinker* also expands outwards beyond the boundaries of Galt's original work of serial fiction into other areas of the magazine. In September 1820, part way through the run of the *Ayrshire Legatees*, a 'literal sequel to Smollett's novel', as Duncan describes it, was also published. 'This consists of a letter (dated 1799) purportedly written by Winifred Clinker, née Jenkins (1730–1804), framed with a mock-authenticating apparatus, including the texts of her birth and death certificates and the inscription on her tombstone' (Duncan 57). This inaugural instalment of the majestically-titled 'Semihorae Biographicae' series has a typically multi-layered framing device: it takes the form of a letter to Christopher North from one Giles Middlestitch, on behalf of a late antiquarian friend, 'Q.Z.X', who collected documents that authenticate the events described in *Humphry Clinker*. Also in this collection are writings which do not fit within the bounds of that novel but continue the narrative of the protagonists' lives past the point at which *Humphry Clinker* closes. The letter from Win Jenkins is one such text: Middlestitch writes that 'the main document in the present instance has all the value of autobiography, being a letter from the individual herself, whose actions he helps to rescue from oblivion' (611). This piece sets up *Humphry Clinker* itself as a work of non-fiction based on a personal correspondence, mentioning 'the letters, which Smollett used in drawing up the biography of Mrs Clinker's husband' (611). Significantly, Middlestitch's high opinion of Smollett's achievement comes from his conviction of Smollett's fidelity to the non-Standard English (and non-standard spelling) of his subjects: 'Now Smollett deserves thanks for having published them so faithfully, not correcting the spelling . . . In fact, if this practice prevails, there will be no such thing as what may be called *idiosyncratic orthography*' (611).

This, too, connects the *Blackwood's* sketch with the literary strategies employed by emigrant's guides. Questions about 'cleaning up' spelling and grammar, and the vexed relation between this editorial intervention and the status of letters as truth-telling devices, are acknowledged in several guides. Scrope prefaces his collection of letters with the note: 'N.B. The spelling is corrected. The wording left as in the originals' (11). The *Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants* (published in the same year as its predecessor, indicating at the very least a perception of high demand for such works) foregrounds linguistic matters in its introduction to the section entitled 'Wanderings and Adventures of an Emigrant in the United States'.

> The following extracts are from a letter, which is a curiosity in its way. It was written by an emigrant from Aberdeenshire, in the situation of a labourer, and is a good specimen, in its penmanship and composition, of what a country school can effect with those who are destined to labour for their bread at the most common employment. It may be noticed, that it is all written in the original on one sheet of paper, in a very close and distinct character . . . Some liberties have been taken only with the spelling, pointing, and grammar; but these in general are pretty well. (16)

The word 'curiosity', along with Scrope's boast that his book, by making such correspondence public will '*exhibit* the English pauper turned into an independent farmer' (9; my italics) reveals a tendency to objectify the lower-class letter-writer, and specifically, his language. Dunlop, too, alongside epigraphs from literary sources, often heads his chapters with quotations from regional or labouring-class speakers. The epigraph to Chapter III reads:

> 'Lord, have compassion upon me a poor unfortunate sinner, three thousand miles from my own country, and seventy-five from anywhere else.'
> *Irishman's Prayer in the woods between New York and Canada. A.D. 1784*. (20)

And the following chapter, which deals with the Upper Canadian climate, opens as follows:

> *Capt. B.* – 'Well, John, what kind of night have we had?
> *Servant.* – Why, your honour, it snew a little in the fore part of the night, but towards morning it frizz horrid.'
> *Dialogue between an Officer and his man John*. (27)

Dunlop, in aligning these quotations with the lines from Scottish poetry and ballads which open other chapters, is making his humorous transmutation of non-Standard English speech into literature explicit. But such a strategy seems in the first instance to be at odds with the guide's declared aim of using emigrant testimony to provide universally-applicable facts, uninflected by any bias or oddity that would tie them too firmly to the life of their original source. However, the case of Bridget Lacy provides a key to this problem, as her excessively naive response to her new experiences takes the feature of the real emigrant's letter that makes it so desirable as evidence – its limitation to a narrow, partial worldview – and pushes that to its logical conclusion, which is an increased, rather than decreased, focus on individual character.

James Laidlaw's 'Very Curious Letter'

In March 1820, a year before *Blackwood's* published its first piece of Canadian fiction, a 'Letter from the Ettrick Shepherd' appeared in the magazine. This is, in fact, a letter within a letter, as James Hogg is writing to Christopher North to provide him with material in the shape of correspondence from another, less-famous shepherd of Ettrick, Hogg's cousin James Laidlaw, who has recently emigrated to Upper Canada. This is a piece in which a real emigrant's letter appears to have shed all its usefulness as a general guide to how to proceed in one's new surroundings, and to have crossed over entirely into the genre of the Blackwoodian sketch of national or regional character.

By merit of its insertion into the magazine this emigrant's letter joins a long chain of familiar epistles from one well-known *Blackwood's* contributor to another. However, it does not maintain the fiction of a private interaction between a small circle of friends which

provides the framing for other familiar communications involving the personae of James Hogg, William Maginn, the editor-avatar Christopher North or any of the rest of *Blackwood's* host of eidolons and pseudonyms. Neither is Laidlaw's correspondence a direct engagement with the editor (and by extension the magazine's readers), in contrast to the many letters 'to Christopher North, Esq.' from fictional members of the public. Nor is it a mysteriously 'intercepted' letter like that addressed to the Lord High Constable from Dandie Dinmont, a character in Walter Scott's novel *Guy Mannering* (1815), which is printed in *Blackwood's* in October 1817 without any framing fiction to explain how it might have come into the editor's possession.

Rather, this emigrant's letter in *Blackwood's* functions, on the surface, in the same way as the emigrant's letter in the guide – it represents the making-public of authentic, originally private correspondence, redeployed for the benefit of a wider readership. Hogg writes: 'I enclose you a very curious letter from a cousin-german of my own to his son, who still remains in this country' (630). However, Hogg's conception of the 'benefit' that this letter might bring to the reader is based on the text's entertainment value rather than its practical potential: 'It has given me so much amusement that I thought it might be acceptable to you for publication in the Magazine' (630). Hogg provides a prefatory biographical sketch of a man who 'was always a singular and highly amusing character, cherishing every antiquated and exploded idea in science, religion, and politics' (630). Laidlaw is depicted as someone whose understanding of the world is rooted in his local surroundings to an almost incredible degree: 'When he first began to hear tell of North America, about twenty years ago, he would not believe me that Fife was not it; and that he saw it from the Castle Hill of Edinburgh' (630).[13]

[13] This moment provides the title for the 2006 short story collection *The View from Castle*

This restricted geographical awareness adds a layer of poignancy to Laidlaw's own admission that 'it was my ame to get you all near me made me Come to America; but mans thoughts are vanity, for I have Scattered you far wider, but I Cannot help it now' (631).[14]

The majority of Hogg's sketch of Laidlaw is devoted to illustrating this hyper-local worldview, not by further discussion of how it fits with Laidlaw's consuming interest in North America ('for a number of years bygone he talked and read about America till he grew perfectly unhappy') but through an anecdote about a dispute between Laidlaw and a man named 'Cow Wat' over Wat's belief in multiple hells. During a drinking session at which Hogg is present, Laidlaw takes it into his head to pray for the 'poor auld heretick' to be sent to the most pleasant of the many hells conjured up by his faulty theology. Addressing God on the subject of the immortal soul, Laidlaw remains focused on concrete, prosaic proofs of a person's goodness or reprobation. '"But, on the ither hand," continued he, "if it be true, that the object of our petition cheated James Cunningham an' Sandy o' Bowerhope, out o' from two to three hunder pounds o' lamb-siller, why, we can hardly ask sic a situation for him"' (631). Cow Wat is enraged by Laidlaw's earnest entreaties, Hogg and the other drinkers are forced to restrain him bodily, and with that Hogg signs off, having explicated to his satisfaction 'some of the traits of character peculiar to the writer of the enclosed curious epistle' (631).

Hogg gives this anecdotal evidence about Laidlaw's character in order to explain away the specific bias and eccentricity in the text's view of Upper Canada, which is not an

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Rock by Laidlaw's descendant Alice Munro, which is an engagement with, or reimagining of, this and other incidents in the life of the emigrant branch of the Laidlaw family.

[14] Though both Laidlaw and Hogg consistently refer to 'America', Laidlaw explicitly distinguishes his own place of residence, York, Upper Canada, from 'the States'.

overwhelmingly positive one. Rather than offering Laidlaw as an exemplar, a typical emigrant who expresses the views held by any right-thinking, industrious settler – the figure so confidently relied upon by the editors of guides – *Blackwood's* presents his with Hogg's introductory note, which provides the information that letters in guides, by design, lack: the specific personal circumstances that are leading Laidlaw to write as he does. 'What he says with regard to the riches and freedom of America must be taken with reserve, it being well known here that he is dissatisfied, but that he wants the son, to whom he is writing, and others of his family, to join him' (630). Laidlaw expresses the common view that settlers 'Live far more independant [sic] than King George' (632), yet if his intention is truly to persuade his son to throw in his lot with the rest of the family, he is at times self-defeating: 'Robert, I will not advise you to Come Hear, as I am afraid that you will not Like this place . . . I do not Expect Ever to See you hear' (631).

Such mixed messages indicate that Laidlaw's personal desires override his dedication to truth, or are perhaps even a by-product of his individual eccentricity and muddle-headedness. In a different literary context, however – that of the emigrant's guide – this sort of warning against expecting too much of the province on first arrival is so common as to be a generic trope. Laidlaw's reluctance to urge others to follow him, and the tension between that response and a conviction of the superior lifestyle available in Upper Canada, is reproduced almost exactly by a man from the neighbouring county, one John Inglis of Roxburghshire, in the pamphlet *Copies of Letters from Settlers in Upper Canada to their Friends here* (1833):

> I would not just wish to advise any one to come here; but, for my own part, I would not return to Scotland, though any one would pay my passage back and give me twenty pounds a-year, – not that I do not love the land of Caledonia, which will ever be dear to my bosom, (and I could knock down the man who speaks ill of it). (n.p.)

The factual detail contained in James Laidlaw's letter is no longer, as it might have been in an emigrant's guide, treated as capable of standing alone as one of numerous possible sources of the same information. Guides tend to be extremely repetitive precisely in order to guard against any hint of selectivity or a lack of representativeness, while the value of Laidlaw's letter for Hogg is its singularity. 'It has given me so much amusement that I thought it might be acceptable to you for publication in the Magazine. If you think proper to give it a corner, do not alter the orthography, or the writer's singular mode of grammar' (630). That linguistic fidelity in the service of capturing this particular crotchety, anachronistic Scottish shepherd, so different to the editorial practices of many guides, which often state that they have 'cleaned up' the letters' spelling and grammar, makes the piece into something very like a short Blackwoodian regional tale or sketch. Yet in its very uselessness as a general overview and its subjection to editorial manipulation, it also resonates with emigrant's letters situated in literary contexts allegedly less factually compromised than *Blackwood's*.

As with Bridget Lacy, Laidlaw must be established as a character inextricably connected to local (in his case, Scottish) points of reference in order for the reader to understand the manner in which he interprets surroundings where these markers are lacking. His primary strategy, in keeping with the character established by the Cow Wat story, is to measure the progress of the new settlement in religious terms. 'We like this place far better than the States; we have got Sermon three times every Saboth' (632). Where other letter-writers provide lists of local goods and their prices, Laidlaw gives his son a rundown of the various religious denominations represented in the area: 'they are the Baptists that we hear; there is no Presbetaren minister in this Town as yet, but there is a Large English Chapel, and a Methidist Chapel; but I do not think that the Methidists is very Sound in their Doctrine . . . and the

English Minister reads all that he Says' (632).[15]

The very narrowness and partiality of this overview, its uselessness as an indicator of general conditions due to the impossibility of separating it from the established character of its narrator, offers a different kind of access to 'truth'. This is a literary approach in which regional and linguistic idiosyncrasies may appear to be in tension with the emigrant's guide's goal of turning individual experiences into exemplars of the emigration process as a whole, but are also inseparable from the character through whom that process is conveyed.

John Galt and the Novel-as-Guide

Practically the only genre that John Galt does *not* employ to promote Canadian settlement is the emigrant's guide. He is credited with supplying information used by Andrew Picken in his guide to *The Canadas*, and very early in his career, long before he had been to Upper Canada himself, he published a short 'Statistical Account of Upper Canada' in the *Philosophical Magazine*, compiled from secondary sources just as Picken's would come to be.[16] However, Galt generally approaches the topic of Upper Canada through the medium of fiction, a choice which, he claims in the preface to *Bogle Corbet*, is very much an intentional one: 'The author had proposed to offer the result of his observations in a regularly didactic form, but upon reflection, a theoretic biography seemed better calculated to ensure the effect desired' (iii–iv).

The Bandana letters contain a seed of these later 'theoretical biographies' of emigrants, *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, in that they filter an argument in which Galt is personally

[15] Laidlaw's distrust of the 'English' (presumably Anglican) minister who 'reads all that he Says' is a reflection of Presbyterian antipathy towards a style of preaching reliant on pre-prepared sermons.
[16] *Philosophical Magazine* 29.1 (1807): 3–10.

'interested' through the point of view of a fictional character who speaks from a particular position – in this case the Glaswegian mercantile community – that colours his understanding of the information he relays. When Galt comes to describe the progress of Lawrie Todd, an artisan from the west of Scotland with a rather eccentric belief in Providence, and Bogle Corbet, a failed merchant with West Indian ties and a propensity to melancholia, it is made explicit that the protagonists' experiences of emigration are driven by, and inseparable from, these biographical details. For Galt, this increased connection between character and personal involvement in emigration makes the novels more, rather than less, valuable as a foundation for real-world action on the part of his readers. As Kenneth McNeil points out in 'Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World', Galt frames his fictions of emigration in terms of the novel-as-guide. He writes in the preface to *Lawrie Todd*: 'The subject is more important than novels commonly treat of. – A description, which may be considered authentic, of the rise and progress of a successful American settlement, cannot but be useful to the emigrant' (iv–v). And in the preface to *Bogle Corbet*: 'Information given as incidents of personal experience is more instructive than opinion' (iii).

Galt is far from alone in his privileging of 'information given as incidents of personal experience'; the entire rationale of the emigrant's guide is that generally-applicable truths about the emigration process are best approached through the personal testimony of those who do not themselves theorise but simply observe their own limited sphere of experience. The departure from universals does not compromise the text's factual status but is in fact its enabling condition. Emigration literature's extrapolation from empirical details to a broader, more 'systemic' overview owes a great deal to Scottish Enlightenment concepts of conjectural history, although it is a body of writing that aims to intervene directly in a process that is still

ongoing. The emigrant's guide's use of letters – because of, rather than in spite of, its departure from pure documentary authenticity – resonates with other modes of writing which are concerned with mapping the actions of clearly delineated and contextualised individuals in order to arrive at a wider, more systematic view of events. In 'Historical Characters: Biography, the Science of Man, and Romantic Fiction' (2011), Susan Manning identifies a tension built in to 'Scottish stadialist historiography', and one which is equally instructive for considering emigrant's guides and the means by which they try to attain authority for their depictions of locations most of their readers have never seen: 'Biographical character struggled to meet the requirement to be at once particular evidence and general exemplification, and representations increasingly revealed the fictional basis to its construction' (227).

In order to become a general exemplification, a set of steps that any budding emigrant can follow and be successful, the letter-writer's experience must not be too personal; it must be detachable from his own specific circumstances. Yet for it to attain a validity that transcends accusations of political or economic 'interest', this evidence must remain highly particular, grounded in the limited viewpoint of its original source. In other words, it must maintain a deep relationship with realism without being too bogged down in the strictly 'real'. McNeil sums up Galt's encapsulation of the threads that have run through all the texts examined in this chapter, as he filters Enlightenment empiricism through the prism of the novel in an attempt to apply literature to the sphere of practical action. '*Bogle Corbet* offers its reader in essence a case history, an accumulation of empirical fact embodied in the life story of its title character – a "typical" middle-class Scots emigrant (whereas *Lawrie Todd* provides one of the laboring class) – which allows its reader to predict confidently the success of his

own commercial venture, emigration to Canada' (301). For Canadian emigration literature to approach some peak of unimpeachable empiricism, it also, of necessity, must make a turn into fiction.

Chapter Four: Emigrant Novels and Transatlantic Literary Studies

Stephen Fender's placement of writing about emigration to the United States within a teleology of American exceptionalism, rather than in the context of other emigration writing of its period, has much in common with the overall process of canon-formation, an operation whose concern with locating the origins of the American and Canadian literary traditions has resulted in blind spots and distortions that are increasingly being brought to light, particularly by work with a transatlantic focus. In his introductory essay for a special issue of *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* published in 2006, Leonard Tennenhouse argues that the desire to view the American canon as the outgrowth of foundational narratives of American exceptionalism has resulted in the novels written in the early decades of the American republic being neglected in favour of a chronology that begins with James Fenimore Cooper. The result has been the marginalisation of texts which prove to be more concerned with transatlantic communication, with social relations or with Gothic romance than with highlighting and celebrating some uniquely American national character. The aim of the special issue is therefore to reveal the extent to which 'history has glossed over and marginalized the very material that might problematize and even perhaps revise the progressive narrative of nation formation, imperialism, and globalization' (7). This chapter will attempt a somewhat similar operation for three novels about emigration and their relationship to the Canadian canon. These novels are John Galt's *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, and *Clan-Albin* by Christian Isobel Johnstone. Both authors' novelistic depictions of emigration intersect with their writings on the topic in the periodical press; while Galt's periodical career has been documented in Chapters One and Two, Johnstone's role as editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* is considered in this chapter alongside *Clan-Albin*.

As previous chapters have shown, literary criticism of writing about transatlantic emigration has tended not to compare the American and Canadian cases, or to take into account the extent to which comparisons between the two destinations defined the literary portrayal of the issue in the Romantic period. The assertions of the starkness of the contrast between one side of the US–Canadian border and the other made by the *Quarterly* reviewers and the authors of Canadian emigrant's guides have found their echo in modern criticism. What has not been so readily reproduced is the extent to which novelistic portrayals of emigration highlight the limitations of such absolute, nation-based divisions. Instead, the American and Canadian literatures of the Romantic era have tended to be viewed as responding to the overweening cultural influence of Britain, but not to one another.

There are a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers whose critical fortunes have been revived, or at the very least redirected, by a 'transatlantic turn' in literary studies; an increased interest in texts – and their authors – that pose a challenge to traditional demarcations between the British, American and Canadian literary traditions. Perhaps the most significant are Thomas Campbell, for his American frontier poem *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809), Susanna Rowson for the first bestselling American novel, *Charlotte Temple* (1791), Frances Brooke for the first novel set in Canada, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769) – even Gilbert Imlay, previously known, if he was known at all, as the caddish lover of Mary Wollstonecraft, for his Kentuckian epistolary novel *The Emigrants* (1793). These figures, although popular in their own time (with the possible exception of Imlay), later fell into relative obscurity, due at least in part to their failure to produce bodies of work that could be readily interpreted as exemplifying a particular national literary tradition. Tilar Mazzeo writes of Rowson that 'on one side of the Atlantic she stands as an early canonical figure, while on

the other she languishes in obscurity' (62), a statement that could apply to all of these authors and many others besides. Part of the promise of transatlantic literary studies is that it will enable a truer appreciation of these writers' significance. Rowson and Brooke are included in the 2006 *Transatlantic Romanticism* anthology, where they are joined by canonical British Romantics who sometimes incorporated North American subject matter, including William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats and Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and by natives and residents of the United States and Canada such as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Margaret Fuller and Susanna Moodie.

As this heterogeneous selection suggests, there is more than one route by which authors come to be labelled 'transatlantic'. They may write about North American subjects, with or without having crossed the Atlantic in either direction (though British writers who fall into this category are more likely to have the transatlantic dimensions of their work called attention to as something remarkable); they may address the relationship between Britain and its once and current colonies explicitly; or they may have careers which enact a transatlantic trajectory, producing works that will go on to be claimed by different national literary canons as they themselves move from place to place. This last category is particularly fraught and subject to the vagaries of the history and politics of the locations involved; Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) may be about the United States, but it is rarely, if ever, described as an 'American' work in the way that Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, also written by a temporary resident, is accepted as part of the Canadian canon. An increased focus on transatlantic literary exchange has the potential to mediate between competing national literary chronologies in the interest of a more synchronic account of literary responses to the experience of transatlantic movement in the Romantic period in

different regions of the Atlantic world. This goes hand in hand with a mandate to bring attention to authors who have fallen through the gaps due to the discipline's historical focus on Anglo-American relations – and in particular, on a triumphalist republican narrative about the United States' successful achievement of a truly American literature, free of the confining influence of Britain in the literary as well as the political realm.

However, in spite of this critical shift, there is still a tendency on the part of critics who are not working specifically in the field of Canadian literature to identify British Romantic texts that mention North America as exclusively concerned with Britain's relationship with the United States. Two different readings of Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, in Tilar Mazzeo's 'The Impossibility of Being Anglo-American' and James Chandler's *England in 1819*, form a case in point that illustrates some of the consequences of excluding this other North American sphere of action and debate from consideration.

Barbauld's poem portrays Britain's complicity in the destruction and waste of life caused by the Napoleonic Wars as the beginning of its downfall as a dominant player on the world stage. In a time of such general upheaval, Barbauld's narrator asks, how could Britain expect 'still to sit at ease, / An island Queen amidst thy subject seas' (39–40)? The challenge to its global pre-eminence will come not from France but from 'The tempest blackening in the distant West' (60). In the short term, this alludes to the growing tensions between Britain and the United States which would lead to the outbreak of the War of 1812 in June of that year. But *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* takes a longer view, flashing forward to a vision of 'future American tourists who come to wander among the ruins of the now-ancient British Empire's great metropolis' (Chandler 119). This episode is the centrepiece of Chandler's argument that Barbauld's poem is a crucial text for understanding British Romanticism's preoccupation with

the concept of 'uneven development': she places the future Britain in the position occupied in 1811 by Ancient Rome, with the mantle of progress and modernity passing to North America. The ex-colony now becomes the centre, the place whose standards define 'the present moment', and its people travel back to Britain to visit the scenes of antiquity.

