

The Business of Writing Home: Authorship and the Transatlantic Economies of John Galt's Literary Circle, 1807-1840

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines nineteenth-century Scottish author John Galt's dialogue with the political economics of his time. In particular, I argue that both in his practices as an author and through the subject matter of his North American texts, Galt critiques and adapts Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Galt's critique of Smith becomes evident when we examine the relationship between his engagement with political economy in his most important North American literary texts and his overt political interests, specifically those concerning transatlantic land development and colonial expansion, a project he pursued with the Canada Company.

In Chapter One, I examine John Galt's role with the Canada Company. Through a literary analysis of the Canada Company coat-of-arms and charter, I argue that the Canada Company ideologies were written into the very language of the charter as well as reflected in the imagery on the coat-of-arms. In Chapter Two, I examine the group of writers Galt employed in the Canada Company and the texts they wrote as a result of their work in Upper Canada. I argue that this coterie of Canada Company author-agents deployed the British periodical press to promote the Canada Company and its land speculation in Upper Canada. In Chapter Three, I turn to Galt's most explicit critique of Adam Smith: his 1830 novel, *Lawrie Todd*. I argue that *Lawrie Todd* should be read as an adaptation of *The Wealth of Nations* that ultimately provides a model for British emigration that accommodates a desire for continued British national loyalty. In Chapter Four, I turn to Smith's theory of authorship as being unproductive labour and examine Galt's lengthy response to this categorization found in his 1831 novel, *Bogle Corbet*. I argue that through *Bogle Corbet*, we can see the central role of a transatlantic literary marketplace for successful middle-class North-American emigration. The project concludes with an evaluation of Galt's correspondence with British politician Robert Peel. In this correspondence, Galt makes explicit the need for a literary periodical to respond to British political unrest.

Keywords: John Galt; the Canada Company; *The Wealth of Nations*; transatlantic literature; authorship; nineteenth-century literature

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Introduction

In a letter dated 30 January, 1821, John Galt wrote to his publisher, William Blackwood, to thank him for payment for *The Ayrshire Legatees*. This convention of a thank you letter provided Galt with a convenient opportunity to vent his spleen to his powerful friend about the periodical press. Galt lamented how

It is one of my literary misfortunes that I cannot get friends to read my MSS even Mrs G pronounces them illegible, I am therefore obliged to send scraps here and there, which do not serve to convey any proper outline of the general story—were I to get sufficient encouragement I think I could write a novel, on the progress of a Scotch man in London, embracing all the vanities of metropolitan life that would assuredly take. For although the *Legatees* is apparently my first Scottish work, the fact is that the pastor was begun many years ago, and before *Waverly* appeared I wrote to Constable proposing to execute a Scottish story. It is also a curious coincidence, that long before the appearance of *the Lay of the Last Minstrel* I then very young, in sending some trifle to the Scotch magazine mentioned my design of executing a series of historical ballads and dramas from Scottish history—what a cursed fellow that Walter Scott has been, to drive me out of my original line.¹

This letter provides a brief commentary on Galt's literary career. Though Galt was popular in his own time, he was never as popular as Scott. Though Galt enjoyed close personal relationships with publishers like Blackwood and later William Maginn, he was never as influential a figure in the publishing world as Scott. Galt's insecurities about his writing and his personal relationships continued throughout his career, and his complaints to Blackwood speak to how important authorial reputation and literary

¹ National Library of Scotland, MS 4006 ff219.

connections were to the success of any author writing in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

The above letter notwithstanding, 1821 turned out to be a banner year for Galt: he published what would be his most enduring and famous novel—*The Annals of the Parish* – with Blackwood. This novel, in which the term “utilitarian” is used for the first time, has been lauded as an early realist novel that documents the daily lives of Scottish parishioners at the turn of the nineteenth century.² He also published the final installments of his version of *Waverley*, *The Ayrshire Legatees*, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Despite these successes, Galt's envy of Scott is palpable in his correspondence with Blackwood. Scott, who epitomized the multi-faceted life to which Galt aspired throughout his career—one full of literary accolades, editorial influence in the periodical press, political power, and influence in the financial sector—succeeded where Galt only ever had moderate success. To call Scott “successful” in light of his own troubled financial history is not a glib characterization. As Robert Patten argues, “Scott's history...dominated thinking about authorship” (13), and his “pledge to write his way out of [his] accumulated debts” (13) made plain the shift from a cultural model of literary patronage to the one that aligned authorship with other professions.