Chandler gives less attention to the preceding section of the poem, which makes it clear that the relationship between the British imperial centre and the scene of future North American greatness is being envisioned not simply as the eclipse of the former by the latter but as a passing of the torch, the continuation of a shared cultural inheritance:

> If westward streams the light that leaves thy shores,
> Still from thy lamp the streaming radiance pours.
> Wide spreads thy race from Ganges to the pole,
> O'er half the western world thy accents roll:
> Nations beyond the Apalachian hills
> Thy hand has planted and thy spirit fills:
> Soon as their gradual progress shall impart
> The finer sense of morals and of art,
> Thy stores of knowledge the new states shall know,
> And think thy thoughts, and with thy fancy glow . . . (79–88)

The image of a flourishing North America is not put forth to compound Britain's fall from grace, but to compensate for it. The movement of population is transmuted into an abstract 'streaming radiance', and Britain's cultural export is presented as the model to which these infant societies will naturally turn once they are in a position to do so. As Mazzeo puts it, 'while Barbauld's poem prophesies the collapse of Britain as a geographical or political nation, *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* imagines the continuity of an essentially British spirit through the processes of emigration and colonialism' (71). While Chandler sees *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* as emblematic of 'Romantic historicism', Mazzeo argues that the poem exemplifies the shifting definition of British cultural 'continuity' in the 1810s:

> On the one hand – and in keeping with the republican rhetoric of the 1790s that

> the poem evokes – America is represented as the site of utopian refuge, inhabited simultaneously by noble savages and by Britain's most philosophical sons. On the other hand, the poem also engages an attitude toward emigration and cultural identity that only emerged fully in the context of the War of 1812, an attitude in which Barbauld proposes that former colonial possessions become and transhistorically remain British. (71)

What is not in any doubt in either of these readings of *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* is that the poem deals exclusively with Britain's relationship with the young American republic, or as Chandler puts it, with 'The emerging anxieties in the Regency over Britain's imperial displacement by the expanding U.S. domain in North America' (119). Mazzeo's 'The Impossibility of Being Anglo-American', as its title makes clear, sets up a stark choice between two ideas about what happens to the English subject in the transition between home and the United States. Either there is a continuity of English cultural identity, or there is an utter negation of that identity, a 'degradation into the monstrous' (69); neither outcome can be described as 'transatlantic', which Mazzeo defines as an affiliation shared between the United States and Britain. There is no room here for a third option, for a consideration of a location in which the dream of cultural continuity does not come up against the stumbling block of the military hostilities and economic competition between the United States and Britain, but must wrestle with alterations to the emigrant's geographical, social and political positioning whose terms are less sharply defined. Mazzeo's argument is also explicitly limited to English identity: 'although Ireland and Scotland provided a vast number of emigrants to the United States, their relations to colonialism, and thus, to postcolonial America were considerably more ambiguous than those expressed by English Romantic writers' (60). This ambiguity is particularly in evidence in *Clan-Albin* and *Lawrie Todd*.

That Britain did, after all, retain political control over a large section of the North American continent is relevant to Chandler and Mazzeo's interpretations of *Eighteen Hundred*

and Eleven in that the poem's depiction of a New World inheritance of the best of British culture does not, as these two critics suggest, close off the possibility of applying its optimistic predictions to the North American portion of the British Empire as well as to the United States. It is true that Barbauld makes many explicit references to geographical features of the United States, including the Appalachians and the Missouri River; however, she also singles out two landmarks which Chandler unproblematically includes among the origin-places of 'American tourists' but which, in fact, lie on the US–Canadian border. These future tourists 'With duteous zeal their pilgrimage shall take / From the blue mountains, or Ontario's lake' (129–30), while the transatlantic transmission of English literature is imagined in this way:

> 'Old father Thames' shall be the Poets' theme,
> Of Hagley's woods the enamoured virgin dream,
> And Milton's tones the raptured ear enthrall,
> Mixt with the roar of Niagara's fall. (93–96)

To draw attention to the impossibility of definitively placing either Lake Ontario or Niagara Falls wholly within the United States is not to argue that Barbauld is 'really' referring to Canada throughout *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*. But the complete absence of Britain's remaining North American colonies from two separate analyses of a poem that takes the continuation of British cultural greatness in North America as its central subject is suggestive of a wider issue. A determination to read Romantic texts as expressive either of the Anglo-American dynamic or of a response to British imperialism, without allowing for the possibility that these discourses might still be intertwined after the watershed of American independence, can place these readings under strain. When 'transatlanticism' is defined solely in terms of the relations between competing Atlantic nation-states, it cannot take into account the fact that distinctions about Britishness and Americanness are complicated when Britishness is conceived as something that might also extend to North American territory.

Another instance of the occlusion of relationships or identities that fall outside of the Anglo-American binary appears in the entry on Robert Burns in the *Transatlantic Romanticism* anthology, which states that 'the legacy of his poetry is evident from Scotland to "some place far abroad, / Where sailors gang to fish for cod" [Cape Cod, Massachusetts]' (280). These lines are taken from *The Twa Dogs* and describe the likely origin of one of the dogs, Caesar, whose 'hair, his size, his mouth, his lugs, / Shew'd he was nane o' Scotland's dogs; / But whalpet some place far abroad, / Whare sailors gang to fish for cod' (lines 9–12). In short, he would appear to be a Newfoundland; there is certainly no breed of dog so clearly associated with Cape Cod.[1] The confidence with which Cape Cod is singled out as Burns's reference point, in an anthology otherwise dedicated to drawing out connections between different national and transnational literatures that a traditional, nation-based anthology could not make visible, highlights once again the fact that if a specific Canadian location is not explicitly named, an interpretation that fits within an Anglo-American framework will generally be made.

Clan-Albin: A Colonial Tale in an American Setting?

The final chapter of Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism*, 'The Abbotsford Guide to India', makes a similar geographical misidentification, but one which works in the opposite direction and suggests something rather more complex – that slips of this kind are often due to

[1] This misreading, in addition to being suggestive (or ironic) in the context of a transatlantic studies anthology, is also an outlier in relation to Burns scholarship. James Kinsley correctly identifies the dog as a Newfoundland in his commentary on the poem in the 1968 Oxford edition, and adds: 'the Newfoundland dog was introduced in Britain about this time' (1105). The 2001 Canongate edition, edited by Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg, also notes the presence of a 'newly fashionable Newfoundland' (14).

assumptions about what constitutes an 'American', 'Canadian', or more broadly 'colonial' narrative. Trumpener's summary of Christian Isobel Johnstone's 1815 novel *Clan-Albin* describes the fate of the clan after its eviction during the Highland Clearances as follows: 'transplanted to Canada, most clansmen are no longer able or willing to return to their old home' (266). They are replaced by veterans of the Napoleonic Wars while the Highlanders themselves create a second Glen-Albin in North America. As Trumpener puts it, 'Canada is at once the exile and the new home of traditional Scottish culture' (267).

This sets *Clan-Albin* firmly in the same camp as Francis Horner's article on Highland emigration in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1805, which advises cautiously that if Highlanders must leave their lands, as an inevitable though regrettable sacrifice to the economic progress of British society as a whole, then Canada would seem to offer the greatest scope for the preservation of their culture to be combined with the promotion of British interests in North America. He observes that 'a strong barrier should be formed, against the contagion of American sentiments, by a body of settlers whose manners and language are distinct' (199). If these 'distinct manners' are posited as the supreme antidote to 'American sentiments', it becomes even more important that the unproblematic continuation of Scottish identity should be seen to be possible in Canada but emphatically not in the United States, where one's previous regional affiliation and place in the British social hierarchy are cast off and disavowed.

The *Edinburgh*'s discussion of emigration demands the reconciliation of two competing claims to Highland space, the primordial link between the Highland community and a particular patch of land and the necessity of moving them somewhere else. The disjunctive effect of this demand is evident in a series of anecdotes in which evacuated spaces are

mysteriously refilled:

> A place, for example, has been pointed out upon the west coast by Mr Irvine, which, in 1790, contained 1900 inhabitants, of whom 500 emigrated the same year to America; in 1801, the same spot contained 1967, though it had furnished 87 men for the army and navy, and not a single stranger had settled in it. (193)

The simplest explanation for this feat of multiplication would be an increased birth rate among those left behind, but Horner goes on to confuse the issue somewhat: 'emigration does not necessarily imply a permanent diminution of local numbers, but, on the contrary, may leave resources for a larger increase of a different sort of inhabitants' (193). Who these new inhabitants are, precisely, and how they differ from their predecessors is left unclear in favour of a vision of peculiarly resilient Highland spaces, filling up again as quickly as they are emptied out, seemingly out of thin air. In *Clan-Albin*, Johnstone does provide an identity for the 'different sort of inhabitants' who appear at the end to replenish the population of Glen-Albin, accompanying the culmination of a traditional marriage-plot. While the romantic hero's story concludes with the (shocking) revelation that he is the long-lost heir and has, in fact, always belonged in the place in which he was thought to have been born by chance, the resolution of the emigration plot is achieved by providing an equivalent for what has been lost rather than recuperating it. The people of Glen-Albin fall victim to the Highland Clearances and emigrate to North America, at which point they disappear from the narrative, connecting with the main protagonists only by letter. At the end of the novel, the empty glen is repopulated not by its original inhabitants but 'by MACS of all clans and kindreds', predominantly soldiers who have fought alongside the novel's hero Norman Macalbin in the Napoleonic Wars, forging a new community based on shared tradition and experience in place of the old (557).

Complicating this process of substitution is the fact that the emigrants have, in the

meantime, created a duplicate Glen-Albin in North America: '"Had they then forgotten that dearer land over hills and far away?" Ah no . . . your clansmen still live in *Glen-Albin*, still rear their huts in friendly clusters' (557). They refuse the offer to return to their homeland not because they have renounced the traditions associated with the place, but because these traditions no longer depend on the original location for their meaning. This is not to say, however, that Highland culture is depicted as transcending spatial associations once it is detached from its original moorings. It is an essential point that the new settlement is another Glen-Albin, framed as a complete and unproblematic recompense for its people's forced migration.

The ease with which both Johnstone and Horner accept the possibility of transferring the meanings attached to a specific Highland space to a new, colonial location does not sit comfortably with the role the Highlands play in Enlightenment stadial theory, which depends heavily on the geographical location of Highland society – next to, but cut off from, the Lowlands – in order to draw conclusions about the relative temporal positioning of the two Scottish cultures. As Kenneth McNeil observes in *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760–1860* (2007): 'Proximity underlies the ambivalence of Scottish attitudes toward the Highlands, as the Highlander is the primitive who occupies a spatial and cultural position that is far yet not *too* far' (6). It would seem to follow from this that once physical proximity is no longer a factor, the relationship between the Highlander and the rest of the British nation will be altered in some fundamental way. Or put another way, if the Enlightenment theorisation of societal development is based upon 'transforming spatial distance into developmental time', in Katie Trumpener's phrase, then the specifics of that spatial distance must be essential to defining a culture's civilisational state (3). McNeil

expands on the inextricable connection between temporal and spatial location:

> In the Scottish Enlightenment stadial theory of human development, Highlanders were an anachronism, a people on the first rung of the ladder of social progress, sharing affinity with other contemporaneous 'primitives' around the globe while living adjacent to, and sometimes venturing into, the civil space of the modern nation. (4)

The question emigration poses is what happens when that adjacency and proximity are lost. When Highlanders move into a new territory, do they also move into a different stage of civilisation, or is the suitability of Upper Canada, in particular, linked to the 'primitive' nature of its original First Nations inhabitants, another society existing at a remove from the modern British state? McNeil's comment about the 'affinity' between Highlanders and 'contemporaneous "primitives"' would seem to suggest the latter solution. However, the *Edinburgh*'s understanding of emigration is quite different. Highlanders carry with them the cultural meanings produced by their adjacency to the modern British state; in fact, that adjacency is the root cause of emigration, bringing the Highlands into immediate contact with the dictates of British commerce. By the same token, the timeframe inhabited by the First Nations is not entered by the new settlers. The reviewer of Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* in 1822 considers both Highlanders' and First Nations' potential for progress, and remarks on the great differences he perceives between the two groups:

> It is certainly a striking and mysterious fact, that a race of men should thus have continued for ages stationary in a state of the rudest barbarism. That tendency to improvement, a principle that has been thought more than perhaps any other to distinguish man from the lower animals, would seem to be totally wanting in them. (267)

Highlanders may be culturally and linguistically other, slow in catching on to the benefits of agricultural improvement, but they are not portrayed as so incapable of change that they seem fated to die out, 'to fly at the approach of civilized man, and to fall before his renovating hand,

and disappear from the face of the earth' (268). The Native Americans' association with their native landscape ('those ancient forests which alone afford them sustenance and shelter') is as deep as the Highlanders', but unlike the Highlanders', it is not transposable to a new context.

The problem with citing *Clan-Albin* as a straightforward example of the colony as neutral field for the replication of peripheral British cultures is that where Johnstone's exiled clanspeople actually go is the Mohawk River Valley. This is not in Canada; it is in New York State. The clan's choice of destination is outlined thus:

> Many little colonies of Highlanders were scattered over the continent of America. One of these little knots of clansmen was now settled on the banks of the Mohawk river. It consisted of people who had been driven out from Kenanowen and Dunulladale, the south side of Glen-Albin, many years before this period . . . The affections of the Highlanders naturally pointed to the spot inhabited by their kinsmen and former friends; and as some rich, though uncultivated land was still on sale, Allan was sent out to America as the agent of the emigrants. (57)

Allan is a recently-returned soldier who has been fighting in the British army in North America – the novel begins at some point during the American Revolutionary War with the birth of the hero Norman Macalbin, and concludes in 1809 with Norman's return from his own army service in the Peninsular War. The clan's eviction occurs when Norman is a child, probably in the late 1780s. Trumpener observes that 'What preoccupies Johnstone is the relationship between the homogenous traditional societies of Ireland and the Highlands and the heterogeneous, multiethnic collectivity of the British Army, as it fights imperial wars at home and abroad' (263). She points out that the majority of the novel is taken up not with the emigrant clan, who exit the scene early on, but with following Norman and his fellow soldiers through Ireland and the Iberian peninsula. The movement of the plot around the fringes of the British nation makes *Clan-Albin* a key text for Trumpener's argument about the significance of transcolonial relationships and comparisons:

> An empire lives from its peripheries; its economy and trade depend on their underdevelopment in relationship to the imperial center. Yet the large-scale social displacements that result from such economic unevenness, and from the need to anchor colonial authority with imperial armies and administrations, bind the peripheries to one another, as well as to the center. (244)

Therefore, the possibility that Allan might assist his clan to move to the nation whose formation he has recently been fighting to prevent, rather than continuing the process of transperipheral exchange, is at odds with Trumpener's thesis.

Crucially, however, the fact that *Clan-Albin* is a novel with an American dimension, not a Canadian one, does not mean that Trumpener has mischaracterised the ultimate end of the clan's emigration. They do indeed aim to find a 'new home of traditional Scottish culture': 'When the first paroxysms of grief had abated, this insulated community began to think of their future destination, and means of life . . . A condition similar to that which habit had rendered dear, and almost necessary, appeared most desirable' (57). In fact, the head of the clan, Lady Augusta, echoes Horner's opinion that the Highlander's identity will be less threatened by a move across the Atlantic than by entry into Lowland commercial society. Horner argues that 'Accustomed to possess land, to derive from it all the comforts they enjoy . . . they most naturally consider themselves as born to a landed rank, and can form no idea of happiness separate from such a possession. Contrasted with such a situation, that of a day-labourer in a manufacturing town appears contemptible and degrading' (192). In her turn, Lady Augusta believes that:

> The present generation of Highlanders could never be made manufacturers, and her generous heart revolted at the idea of her high-spirited countrymen sinking into the abject condition of hewers of wood, and drawers of water to a people they had hitherto shunned and despised. – America opened her arms to the exiles of Scotland! (58)

What *Clan-Albin* does not do, quite simply, is conclude that Canada is the arena in which that

goal can best be achieved. It may seem plausible, in spite of the earlier mention of the Mohawk Valley, that 'America' in the above passage might denote North America as a whole, as in James Laidlaw's letter to James Hogg, or, arguably, in Barbauld. However, this point is quickly clarified:

> Lady Augusta indulged a well-founded and cheering hope, that the honest pride of property, the advantage of a rich soil, and above all, a free government, would, in that land of the exile, abundantly compensate her expatriated clansmen for all they were forced to abandon. (58)

This mention of 'a free government' as the single most important consideration makes it clear that the location the clansfolk have chosen is not preferred only because of its proximity to friends and relatives. The 'America' that 'opens her arms' in this case is, specifically, the American republic. The idea that the benefits of this government are not, after all, diametrically opposed to the preservation of Highland culture is reinforced at the end of the novel, when the emigrants respond to 'the general invitation given by their chief, to all who pined to return' overwhelmingly in the negative (557).

> Though he still welcomed all that pined to return, he exhorted those who were happily settled to remain in peace. And they did so . . . The fields which these small proprietors sowed in hope, they reaped in peace; each sat under his own vine and fig-tree, free from capricious annoyance. Their decided aversion to foreign alliances preserved their ancient habits and their national faith. The pride of Highland descent was grafted on the vigorous stem of American independence; it was still the golden age of the colony. (557)

It is possible that this use of the word 'colony' might have been a factor in Trumpener's conclusion that the clan has settled in Canada. But the term refers here to the small, still-insular Glen-Albin community: 'the elders of the colony' are mentioned, for example (557). The reference to 'foreign alliances' once again echoes the sentiments of Horner's piece, with its vision of Highland settlers as a bulwark against America not because of their adherence to British cultural values, but because of a certain immutable otherness that insulates them

against outside influences of any kind.

The fact that the novel not only chooses the United States as its emigrants' destination, but attaches meaning to that choice of location beyond the mere fact of the presence of friends and relatives, is consistent with the position Johnstone takes on the issue of emigration slightly later in her career, as editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. She and her husband John Johnstone merged their previous journal, *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, with *Tait's* in 1834. They had already run several other periodicals, beginning with the *Inverness Courier* in 1817 before moving to the capital in the 1820s and establishing the *Edinburgh Chronicle*, followed by the *Schoolmaster*, then *Johnstone's* in 1832. In all of these ventures, although John Johnstone was the printer, co-proprietor and 'nominal editor', Christian was generally acknowledged to be primarily responsible for editorial matters while John occupied himself with the business side of the concern.[2] She also wrote a large proportion of the content herself.[3] As a result of this level of editorial control – unprecedented for a female participant in the periodical scene at this time – it is possible to identify Johnstone not only with the literary tone of her magazines but with their analyses of current events.[4] As Pam Perkins puts it, 'she was able to help shape the presiding voice of the magazines in question, rather than merely having to make a place for her work in a relatively heterogeneous mass of other anonymous writing' (251). In fact, as Perkins points out, *Tait's* positioned itself as a (Radical) political periodical first and foremost, contrary to the *Wellesley Index*'s assertion that 'under Johnstone's editorship, *Tait's* "became primarily a literary magazine"' (254).

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[2] Pam Perkins gives a detailed account of Johnstone's literary career in *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.

[3] The *Wellesley Index* puts the figure at almost 20 per cent of the magazine's articles between 1832 and 1846, over 400 pieces in total.

[4] According to the *Wellesley Index*, Johnstone 'was, in fact, the only woman journalist to edit a major Victorian periodical before the 1860's'.

A great deal of that political content throughout the years 1837 and 1838 is devoted to discussing the unrest in Upper and Lower Canada. *Tait's* follows the course of events assiduously, first reporting on the increasing political and public tension in the Political Register for December 1836: 'It is evident that matters are approaching to a crisis; and the sooner the terms of an amicable separation are arranged it will be the better for all parties. No one, we presume, is sufficiently insane to wish to retain Canada in its allegiance by force, even were the attempt likely to be attended with success' (820). The Political Register for June 1837 makes it doubly clear where the magazine's sympathies lie, prophesying 'an end to the connection between Canada and the mother country; and no colony had ever a more justifiable cause for dissevering the connexion' (407). The imminent outbreak of hostilities in Lower Canada is marked by an article entitled 'Canada: Standing Armies' in November 1837, and an article by James Johnston Darling, published in February 1838, is vehement in its defence of the involvement of American volunteers on the side of the rebels. The possibility that the United States might profit from the turmoil in the British North American provinces to advance their own interests in the region is a great cause for concern in the Tory press. Darling, however, welcomes that possibility: 'it is the interest of every native American, that no spot of that great continent shall be a servile dependency of any European state' (67).

The possibility that Canada might soon go the way of the United States, either through absorption into that nation (which was the fear during the War of 1812) or through full independence (which is the hope of the *Tait's* observers in 1837), is one reason for the *Edinburgh Review*'s reluctance to invest too much energy in advocating for emigration to Canada or for a more central position for the colony in British foreign policy. In *Tait's*, as in the *Edinburgh*, discussions of emigration are open to the possibility that it might be in the best

interests of the individual emigrant to move to a location outwith the British Empire. However, *Tait's* differs from the *Edinburgh* in that the idea of a Canada that would be, essentially, more like the United States, politically autonomous and disconnected from Britain, is not cause for diminished interest in the region as a possible emigrant destination. For example, July 1833's Literary Register contains short reviews of two texts that feature in the previous chapter of this thesis, Radcliff's *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada*, recommended as 'full of interest to those who are thinking of changing their country', and Francis Evans' *Emigrant's Directory* (535). Although pro-American rather than pro-imperial in its outlook, the magazine does not insist upon a connection between these views and the needs of working-class emigrants. The reviewer does believe, however, that what are also needed are emigrant's guides for the 'Western territory, and unsettled parts of the United States. It is of far more importance that our countrymen, who are forced to emigrate, should settle where they can do so with most advantage, than that they should fix upon Canada, for no better reason that that it is still a British colony, and a bulwark of our empire' (536).

That idea also finds expression in *Clan-Albin*, as Lady Augusta reflects that if her clan must leave, it does not matter whether they stay within the British Empire or not – and if they will fare better elsewhere, then that is where they should go.

> Lady Augusta wished to see her countrymen remain in their own land, to live and prosper in its prosperity; or, if necessary, to die in its defence. But this was not permitted; and she conceived it of more importance that men should live in freedom and in comfort, than in this, or that degree of latitude. (58)

It might be tempting to put this conclusion down to Christian Isobel Johnstone's personal political radicalism. However, a similar refusal to create rigid distinctions between the 'American' story of transformation and the 'Canadian' story of British cultural continuity will be considered in the following section in relation to *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, by John

Galt, who was not only a Tory but was intimately concerned in the promotion of Canadian settlement; hardly a combination that suggests blind pro-Americanism. Johnstone's emigrants leave Britain so that they can stay the same; the 'America' of *Clan-Albin*, therefore, cannot be the United States of America in Trumpener's analysis, because a particular kind of plot, a narrative of cultural preservation and replication in the New World, is so closely associated with the discourse of British imperial expansion that it is possible to assume that *Clan-Albin* is about emigration to Canada even though it is not – it seems to be that kind of story.

Lawrie Todd, *Bogle Corbet* and the Canadian Canon

On his return to Britain after three years as Secretary of the Canada Company, John Galt published a pair of novels whose protagonists emigrate to North America and involve themselves in the business of land development. *Lawrie Todd* (1830) takes place in New York State while *Bogle Corbet* (1831) is set in Galt's own former sphere of operation, the province of Upper Canada. These two texts have had radically divergent critical afterlives. *Bogle Corbet* has come into a position of some prominence in Canadian literary studies, brought back into print by the New Canadian Library in the 1970s and playing an important role in Katie Trumpener's groundbreaking *Bardic Nationalism* in 1997. *Lawrie Todd*, on the other hand, has no such status within an American canon that has no need to refer to a novel published in 1830 by a Scot who never lived in the United States as any kind of foundational literary monument. The status of *Bogle Corbet* as a significant piece of early Canadian literature also has consequences for *Lawrie Todd*, as the latter novel is made to bear the load of representing the American alternative to Bogle Corbet's experience of Canadian settlement.

Lawrie Todd's relationship to the United States begins in the 1790s; his life story is tied

tightly to the anti-Jacobin paranoia of that time and to the idea of the American republic as a potential haven for British radicals. His father sends him to the United States because he has got himself into trouble with the law through his involvement with a reformist society: 'I, with that brave confidence in myself which has been so often a staff in my hand in the perils of tribulation, could do no less than become one of the friends of the people' (1: 22).[5] He himself remarks in later life that: 'It is true, that America had been to me a land of refuge; verily, a land flowing with milk and honey, commended to my affection by the experience of much kindness, and hallowed in the petitions of my nightly orisons, for many blessings of which it had been the Goshen' (3: 199).[6] However, these blessings are less connected to freedom from political persecution than to economic opportunity and, to a lesser degree, class mobility. Lawrie does not remain wedded to his youthful radical ideals, and his affection for his adopted country, where he prospers first in trade and later as a land speculator and driving force of the development of two towns in upstate New York, is not based on any appreciation for its democratic political institutions.

This is worth noting because when *Lawrie Todd* is analysed in literary criticism at all, it is usually in terms of the novel's relationship with, and specifically, its differences from, Galt's other emigration novel, *Bogle Corbet*, in which the protagonist moves to Upper Canada

[5] The Scottish Friends of the People was closely associated with the London Corresponding Society. Both were radical organisations whose aim was parliamentary reform, particularly the extension of the suffrage to the working class. A number of its leaders were tried for sedition in 1793, and the five 'Scottish Martyrs', of whom the most prominent was Thomas Muir, were transported to Botany Bay.

[6] The fact that the biblical reference that Lawrie chooses is Goshen, the land where the Hebrews lived during their time in Egypt, has some ambivalent overtones. Although his attitude towards the United States is overwhelmingly positive, he does not settle there permanently but returns to Scotland later in life – just as Goshen was not the Hebrews' homeland but a place of temporary exile. However, the relative popularity of 'Goshen' as a place name in the United States (28 towns, as well as many townships and one county) suggests that it had primarily positive connotations for many settlers.

and sets himself up as a proprietorial community leader in the backwoods. The two men's contrasting personalities – Lawrie optimistic, hard-headed and outgoing, Bogle melancholy and abstracted, fundamentally unsuited to the world of business – are attributed to their function as representative figures, reflective of the manner in which American and Canadian settlement was carried out.

According to Elizabeth Waterston's '*Bogle Corbet* and the Annals of New World Parishes' (1985), the events described in *Bogle Corbet* contain within them the seeds of something inherently Canadian, something that suggests a relationship between the settlement of the land and a nascent Canadian national character. 'The desire to chop down trees, dam up the river, and above all to bind human lives together like a "bundle of sticks" illustrates a set of attitudes which would become very common in Canada – attitudes which Northrop Frye characterizes as marking a "garrison mentality"' (58). Frye coined the term in his conclusion to the *Literary History of Canada* in 1965, as the crux of his argument that Canadian literature, in its role as a record of 'what the Canadian imagination has reacted to' (822), is linked inextricably to the geographical and social patterns of the country's settlement:

> Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier', separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting – such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality. (830)

Frye contrasts this internalisation of the 'frontier', a constant sensation of being surrounded by intimidating natural forces, with the American conception of the frontier as a westward-moving line that individuals can choose to chase or retreat from. For Frye, and for Margaret Atwood, who posited the recurrent trope of survival as a modification of the garrison

mentality concept in *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* in 1972, such overarching metaphors are a way of shifting the criteria for the existence of a literary tradition away from towering figures and great classics, an arena in which Canadian literature, it seemed, could not compete. In 'Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World' (2012), McNeil points out that 'Galt's reassessment in the mid-1970s was largely a Canadian affair, part of a larger cultural nationalist movement in Canada, in reaction to the cultural domination of its southern neighbor, that sought afresh the antecedents for the nation's own literary historiography' (299). While there has been some scholarly interest in the importance of Scottish influences in the development of Canadian literature,[7] what makes Galt a peculiar case is that the reclamation of *Bogle Corbet* has often attempted to identify an isolated Canadian element in the oeuvre of an author otherwise classified as Scottish.

Frye does not entirely overlook the risk of insisting too much on the aspects of Canadian culture and literature that might meet certain criteria of inherent Canadianness, unaffected by the realities of Canada's complicated imperial history and asymmetrical relationship with the neighbouring United States. Yet 'here another often deplored fact also becomes an advantage: that many Canadian cultural phenomena are not peculiarly Canadian at all, but are typical of their wider North American and Western contexts' (822). This can be an advantage in Frye's view because it means that 'The reader of this book, even if he is not Canadian or much interested in Canadian literature as such, may still learn a good deal about the literary imagination as a force and function of life generally' (822). A lack of absolute cultural

[7] See Waterston, *Rapt in Plaid: Canadian Literature and Scottish Tradition* (2001). The Scottish-Canadian connection (by way of the complicated negotiation of Britishness) is also a major facet of Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism*. Most recently, Victoria Woolner's University of Glasgow thesis examines 'Scottish Romanticism and its impact on early Canadian Literature' (2014).

specificity and separateness, for Frye, holds the promise of a relatively unimpeded access to the universal. More recent developments in Canadian literary historiography and transatlantic studies, however, have repurposed this notion that the identification of peculiarly national literary characteristics will ultimately be prone to distortion or exaggeration, to allow the flow of cultural and literary influence between Canada and the rest of North America, or the rest of the British Empire, to re-enter the picture.

One cultural phenomenon that is not peculiarly Canadian, of course, is the clearing of land and establishment of townships in previously forested regions of North America. *Lawrie Todd* is also about chopping down trees, damming up rivers and forming close-knit communities – in the United States. Waterston accounts for this potential wrinkle by arguing that what really makes *Bogle Corbet* a Canadian text is not its plot, since that of *Lawrie Todd* is rather similar in its bare outlines, but its tone. The American story is optimistic while its Canadian counterpart is shot through with doubt and instability.

> Into the account of the founding of an American town, Galt aptly inserted colorful details of eccentric characters and energetic action. The Canadian version has a more ironic tone. The townsmen are small-minded, the sense of community is fragile. There is a colonial awareness that the real centre of life is far away. (59–60)

Waterston also spearheaded the New Canadian Library's 1977 partial reissue of *Bogle Corbet*, which comprises the sections relating to Bogle's emigration to Canada only, leaving out his career as an intermittently successful merchant in Glasgow and London, and trips to Jamaica and the Highlands which play an important role in determining the future course of his life. The tagline on the cover describes Bogle Corbet as 'the first and still typical Canadian antihero'. This is not a claim that Galt's novel was actually an influence on the creators of later antiheroes – given that this was *Bogle Corbet*'s first twentieth-century edition, that would

be highly improbable. What this idea boils down to, then, is that *Bogle Corbet* represents an early example of literature written in Canada, or about Canada, beginning to take on the tincture of its environment and of the specific nature of Canada's colonial society, a point at which literature becomes melded with 'national character'.

Frye's garrison mentality outlasts the presence of actual garrisons, forming a psychological and social structure that feeds into literature: 'In the earliest maps of the country the only inhabited centres are forts, and that remains true of the cultural maps for a much later time' (830). Similarly, Waterston sees the relationship between Galt and later writers not in terms of verifiable influence but as the inauguration of a particular combination of form and content which will continue to be selected by writers as the mode best suited to capturing their environment in writing, even though that environment may no longer really resemble the one Bogle Corbet encounters in the early nineteenth century:

> in this novel John Galt found a form and a tone which not only caught his own experiences in small-town life in Canada, but which have also remained appropriate for subsequent Canadian treatments of the same theme. Many later Canadian writers, from Stephen Leacock and L.M. Montgomery to Alice Munro and Margaret Laurence, would voice their own 'annals of the parish' in a form similar to Galt's. (57)

For both Frye and Waterston the Canadianness of certain literary forms, or of certain uses of genre, tone or plot, is strongly determined by the circumstances surrounding English Canada's settlement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to such a degree that the historical conditions of that time period are, essentially, carried forward in a sublimated, subconscious form.

More recent work on Canadian literary history has largely moved away from Northrop Frye's garrison mentality, Margaret Atwood's trope of survival and other such thematic explications of the peculiarly Canadian characteristics of the nation's literature. In a chapter

on ‘Migrations, multiple allegiances, and satirical traditions’ in the *Cambridge History of Canadian Literature*, for example, Marta Dvorák states her intention to address ‘the modes and strategies which make Canadian writing distinctive, yet position it within a cultural continuum and a transnational perspective’ (48–49). The key operation performed by early English-Canadian works like Frances Brooke’s *Emily Montague* or Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s Sam Slick stories is, in her analysis, ‘the slow process of identity construction and cultural differentiation’ necessitated by ‘the triangular relations of the Canadian colony with the neighboring United States as well as Great Britain’ (48; 63). Katie Trumpener’s influential readings of *Bogle Corbet*, both in *Bardic Nationalism* and in a more recent chapter in *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature* (2011), are also far less invested in identifying qualities in the novel that set it definitively apart from the British and American literary traditions than in following through on the implications of what Waterston describes above as the ‘colonial awareness that the centre of life is far away’. This means that Trumpener brings the other stopping points in the trajectory of Bogle Corbet’s life back into the foreground, making this transcolonial movement the phenomenon that determines the significance of Canada as final narrative resting place.[8]

In *Bardic Nationalism* Bogle is less typical Canadian antihero than a type of the imperial subject. Due to Trumpener’s interpretation of *Bogle Corbet* as a kind of anti-Waverley novel, a text which reveals the fractured, compensatory nature of imperial endeavours, Bogle’s character traits and narrative arc become intensely representative:

Given Corbet’s history of political doubt, his traumatic personal bankruptcy, and

[8] Bogle’s wife, who is prone to verbal infelicities, observes that they are going ‘to our long home’ when they leave England for Canada. Bogle ‘could have wished she had employed a fitter phrase’ but does not contradict the general sentiment (2: 247).

> the moral bankruptcy he feels in Jamaica, in London's Anglo-Indian community, and in a rapidly-changing Scotland, Upper Canada represents not so much a personal fresh start as a last chance for the entire imperial system. (281)

The placement of Bogle's emigration within the novel, right at the end after all other avenues have been exhausted, contributes to the symbolism: 'With its passage to Canada in the third volume, the novel offers not so much a new beginning as a restaging of all of its political and economic issues within a fresh colonial context' (281). One slight check to this reading is that while it is true that Bogle does not succeed in making a fortune, upending pre-existing class structures or doing anything particularly new, this is not really his intention in moving to Canada. Rather, he wants to find a place of retreat where his family can preserve a certain social position which their failing finances would not allow for at home. This may be a capitulation, but it never claims to be anything else.

For Trumpener, Galt is part of a current of Scottish Romantic fiction that she opposes to the 'Abbotsford' ideal of empire – that is, to a consoling vision, derived from the works of Walter Scott, of British imperialism as a structure that can compensate Scots for the loss of their political autonomy, co-opting and preserving the uniqueness of peripheral, regional identities. However, one risk attached to viewing Galt, the enthusiastic promoter of colonial land schemes, as primarily an opponent of triumphalist imperialism is that it may overstate the extent to which *Bogle Corbet* itself is critical of its protagonist and his views on how best to run a colonial settlement. This is a question that has not produced a critical consensus. One passage in particular, a conversation between Bogle and one of the group of working-class Glaswegians who lease land from him in exchange for several hours' labour per week on the construction of the township's infrastructure, has been interpreted in several completely disparate ways.

Bogle's tenants feel they should be permitted to exchange the lots that have been assigned to them for land along the roads they have built, so that they too can benefit from the value their improvements have added to Bogle's property. Bogle immediately shuts the proposition down:

> 'Angus, I had thought you not wanting in common sense: when a weaver in the Gorbals, had you any right to the webs you were employed to work?'
>
> 'But there's a wide difference, Sir, between the Gorbals and this wild country, which was all ta'en from the Indians, who have the best right to the land, if anybody has a right.' (3: 46)

Bogle then reminds him that '"the King's law is here as well as in the old country"' and therefore Angus has no right to expect any aspect of social relations to be different: '"I can assure you that I am as little disposed to indulge covetousness in Canada as I would have been in Glasgow, had you pretended such a right to any property of mine there"' (3: 47). Angus's invocation of the former possessors of Bogle's land, however, is a reminder that while the emigrants' relationship to the British state is (allegedly) unchanged, it is a continuity founded on far more uncertain ground.

Elizabeth Waterston cites this passage as an example of the precariousness and isolation of the new settlement, and of the exile's nostalgia for home:

> The townsmen are small-minded, the sense of community is fragile. There is a colonial awareness that the real centre of life is far away: one older man says, 'There's a wide difference, Sir, between the Gorbals and this wild country'; others are 'ay threepin' of Glasgow.' (59–60)

However, Waterston omits the conclusion that the man, Angus McQuestin, draws from the fact that he has exchanged the Gorbals for the backwoods, as well as the context in which the difference between the two locations is being discussed. The elderly Glaswegian is, in fact, making the case for a change in the economic and social structure of the new township which would give the working-class emigrants more control over their economic future. In

'Advancement, Moral Worth, and Freedom: The Meaning of Independence for Early Nineteenth-Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada' (2001), Michael E. Vance cites the passage in full but reads Bogle as a mouthpiece for Galt's opinions on colonisation, and Angus as a figure of fun:

> Time and time again, Galt has Corbet overcoming the Glasgow weavers' predilection for independence, whether to break out from the village settlement and establish themselves on their own or balk at the communal duties sent down by Corbet. Galt's account was clearly designed to hold these attitudes up for ridicule, as when he has one Gorbals weaver demand more favorable land in exchange for some of Corbet's own with the claim that 'there's a wide difference, Sir, between the Gorbals and this wild country, which was all ta'en from the Indians, who have the best right to the land, if any body has a right.' (169)

Vance's equation of the protagonist's perspective with that of the author overlooks the fact that Bogle is depicted elsewhere as highly fallible and rather paranoid. More importantly, however, it is not at all apparent that Angus's argument – that Bogle's 'ownership' of land is rather less well-supported by history and precedent in Upper Canada than in Scotland – is foolish, or that Galt intends it to be seen as such.

Trumpener, on the other hand, interprets the scene as a clear indictment of Corbet: 'In the economic organization of the settlement, the Jacobin settlers are betrayed by the "gentleman magistrate," whom they once perceived as a sympathetic fellow-traveller' (285). This is in line with her overall view that in the course of his emigration arc, 'Corbet becomes a vocal defender of empire and of the British order' where before he had been rather a passive pawn, buffeted around between the West Indies, Scotland and London (281). In this interpretation *Bogle Corbet* is about the tragic failure of the latest imperial project, the settlement of Upper Canada, to produce new results. It also means, however, that the novel must be read as shifting rather dramatically from presenting Bogle's heavily ironic, self-critical account of his early life and mercantile career, to ironising a newly oblivious Bogle

himself, now become the villain of the piece. It might be simpler to conclude that the novel does not entirely dissent from Bogle's opinions on the need to preserve a respect for private property and to maintain the social primacy of those who provide capital – especially in light of Galt's own involvement with the Canada Company.

This is borne out by another dispute between Bogle and a recalcitrant Glaswegian, this time about the relative merits of Canada and the United States. James Peddie, the unofficial spokesman for the Glaswegian contingent as they make their way westwards to settle on Bogle's property, is swayed by the attractions of the American republic: '"we have a notion that we'll make a better o't in their free country, than by living in the hot-water of a constant controversy here, like the other misgoverned inhabitants of Canada"' (3: 19). He continues, '"this gentleman has been telling us that every residenter in the States has the privilege of a hand in the Government, which, considering what we have suffered from the want of that at home, ye will alloo is a fine thing"' (3: 19). As ever, Bogle does not struggle greatly against this opposition and is prepared to let events take their course: 'I perceived it was of no use to argue with him, though he was regarded as the orator of the party. I saw, indeed, that he was leavened with the radical leaven, and like all those who are so, though not unplausible, self-willed and witless at bottom' (3: 20).

'Common sense' ultimately prevails at the instigation not of Bogle but of a young carpenter named Andrew Gimlet, and everyone switches back to the Canadian side except the Peddies, whose defection is ridiculed. '"We'll hear of you in the newspapers," cried Gimlet, as the boat pushed off: "yon will be a prime speech that ye'll make in Congress some day!"' (3: 22). Later on, in a chapter entitled 'The Repentant Prodigal', James Peddie returns from the United States, where he has been unsuccessful. He has also been cured of his

republicanism – '"I'm no thinking it's a vera commodious thing for a laborous man to be overly political"' (3: 208) – and declares that he '"hae come back to the King's dominions, which is the next thing to a native land"' (3: 210). This is hardly a pessimistic indictment of Upper Canada. Neither does the novel straightforwardly denounce others who choose the United States, however. As Robert Irvine puts it, 'the subsequent narrative emphasizes that the victory here is not a political one, of loyalty to the crown over prospective American citizenship, but of economic self-interest over the appeal of politics as such', as Bogle's earlier ally Gimlet eventually takes the step of departing for the United States himself (6). Crucially, he does this for practical, rather than political, reasons; he can make more money as a house carpenter there than as a farmer in Stockwell. Bogle is outspoken in his endorsement of that decision:

> to the tradesman, the man of skill, the State of New York is, without question, far preferable, simply because it is more populous, enterprising, and more thickly settled with manufacturers and merchants. The artisan has indeed but slender means of bettering his condition in Canada; to the agricultural labourer, however, it is indeed a land of promise, and will be so for many years. (3: 211)

Bogle Corbet presents a more complex picture than the one provided in most emigrant's guides, which do not generally acknowledge the possibility that anyone might be economically better off in the United States – or that this could ever compensate them for the miseries of republican government. On the other hand, by rhetorically detaching unfettered economic opportunity from any hint of democratic political aspiration the novel is, effectively, fulfilling the Canadian emigrant's guide's *raison d'être*.

As well as the New Canadian Library's marketing of *Bogle Corbet* as a literary progenitor, the aspect of the edition that has received most critical attention is, understandably, the drastic abridgement which excises everything not related directly to the

Canadian portion of Bogle's life. This text begins about halfway through the original second volume, in the wake of Bogle's decision to emigrate, and follows him on the transatlantic voyage out to the tract of land in Upper Canada which he purchases, divides up then leases out to working-class Scottish emigrants. That editorial decision has been roundly condemned in more recent criticism for placing the novel's depiction of Canada in a position of false isolation. Trumpener attributes oversimplified readings of the text to the truncated 1977 edition: 'Apparently working from this abridgement – and often conflating Galt with his narrator – the novel's few subsequent commentators have read it as an affirmative account of imperial growth, as a settler colony transplants Old World virtues into a new colonial situation' (278). McNeil views the abridgement of the New Canadian Library edition as a victory for narrow literary nationalism over the 'wider view' of 'a transatlantic archipelago, linked via a network of economic and cultural exchange in which disparate cultures become mutually constituted' provided by the full text of *Bogle Corbet* (301).

Purely in plot terms, this editorial choice results in several jarring non-sequiturs, as characters known to Bogle in Britain reappear in the Canadian backwoods with the original circumstances in which they were introduced unknown to the New Canadian Library reader. For example, in the novel's second volume Bogle befriends another intending emigrant, a Highland captain named Dungowan, while travelling in the Highlands. As a result, the ground is prepared for Dungowan to come and settle in Bogle's new town of Stockwell, while in the New Canadian Library edition he arrives with no explanation of how Bogle knows him or why he has come to Canada. The visit of Bogle's former business partner, Mr Possy, who drops by on his way to view Niagara Falls, reads even more oddly without previous knowledge of the fact that their joint failure as a Glasgow mercantile concern is one of the

catastrophes that set Bogle on the meandering downward trajectory that has ultimately led him to the backwoods of Canada.