Shortly after this letter to Blackwood, Galt began to pursue his own extra-literary ventures in earnest. For Galt, authorship was always only one branch of his professional life, although it was consistently his most stable source of income. Galt's other work was

² The full title is *The Annals of the Parish, or The Chronicle of Dalmaling During the Ministry of the Rev. Micah Balwidder, by Himself, arranged and edited by John Galt*. The realism of this novel and its reception as a local history has been the topic of many critical texts, including Christopher A. Whatley's “The Annals of the Parish and History”, Erik Frykman's John Galt's Scottish Stories, and Ian Gordon, pp. 35-39.

transatlantic in nature: in the early 1820s, he began to solicit investments in a joint-stock venture, the Canada Company, and his work to encourage Britons to emigrate to North America that began with the Company would continue throughout his life. Galt's work with the Canada Company and his ongoing quest to exploit transatlantic economics for his personal financial gain informed his North American literature and led to his sustained engagement with Adam Smith's now-classic economic theories.

This dissertation examines Galt's dialogue with the political economics of his time.³ In particular, I argue that both in his practices as an author and through the subject matter of his texts, Galt offers a critique of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Galt's critique of Smith becomes evident when we examine the relationship between his engagement with political economy in his most important literary texts and his overt political interests, specifically those concerning transatlantic land development and colonial expansion. Smith and theories of political economy are central to understanding Galt's world view and provide a framework through which we may glean a more holistic understanding of Galt's motivations as an author. From descriptions of the merchant trade in *Lawrie Todd* (a subject which I will treat thoroughly in Chapter 3) and musings in *Bogle Corbet* on the relative value of North American and Baltic lumber, echoing Smith's own lengthy consideration of trade with the Baltic States, to meditations on free trade and on political economy generally, economic theory, in particular the theories of Adam Smith, permeates Galt's writings. To call *The Wealth of Nations* a

³ From his earliest publications, Galt has been in dialogue with local history, economics, and philosophy. For example, in *Annals of the Parish*, Galt's coinage of the term "utilitarian" and his commitment to a realistic representation of daily life in Scotland speaks to his desire to engage with political economy in literature. *Annals* is in dialogue with moral philosophers like Jeremy Bentham as well as contemporaneous political economists, like John Stuart Mill who later famously takes up Galt's term in his 1861 publication, *Utilitarianism*.

central economic text is an understatement, as this book has continued to inform the global economy since its 1776 publication.⁴ In her 1993 edition of *The Wealth of Nations*, Kathryn Sutherland explains that “it is the original embedding of the economic argument within a wider cultural, intellectual, and historical enquiry that [her edition] attempts to reinstate against the more traditional view of the *Wealth of Nations* as the ‘classic’ economics textbook” (xi). As Sutherland reminds us, when *The Wealth of Nations* was published, it was not simply considered an economic work. It was a cultural text whose influence extended beyond the disciplinary confines of political economy. As such, its influence was certainly felt by Galt and the members of his literary circle.⁵

Recently, there has been some critical attention to the relationship between Galt and Smith, specifically Regina Hewitt’s 2012 edited collection of critical essays, *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on History, Literature, and Society*, and Eleanor Courtemanche’s 2012 study *The 'Invisible Hand' and British fiction 1818-1860: Adam Smith, Political Economy, and the Genre of Realism*. The essays in Hewitt’s collection largely focus on the relationship between Galt’s novels and Smith’s concept of conjectural history, while Courtemanche’s study is concerned with a moral reading of *The Wealth of Nations*. What has not been examined by critics is the influence of Smith’s economic theory on Galt’s writings specifically, and on nineteenth-century literature more

⁴ According to Editor Kathryn Sutherland, the immediate success of *The Wealth of Nations* entrenched Smith as “the patron saint of *homo economicus*” (Sutherland “Introduction” ix).