Most significantly, the 1977 edition also omits Bogle's meeting with Lawrie Todd himself, an event that incorporates the earlier novel into the world of *Bogle Corbet* as a piece of non-fiction. While he is mulling over the idea of emigrating to preserve his family's dwindling fortune, Bogle benefits from 'the advice of a shrewd Scotchman, recently from America: one Mr Lawrie Todd, to whom I was introduced as an intending emigrant, who had not fixed on his particular destination. He has since published some account of himself, and of his adventures and experience as a settler in the woods of the Genesee Country' (2: 181). The loss of the intertextual link between Galt's two emigrant novels also obscures an important facet of the chronological relationship between *Bogle Corbet* and *Lawrie Todd*. When Bogle meets Lawrie, the latter has returned to Scotland from the United States and published his book. That is, the events of *Lawrie Todd* are over before Bogle's emigrant experience begins, and they have already been recorded and made public for the instruction of future emigrants, who will include Bogle among their number. It is made clear that not only will Bogle follow on from Lawrie chronologically, he ought also to take up the emigrant narrative at a slightly more advanced stage than Lawrie, the energetic, self-made trailblazer, had done. Bogle is advised by his former employee Eric Pullicate that:

> 'I would therefore, advise you, wherever ye settle, to pick your place, no' o'er far frae the howffs of civilization . . . A man of his condition and natural talent was very suitable in the Garden-of-Eden-state of a new settlement; but ye're one of a different order, and I'm thinking that the town of Judiville, or sic like as he left it, would be more to the purpose for a gentleman o' moderate means, than the awesome solitude of the wild woods, and wanchancy neighbourhood of bears and trees.' (2: 195)

A fact that is not explicitly mentioned by either Trumpener or McNeil is that, ironically,

cutting *Bogle Corbet* down to the volume and a half deemed 'Canadian' enough to contribute to the project of canon-building leaves out one of the most clear-cut expressions of the novel's thesis about Canada as an emigrant destination and what might differentiate it from the United States – or at least, what might make it more suitable for a particular kind of settler. The primary reason that Lawrie's case is not entirely comparable to Bogle's, and why Lawrie's example should not (or cannot) be followed in every detail, is that Bogle is 'of a different order'; he is 'a person of ordinarily genteel habits', as Galt's preface has it (1: 1). As a result, although Lawrie's information is valuable, and, in fact, generally applicable – 'I have no doubt he may have lessened many of our prospective difficulties, and taught me to avoid hardships which the stranger in the forest should be well prepared to encounter' – Bogle observes that Lawrie is 'not exactly qualified to instruct an emigrant of habits and wants similar to mine' (2: 181).

In spite of his passive, melancholic nature and the lack of enthusiasm with which he approaches his new life, Bogle is, by virtue of his class position and relative (though diminished) wealth, the kind of emigrant that Galt was eager to direct towards the province of Upper Canada. The key to turning the North American colonies from a drain on Britain's military and financial resources, or a mere receptacle for superfluous persons, into an asset to the empire was an injection of capital. One of the Bandana letters, 'Bandana on Emigration' (September 1826), expresses the hope that the Canada Company's endeavours will attract emigrants of the better sort to Upper Canada, since having their land ready-cleared will remove 'the greatest objection to emigration with persons of delicate habits in the possession of some little fortune, and accustomed to the minor luxuries of life' (476).

The implication of all of these definitions of the Canadianness of *Bogle Corbet* is that

Lawrie Todd's relatively smooth adjustment to his new circumstances, his worldly success and his placid, somewhat complacent acceptance of that success, must be understood as in some way inherently American, just as Bogle Corbet's more compromised, ambivalent narrative trajectory is a metonym for Canada's colonial situation. Yet the character of Lawrie himself proves a stumbling block to any such reading of the protagonist as an exemplification of the nascent 'American dream'. He does not view himself as an American at all and this conflict of interest becomes acute when, as the principal worthy of the new town of Judiville, he is encouraged to run for the state legislature. It is taken for granted by all that he will accept; only Lawrie's Scottish third wife understands and vocalises what makes him hesitant to enter American politics:

> '[H]ow it can be consistent with the zeal and truth of a Scottish heart, to abet councils that may be for the molestation of his native land, is beyond my feminine capacity to comprehend.'
>
> Now it was in the latter clause of this brief sentence that the source of my perplexity lay, for my conscience could not away with the thought of renouncing the right to claim paternity with Sir William Wallace and the brave old bald-headed worthies of the Covenant; my father's household gods, on whose altar, our lowly hearth, the incense of a special thanksgiving was every sabbath-evening offered to Heaven, for having sent them to redeem and sanctify 'our ancient and never-conquered Kingdom of Scotland.' (3: 198–99)

As always when he is thinking of home or describing his fellow Scots, Scotticisms creep back into Lawrie's writing ('could not away with'). And it is to specifically Scottish reference points that he declares his allegiance: the medieval wars of independence against England; the Covenanters and the Presbyterian church more broadly (in the memory of the 'sabbath-evening' in his father's house). However, any idea that this emphasis on local Scottish affiliations occludes the question of loyalty to Britain as a whole is complicated by his wife's concern that participation in American politics may involve Lawrie in decisions that run counter to Britain's economic and political interests. Nevertheless, at the political meeting

where he is expected to declare his candidacy, Lawrie again appeals to his Scottish identity to prepare the way for his refusal to identify himself fully with the United States: 'Born in Scotland, and brought up in the religion and sentiments of my forefathers, I have always been proud of the Scottish name, and yet I stand here esteemed by you, who are of another nation' (3: 208).

The final clause of this remark is, on its face, completely untrue. Lawrie addresses the crowd as though they are all American-born and only he is a foreigner. Yet two other major characters, Lawrie's primary antagonists John Waft and Mr Bell the minister, are also Scots, as are many other minor figures in the town like the rival newspapermen. Of all the important inhabitants of the town of Judiville, only the second Mrs Todd's uncle, Zerobabel L. Hoskins, is actually a 'Yankee'. However, having rhetorically pitted his Scottishness against the American identity of the rest of the townsfolk – 'Do you believe that I am so superior to the sentiments of youth and the principles of manhood, that I would stand as an American by the American cause in a controversy between your country and my own old native land upon the point of honour?' – Lawrie does concede that his understanding of what it is to be an American may not be the only way of looking at the question (3: 209–10). He continues: 'It may seem to some of you that the land which contains a man's business, property, and family, is his country – and I know that this is a sentiment encouraged here – but I have been educated in other opinions' (3: 210). This sentiment is, indeed, rather common in radical writings that advocate the United States as a place of relief from the tyranny of the British government, to whom the common man ought to feel no debt of allegiance. Lawrie's phrasing contains echoes of a passage from Morris Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois*, which reads: 'My family and friends I love wherever I meet them: I have almost as many, and as strong ties of that sort, on

this as on the other side of the Atlantic – soon I hope to have more, and then this will be my country' (29).

This takes place when Lawrie has been in the United States for around twenty years; that is, during the War of 1812. This circumstance lends extra significance to his unwillingness to 'abet councils that may be for the molestation of [my] native land', and also gives some context for his belief that his Scottish cultural ties are irreconcilable with a transferral of political affiliation to the country where he has been happy and successful. Lawrie, the ex-radical turned patrician capitalist, is perhaps not typical of the inhabitants of Judiville: 'There were, however, certain countrymen of my own, as well as English and Irish, who did not approve the straightness and strictness of my doctrine; which I was grieved to learn, for flexibility in principle is a proof of brittleness in affection' (3: 213). This does not mean that Lawrie has a negative opinion of American society or manners. He is not aligned with British observers who disdainfully recount their interactions with the uncultured Americans. One of Lawrie's most consistent characteristics is pride in his ability to adapt to his circumstances and turn them to his (pecuniary) advantage, and so it is not surprising that his advice to a new arrival from England is that 'you will neither find comfort nor increase here, unless you conform, not only to the customs of those among whom your lot has been cast, but to their opinions and ways of thinking' (2: 238). However, Lawrie is not wholly identifying with those customs and opinions himself; rather, he occupies a position in between his American neighbours who 'have no ancestors' and are proud of it and the middle-class Englishman who believes he can command respect for his class position in his new surroundings and is set straight by Lawrie, a former artisan whose emotional, cultural and religious ties are determinedly Scottish (2: 238).

It is significant, then, that while *Bogle Corbet* ends with its protagonist still ensconced in the backwoods, Lawrie Todd becomes a back migrant, returning to settle in Scotland far wealthier and with a greatly enhanced social standing than when, as a very young man, he was unceremoniously dispatched to seek his fortune in the United States. This back migration, Jennifer Scott argues in 'The Business of Writing Home' (2013), is a key component of *Lawrie Todd*'s depiction of a United States where its hero can achieve everything he desires without sacrificing his Britishness. 'In the alternative political economy Galt suggests through *Lawrie Todd*, wealth is earned through land speculation ventures facilitated by land distribution companies. This wealth does not stay in America' (93). In Scott's view, Galt's novel is challenging the limitations of the ideologically driven understanding of an absolute difference between emigration to the United States and emigration to Canada, showing that 'Britons can work towards individual economic prosperity while maintaining loyalty to the Empire' – even in the United States (94).

Lawrie Todd and its 'Original'

Lawrie's refusal to view the narrative of his life as a story of transformed national loyalties, his conviction that a special providence has directed his steps and ensured him greater success than his fellows, and his final move back to Scotland all problematise his status as a representative emigrant, let alone as a confident American counterpoint to *Bogle Corbet*'s tentative Canadian colonist. Similarly, the issue which most discussions of *Bogle Corbet* do not broach at all, and which Trumpener approaches by equating Bogle's melancholic personality with a kind of imperial malaise, is the apparent difficulty of reconciling Bogle's personal oddities with his function as the protagonist of 'Galt's history of an exemplary

emigrant' (McNeil 302). If Bogle is truly intended to illustrate 'what a person of ordinarily genteel habits has really to expect in emigrating to Canada' (1: 1), as the novel's preface claims, then why does Galt build his narrative around someone who admits that 'more than once I have overheard it said of myself, he had always something odd about him' (1: 24)? Lawrie too is an unusual individual. He suffers from an unspecified wasting malady in childhood which leaves him permanently stunted in his growth and also has the effect of making him exceptionally observant and perceptive. 'Thus it came to pass, that the neighbours thought me, while I was yet but a perfect laddie, something by ordinar' (1: 5).[9]

One major difference between these two protagonists is that Lawrie's characterisation is tied to a specific pre-existing source. As Galt explains in *Lawrie Todd*'s preface: 'The principal portion of the first part is made up from a personal narrative, and the peculiarities of the narrator resemble those of a singular, but worthy man' (1: iii–iv). Grant Thorburn, a successful New York seed merchant, allowed Galt to make use of a short autobiographical manuscript that he had written in the 1820s. In the wake of the publication of Galt's novel, the 'real Lawrie Todd' also became an object of interest, mainly at the instigation of *Fraser's Magazine* which published the original manuscript, dated 1824, in two instalments as 'Mr Thorburn's MS – The Original Lawrie Todd' in June and July 1833. This was followed by Thorburn's inclusion in *Fraser's* 'Gallery of Literary Characters' series in December 1833, complete with a portrait that juxtaposes his signature with a subtitle identifying him as 'The Original "Lawrie Todd"'.

[9] 'By ordinar': out of the ordinary.



Fig. 8. ‘Gallery of Literary Characters. No. XLIII. Grant Thorburn, the Original “Lawrie Todd”.’ *Fraser’s Magazine* 8.48 (1833): 700

The final piece of promotion of Thorburn as the personification – or perhaps, the rival – of Galt's character came with the appearance of a volume-length autobiography in 1834, published once again by James Fraser. Entitled *Forty Years' Residence in America; or, the Doctrine of a Particular Providence exemplified in the life of Grant Thorburn, (the original Lawrie Todd,) Seedsman, New York*, this is a greatly expanded version of the original manuscript, with an introduction by Galt himself. After observing, rather testily, that 'Having just published my "Autobiography," I agree, of course, with Grant Thorburn in thinking that a man is best qualified to write his own memoirs' (v), Galt asserts that the 'original' of Lawrie Todd is in fact a more heightened, outlandish character than his fictional avatar. 'Lawrie may be, perhaps, a little curtailed in the fair proportion of those singularities which constitute so much of Mr Thorburn's right to distinction' (vi).

The introduction to the first instalment of 'Mr Thorburn's MS' in *Fraser's* is also scrupulous in establishing the degree to which the novel departs from the facts of Thorburn's life, though it focuses on events rather than character traits. '*Lawrie Todd* is in nine parts, and only the first part contains the history of Mr Thorburn. Here and there, anecdotes derived from him are interspersed through the narrative, but the first forty pages of the work comprehend the main part of his communication; and even in it there are fictitious additions introduced' (668). Galt preserves the details of Thorburn's background (which is why Lawrie is the rare Galt hero to hail from the East rather than the West of Scotland) and lifts several of the formative events of Lawrie's youth straight from Thorburn's manuscript. The two narratives definitively diverge when Lawrie leaves behind his New York seed business and embarks upon his next career as a land speculator in the Genesee country. Thorburn, whose autobiography identifies him as a 'seedsman', never made such a move. At this point, the

character is transplanted into a milieu which is not consistent with the life of his 'original', but which is presented as the culmination of the fictional emigrant's journey from artisan-turned-business owner to founder of communities and speculator in land.

This portion of the character's life is also where the novel's primary literary value resides, in the eyes of contemporary critics and of Galt himself. Galt designates the novel 'A description, which may be considered authentic, of the rise and progress of a successful American settlement, [which] cannot but be useful to the emigrant who is driven to seek a home in the unknown wilderness of the woods' (1: iv). He does not frame it as a useful primer for the aspiring New York businessman. *Lawrie Todd* is praised in the *North American Review* in October 1830, in a review which also focuses on the sections set in the woods and their informative potential: 'This book is replete with profound practical wisdom, conveyed in a vigorous and massy style . . . Fictions so written are more true than history, and no less instructive than experience' (380). This anticipates Galt's own justification of his brand of fiction and its appropriateness for describing the emigrant experience, made the following year in the preface to *Bogle Corbet*: 'Information given as incidents of personal experience is more instructive than opinion' (1: iii).

The *North American Review* singles out passages that provide information about the practical obstacles facing the emigrant, mentioning Lawrie's meeting with 'Mrs Micklethrift, on board a North River steam-boat, who gave him much good advice in regard to emigration, particularly recommending to emigrants not to encumber themselves with chests of drawers and other cumbrous articles of furniture in their migration into the wilderness' (384). The review also quotes a long passage from Lawrie's first adventures in the woods, when his shanty is swept away by a flood, and measures it against current events: 'The truth of this

description is but too well attested by the details given in the public prints of the recent disasters of a similar kind in Vermont' (387). However, this Boston periodical makes no connection between Lawrie's endeavours and a specifically American identity. When the reviewer signs off by recommending the novel as 'a lively and correct description of the details of the process by which the "woods are bowed beneath the sturdy stroke" of the adventurous emigrant, and the reign of civilisation extended over the vast solitudes of the unexplored wilderness' (396), this civilising mission is also not given any particular national inflection.

Although *Lawrie Todd* may not be an exemplary American narrative, its protagonist does see himself as an exemplar of a different kind. Another trait that Lawrie shares with Grant Thorburn is the conviction that his life has a special significance; that it should be interpreted not simply as the narrative of one individual's success through his own exertions but as a demonstration of the workings of providence. The title of Thorburn's autobiography makes this clear – his *Forty Years' Residence in America* is also the *Doctrine of a Particular Providence exemplified in the life of Grant Thorburn*. It opens with the following statement: 'My life has hitherto been a series of such strange occurrences, and, in my view, so marked with the directing hand of Providence, that when I look back it appears as if I have been a mere machine, without a will of my own' (9). Lawrie has a similar tendency to view his professional progress, which others might attribute to luck or chance, as proof that he is being acted upon by a power greater than himself: 'I bethought me of invading the borders of the grocery line. I ought not, however, to say that I did so of my own conceit, and reflection, for I was led into it by one of those wonderful providential suggestions, of which I have had such a large experience' (1: 94). He also often sees individual events as symbolic of a larger whole.

He recounts an apparently inconsequential anecdote from his youth, in which he brazens his way in and out of a firework show at the Duke of Buccleuch's palace, avoiding being caught and horse-whipped by the porter like the other working-class boys by insinuating himself into a group of gentlemen's sons and behaving as though he belongs there. Satisfaction with his own cunning ('many a time since have I meditated on this device') is mingled with a belief that he had been 'guided through the snares of the Duke's park', and the entire event is imbued for Lawrie with deep significance (1: 20). 'I remember an occurrence which took place in my fourteenth year, and which, though in itself a boyish adventure, I have often since thought was an epitome of my whole conduct in life' (1: 17–18).

This deeply Calvinistic interpretive matrix, with its gestures towards the doctrine of predestination, has major implications for the novel's pretensions to serve as an example to others in a practical rather than a religious sense, mapping out the choices that other emigrants ought to make in order to be successful. Lawrie believes that he is not the prime director of his own course in life, and this lack of agency does, in fact, become an external fact when it comes to the most crucial event of the novel – the decision to emigrate. 'The tribulation into which I had thus brought myself, gave my father a sore heart, and a ship, the Providence of New York, – happy name! – being then lying at Leith, taking passengers, he, to get me and my brother out of harm's way, paid for our passage by her, and after arranging with our bailsmen, sent us off to espouse our fortunes in America' (1: 28). Because the novel withholds an explicit connection between the protagonist's intentions and the outcome of the narrative at the precise moment when Lawrie's emigration to the United States is decided upon, Lawrie's own conception of the lessons to be learned from his history of an exemplary emigrant does not integrate seamlessly with the emphasis on generally-applicable 'practical wisdom' that

would make the novel indistinguishable from the emigrant's guide. A similar evasiveness exists in even more acute form in *Bogle Corbet*, whose protagonist is not based on any real-world original and emigrates, at least on the surface, of his own volition.

Bogle Corbet and the Typical Emigrant

Bogle Corbet did not attract as much notice in the press as Grant Thorburn's *Forty Years' Residence in America*, let alone *Lawrie Todd*. However, it was reviewed by the *New Monthly Magazine* in January 1831, and this article offers an extended discourse on Bogle's representative function:

> Bogle Corbet's is the history of a mercantile man, who rises and falls in the world with the flow and ebb of commercial prosperity, and ultimately emigrates, with a large family and a slender pittance, to the forests of North America. In prosperity, men pride themselves on doing every thing for themselves; in adversity, that mysterious agent, the times, undoes all for them . . . Bogle Corbet is one of these sports of circumstances; his *siller* . . . expands and contracts with the elasticity or depression of the commercial atmosphere, and by the pressure of national difficulties he is finally thrust out of his country. We mark him rising by no extraordinary merit, and sinking without a fault. (553)

Bogle is not an everyman who models ordinary responses to extraordinary circumstances; he is, by his own admission, 'to a most unfitting degree, prone to the indulgence of a meditative disposition, fantastical notions, and other follies of thought which, though they resemble philosophy, are in reality but the froth of the mind' (1: 149). As a result, while Lawrie combines an optimistic belief in his own 'particular providence' with a matter-of-fact approach to the problems he encounters in his new home, Bogle's understanding of the significance of his move to Canada is idiosyncratic and gloomy. 'It is with no exaggeration that I say an intention to emigrate for ever is, as far as worldly feelings are concerned, more analogous to quitting life than those imagine to whom we must bid adieu. It in many respects

bears the same relation to death, that to sleep does to die' (2: 182).

What Bogle exemplifies, from the point of view of the *New Monthly Magazine*, is the impersonal power of the commercial forces of his age. His passivity, his inability even to consider struggling against his fate, allows him to be identified with his fluctuating fortunes to such a degree that 'the flow and ebb of commercial prosperity', the expansion and contraction of Bogle's personal finances and the 'rising and sinking' of the character's position in society merge into one. However, the discourse surrounding emigration insists that to emigrate is to take a decisive position; the choice between the United States and Canada is fraught with ideological significance. Yet not only do Galt's emigrant protagonists fail to take a particularly strong stand on this issue, their own agency in choosing a specific destination is also downplayed or entirely obscured. Young Lawrie emigrates in the 1790s to avoid the consequences of his radical political activity, but his destination is chosen for him by his father and he expresses no strong preference for the republican democracy of the United States. Bogle, on the other hand, emigrates as a middle-aged man in the post-Napoleonic era, in response to the downturn in trade. His choice is, in theory, his own, but this is not his perception of events: 'I foresaw that emigration awaited us, notwithstanding the seeming obstinacy with which every proposal was resisted by my wife, and I imperceptibly laid my plans for that ultimate destiny, persuaded that in time she would see we had no other alternative' (2: 165).

This conviction that he will inevitably be 'thrust from his country', in the *New Monthly*'s phrase, may seem to be entirely reasonable, based on common-sense calculation: 'Alike the victim of the times, of pecuniary accidents, and of family grievances, no prospect of happier fortune could be discovered, and hope for myself and my offspring existed only in

a foreign land' (2: 173). However, Bogle then adds that 'In a word, I felt the strong hand of Fate pushing me on to emigrate' (2: 173). Bogle is just as prone as Lawrie to view his life as subject to some force beyond himself, but what appears providential to Lawrie Bogle sees as deeply mysterious and terrifyingly random. Where Lawrie sees a meaningful 'epitome' of a larger whole, Bogle is visited by foreshadowings and forebodings that he is powerless to decipher.

> The course of my biography is like the character of my life, somewhat desultory, and the events seem to arise from causes apparently inadequate to their consequences. I ever felt that I was out of my road; not in peril, but the events when they came to pass were somehow uniformly untoward. The course was like those wild American streams, sometimes dividing their force into different channels, occasionally on the one side of the island that sends the flow in different directions, passing onward in a sober current, while on the other they are hurried into turbulent rapids. (1: 127–28)

The *New Monthly* reviewer sees Bogle as a representative man for the commercial age, the 'sport' of economic circumstances that he cannot control or understand. For Bogle himself, his powerlessness in the face of the economic downturn is only part of a larger pattern (or absence of pattern); further confirmation that his life has no natural groove, that he is always in some way 'out of my road'.

Bogle's psychological make-up is connected to his status as a 'typical emigrant' in a highly ambiguous, noncommittal fashion. He does not go into detail about his life before the 'years of discretion', yet this sketchiness actually foregrounds the lingering psychological effects of his early childhood, which was spent on a plantation in the West Indies. Bogle first dismisses his early life as irrelevant, because 'so much alike is the early history of all men' (1: 1), then goes into a reverie, fixating on details that are not at all typical of a Scots childhood – 'the sight of a great water', 'bright faces smile from the other side of a cold rough wave', and above all, his African nurse Baba (1: 3). His separation from Baba, who took him back to

Scotland after his parents' death then returned to the West Indies, marks a watershed in his life: 'It is just fifty years, a month, a week, and a day, counting backwards from this very night, that Baba left me' (1: 4). After dwelling on this intensely personal chronology, Bogle again minimises the specificity of his story.

> Strange! that I should be thus so sentimental – I, who have so often been deemed but indifferently furnished with the gentler feelings. But so I fancy it is with most men; the outward gladness and the inward grief are often in harsh discord with one another. They have through life been so with me – and with others. (1: 5)

The jarring oddness and seeming redundancy of this final phrase, the impulse to reiterate the ordinary nature of his experience in such a way that it highlights the strangeness of his thought process, sets the tone for the rest of the novel. Bogle repeatedly downplays or universalises his individual quirks of character at the same time as he displays them: 'My natural character, variegated as it has been by many vicissitudes – and sudden haps and surprising chances, – will not be concealed. I do not, however, intend to write my confessions, but only so much about things seen and known as will serve to show why I have resolved to seek another world' (1: 8). At one point he goes almost so far as to declare himself a truly representative emigrant, albeit representative through his peculiarities: 'I may be deemed a little eccentric – all my days I have been so – and I suspect emigrants are generally of that description' (1: 8).

Chapter Five: Scottish Romanticism and Canadian Temporality

Emigration literature challenges the intellectual geography of transatlantic Romanticism in its temporal rootedness to a moment in which its subjects are not fully legible in national terms. It guides its readers through the process of transporting themselves, whether vicariously or in reality, to a patch of newly-cleared land in a new settlement, but does not often linger long enough to track the complete transformation of metropolitan exiles into colonial subjects, or of Britons into Canadians. It offers few clear answers to the question of how the individual emigrant's pursuit of economic independence intersects with or furthers the national empire-building project. These two processes will come to be equated in hindsight, but emigration literature holds out the unsettling possibility that they might, in the moment, be distinct. As Chapter Four of this thesis has demonstrated, this means that novels with emigration plots form an obstacle to tracing the emergence of a peculiarly Canadian or American national character or literary expression.

Studies of the literature of nineteenth-century Canada tend to pass swiftly over the early part of the century to the post-Confederation period, a focus that may seem natural in light of the sparsity of homegrown literary production in the first few decades. The most extreme example of this tendency is W. J. Keith's *Canadian Literature in English* (1985), which in a chapter on 'The beginnings in fiction' jumps from the first novel with a Canadian setting, Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), to John Richardson's *Wacousta* (1832), before leaping ahead to the works of William Kirby in the 1870s. *A Purer Taste*, Carole Gerson's study of nineteenth-century Canada's literature and reading habits, published in 1989 and still one of the few book-length treatments of this topic, also concentrates most of its attention on the late Victorian period. However, the defining features of the Canadian

literary scene are, in Gerson's analysis, relatively static or constant throughout the century – the conservatism, the expectation that fiction should deliver a moral message, the public's lack of interest in and support for homegrown authors. The relative stagnation of the cultural life of the colony is attributed in large part to the immense difficulty of carving out a niche for local literary production in a market dominated by imports both from the United States and the rest of the British Empire, a problem that was already acute in the early nineteenth century and still had not been solved by 1900. As a result, most of Gerson's conclusions refer simply to 'the nineteenth century'. The fact that critical opinions from the 1890s can be set alongside those from the 1830s and 1840s is, in large part, her point. However, one major consequence of this critical elision of the peculiar features of the early nineteenth century is that it leaves little space for any kind of synchronic treatment of the interaction between British Romantic literature and the literary productions of the Canadian colonies in the period when emigration writing is more plentiful than homegrown literature.

For historians of nineteenth-century Canadian literature, the clearest sign of the colony's cultural conservatism has always been its continuing attachment to Walter Scott as the ideal literary model long after his popularity in Britain had declined. Gerson provides a sketch of the plight of the Canadian critic, who faced with evidence of the increasing tendency of Victorian novelists to forsake romance for realist explorations of the seamier side of life would 'call for a return to the good old days of Sir Walter Scott' (32). This is a Scott who has been posthumously enshrined as a model of sound imperial values and of the moral superiority of romance to realism, not the Scott who was at the centre of the current literary scene for writers working in the 1820s and 1830s. The careers of John Richardson and his American contemporary James Fenimore Cooper, for example, are heavily marked by an

engagement with a still-living or recently-deceased Walter Scott; there is no nostalgic time lag here to signal the less-developed state of New World letters. According to Fiona Robertson's 'Walter Scott and the American Historical Novel' (2014), 'The dominance of historical fiction in the American market throughout the 1820s reflects far more than the adaptability or transferability of "the *Waverley* model". American writers conversed with Scott and competed with him throughout his years of established fame' (11). In addition to his fellow historical novelists, Robertson notes that Scott read Washington Irving's *History of New York* (1809*)* in 1813. They are contemporaries as 'inventors of authorial and pseudo-editorial personae', with Irving's fictional historian Diedrich Knickerbocker having much in common with Scott's frame narrators (6). One of the questions that this chapter will consider is what it might mean for the period in which Scott is not yet casting a long shadow over the later development of Canadian literature, but is a giant of the contemporary literary scene in Britain and its empire, also to be the first period of mass emigration from Britain to Canada.

The other argument of this chapter is that the reluctance to dwell on Romantic-era Canada as anything other than the source of a few notable forerunners of the dominant literary forms of a later period is due to the unstable, overdetermined national and regional identities of the inhabitants of the territory. Andrea Cabajsky writes of Canadian historical novels that 'They are inhabited by characters whose ethnic, political, and linguistic identities are often difficult to make out' (7). The same holds true for non-fictional accounts of settler life in the 1830s such as Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) or Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) which present a bewildering variety of 'Canadians', Scots, Englishmen, 'Yankees' and other Americans, who circulate throughout the province of Upper Canada without falling neatly into the categories of 'local' and

'outsider'. What, precisely, is meant by 'Canadian' in works of this period is not always clear; neither is the exact geographical area indicated by complaints about 'Yankee manners'. This problem comes powerfully to the fore in John Richardson's Canadian historical novels, *Wacousta* and its sequel *The Canadian Brothers* (1840). A comparison of Richardson's deployment of Britons, French-Canadians, Indians, Americans and, tentatively, English-Canadians, with Cooper's manipulation of Indian and Loyalist identities in *The Pioneers*, forms the second section of the chapter.

The Scottish Model

The concept that Robertson refers to as the '*Waverley* model', and which Victoria Woolner (2014) describes as 'the influence of a Scottish model, particularly the development of a Scottish romantic identity, on British North American and Canadian attempts to develop a similar literature and articulate a national – or even provincial – identity', is multi-faceted (9). The relationship between Scottish and Canadian literature is sometimes described in terms of the direct influence, measured over a long duration, of Scottish literature on the development of colonial literary culture. But the 'Scottish model' is also invoked to demonstrate that Scotland's situation within the empire is comparable to other, colonial, contexts; to evoke a structural similarity that produces analogous results rather than to make claims of direct influence.

These two threads are frequently combined: in Katie Trumpener's analysis, Scott's immense popularity and concomitant impact on the early fictional productions of the settler colonies are a result of his particularly empire-friendly interpretation of Scottish history:

> The empirewide influence of the Waverley novels lie in their ability to harmonize

> Scottish materials with British perspectives, as they reconstruct the historical formation of the Scottish nation, the simultaneous formation of the Britain that subsumes it, and a cultural nationalism that survives because it learns to separate cultural distinctiveness from the memory of political autonomy and can therefore be accommodated within the new imperial framework. (246)

As Trumpener's use of the term 'the Abbotsford cult' might suggest, she views Scott's dominant position in colonial culture as indicative of pro-imperial quiescence (247). One of the aims of the final chapter of *Bardic Nationalism* is to delineate a counter-tradition, 'equally rooted in Scottish regional writing but with a resolutely transnational vantage point and a much more acerbic view of the workings of empire' (247). This is represented by authors such as Haliburton (and another Nova Scotian satirist, Thomas McCulloch) and Galt, whose depictions of settler society are considered less celebratory. Trumpener positions this group of writers in opposition not only to Scott but to *Blackwood's*, which 'worked to diffuse Abbotsfordian ideas throughout the empire' (260). As Chapter Two has shown, however, there is no author more central to *Blackwood's* portrayal of Canada than Galt. The reason that such a categorisation of Galt as 'anti-Blackwoodian' is possible is that Trumpener's study does not include the content of *Blackwood's Magazine* itself; her reading of the position taken by '*Blackwood's* authors' concentrates instead on books written by members of the *Blackwood's* circle, including John Wilson's *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* (1822) as well as Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada*. Galt's *Bogle Corbet* and *Lawrie Todd*, published, unlike his earlier work, by Colburn and Bentley, therefore escape the Blackwoodian label.

Positing an undercurrent of contemporary challenge to Scott's tendency to interpret modernisation and colonisation 'optimistically as harbingers of progress' in terms of pro- and anti-Blackwoodian attitudes results in some exaggeration of the anti-imperial bona fides of

Galt and Haliburton as well as the elision of both men's periodical writings (247). Trumpener's broader goal, though, is to offer a revision of the work of the 'canon builders' of the 1960s and 1970s, who 'under the influence of English Canadian cultural nationalism . . . constructed a literary history with a nationalist teleology and emphasized a tradition of Canadian fiction defined by Scott's influence' (247). Trumpener also mentions the work of Eva Marie Kröller and Carole Gerson, whose otherwise quite dissimilar readings of Scott's Canadian influence are united in privileging one facet of the 'Scottish model' over the other. Kröller's 'Walter Scott in America, English Canada, and Québec: A Comparison' (1980) reads Scott's model of historical fiction as a bridge to more authentically Canadian literature:

> Historical romance appears at the beginning of a number of emerging literatures whose first step towards independence consists in glorifying their own past. Literature before that phase was derivative and tried to preserve at least the literary forms of the mother country. The subject matter was less adaptable, but its strangeness could still be cloaked in familiar descriptive terms. The extent to which an emerging literature becomes aware of, and copes with, the obvious discrepancy between native theme and imported form may be used as a measure of the progress or delay in its independence. (33)

In this analysis, historical romance is a phase that every national literature must pass through on its way to maturity, as early Canadian fiction gradually emancipates itself from genres and subject matter transplanted from Britain and imposed on an environment to which they are unsuited. Gerson's *A Purer Taste* is more concerned with Scott as a force in the literary marketplace than with structural comparisons between Scotland and the colonies: 'Before 1860, during the colonial period, Scott was esteemed for having made fiction respectable and directly or indirectly received the homage of scores of imitators who filled the pages of Canadian literary periodicals with historical romances set in Europe' (67). As illustrated in Chapter Two, Scott is also incorporated into early Canadian magazines in other, more concrete, ways than through imitation. His new works are advertised and excerpted as they are

published, and the figure of the author himself is presented to readers alongside local literary productions with no sense of incongruity.

More recent work on early Canadian literature has complicated the picture of Scott as an all-encompassing presence simultaneously inspiring colonial writers to emulation and serving as an obstacle to literary independence, without necessarily seeking, as Trumpener does, to find a way to displace him from his position of centrality altogether. Andrea Cabajsky's '"Transcolonial Circuits": Historical Fiction and National Identities in Ireland, Scotland, and Canada' (2002) is a study of 'the trans-Atlantic origins of Canadian historical fiction in Irish and Scottish national and historical fiction' which emphasises local adaptation rather than metropolitan dominance, aiming 'to recover these connections, not in order to initiate a neo-colonial project of asserting Canada's cultural dependence, but to underline that it is more appropriate to speak of interdependencies in which the recipient modifies cultural imports as well as being modified by them' (2).

Fiona Robertson's 'Walter Scott and the American Historical Novel' goes further, suggesting Charles Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntly* (1799) as a possible source of plot and character details for *Guy Mannering* and raising the possibility that the tide of influence might flow both ways, that 'works generally accepted as precursors of American romance could also be creative recollections *of* American romance' (113). Robertson's essay also serves as a reminder that it is not necessary to have remained in the empire in order to have one's literature analysed in terms of the influence of Scottish models. Scottish-American literary connections, based on a 'shared inheritance in Scottish Enlightenment culture – in Scottish "Common Sense" philosophy, in stadial models of social development, and in Enlightenment historiography' (108) have been traced in such works as Andrew Hook's *From Goosecreek to*

Gandercleugh (1999) and *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* (2002) by Susan Manning.

For Trumpener, the applicability of Scott's model of fiction to Canada derives from its focus on the cultural distinctiveness of 'minor' groups within the nation-state, which creates 'analogies between nation formation and empire building, and on national identity as a central component of imperial identity' (247). However, this concept of the Scots' retention of their distinctiveness within a culturally mixed polity, which Juliet Shields describes in *Nation and Migration* as 'a strange blend of exilic adaptability and Old World feudalism' also carries over to that other, non-imperial, North American setting, the United States (79). What is more, as Robertson points out, Scott's 'tales of religious and political division . . . were directly interpretable in terms of life in the British American colonies' – that is, in terms of the history of the future United States rather than the present-day situation of the remaining colonies (108). This is what makes nineteenth-century Canada a particularly overdetermined literary site; as a colony of Britain and a neighbour of the United States, it is involved in two variations on the same discourse.

One of the architects of Canadian Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, gave an address to the Montréal Literary Club in 1867, the Confederation year. Speaking on the subject of 'The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion', McGee asked the following loaded question: 'Who reads a Canadian book?' (3). This is, of course, an echo of Sydney Smith's famous provocation, 'In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?' (79), which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1820. McGee's reference to Smith is very explicit, as is the comparison between the relative development of American and Canadian letters that such a reference entails:

> Forty years ago a British Quarterly Review asked, 'Who reads an American book?' Irving had answered that long ago; but Cooper, Longfellow, Emerson, Prescott, Hawthorne, and many another, has answered the taunt triumphantly since. Those Americans might, in turn, taunt us to-day with 'Who reads a Canadian book?' I should answer frankly, very few, for Canadian books are exceedingly scarce. (6)

This gap of 'forty years' (or forty-seven, to be more exact than McGee) is consistent with an account of Canadian literature that sets its development behind that of the United States, as might reasonably befit a location that had only come under British control in the 1760s. McGee measures Canada's literary production not primarily in terms of its position as a British colony in thrall to the influence of metropolitan culture, but in relation to its powerful neighbour. In *Poetics of Character* (2013) Susan Manning refers to 'the frequently noted "belatedness" of transatlantic Romanticism, whereby American writing appeared to engage with texts, ideas and tropes at a noticeable time lag after its European counterpart' (36). According to this model, then, the transatlantic Romanticism of Canada is afflicted by a double belatedness. McGee's speech marks a historical moment in which the 'New Dominion' has attained a degree of autonomy that places it in a situation that could be seen as analogous to that of the United States without being precisely comparable. And where its literature is concerned, Canada is now to the United States what the United States once was in relation to Britain – but it also, due to its colonial situation, exists in a relation to Britain that is not routed through this chain of comparison involving the United States.

The confluence of British, Canadian and American frames of reference is apparent in both the plotting and the reception of the historical novels of John Richardson. *Wacousta* is set during Pontiac's War in 1763 and *The Canadian Brothers* during the War of 1812, so that the first novel depicts a conflict between Indian and British forces (with the defeated French lurking unseen in the background) while its sequel brings the British and Indians together to

fight the United States. Richardson fought in the war and, like one of his protagonists, Gerald Grantham, made a detour to Kentucky as a prisoner. He also published a series entitled 'A Canadian Campaign' about these experiences in London's *New Monthly Magazine* in 1826 and 1827. *The Canadian Brothers* was the only one of Richardson's novels to be published in Canada first (Montréal, 1840). It was reissued in the United States in 1850 under the title *Matilda Montgomerie*, foregrounding the novel's most important American character, and in fact 'was never published in England, owing no doubt to its Canadian character' (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*). What constitutes this 'Canadian character' is not quite clear; despite its Detroit setting *Wacousta* is subtitled 'A Tale of the Canadas' and is deeply concerned with providing a literary monument to the provinces' entry into the British Empire. It may be *The Canadian Brothers*' many detailed depictions of battles of the War of 1812 that are not thought likely to have appealed to British readers in 1840.

The American reviewers of *Wacousta*, understandably, usually compare Richardson to James Fenimore Cooper. The *American Monthly Magazine* for June 1833 proclaims the novel to be 'equal in harrowing excitement, rapid succession of incident, and vivacious description, to the best of Mr. Cooper's scenes of Indian warfare; and though strictly original, not dissimilar to his style of writing' (260). Later criticism has also put these writers in conversation with one another. James Reaney writes in the afterword to the 1991 New Canadian Library edition of *Wacousta*: 'when James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* came out in 1826, Richardson vowed that, since he knew Indians much better than Cooper did, he would someday give him a run for his money. *Wacousta* is Canada's answer to an American bestseller, a literary battle of which, alas, our southern cousins now seem hardly aware' (586).

The question of the 'Canadianness' of *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers* leads back, in much critical discussion of the novels, to the 'Canadianness' of the Scottish model of historical fiction. In this context, critics have found it highly significant that the villainous Wacousta is revealed not to be an Ottawa but an Englishman and former Jacobite.

> At first the plot appears to grow from a uniquely North American situation, the historical event of Pontiac's resistance to the British. But the ultimate identification of the visitor (haunting the stockade like the ghost of Hamlet's father) as Reginald Morton, alias Wacousta, demonstrates that local history forms only the skeleton of Richardson's novel which he fleshes out with a romantic narrative motivated entirely by rivalries transplanted from Europe. (Gerson 86)

Andrea Cabajsky, too, describes *Wacousta* as 'a novel that takes the consequences of the Jacobite uprisings to Canada' (15). For Gerson, this narrative choice reflects Canada's position of literary dependence: 'Richardson's recourse to Scotland for the primary impetus of a novel about the Pontiac conspiracy demonstrates that in 1832 even a native-born Canadian found it impossible to divorce the romantic novel from its connection with Walter Scott' (86). In this analysis, by grafting a Jacobite backstory on to a narrative that has, up to the end, been given a historically-accurate grounding in Pontiac's War, Richardson reveals the limits of the Scottish model, its inability truly to capture the 'uniquely North American'.

However, the Jacobite's assumption of the identity of an Ottawa Indian can also be read through the lens of what Woolner describes as 'a specifically Canadian stadial narrative' – one that adapts the original 'Scottish model', Enlightenment stadial theory, to local conditions, placing British settlers, French Canadians and First Nations on descending rungs of the civilisational ladder (104). The *Literary Garland* for February 1839 comments on a narrative of exploration from the French colonial period, 'Journal of a Voyage – By M. de Charlevoix', published in French in 1744 and in English translation in 1761. The reviewer is particularly interested in Charlevoix's suggestion that French settlements be planted among the Indian

population. The passage of time has not affected the viability of this idea; what it has done is to shift the French into the subordinate position in the civiliser–civilisee dynamic:

> Now, without any design of comparing the Canadians of French origin to their Indian predecessors, it seems to us altogether natural, that similar causes would now produce similar effects, and that the formation of English settlements among the French population, by introducing an improved system of business in general, and agriculture in particular, would materially assist in the *Anglification* of the Colony. (143)

As the disavowal of any intent to draw direct comparisons makes clear, this is a question of structural, rather than literal, similarity. The categories themselves remain stable over time, to be occupied by different groups in succession. What this does not take into consideration, and what Woolner's account of how 'British inhabitants of the colonies began to apply such theories and develop a localised stadial narrative' does not dwell on, are the complications introduced by the fact that certain participants in the original Scottish stadial narratives are also present, but in different roles, in the Canadian version (111). The representatives of the Highland/Lowland divide so fundamental to Scottish Enlightenment stadialism become 'British settlers', and the Native Americans who, according to Adam Ferguson's *Essay on Civil Society* (1767), allowed modern Britons to 'behold, as in a mirrour [sic], the features of our progenitors', are now encountered not only through 'the descriptions which are now given by travellers' but on their home ground (80).[1] Different localities furnish different representatives of the savage and commercial stages, but an extra shade of complexity arises in North American settings, as one may occupy one position in Europe and another in the New World.

In *Scott's Shadow*, Ian Duncan gives a reading of *Rob Roy* that criticises a tendency in

[1] As Tim Fulford points out in *Romantic Indians*, Scottish Enlightenment theorists gained much of their information about Native Americans from narratives of exploration in New France by travellers such as Louis Hennepin and Lom d'Arce de Lahontan (45).

studies of Scott's historical fiction to take *Waverley* as a model for the whole of his output, overlooking texts in which Scott's approach to stadial history produces less comfortable results:

> We intuit, darkly, that the British condition of modernity does not after all consist of an internally unified, civilized 'nation', the product of an evolutionary graduation of discrete historical stages. It consists of a global network of uneven, heterogeneous times and spaces, lashed together by commerce and military force, the dynamism of which is generated by the jagged economic and social differences of the local parts. (114)

Rather than an orderly succession of historical stages leading to the ultimate achievement of commercial modernity, Duncan posits the less stable co-existence of multiple temporalities. In early-nineteenth-century North America, the prevailing condition of modernity is not defined by gradual evolution but by abrupt influxes of people thrust into new areas of the 'global network' by the processes of mass emigration and settlement. Irving's 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow' is set 'in a remote period of American history, that is to say, some thirty years since' (295). In addition to this exaggeration of temporal distance as an indicator of the rapid modernisation of the United States, the tale holds up the culture of the Dutch settlers who preceded the British in New York as particularly old-fashioned and rooted in place: 'it is in such little retired Dutch valleys, found here and there embosomed in the great state of New York, that population, manners, and customs, remain fixed, while the great torrent of migration and improvement, which is making such incessant changes in other parts of this restless country, sweeps by them unobserved' (295).