⁵ Book historians, have long paid attention to the material and cultural contexts of print. Robert Darnton’s foundational model of the “communications circuit” (1982) traced textual movement “from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader” (11). More recently, Michael Winship has described the context of literary production as “a matrix of social and cultural forces from which [a text] emerges” (in Charvat, 95). With the advent of electronic and internet book technologies such as audio books, e-readers, and the boon of internet self-publication “challenging the fixity of print...it is inevitable that we should shift how we view texts...to acknowledge the wider context in which they exist” (Finkelstein and McCleery 27).

generally. My dissertation widens the scope of Galt studies to include an examination of his North American publications and to examine the ways in which he presents a critique of Smith's economic theory. I focus on demonstrating how Galt responds to three specific aspects of *The Wealth of Nations* in his North American publications. First, Galt engages with Smith's critique of corporate monopolies. Second, he expands Smith's concept of the division of labour and definition of exchangeable commodities to show that books are an exchangeable commodity in a transatlantic literary marketplace. Finally, as an extension of his critique of Smith's division of labour, Galt refutes Smith's categorization of authorship as unproductive labour. This introduction will provide an overview of these three aspects of Galt's critique of Smith, as well as providing a brief history of the Canada Company.

Colonization and Corporate Monopolies

Colonial life and the economics of empire are a central concern in *The Wealth of Nations*, as Smith argues that colonization will always result in corporate monopolies and that these monopolies will compromise the economic stability of the mother country (Book IV). For Smith, "new colonies...have a constant demand, therefore, for more capital than they have of their own, and in order to supply the deficiency of their own, they endeavour to borrow as much as they can of the mother country, to whom they are, always in debt" (764). This debt is such that the colonies will never prove to be an economic boon for Britain; instead, they will be a drain on the British domestic economy. In one of the most famous passages of *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith goes on to argue that

to found a great [American] empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers; but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. (780)

For Smith, colonial economics are founded on practices of import-export, and taxation and tariff resulting from agricultural and industrial labour. The shopkeepers, who are influencing government, are, for Smith, a negative force on the British economy. Galt's North American publications (specifically those directly resulting from his work with the Canada Company, namely his novels *Lawrie Todd* [1830] and *Bogle Corbet* [1831]), and his contributions to the periodical press [1807-1839], suggest that the influence of "shopkeepers" on government was not a negative result of colonization. Instead, a close relationship between government and business was a primary goal for successful colonization, resulting in joint-stock ventures like the Canada Company working directly in concert with the government for the financial prosperity of individual investors as well as for the maintenance of the North American colonies. Further, for Galt, the customers in the colonies were not only consuming the fruits of agricultural colonial labour: these customers were also readers, and they were consuming literary products as well as material ones. The Canada Company, then, was not only working to develop and sell lands in Upper Canada for emigrants to settle. It was also working to pay dividends to its shareholders and, as a by-product of the labours of middle-class emigrant-settlers like Galt, to provide experiences that could later be transformed into literary texts to be sold and circulated in a transatlantic literary marketplace. Galt was ideologically and personally invested in the ongoing success of corporate monopolies in the colonies because of his work with the Canada Company.