However, if the credulous schoolmaster Ichabod Crane were to gain the hand of Katrina Van Tassel, his dream would not be to settle down in the dreamy backwater of Sleepy Hollow but to become a land speculator. Contemplating the property Katrina stands to inherit, Ichabod imagines how it 'might be readily turned into cash, and the money invested in immense tracts

of wild land, and shingle palaces in the wilderness . . . he beheld himself bestriding a pacing mare, with a colt at her heels, setting out for Kentucky, Tennessee, or the Lord knows where!' (301–02). Crane's desire to drag his paramour and her inheritance into the 'great torrent of migration and improvement' seems at odds with his superstitious credulity which is exemplified by his frequent reading of a work on the supernatural by Cotton Mather; that is, a deeply anachronistic Puritan text. These different historical legacies – of the Dutch colonial era and of New England Puritanism – do not recede comfortably into their respective spheres; they collide in the present of the tale. John Richardson's historical novels also place rather more of an emphasis on moments in which 'discrete historical stages' violently collide rather than transitioning peacefully from one to another. His application of the stadial concerns of historical fiction to the Canadas in the period between the British conquest of New France and the 1830s wrestles (not necessarily successfully) with the complexities of a location progressing towards the horizon of colonial, rather than national, status. The next section will read *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers* alongside the first of James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking series, *The Pioneers*, in order to compare a trope that all three texts employ with very different effects – the trope of the appropriation of Indian identity.

'Was he in reality an Indian?': *The Pioneers, Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers*

The Pioneers, the first novel in James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking series, is concerned with the process by which incomers become locals, as well as with the temporal uncertainty inherent in such a transition. 'Our tale begins in 1793.' the narrator announces, 'about seven years after the commencement of one of the earliest of those settlements, which have conduced to effect that magical change in the power and condition of the state to which we

have alluded' (16). As in 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow', we are in 'a remote period of American history, some thirty years since'. In the case of *The Pioneers*, however, the forces that have caused this acceleration of American history form the central subject of the novel. The reader's introduction to the small town of Templeton, New York is also the reintroduction of Elizabeth Temple, the heroine, to a home that has become unfamiliar: 'Five years had wrought greater changes, than a century would produce in countries, where time and labour have given permanency to the works of man' (46). As the town is only seven years old, everyone, American and foreigner, is placed on an equal footing as new arrivals – except for the 'Leatherstocking' Natty Bumppo and his friend Chingachgook, whose relationship to the area precedes the arrival of the well-meaning, modernising Judge Marmaduke Temple.

Templeton is peopled by a motley group of American-born settlers from various states, ex-military Irish innkeepers, at least one slave, the German Major Hartmann, and Monsieur le Quoi, an exiled West Indian plantation owner. While British writers tend to use the word 'Yankee' as a label for certain American attributes that they find displeasing or offensive to their sense of social decorum, Cooper provides a lengthy footnote countering this conceptual vagueness with an explanation of the word's regional specificity. 'In America the term Yankee is of local meaning. It is thought to be derived from the manner in which the Indians of New England pronounced the word "English" or "Yengeese"' (56). Therefore, the label does not apply to the majority of the characters in *The Pioneers*: 'Marmaduke and his cousin being Pennsylvanians by birth were not Yankees in the American sense of the word' (56). This note is added to make it intelligible to a reader unfamiliar with the nuances of US regional distinctions that a Pennsylvanian resident of New York should refer to a New Englander as 'this Yankee Doctor' (56). As Joseph Rezek has described in 'Cooper and Scott

in the Anglophone Literary Field' (2011), Cooper made many additions of this kind for the British Bentley's Standard Novels edition of the text in 1832 (900).

Near the beginning of the novel, almost the entire cast of characters congregates in Judge Temple's eccentrically-designed house, the work of his officious cousin Richard Jones. Richard's cheerfully vulgar lack of historical perspective or classical knowledge creates a fussy, overcrowded interior, filled with a jumble of ornaments representing figures from various eras with uncertain attributions. One feature in particular, though not much noted by critics, neatly encapsulates some of the key concerns of *The Pioneers*.

> The walls were hung with a dark, lead-coloured English paper, that represented Britannia weeping over the tomb of Wolfe. The hero himself stood at a little distance from the mourning goddess, and at the edge of the paper. Each width contained the figure, with the slight exception of one arm of the General, which ran over on to the next piece, so that when Richard essayed, with his own hands, to put together this delicate outline, some difficulties occurred, that prevented a nice conjunction, and Britannia had reason to lament, in addition to the loss of her favourite's life, numberless cruel amputations of his right arm. (64)

The presence of this monument to British patriotism in the home of staunch American republicans reads as a comic restaging of the transmutation of Edward Waverley and Fergus MacIvor into interior decoration at the end of *Waverley*, when a painting of the eponymous hero and his executed Jacobite friend is hung on the wall at Tully-Veolan. It is now the turn of General Wolfe, who fought at Culloden and took part in the subsequent pacification of the Highlands, to become a neutralised, unthreatening art object, the British transatlantic hegemony attained by his victory at Québec superseded by American independence. It is also possible to detect a sly reference to the maiming of another of Britannia's favourites, Horatio Nelson, an event that in the novel's timeline is still a few years in the future. The image of Wolfe, the hero of the Plains of Abraham, raises the spectre of British interests in North America which will be a driving force of the novel's plot. Life in Templeton is disrupted by

the arrival of a stranger named Oliver Edwards, really Oliver Effingham, who is determined to pursue his Loyalist family's claim to Judge Temple's wealth and land, a claim which has been cast aside by the course of recent American history.

The first sign of the mystery surrounding Edwards' identity is the fact that, in contrast to the carefully described regional distinctions between Yankees, New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, his speech does not reveal his origin.

> 'Of which of the states are you a native, Mr Edwards? for such, I believe, was the name that you gave Judge Temple.'
> 'Of this –'
> 'Of this! I was at a loss to conjecture, from your dialect, which does not partake, particularly, of the peculiarities of any country with which I am acquainted.' (137)

What Oliver does not say – or is prevented from revealing – is that he, like many a fictional hero, is a native son of the place in which he finds himself as if by accident. Unlike Norman Macalbin in Christian Johnstone's *Clan-Albin* or Walter Scott's Harry Bertram (*Guy Mannering*) and Darsie Latimer (*Redgauntlet*), Oliver is well aware of this fact; it is the other characters who are in the dark. Oliver is aided in his secret purpose by his two elderly companions, Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook or John Mohegan, who will both appear as younger men in Cooper's next novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). It is Mohegan who, inadvertently but very successfully, confuses the issue of Oliver's heritage: '"He has Delaware blood, and his right is strong. But the brother of Miquon is just: he will cut the country in two parts, as the river cuts the low-lands, and will say to the 'Young Eagle', Child of the Delawares! take it – keep it – and be a chief in the land of your fathers"' (142). That Mohegan is employing a rather elastic conception of familial relations and, potentially, 'blood', is suggested by his description of the Pennsylvania Quaker Marmaduke Temple as a 'brother' of 'Miquon' – William Penn. However, his words are sufficient to make most of the characters

jump to the conclusion that Oliver Edwards is part Delaware Indian, and extrapolate from this to make racialised interpretations of his behaviour. '"It is the hereditary violence of a native's passion, my child," said Mr Grant . . . "He is mixed with the blood of the Indians, you have heard; and neither the refinements of education, nor the advantages of our excellent liturgy, have been able entirely to eradicate the evil"' (143).

The mystery is then perpetuated by Edwards himself, who employs the same terminology as his friend: '"Cease to remember, old Mohegan, that I am the descendant of a Delaware chief, who once was master of these noble hills, these beautiful vales, and of this water, over which we tread"' (206). This ancestor – revealed near the end of the novel to be the Loyalist Major Effingham – has a double claim to the land. It was gifted to him by the Delawares at Mohegan's instigation, but the legality of his possession depends more on his status as a British colonist. His acceptance as a member of the Delaware tribe, like Wacousta's among the Ottawas, is founded not on race but on personal relationships. One particular personal relationship, the budding romance between Edwards and Elizabeth Temple, transcends such racial questions, or rather awkwardly sidesteps them altogether. Elizabeth, conveniently, is never fooled by the racial misidentification which Oliver Edwards allows to go uncorrected.

> 'On reflection, I must acknowledge that my situation here is somewhat equivocal,' said Edwards, 'though I may be said to have purchased it with my blood.'
>
> 'The blood, too, of one of the native lords of the soil!' cried Elizabeth, who evidently put little faith in his aboriginal descent. (280)

Elizabeth's 'intuition about Oliver's race' is another alteration for the Bentley edition; in the American original she is as convinced of his Indian descent as everybody else (Rezek 902). This change is accompanied by a reduction in the level of antagonism that initially

characterises their relationship in the American edition, as befits their roles as representatives of the Loyalist and Patriot sides in the still-recent revolution. Their marriage is turned into 'the confirmation of a pre-existing affinity' rather than the attraction of politically-symbolic opposites (Rezek 902). In the British edition Elizabeth's disbelief makes the issue something of an in-joke, as the two make light-hearted play with the visual signifiers of race:

> 'Do I bear the marks of my lineage so very plainly impressed on my appearance? I am dark, but not very red – not more so than common?'
> 'Rather more so, just now.'
> 'I am sure, Miss Temple,' cried Louisa, 'you cannot have taken much notice of Mr Edwards. His eyes are not so black as Mohegan's, or even your own, nor is his hair!' (280)

Elizabeth turns Louisa's words around to express a wish to be able to claim Delaware heritage for herself, cutting to the heart of the question of the legitimacy of her family's ownership of their land.

> 'Very possibly, then, I can lay claim to the same descent. It would be a very great relief to my mind to think so, for I own that I grieve when I see old Mohegan walking about these lands, like the ghost of one of their ancient possessors, and feel how small is my own right to possess them.' (280)

The co-existence of multiple stages of historical development is made quite concrete in *The Pioneers*. Mohegan may be 'like the ghost' of an extinguished birthright, but he is also an active agent in the plot and a resident of modern-day Templeton, interacting with the appurtenances of church and state. Mohegan, of course, has no hope of any kind of legal restitution as '*The Pioneers* displaces the injustice of Indian removal onto the far less remarkable plight of English loyalists who lost their colonized lands' (Rezek 901). Oliver Edwards is able to operate as both Indian and Loyalist heir, but the Indian claim is carefully distanced from the 'domestic plot inhabited by royalist and patriot families and directed towards conciliatory ends' (901).

Another ghost-like figure, the senile spectre of Loyalism, also returns to haunt the Temples. The aged Major Effingham, Oliver's grandfather, is revealed to be alive and hidden in a cave on his former property. In post-revolutionary America, the British army officer is reduced to a position previously reserved for fugitive Jacobites. After the failure of the 1745 rising, *Waverley*'s Baron of Bradwardine is kept hidden on his own land by his loyal tenants, a scenario closely modelled after the real-life example of Macpherson of Cluny. In contrast to the Baron's reasonably happy ending, the marriage of Effingham's grandson to the daughter of his erstwhile enemy, Marmaduke Templeton, cannot restore him to his rightful place and reconcile him to the new government. He dies before the wedding can take place, his mind frozen in a pre-revolutionary moment. '"Be pleased to be seated, gentlemen. The council will open immediately. Each one who loves a good and virtuous king, will wish to see the colonies continue loyal"' (437). He is not only the novel's anachronistic believer in a lost cause, in the mode of Scott, but its Rip Van Winkle, who, after falling asleep for a twenty-year span that neatly covers the revolutionary period, becomes a human 'chronicle of the old times before the war' (39).

The figure of Natty, who chafes at the imposition of legal and religious institutions and is instinctively opposed to land ownership, is a reminder that New York state in 1793 is not in the infancy of civilisation but, rather, is already old. Settlement has produced an accelerated history. '"There is scurcely a tree standing that I know, and it's hard to find a face that I was acquainted with in my younger days"' (423). Anna Jameson, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, takes a wider, less personal view of the same phenomenon in Upper Canada:

> Toronto, – such is now the sonorous name of this our sublime capital, – was, thirty years ago, a wilderness, the haunt of the bear and deer, with a little, ugly,

> inefficient fort, which, however, could not be more ugly or inefficient than the present one. Ten years ago Toronto was a village, with one brick house and four or five hundred inhabitants; five years ago it became a city, containing about five thousand inhabitants, and then bore the name of Little York. (1: 1–2)

Jameson makes the connection between the temporality of settlement and the 'sixty years since' timeframe associated with Scott's historical fiction very explicit: 'The River Credit is so called, because in *ancient* times (*i.e.* forty or fifty years ago) the fur traders met the Indians on its banks, and delivered to them on *credit* the goods for which, the following year, they received the value, or rather ten times the value, in skins' (295). A footnote draws a connection to Walter Scott, using him as a source of historical information which matches up with present-day Canada: 'In this river the young sportsmen of the family had speared two hundred salmon in a single night. The salmon-hunts in Canada are exactly like that described so vividly in *Guy Mannering'* (304). In *The Pioneers*, in contrast, a salmon hunt is used to illustrate the 'wasty ways' of settler society, a rather gross disregard for futurity that goes hand in hand with the current inhabitants of Templeton's ignorance, or denial, of their place in a long chain of shifting ownership of the land.

As with Irving's depictions of the quaint, resolutely unmodern way of life of New York's Dutch settlers, Natty Bumppo's disenchantment with the rapidly-developing settlement reveals the possibility of nostalgia for an earlier America even a mere seven years into the life of Templeton. '"Woods! indeed! I doesn't call these woods, Madam Effingham, where I lose myself, every day of my life, in the clearings"' (454). Even with the story of a new settlement in the New World, historical fiction can never be permitted to go right back to the beginning; it derives its coherence as a fictional model from comparison, from the displacement of one history in favour of another.

If *The Pioneers* begins from a point at which a modern commercial society has been

fully achieved, looking back to its beginnings and anticipating its future growth, Richardson's narrator creates a murkier picture of historical development to introduce his 'Tale of the Canadas', *Wacousta*.

> Even at the present day, along that line of remote country we have selected for the theatre of our labours, the garrisons are both few in number and weak in strength, and evidence of cultivation is seldom to be found at any distance in the interior; so that all beyond a certain extent of clearing . . . is thick, impervious, rayless forest, the limits of which have never yet been explored, perhaps, by the natives themselves. (6)

On this far western edge of 1830s British North America, the narrative of improvement is less confident. The comparison between 1832 and 1763 is one of underdevelopment with even greater underdevelopment. 'Such being the general features of the country even at the present day, it will readily be comprehended how much more wild and desolate was the character they exhibited as far back as the middle of the last century' (7). In the wake of the British conquest of New France, the recently-defeated French have helped stir up the Indians of the Great Lakes region against their new occupiers, having 'artfully suggested to the Indians, that their new oppressors were of the race of those who had driven them from the sea, and were progressively advancing on their territories until scarce a hunting ground or a village would be left to them' (10). The narrator seems to imply that the French are wrong to suggest this, but it is true enough unless a distinction is to be drawn, in anticipation of later events, between the British soldiers who are garrisoning the forts of Detroit and Michillimackinac and the soon-to-be independent colonists.

Richardson often explains the relationship between current and former British North Americans in terms of the inheritance of Indian animosity. In *Wacousta* he asserts that the Indians' resentment towards the original English colonists carries down to the Americans, but not to the inheritors of 'English' imperial power in Canada. 'Indeed, the hatred which they

bore to the original colonists has been continued to their descendants, the subjects of the United States; and the same spirit of Union subsisted between the natives and British troops, and people of Canada, during the late American war, that at an early period of the history of that country prevailed so powerfully to the disadvantage of England' (13). The 'late American war', the War of 1812, is the setting for *Wacousta*'s sequel, *The Canadian Brothers*.

The preface to *The Canadian Brothers* reproduces correspondence from Herbert Taylor, William IV's private secretary, in which Richardson is given the unusual permission to dedicate his upcoming novel to the king, primarily due to 'the deep gratification I have felt in the perusal of that chapter of your new work which treats of the policy of employing the Indians in any future war we may have with the United States' (4). This exchange took place in 1833, but the novel was not published until 1840. As a result, the letters are included in lieu of the actual dedication to the king, who had died in the interim. The passage in question is an extended debate about the two nations' handling of Indian affairs, the Americans reproaching the British with co-opting the 'savage' Indian warriors into their army while the British accuse the Americans of causing the conflict by their aggressive westward expansion. In both novels, distinctions between the British and Americans are solidified by the positions both groups occupy in relation to the Indians and as a result, Wacousta's appropriation of Indian identity threatens the coherence of cultural categories in a way that Oliver Edwards' actions do not.

It is in the context of widespread Indian hostility towards the British that *Wacousta* begins, with the 'haunting' of the fort by an unknown enemy who breaks in and threatens Governor de Haldimar, leaving in his wake a chaotic train of events which include the capture of the governor's son Frederick and the execution of the innocent sentry who allowed Frederick to leave the fort. The Indians are, for much of the novel, a disembodied, unseen

threat, responding to events with unintelligible 'yells' from some omniscient vantage point in the forest; very little that happens in the garrison goes unnoticed by them. At other times these sounds are used to inform the reader – and the garrison – that important events are happening offstage; the different plot strands are synced up through sound. 'While the adjutant was yet reading, in a low and solemn voice, the service for the dead, a fierce and distant yell, as if from a legion of devils, burst suddenly from the forest' (52). This phenomenon is noted in the *American Monthly Review* in July 1833: 'though very important agents in the story, [the Indians] are more talked of than seen, except at a distance or in masses or in action, by which all traits of individuality are confounded' (24).

While Indian speech is conveyed either in incomprehensible yells or picturesque, formal English translation, the French Canadian innkeeper François is the representative of English that falls short of standard: 'a mingled dialect, neither French nor English, but partaking in some degree of the idiom of both' (146). For example: '"It is a long times since you came out of de fort. I hope de gouverneur and de officir be all very well"' (146). The speech of François stands in powerful contrast to that of Wacousta when he first speaks to the garrison: '"Hear you this, Colonel de Haldimar?" shouted the latter in a fierce and powerful voice, and in the purest English accent' (165). This purity of accent is readily explicable – while 'At the first glance he might have been taken for one of the swarthy natives of the soil', Wacousta is not an Indian but an Englishman (143). And like Elizabeth Temple, few of the soldiers are in much doubt about this. 'The Major looked aghast. – "God bless me, how singular! How could the savage contrive to obtain admission? or was he in reality an Indian?"' (24). Later on, Sir Everard Valletort makes the same point, and at the same time draws a neat literary connection between the fort's alarm at the depredations of the unseen visitor and the sentries' encounter

with the ghost of Hamlet's father at Elsinore:

> 'It is a singular affair altogether,' returned Sir Everard, musingly. 'Of two things, however, I am satisfied. The first is, that the stranger, whoever he may be, and if he really has been here, is no Indian; the second, that he is personally known to the governor . . . Depend upon it, there is more in all this than is dreamt of in our philosophy.' (49)

Sir Everard is correct. Wacousta, who is really a Cornish nobleman named Reginald Morton, fell in love as a young man with the daughter of Colonel Beverley, 'of English name, but Scottish connections' who had transplanted himself to a hidden, almost comically inaccessible cranny in the Highlands: 'causing one of his dwelling houses to be pulled down, he had the materials carried across the rocks on the shoulders of the men employed to re-erect them in his chosen solitude' (491). When he was usurped in Clara Beverley's affections by his erstwhile friend de Haldimar, Morton's violent response got him drummed out of the British army. As a result, '"The rebellion of forty-five saw me in arms in the Scottish ranks; and, in one instance, opposed to the regiment from which I had been so ignominiously expelled"' (523). This is why Andrea Cabajsky describes *Wacousta* as 'a novel that takes the consequences of the Jacobite uprisings to Canada' (15) and Carole Gerson as one in which 'local history' is ultimately displaced by 'rivalries transplanted from Europe' (86).

Wacousta/Morton does indeed exchange one 'barbarous', backward affiliation for another, while ironically many of his fellow Jacobites in real life served in the British army in North America. There is even a representative of this group in the novel, '"Johnstone, my brave Scot"' who undergoes some ribbing about his Jacobite connections: '"If the head of our family was unfortunate enough to be considered a traitor to England, he was not so, at least, to Scotland; and Scotland was the land of his birth"' (125). Moving forward, or even laterally, on the civilisational scale is one thing; the novel is deeply ambivalent about the possibility of

moving in the opposite direction, even temporarily. Two young officers, Everard Valletort and Charles de Haldimar, go undercover in enemy territory and to pass unnoticed disguise themselves as French Canadians (these being the only white civilians in the region). However, they are undone by one detail: 'it was impossible they could converse together without betraying the secret of their country, and, as a result of this, the falsehood of the character under which they appeared. Long residence in the country, had, it is true, rendered the patois of that class of people whom they personated familiar to one, but the other spoke only the pure and native language of which it was a corruption' (181). Valletort and de Haldimar are unable to pass as French Canadians because they speak French too well, better than the culturally-degenerate locals.

Wacousta's assumption of Indian identity makes him almost illegible in cultural terms. When he gives his account of himself near the end of the novel, it becomes clear that his angry, vengeful nature was just as much a feature of Morton the British soldier and Morton the Jacobite as of Wacousta. But for most of the narrative neither the reader nor the other characters are privy to that information, resulting in racial interpretations of his 'savagery'.

> A thousand dark and complicated passions evidently struggled at his heart; and as he dwelt leisurely and emphatically on the sacrifice of human life . . . his eye grew larger, his chest expanded, nay, his very nostril appeared to dilate with unfathomably guileful exultation. Captain de Haldimar thought he had never gazed on any thing wearing the human shape half so atrociously savage. (267)

Oliver Edwards' animosity towards Judge Temple is also attributed to his 'savage' heritage; but while this reads as a comic misunderstanding once Edwards' racial identity is clarified, Frederick's perception of Wacousta's savagery is completely accurate and remains so even when the origins of Wacousta's bloodlust are traced to an entirely European love triangle. It is not so easy to determine where Wacousta, in his present state, belongs on the civilisational

scale: '"There is no country in Europe that would willingly claim you for its subject. Nay, even the savage race, with whom you are now connected, would, if apprised of your true nature, spurn you as a thing unworthy to herd even with their wolf-dogs"' (282).

It has been suggested that Wacousta/Morton is loosely based on Major John Norton, the son of a Scottish mother and Cherokee father who became a prominent chief of the Mohawks in the early nineteenth century and with whom Richardson was personally acquainted.[2] As one of the Ottawas puts it: '"Though he came from the country that lies beyond the salt lake, he is now a chief of the red skins"' (211). The difference, however, lies in the novel's implication that Wacousta's transformation of himself into an Indian warrior is in some way fraudulent; that he has imposed upon and misled his Ottawa companions – not about his racial identity, of which they are quite aware, but about his reasons for assimilating himself in their society. Wacousta is not invested in the historical element of this historical fiction, the Ottawas' political grievances against the British. Instead, he is using the war as a means by which to indulge his desire for personal revenge. The fact that he had first attempted Frederick de Haldimar's life as a French officer at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham also tells against him here; he has passed as a representative of both of the former possessors of the Canadas, but has occupied both positions under false pretences. Sir Everard and Charles cannot pass as French Canadians because they cannot speak like them; Reginald Morton's infiltration of the ranks of the French and the Ottawas is portrayed as highly culpable. Even his initial turn to Jacobitism, because it is driven by his personal vendetta, has no ameliorating factor of loyalty to a lost cause but is merely the first instance of Morton's willingness to turn his coat in the interests of his own revenge plot.

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[2] David Beasley, 'Richardson, John.' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.* 2003.

In both *Wacousta* and *The Pioneers*, members of marginalised, superseded groups co-exist with the emissaries of the national or imperial future – to a point. Mohegan dies, and in death seems ultimately to re-establish the absolute division between Indian and white in a novel that has toyed with the taboo of interracial union: '"I look – but I see no white-skins; there are none to be seen but just and brave Indians. Farewell, Hawk-eye – you shall go with the Fire-eater and the Young-eagle, to the white man's heaven; but I go after my fathers"' (421). The boundaries between Oliver Edwards' real identity and the Indian persona he uses as camouflage are clearly marked; the 'Tale of the Canadas', however, is dominated by a figure who unites the positions of Englishman, Jacobite, Frenchman and Ottawa in one person but whose true nature remains, in stadial terms, opaque, making the categories dissolve into incoherence.

As its title suggests, *The Canadian Brothers*, the sequel to *Wacousta* featuring the grandsons of the two survivors of the first novel, offers another identity for consideration. The novel opens as the first engagement of the War of 1812 is about to take place at Amherstburg on the Canadian side of Lake Erie. Lieutenant Henry Grantham's gunboat has been sent to capture an American schooner, but it has disappeared from view, making Commodore Barclay suspicious: '"Can there be any question of his fidelity? the Granthams are Canadians, I understand."' General Brock replies: '"If . . . the mere circumstance of their having received existence amid these wild woods can make them Canadians, they certainly are Canadians; but if the blood of a proud race can make them Britons, such they are"' (33). Canadians are understood to be distinct from the British yet entitled to membership in the British polity through their descent from the 'proud race' and through demonstrations of loyalty to the empire.

There is also, however, the ever-present troubling suggestion that these British North Americans may be in sympathy with the United States; that they may, perhaps, feel more in common with their neighbours. Richardson gives that possibility a deeply unattractive human face, depicting the American settlers in Upper Canada as a potential Yankee fifth column.

> For many years previous to the war, adventurers from the United States, chiefly men of desperate fortunes, and even more desperate characters, had, through a mistaken policy, been suffered to occupy the most valuable portion of the country. Upper Canada, in particular, was infested by these people, all of whom, even while taking the customary oath of allegiance to the crown, brought with them, and openly professed, all the partialities of American citizens. By the Canadians and their descendants, French and English, they were evidently looked upon with an eye of distrust. (95)

Even the formerly neutral term 'settler' becomes negative when applied to the novel's chief villain, a murderous, treacherous American resident of Upper Canada named Jeremiah Desborough, who combines in his person the stereotypical negative traits of two different American regions: 'No one knew from what particular point of the United States he had come, and whether Yankee or Kentuckian, it would have puzzled one of that race of beings, so proverbial for acumen – a Philadelphia lawyer – to have determined; for so completely did he unite the boasting language of the latter with the wary caution and sly cunning of the former, that he appeared a compound of both' (99). Desborough stands as a kind of perversion or devolution of Cooper's careful delineation of American regional characteristics. Kentuckians, in particular, are singled out as the embodiments of every trope of American degeneracy: '"They are scarcely looked upon as appertaining to the great American family. Half horse, half alligator, as they are pleased to term themselves, their roving mode of life and wild pursuits, are little removed from those of the native Indian, who scarcely inspires more curiosity among the civilized portion of the Union, than a genuine Kentuckian"' (94). Their similarity to the Indians even extends to the practice of scalping. In this way, the figure of the

Kentuckian absolves the British of the sin of pitting Native Americans against their fellow whites. The war can be recast as a conflict which '"will only be savage pitted against savage after all, therefore, the exchange of a few scalps can prove but an indifferent source of national umbrage. Not, however, be it understood, that I advocate the practice"' (94).

This manoeuvre, by means of which the atrocities of war are attributed only to a 'savage' subset of Americans and to Britain's Indian allies, has a parallel in the novel's treatment of American speech. Like Galt's Zerobabel L. Hoskins, Desborough and his son Paul Emilius Theophilus Arnoldi glory in the kind of lengthy, overly-elaborate Biblical or Classical names that act as a fail-safe indicator of American identity. They speak in 'a tone of insufferable vulgarity' which stands in stark contrast to the standard English of all of the Canadians – and to that of the other, less debased American characters (53). The Yankees and Kentuckians are joined by a Scot as the novel's only eccentric regional speakers; indeed, *The Canadian Brothers* presents a rendition of Scottish dialect so bad as to require public acknowledgement in the preface to the second edition:

> We cannot conclude without apology for the imperfect Scotch, which we have (to use a homely phrase,) put into the mouth of one of our characters . . . We are consoled, however, by the reflection that we have given the person in question so much of the national character that he can well afford to lose something in a minor particular. (6)

This national character consists chiefly of a striking resemblance to Lismahago from *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, a reference that is appropriate given that character's own experience of Indian captivity and temporary embrace of a life of savagery.

> 'If a am at all a joddge of pheesogs, and a flatter meself a am,' said a raw-boned Scotch Captain of Grenadiers, measuring six feet two in his stockings, 'yon geerl has a bit of the deevil in her ee, therefor, me lads, tak heed that nane o' ye lose yer heerts to her'. (56)

In *The Canadian Brothers* there is no such thing as English-Canadian speech. Anna Jameson

and Catharine Parr Traill's accounts of settler society in Upper Canada in the 1830s, in contrast, foreground Canadians' linguistic deviation from British English. The slippage between Canadian and 'Yankee' speech is illustrative of the continuing difficulty of locating 'Canadianness', of depicting Romantic-period Canadian settlements without benefit of hindsight.

Writing Settlement

By the time she published *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* in 1838, Anna Jameson was a well-established professional author who was best known for her European travel narrative, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826) and a study of Shakespeare's heroines entitled *Characteristics of Women* (1832). Her brief sojourn in Upper Canada was motivated by her estranged husband Robert Jameson's appointment as Attorney-General of the province in 1833. The couple had lived apart since 1829, when Robert became a judge in Dominica while Anna spent the next few years travelling in Europe with her father, including extended periods in Germany where she was celebrated as the author of *Characteristics of Women*.[3] Belatedly, she went out to join her husband in Toronto in 1836, but their reconciliation was not a success and she left Canada for good the following year.[4]

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, an account of Jameson's temporary residence in Toronto and travels in the Great Lakes region, also documents a detour south of the border to Detroit, a town which had changed hands with bewildering frequency in the

[3] While moving in German literary circles, Jameson forged a lifelong friendship with Ottilie von Goethe; their correspondence was published in 1939.
[4] See Clara Thomas, 'Murphy, Anna Brownell (Jameson).' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. 1985.

course of its short, bloody history. 'Of all the places I have yet seen in these far western regions, Detroit is the most interesting. It is, moreover, a most ancient and venerable place, dating back to the dark immemorial ages, *i.e.* almost a century and a quarter ago!' (2: 289). A little over seventy years earlier, in the wake of the British conquest of New France, Detroit had been an embattled fort in the wilderness besieged by a confederation of Indian tribes led by the Ottawa chief Pontiac, as depicted by Richardson. After being embroiled in this violent fallout of the handover of power from France to Britain, Detroit then became 'the scene of even more horrid and unnatural conflicts between the Americans and British' (2: 305) as an important military target during both the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Detroit maintained a position as a frontier marker even as the border itself shifted and the identities of the nations on either side changed, transitioning from a fur-trading post in New France to a western outpost of the British military presence in North America to the thriving capital of the State of Michigan, newly admitted to the Union at the time of Jameson's visit.

Jameson's response to finding herself in this former British stronghold is to argue that the national borders and political conflicts that separate Britain and the United States are arbitrary, even in some way wrong-headed or beside the point, when measured against the shared cultural inheritance of the two countries. 'For myself, I cannot contemplate the possibility of another war between the English and the Americans without a mingled disgust and terror, as something cruel, unnatural, fratricidal. Have we not the same ancestry, the same father-land, the same language?' (2: 306). However, Jameson's view had by the 1830s ceased to be the only, or even the predominant, possible interpretation of Britain's continuing relationship to the United States.

As Christopher Flynn has shown in *Americans in British Literature, 1770–1832* (2008),

British writers in the immediate wake of the American Revolution often attempted to cope with the splitting of Britain's North American empire by 'treating the political relationship as an emotional one that could survive technical dissolution' in sentimental epistolary fiction, or by depicting the United States as a utopian space where social or religious freedoms that had been foreclosed in Europe might still be possible to achieve (4). Both of these approaches require the United States to possess little or no historical or cultural specificity of its own, to evade the question of whether the Americans had now to be considered as a people fundamentally different from the British. That is, the question of whether their newly-inscribed political separation must necessarily translate into a distinct, coherent American national character. As the nineteenth century wore on and the date of American independence receded a little in historical memory, British observers came to view this less as a question and more as a truism; the task then became to locate the roots of that difference, to attribute it to the republican political system, to the loss of a clearly-defined class hierarchy, to the subordination of polite culture to commercial concerns. As a result, Americans and their 'manners' increasingly became 'objects of amateur cultural anthropology' in the writings of British travellers (3).

The most famous (or from the American point of view, infamous) of such works was Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, published in 1832. Her depiction of a United States characterised by excessive expectoration, poor table manners, rude servants and a general disregard for social distinctions proved extremely popular in Britain while, predictably, arousing the ire of Americans. Grant Thorburn, the 'original Lawrie Todd', rails in his autobiography against the misrepresentation of his adopted country by '*Men*, *Fidlers*, and *Trollopes*, who travel forty days in America, fifteen of which are generally spent in the

death of sleep' (240).[5] *Domestic Manners* was widely reviewed, positively in the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's*, more sceptically in the *Edinburgh* and *Fraser's*. The review in *Fraser's* in April 1832, by William Maginn, observes that 'She made the usual transit in the course of her travels, having gone out Whig, and come back Tory, ready with the Anti-jacobin, in the Robespierrian days in Paris, to cry out, "D– liberty! I hate its very name"', and makes the point that Trollope is generalising about the entire United States from a stay in Cincinnati: 'her descriptions of American manners are almost as provincial as if an American were to make Taunton Dean or Kirkcaldy, Hogs Norton or Kilkenny, his headquarters' (336–37).

The extent to which the United States had diverged from its British cultural origins was the central question both for those who believed that this divergence represented a falling-off, a 'degradation into the monstrous' as Tilar Mazzeo has it, and for more sympathetic and nuanced commentators like Anna Jameson. Jameson is still arguing that only a certain amount of cultural differentiation is desirable or even possible for the United States, but she is doing so to advance the point that a shared relationship to a 'parent culture' ought to transcend the contingencies of competing national political agendas. Flynn announces at the beginning of his study that 'My topic is the style and literary construction of an Other that had long been considered part of the collective national self' (4). The topic of this chapter is something more complex again; the construction of a group which is *still* considered part of that collective national self, but is inhabiting a newly-acquired, ill-defined space – and what is more, is inhabiting a space immediately adjacent to the new Other of Flynn's book, and inhabiting it in rather similar ways. Frances Trollope includes an approving portrait of Upper Canada in *Domestic Manners* as a contrast to her negative portrayal of the United States. That distinction

[5] 'Fidler' refers to another British traveller, Isaac Fidler, author of *Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and America* (1833).

is not quite so clear-cut in narratives that are more focused on providing detailed depictions of Canadian life, specifically. Jameson, for example, does not offer any clear indication of whether she considers visiting Detroit as a traveller from Upper Canada to be qualitatively different from visiting as a representative of Britain; or put another way, whether Upper Canada is a third space with 'manners' that can be as clearly delineated as those of the United States.

Jameson observes that 'Canada is a colony, not a *country*; it is not yet identified with the dearest affections and associations, remembrances, and hopes of its inhabitants: it is to them an adopted, not a real mother. Their love, their pride, are not for poor Canada, but for high and happy England; but a few more generations must change all this' (1: 100). As usual, 'England' refers here to the United Kingdom in general; Jameson later uses more precise terminology in breaking down the demographics of the provincial legislature: 'at present there are, I believe, thirty members. Of these, twenty-one are Scotch and Canadians, and nine English, Irish, and Americans' (1: 149). Also significant here – and somewhat at odds with her claim that the colony's inhabitants have not yet transferred their allegiance fully from their place of origin to their new home – is the inclusion of 'Canadian' as a separate category. Jameson uses 'Canadian' consistently to mean 'a person born in the Canadas'. For example, she distinguishes between the backgrounds of two of her acquaintances as follows: 'A—, who has been settled here five years, and B—, himself a Canadian' (1: 80).

This is a change from an older tendency to use 'Canadian' to refer specifically to French Canadians, a historical shift that is dramatised in *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers*. In *Wacousta*, set in the 1760s, the minor character known as 'the Canadian' is a French-speaking *habitant* whose non-standard, error-laden English marks him out as a potentially

untrustworthy remnant of the *ancien régime* in the newly-British Detroit region. In *The Canadian Brothers*, on the other hand, the siblings of the title are Anglo-Canadians, natives of Upper Canada who are called upon to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown in the context of the War of 1812.

The definition of 'Canadian' has expanded by the time of Jameson's *Winter Studies* in 1837 and Richardson's *Canadian Brothers* in 1840, but if Jameson's text is any indication, there is not yet perfect clarity about what the label 'Canadian' implies about the bearer's cultural affiliations or national origins. Jameson's position with regard to Canadian identity – or to adapt Tilar Mazzeo's terms, to the possibility of being Anglo-Canadian – is not stable. On the one hand, she asserts that the inhabitants of Upper Canada have not, as of 1837, ceased to identify primarily with their homeland ('their love, their pride, are not for poor Canada'). Indeed, she portrays Canada and Canadians as hostile to non-British emigration, fiercely dedicated to safeguarding British 'principles' (1: 164). This is consistent with her description of Canada as 'a colony, not yet a country'. On the other hand, Jameson frequently notes aspects of life in the province that highlight her own alienation, as a British visitor, from values or assumptions that she defines as 'Canadian'. 'The pity I have for the trees in Canada, shows how far I am yet from being a true Canadian. How do we know that trees do not feel their downfal [sic]?' (2: 102). She pinpoints a particular (prosaic, unromantic) attitude towards the local environment which arises from the practical exigencies of settler life – one hint that there may be a specifically 'Canadian' way of inhabiting space to which Jameson is not privy.

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles also identifies a lack of reciprocity between Canada and Britain when it comes to knowledge of local affairs. The residents of Upper Canada may find it unproblematic to believe that they maintain their stake in British politics,

history and culture as transatlantic subjects, but people back in Britain will not automatically feel an equal ownership of, or interest in, the concerns of Canadians. For example, in Jameson's view the War of 1812 is an event of only local Canadian significance, 'a war scarce heard of in Europe, even by the mother country, who paid its cost in millions, and in the blood of some of her best subjects; a war obscure, fratricidal, and barbarous, which has left behind no effect but a mutual exasperation and distress along the frontiers of both nations' (2: 238). Jameson assumes her reader will share in this metropolitan ignorance, introducing them to the figure of 'Técumseh, a Shawanee chief, of whom it is possible you may not have heard, but who is the historical hero of these wild regions' (2: 239). She emphasises Tecumseh's marginal status within the British national memory of the Napoleonic Wars, in which the War of 1812 figures only as a far-flung North American theatre, by comparing the Native American military leader to his French counterpart:

> Some American writers call him the 'Indian Napoleon'; both began their plans of policy and conquest about the same time, and both about the same time terminated their career, the one by captivity, the other by death. But the genius of the Indian warrior and his exploits were limited to a narrow field along the confines of civilisation, and their record is necessarily imperfect. (2: 239–40)

Jameson comes to a similar conclusion about Pontiac, the animating force behind the conflict that broke out in 1763 over Britain's aggressive expansion into territory recently acquired from the French, coupled with their refusal to continue France's conciliatory policies towards Native Americans.

> Of this Pontiac you have read, no doubt, in various books of travels and anecdotes of Indian chiefs. But it is *one* thing to read of these events by an English fireside, where the features of the scene – the forest wilds echoing to the war-whoop – the painted warriors – the very words scalping, tomahawking, bring no definite meaning to the mind, only a vague horror; – and quite *another* thing to recal [sic] them here on the spot, arrayed in all their dread yet picturesque reality. (2: 293–94)

These passages set up a clear imbalance between imperial centre and western frontier, with the terminology peculiar to one location unable to make a clear impression in the other. Indeed, Jameson concludes that despite being 'the hero *par excellence* of all these regions' (2: 294), outside of the Detroit area Pontiac is doomed to irrelevance. 'But what avails it all! who knows or cares about Pontiac and his Ottowas [sic]?' (2: 301).

Jameson does not appear to be familiar with *Wacousta*, in which Pontiac appears as a major character; at least, she does not mention it. The novel was published in Edinburgh by William Blackwood and received a modest amount of attention in the British press, being reviewed by London's *Athenaeum* and *Literary Gazette* but not by any of the most influential quarterly reviews (nor by Blackwood's eponymous magazine).[6] Indeed, Reaney's observation about the elision of Canadian literature in the American marketplace can read as a somewhat forlorn echo of Jameson's 'who knows or cares about Pontiac and his Ottowas?', who count among their number Richardson's fictional antagonist, Wacousta.

The opening lines of *Wacousta* announce the novel's intent 'to introduce our readers to scenes with which the European is little familiarised' (3), and Jameson's preface to her work of non-fiction makes the same claim. 'While in Canada, I was thrown into scenes and regions hitherto undescribed by any traveller, (for the northern shores of Lake Huron are almost new ground,) and into relations with the Indian tribes, such as few European women of refined and civilised habits have ever risked, and none have recorded' (vi). Jameson's adventurousness is defined in both geographical and cultural terms – in fact, the course of her journey westward to the 'Ultima Thule' of Sault Sainte Marie is determined by her boundary-pushing personal connections. She forged friendships with three Ojibwe women, Jane Schoolcraft (herself a

[6] *The Athenæum* 270 (1832): 837–38; *The Literary Gazette* 833 (1833): 7–8.

poet and a translator of Ojibwe stories, some of which Jameson includes in her book), her sister Charlotte MacMurray and their mother Susan Johnston, and arranged her travel plans to allow herself to visit each of them in turn. Jameson uses her unusual access to the lives of First Nations women to set up a comparison with the lives of white female settlers, then extends the comparison to the lot of women in general, highlighting the hypocrisy of condemning one way of life as 'savage' while asserting the 'civilised' nature of a system that keeps women in a state of legal and social subordination.

At the time of Jameson's trip, two settler women who had enjoyed modest literary success before leaving Britain were already installed in the province, not in the capital but in the backwoods settlement of Douro Township. Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill, née Strickland, were two of a quintet of sisters who made a living writing children's books and publishing poetry and sketches in literary annuals, gift books and magazines.[7] Susanna and Catharine, both newly married to Orcadian half-pay British army officers, emigrated to Upper Canada in 1832.