A Brief History of the Canada Company

The Canada Company was, in many ways, founded because of what Thelma Coleman calls “a peaceful invasion” from the United States (8). This invasion took the form of American investors buying Upper Canadian land at the lowest possible price and reselling it at a profit once settlers had begun to develop the infrastructure of the district (Coleman 9). Before developing a proposal for the Canada Company, John Galt had already worked as a government agent in Upper Canada between 1820 and 1823, when he was assigned to secure reparations for Canadian claimants after the War of 1812. Although he was largely unsuccessful, his work as a government agent increased his awareness of how many business opportunities were lying fallow in North America.⁶ He began working tirelessly to cultivate new financial opportunities for Britons in Upper Canada, believing that opportunities would be found in land speculation through a joint-stock venture, such as the Canada Company. The American practice of land speculation in Upper Canada offered a model for investment not for individual Britons but instead for both the British government and share-holders in the Canada Company. Through a joint-stock venture, individual British investors could buy shares in the Canada Company, which would then, in turn, buy land in Upper Canada. This land could then be rented or sold—at a profit—to emigrants wishing to cultivate and settle the land. The improvements to each individual settlement would subsequently increase the value of the surrounding settlements.

⁶ Questions remain around how Galt was granted this position. According to Thelma Coleman, “whether it was through Dunlop’s influence or not, we do not know, but John Galt received a letter from Canada asking him to become an agent for Canadians who were claiming payment from the government for losses sustained during the war of 1812-14” (5). Galt reported to Lord Bathurst in the Colonial Office upon his return to Britain.

When Galt began his work to establish the Canada Company in the early 1820s, the Bubble Act was still in effect. This act dictated that incorporation status—and the consequent legal protections this status provided—could only be obtained by Royal Charter or by a special Act of Parliament. By the time the Company applied for its charter on December 31st, 1825, the Bubble Act had been recently repealed⁷; nonetheless, on August 19th, 1826, the Company was granted a Royal Charter and a coat-of-arms. The Canada Company was tasked with the official sale and distribution of the Huron Tract, a section of over one million acres of land in what is now Southwestern Ontario, on behalf of the British government. By granting the Canada Company exclusive land distribution and sale rights of the Huron tract, the British government effectively created a corporate monopoly for the Canada Company in that specific region of Upper Canada. After the Company was incorporated, John Galt was appointed Secretary and later Superintendent.

There is a narrow field of scholarship documenting the history of the Canada Company and its role in the settlement of Upper Canada. As early as 1896, Robina and Kathleen McFarlane Lizars published a history of the Company entitled *In the Days of the Canada Company: the Story of the Settlement of the Huron Tract and a View of the Social life of the Period, 1825-1850*. The Lizars' retrospective account sheds light on the role of the Company in shaping early Upper Canadian society and politics. In the Days of the Canada Company wears its bias on its sleeve: the close familial relationship of the authors to William Dunlop, long-time Company warden and subsequently early Upper Canadian politician, significantly colours the narrative. Thelma Coleman's later, more

⁷ See Timothy Alborn's *Conceiving Companies* (1998), Joel Bakan's *The Corporation* (2005), and LCB Gower's *Principles of Modern Corporate Law* (1954) for the history of the Bubble Act and its repeal.

scholarly volume, simply entitled *The Canada Company* (1978), documents the early work of the Company and its formations, and includes reproductions of letters between Upper Canadian politicians and clergymen, letters between founding Directors of the Company, reproductions of Company maps, illustrations and drawings of the Company's most powerful figures, and extensive statistical materials relating to the costs and processes of land purchase and settlement. Though Coleman mentions Galt's 'other' work as an author, and even includes contemporaneous anonymous poems discussing British emigration to Canada Company lands, Coleman's corporate history is written from a distinctly Upper Canadian perspective. There is neither a recognition of the influence of the British literary sphere on the Company—in spite of the central roles of Britons who were also writers, namely John Galt, William Dunlop, and later Samuel Strickland—nor is there a discussion of the importance of transatlantic communication and mobility on Company policy, practice, and influence. Clarence Karr's *The Canada Land Company: The Early Years* (1966) considers the "vision" of "a group of British merchants, bankers, and politicians... [who] dream[ed] of tapping the trade from a rapidly expanding mid-western United States" (ix); like Coleman, Karr overlooks the literary work of the founding members of the Canada Company. Roger Hall's 1974 dissertation compiles historical material regarding the Company from a British perspective, but like Coleman, leaves the notion of a reciprocal, transatlantic influence on the Company unexplored. Jim and June Cameron's *The Early Days in Guelph* (1967), writes the history of the town of Guelph with a special consideration of the influence of the Canada Company on local municipal history. The most recent scholarship specifically considering the Canada Company continues the scholarly trend of excluding a more nuanced consideration of the literary connections between the Company and its agents in Upper Canada. Anatole Browde compares the Canada