Susanna Moodie quickly made her mark on the local literary scene; in fact, some of her poetry was published in the *Cobourg Star* newspaper in September and October of 1831, before she had even arrived in the province.[8] The first issue of the *Canadian Literary Magazine* (April 1833) offers up three different pieces 'by Mrs Moodie, Author of ''Enthusiasm"' – *Enthusiasm, and Other Poems* being Moodie's first poetry collection, published in London in 1831. From having her pre-emigration track record of metropolitan publishing leveraged to lend credibility to a new Canadian periodical, Moodie went on to be a

[7] Carole Gerson, 'Literature of settlement.' 90.
[8] See Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins and Michael Peterman, eds, *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime* (1985). 285.

major contributor of original work to the *Literary Garland*. Although the bulk of these pieces were not 'Canadian' in terms of subject matter or setting, one set of sketches was later repurposed to form the basis of *Roughing it in the Bush*, Moodie's memoir of her emigrant experience which retains a prominent place in the Canadian literary canon to this day.[9] As Gerson points out in 'Literature of settlement', in the original sketches 'Moodie wrote to members of her own community who didn't need practical advice or to be reminded that a standard men's meal consisted of "potatoes and pork, washed down with a glass of whiskey"' (102). Details of this kind were added for the book version, which was published in London. This version also reframes its Canadian locations as unfamiliar and exotic, with the straightforward opening question 'Reader, have you ever heard of a place called Dummer?' becoming 'Reader! Have you ever heard of a place situated in the forest-depths of this far western wilderness, called Dummer?'[10]

Roughing it in the Bush was published in 1852, by which time the sisters had been in Upper Canada for two decades. Catharine Parr Traill, in contrast, brought out *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America* much earlier, in 1836. If *Roughing it in the Bush* is an interesting case study in the revision of material originally aimed at a Canadian audience to make it suitable for a more 'general' – that is, British – readership, *The Backwoods of Canada* is an emigrant's guide in the classic sense, an account of one settler's experience for the benefit of a British reader who is about to follow in her footsteps. A large part of its claim to attention, as

[9] Gerson notes: 'Nearly half her chapters in the first edition of *Roughing It* were based on the eight sketches that originally appeared in the *Literary Garland* and the *Victoria Magazine* in 1847 and 1848' (102).
[10] 'Canadian Sketches No. II: The Walk to Dummer.' *Literary Garland* 5.3 (1847): 101.

with all guides, is that it is not a retrospective account but, rather, strikingly current. To achieve this effect Traill preserves her material in its original format of personal correspondence, adding footnotes to bring the reader up to date on changes that have occurred in the four years between the writing of the letters and their appearance in book form. For example, her original impression of Peterborough is that 'if it continues to increase as rapidly in the next few years as it has done lately, it will soon be a very populous town'. She then adds a footnote to confirm for the benefit of the emigrant of 1836 that this has, indeed, come to pass: 'Since this account of Peterborough was written, the town has increased at least a third in buildings and population' (89). *The Backwoods of Canada* positions itself as a contribution to the current boom in emigration-themed publishing, with a special appeal to a particular, underserved demographic – the female emigrant.

> Among the numerous works on Canada that have been published within the last ten years, with emigration for their leading theme, there are few, if any, that give information regarding the domestic economy of a settler's life, sufficiently minute to prove a faithful guide to the person on whose responsibility the whole comfort of a family depends – the mistress, whose department it is 'to haud the house in order'. (1)

In line with the emigrant's guide's typical valorisation of first-hand testimony and accompanying criticism of more generalised accounts, Traill uses her position as the woman on the spot to correct those 'writers on emigration' who have failed to produce nuanced, properly contextualised portrayals of the realities of settlement.

> Travellers generally make a hasty journey through the long settled and prosperous portions of the country; they see tracts of fertile, well-cultivated land, the result of many years of labour; they see comfortable dwellings, abounding with all the substantial necessaries of life; the farmer's wife makes her own soap, candles, and sugar; the family are clothed in cloth of their own spinning, and hose of their own knitting . . . He concludes, therefore, that Canada is a land of Canaan, and writes a book setting forth these advantages, with the addition of obtaining land for a mere song; and advises all persons who would be independent and secure from want to emigrate. (98)

This agrees with William Dunlop's criticism in *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* of writers who, 'being only acquainted with one section of the country, [have] described it as an epitome of the whole' (3). However, Traill is also interested in showing that the casual observer's inability to 'read' a successful settlement historically, to understand the lengthy process by which it came to be, is partly due to the tendency to gloss over the work of 'homemaking' which is predominantly associated with women and therefore taken for granted. The soap, sugar and homespun garments are just as much the culmination of a years-long effort as a plot of land cleared of trees, but they are less legible to the male travel writer – hence the need for *The Backwoods of Canada*.

The more 'humble' letter-writers included in emigrant's guides pass on the knowledge they have gained from their experience in straightforward style; they do not dramatise the moment at which they came into possession of their information and made the transition from uninformed outsider to experienced settler. Traill, in contrast, inserts herself overtly into her account as a character, depicting herself becoming disabused of notions she has absorbed in Britain which are at odds with conditions on the ground.

> 'But all the works on emigration that I have read,' replied I, 'give a fair and flattering picture of a settler's life; for, according to their statements, the difficulties are easily removed.'
>
> 'Never mind books,' said my companion, 'use your own reason. Look on those interminable forests, through which the eye can only penetrate a few yards, and tell me how those vast timbers are to be removed, utterly extirpated, I may say, from the face of the earth, the ground cleared and burnt, a crop sown and fenced, and a house to shelter you raised, without difficulty, without expense, and without great labour. Never tell me of what is said in books, written very frequently by tarry-at-home travellers. Give me facts. One honest, candid emigrant's experience is worth all that has been written on the subject.' (57–58)

Jameson read Traill's book in preparation for her trip (though she did not know the identity of its author) and commented positively on it in a letter to Ottilie von Goethe: 'The book

interested me . . . and pleased me very much, and it is thought to give so favourable a view of things, that they say it has made many persons emigrate' (quoted in Gerson 90). Jameson is more ambivalent about Canada, but her concern with the difficult situation of female settlers in the backwoods has much in common with Traill's desire to shed light on the 'domestic economy of a settler's life'. Indeed, the *Cambridge History of Canadian Literature* (2010) places Jameson alongside Moodie and Traill in the category of 'literature of settlement'. This type of writing is defined in opposition to the literature of exploration, a field dominated by men. Jameson, Traill and Moodie's 'canonical settlement narratives' are all distinguished from 'immigrant handbooks' whose authors were 'invariably male' (88). This is a distinction that breaks down slightly in the case of *The Backwoods of Canada.* It is certainly more 'literary' than compilations such as the *Counsel for Emigrants*, making use of far more sophisticated narrative techniques, but it is clear that Traill views her book as occupying a position on a continuum of emigration literature that also includes other fairly 'literary' guides like Dunlop's, which is classed in the *Cambridge History* as a 'handbook' – Galt's emigrant novels are also labelled as 'works of this nature' (87).

More significant for the purposes of this chapter is the line that is drawn between Jameson and the Traill/Moodie sisters; the line between 'visitor' and 'immigrant' (89). Traill and Moodie write 'from the perspective of settlers with a long-term commitment to their new home', while 'for Anna Jameson, as for Frances Brooke nearly a century earlier, travel to British North America represented a dramatic episode that contributed fresh material and a significant book to a London literary career' (90; 93–94). The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* echoes this conclusion: 'Anna Jameson's is a vastly different account of Upper Canada from those of Susanna Moodie or Catharine Parr Traill: she was a bird of passage, a

writer who already knew that she had a cosmopolitan audience for her work; the Stricklands were immigrant pioneers who wrote to instruct and, in Susanna's case, to warn others who would follow them.'[11]

While this distinction is accurate up to a point – Jameson is observing settler society (as well as First Nations culture) while Traill is reporting on her own attempts to help form that society – it also relies on a slightly false, or anachronistic, dichotomy between traveller and settler in which the settler is already able to speak as the representative of a nascent Canadian culture. Emigrant literature narrates the process of entering this new subject position; it is not a position that is already fully realised and available for occupation.

Traill is also, like Jameson, at a certain remove from the manners of settlers of longer standing, commenting on Canadian traditions and, most significantly, language usage, with an outsider's eye. Her description of the 'bees' that are a constant feature of community life unites both of these signs of otherness, cultural and linguistic:

> Now you know that a 'bee', in American language, or rather phraseology, signifies those friendly meetings of neighbours who assemble at your summons to raise the walls of your house, shanty, barn, or any other building: this is termed a 'raising bee.' Then there are logging-bees, husking-bees, chopping-bees, and quilting-bees. The nature of the work to be done gives the name to the bee . . . In no situation, and under no other circumstance, does the equalizing system of America appear to such advantage as in meetings of this sort. (121–22)

Canada and the United States are not clearly distinguished here. While 'American language' might be taken to refer to North America in a neutral sense, 'the equalizing system of America' must either denote the United States or run counter to the dominant image of Canada as a place where British social distinctions can be preserved. Throughout the book the speech of certain of Traill's backwoods neighbours is differentiated from standard English,

[11] Clara Thomas, 'Murphy, Anna Brownell (Jameson).' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. 1985.

but it is not clear whether the peculiarities she notes are simply equivalent to American speech as it is depicted by British observers.

On one occasion, Traill describes a scene by slyly ventriloquising a couple of American onlookers: 'the driver . . . cracked his whip with a flourish, that appeared to be reckoned pretty considerably smart by two American travellers that stood on either side the door at the inn' (51). Other British writers also fasten on these exotic usages – 'to reckon' or 'calculate' in a non-mathematical context; 'pretty considerable' in place of 'rather' or 'quite' – as useful shorthand not only for a peculiarly American variety of English but for certain stereotypes about the American national character. *Lawrie Todd*'s only 'Yankee' character is the voluble, unrefined but shrewd businessman Zerobabel L. Hoskins, and it is he, not the Scots characters, who is distinguished for the oddity and incomprehensibility of his speech. Galt writes in the preface that he 'has attempted to write as a humbly-educated Scotchman, of a particular temperament, who has been sometime in the United States, would probably have done – a glossary is subjoined' (iii). However, a large proportion of the entries in that glossary are not terms used by Lawrie but are Americanisms. The two dialect varieties, Scots and Yankee, are clearly differentiated on the page: 'The Yankeyisms are in italics' (317). These exotic 'Yankeyisms' include cent, bush ('the wild woods'), boozer, boss, cocktail, damndest, go the whole hog, grade, guess ('think'), help ('domestic female servant'), immigration, shanty, slick ('clever'), snack and snag ('a stump or any impediment in the way').[12] Several of these entries are words that have been coined in response to new conditions, such as 'bush' and 'shanty'.

[12] According to Carter F. Hanson's *Emigration, Nation, Vocation: The Literature of English Emigration to Canada, 1825–1900*, 'In Victorian fiction and journalism, and in the writings of English settlers in Canada, the words *immigration* and *immigrant* are almost never encountered', which appears to be borne out by Galt's perception of it as an unfamiliar American term (xiv).

'Snag', Galt suggests, may have gained a figurative meaning but its literal derivation is also rooted in settler life. Traill is equally interested in analysing Americanisms:

> We had heard so much of the odious manners of the Yankees in this country that I was rather agreeably surprised by the few specimens of native Americans that I have seen . . . The only peculiarities I observed in them were a certain nasal twang in speaking, and some few odd phrases; but these were only used by the lower class, who '*guess*' and '*calculate*' a little more than we do. One of their most remarkable terms is to '*Fix*'. Whatever work requires to be done it must be *fixed*. 'Fix the room' is, set it in order. 'Fix the table' – 'Fix the fire', says the mistress to her servants, and the things are fixed accordingly. (82)

In this case, the speakers are definitely from the United States. Crucially, however, their language proves contagious: 'This odd term is not confined to the lower orders alone, and, from hearing it so often, it becomes a standard word even among the later emigrants from our own country' (82). The adoption of 'Yankee' speech is socially as well as linguistically destabilising:

> Persons who come to this country are very apt to confound the old settlers from Britain with the native Americans; and when they meet with people of rude, offensive manners, using certain Yankee words in their conversation, and making a display of independence not exactly suitable to their own aristocratical notions, they immediately suppose they must be genuine Yankees, while they are, in fact, only imitators; and you well know the fact that a bad imitation is always worse than the original. (83)

Americans are always visible – and audible – in *The Backwoods of Canada*. Canadians, however, seem to become particularly notable only when they take on aspects of speech and behaviour that are coded as American. 'You would be surprised to see how soon the new comers fall into this disagreeable manner and affectation of equality'; a transformation that may be understood as Americanisation, Canadianisation – or both (83). Jameson too takes the opportunity to connect American speech to vulgarity and disregard for tradition while watching a performance of Shakespeare in Buffalo. 'The actor and actress had enriched the humour of Shakspeare [sic] by adding several Yankee witticisms and allusions, the exact

import of which I could not comprehend' (2: 85). She also, on another occasion, suits a Canadian word to a Canadian situation: 'Can you imagine the position of a fretful, frivolous woman, strong neither in mind nor frame, abandoned to her own resources in the wilds of Upper Canada? I do not believe you *can* imagine something so pitiable, so ridiculous, and, to borrow the Canadian word, "so shiftless"' (2: 135).

For both Jameson and Traill, the transition from British visitor to Canadian resident is also marked by a loss of a wider historical awareness. Jameson mentions that 'Some vague and general traditions, of no interest whatever to the ignorant settlers, do indeed exist, of horrid conflicts between the Hurons and the Iroquois, all along these shores, in the time and before the time of the French dominion' (2: 237). We are not told exactly who these settlers are and why they are ignorant – is it because they have only recently arrived in Canada, because they are working class and poorly educated, or because settler life in Canada is somehow incompatible with a deep connection to the region's past? Traill espouses the latter interpretation:

> As to ghosts or spirits they appear totally banished from Canada. This is too matter-of-fact country for such supernaturals to visit. Here there are no historical associations, no legendary tales of those that came before us. Fancy would starve for lack of marvellous food to keep her alive in the backwoods. We have neither fay nor fairy, ghost nor bogle, satyr nor wood-nymph; our very forests disdain to shelter dryad or hamadryad. (153)

This portrait of a cheerfully prosaic, unhistorical community partially echoes Irving's 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow':

> Besides, there is no encouragement for ghosts in most of our villages, for they have scarce had time to finish their first nap, and turn themselves in their graves, before their surviving friends have travelled away from the neighbourhood, so that when they turn out of a night to walk the rounds, they have no acquaintance left to call upon. This is perhaps why we so seldom hear of ghosts except in our long established Dutch communities. (311)

There is one crucial difference, however. While Irving has Dutch settler culture as his anachronistic survival of earlier European empires, there is no suitable equivalent in Traill's Upper Canada, absent even the French Canadian community which might have filled the void in Lower Canada. The notion that Canada is a venue for the preservation of Highland culture, or an ideal space for the untroubled continuation of British subjecthood, does not extend to the transplantation of local folklore. 'Even the Irish and Highlanders of the humblest class seem to lay aside their ancient superstitions on becoming denizens of the woods of Canada' (153–54).

Galt's *Lawrie Todd* insinuates that the British emigrant reader is likely to know more about their new surroundings than any of their local informants: 'both Mrs Micklethrift and James Pirns, though but newly come to America, were much better acquainted with every thing about them, than those tavern-keepers and others, to whom I applied. This was owing, as I learnt afterwards, to the friends who had come before them, and who had written every particular necessary to be known' (182). The well-informed emigrant, connected to other recent arrivals through correspondence networks, consumer of the guides and other sources of information circulating in the British literary marketplace, is contrasted with the ignorant local, too entrenched in their surroundings to have any perspective on them. James Buzard's writing on the ethnographic definition of a 'culture' in *Disorienting Fiction: The Autoethnographic Work of Nineteenth-Century British Novels* (2005) offers a useful perspective here. One condition for fully becoming part of a culture, according to Buzard's reading of Bronisław Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), is the loss of awareness of the non-universal nature of that culture, of its location-bound character. In Malinowski's terms, 'natives were "*of* [their culture] and *in* it" but "have no vision of the resulting integral action of the whole"' (33). Both Jameson and Traill, in spite of the latter's

identification as a permanent settler, depict themselves as only partly absorbed into the local culture; in the language of ethnography, they are participant observers.

But precisely how long it has taken for this hypothetical local to come into being, to become embedded in the Canadian environment to such a degree as to be unaware of its distinctive features, is difficult to pin down, the moment of their emergence always receding into the past. This problem also dogs Richardson's historical fiction, as the moment in which Anglo-Canadians come into existence is more difficult to depict than the American equivalent, which has the advantage of being symbolised by political independence. One response to this riddle has been to impose an overly neat separation between two near-contemporaneous depictions of Upper Canada, Jameson's and Traill's, and to place them on either side of this temporal divide; to pass straight from visitor to long-term settler without acknowledging the position in between, that of the emigrant.

Conclusion

The December 1821 issue of *Blackwood's* includes a piece 'On the late Rumour of a Change of Administration' in which many of the threads that have run through the five chapters of this thesis are visible. It is a burlesque which debunks rumours of an editorial upheaval at the magazine and exaggerated reports of Christopher North's resignation and the death of 'The Proprietor', William Blackwood. The news spreads from Edinburgh to London, prompting wild celebration in Whig circles and among the 'Cockney poets', and mourning in the offices of the *Quarterly Review.* The rumour reaches the Highlands too, where 'Many families talked of emigrating, in consequence of this sudden blow' (750). The piece ends by promising a great expansion of the magazine, including fortnightly issues, huge salaries for its regular writers, and new 'travelling contributors' who 'shall be sent all over Europe, Asia, America, and Africa . . . This enlightened zeal and liberality of ours in the cause of science must make the African Association feel themselves "pretty damned considerable cheap" to use the expressive phraseology of Upper Canada' (755).

As in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae', the magazine is conflated with the national interest; its internal politics have repercussions not only in literary circles but in the country as a whole – though it is made clear that the 'public feeling' in Scotland is most violently affected. Rather than merely responding to the phenomenon of mass emigration, *Blackwood's* is imagined as impacting it directly by driving people to emigrate. My aim in delineating the field of emigration literature has been to show that it is disruptive to models of transatlantic or transcolonial literary relations in which Scottish literature exerts an influence upon Canadian letters that, due to the colony's cultural belatedness, only bears fruit after some time has passed and the Romantic period itself is over, while Canada figures in Scottish Romanticism

solely as subject matter.

Ideas about the mobility of Scottish literature – the imperial reach of the *Edinburgh* or *Blackwood's* or Walter Scott, the preservation of Scottish culture in the diaspora, the adaptation of Scottish 'models' to new contexts – are complicated by writings that are engaged with the literal movement of population. They do not narrate the gradual evolution of national into colonial identity but are stubbornly rooted to the present, which, as Traill and Jameson's works make clear, is a moment in which coherent national categories prove to be elusive. 'On the late Rumour of a Change of Administration' provides another case in point, citing the term 'pretty damned considerable cheap' as an example of the 'phraseology of Upper Canada'. Canada is associated with linguistic difference, but difference of a kind that is indistinguishable from stereotypical depictions of the speech of the United States. This illustrates, in miniature, the other main contention of this thesis: that viewing Romantic Canada through the prism either of transatlanticism or of settler colonialism – in relation either to the United States or to the British Empire – will, inevitably, obscure part of the picture. One solution to that dilemma is to bring writing about Canadian emigration, which has tended to recede from view due to its inability to slot neatly into either national literary tradition, into the foreground.

Appendix

Books Reviewed and/or Advertised in New Publications Lists, 1802–1840

Titles marked with a * are the subject of an article or review.

Titles marked with a † are works of fiction.

ER – appears in New Publications section of *Edinburgh Review*

*ER – reviewed in *Edinburgh Review*

QR – *Quarterly Review*

B – *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

F – *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*

T – *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*

Books about Canada

1802 *Mackenzie, Alexander. *Voyages from Montreal*. London, 1801. *ER Oct 1802.

1804 Heriot, George. *The History of Canada, from its first Discovery; comprehending an Account of the original Establishment of the Colony of Louisiana*. London, 1804. ER July 1804.

1805 Boulton, George D'Arcy. *Sketch of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada*. London, 1805. ER July 1805.

*Douglas, Thomas, 5th Earl of Selkirk. *Observations on the present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and probable Consequences of Emigration*. London, 1805. ER July 1805; *ER Oct 1805.

1808 *Heriot, George. *Travels through the Canadas*. London, 1807. *ER April 1808.

1809 *Gray, Hugh. *Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808*. London, 1809. ER, July 1809; QR Aug 1809. *ER Nov 1814.

Jackson, John Mills. *A View of the Political Situation of Upper Canada, in which her Physical Capacity is stated; the Means of diminishing her Burdens, increasing her Value, and securing her Connection to Great Britain, are fully considered*. London, 1809. QR May 1809.

1814 Anderson, David. *Canada, or A View of the Importance of the British American Colonies*. London, 1814. QR July 1814.

1816 *Douglas, Thomas, 5th Earl of Selkirk. *A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America; with Observations relative to the North-West Company of Montreal*. London, 1816. *QR Oct 1816.

1817 Chappell, Edward. *Voyage of his Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland, and the Southern Coast of Labrador*. London, 1818. B May 1817; ER June 1818.

Wilcocke, Samuel. *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America since the connection of the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company.* London, 1817. QR Jan 1817; B May 1817.

1818 Chappell, Edward. *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay.* London, 1817. ER June 1818; B July 1818.

*Hall, Francis. *Travels in Canada and the United States, in 1816 and 1817*. London, 1818. B May and July 1818; ER June 1818. *ER Dec 1818.

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[2] There has been some confusion about the authorship of this text. According to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* it was initially advertised as a sequel to Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) although it is clearly the narrative of a male settler. More unaccountably, Susanna Moodie's name is listed alongside Need's as an author in several library catalogues.

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[3] B Dec 1818 references William Darby and Samuel R. Brown, author of *The Western Gazetteer* – the *Edinburgh* did not provide the authors' names in their original listings. The *Blackwood's* entry reads: 'In the press, a work of considerable interest, entitled, The General Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories of America . . . In this work, the Emigrant's Guide to the Western and South-western States, by William Darby, of the New York Historical Society, and the Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory, by S. R. Brown, are united . . . Accompanied by a map of the United States, engraved expressly for this work from Mellish's [sic] large map, improved to January 1, 1818.' I have not found evidence that this ever came to pass in precisely this form, though Darby did publish further American gazettes.

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[2] This is a tentative attribution; the *Wellesley Index* gives the author as ‘Unidentified. Possibly Hugh Murray’. His contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* include pieces on Arctic, Asian and African exploration, but the identification of Murray as the author of this review appears to be based primarily on his later authorship of two books on North America, the second of which, *Historical and Descriptive Account of British North America* (1839), reveals his familiarity with Howison’s work. However, as a text that went into three editions and was widely reviewed, that *Sketches of Upper Canada* should be well known to a later writer on North America is not, in itself, surprising.

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