Company with Galt's later land distribution project, the British North American Company, in her 2002 article "Settling the Canadian Colonies". However, the reciprocal influence between Galt's work as a "famous traveler and author" (Browde 305) and his work with the Canada Company is outside Browde's scope. His article traces the business practices of these two companies from a distinctly North American perspective.

The small field of scholarship that considers the Canada Company with sustained attention has largely been published and disseminated by local Ontario historical societies and publishing houses, with the exception of Browde's article, which was published in *The Business History Review*; Hall's dissertation remains unpublished. The regional focus of these works is reflected in the publishing history of the texts, presumably intended for a local readership interested in local history. However, as I argue throughout this dissertation, the work of the Canada Company was influential far beyond the geographic borders of its lands. While these important early histories fill in details of local Upper Canadian society and life and the influence of the Company therein, the role of transatlantic literature on the Company's practices and the Company's role as a player on the Anglo-American literary stage have yet to be examined. At the time the Canada Company was incorporated, John Galt was an established member of the Scottish *literati*. He worked tirelessly to raise over a million pounds sterling in joint-stock investment for the Company, and at the time of the Company's incorporation in 1826, he was appointed Company Secretary (LMA MS 4926). His work with the Canada Company intersected with the Anglo-American literary marketplace in significant ways that this dissertation will explore.

Galt acted as an intermediary between the literary and land speculation markets at a critical moment in British political, economic, and literary reform. As Lee Erikson

argues in *The Economy of Literary Form* (1999), “literature is greatly influenced by market pressures and literary history is greatly affected by economic history” (10); the transatlantic circuit of capital, labour, and print facilitated by Galt’s work with the Canada Company epitomizes Erickson’s claim. It was a decidedly global market that pressured authors like John Galt and other writers affiliated with the Canada Company such as William “Tiger” Dunlop, Samuel Strickland, and Andrew Picken. Thus far, transatlantic scholars have largely concentrated their efforts on examining the relationship between British and American literary markets with little consideration of specifically colonial literary markets or of the global economy’s effect on transatlantic literature.⁸ In the introduction to *The Transatlantic Studies Reader*, editors Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor suggest that “the literatures of the Caribbean, Canada and California have all been shown to benefit from a transatlantic approach” (8), yet there continue to be few examinations of transatlantic relationships other than Anglo-American ones, even in Manning and Eve Tavor Bannet’s 2012 anthology, *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660-1830*. Joel Pace, Lance Newman, and Chris Koenig-Woodyard’s *Transatlantic*

⁸ Christopher Mulvey’s *Transatlantic Manners* (1990) is one of the first scholarly studies to examine the Anglo-American literary world from a specifically transatlantic perspective. The hybrid genres of transatlantic literary texts, which consist largely of fictional accounts of travel and emigration alongside journals, travel narratives, emigrant guides, and other ‘non-fiction’ publications, has resulted in a vast field of scholarship. Ethnographic approaches like James Buzard’s *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture 1800-1918* (1993), Paul Gilroy’s foundational study of slavery and cultural production in *The Black Atlantic*, (1993) Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation*, (1992) alongside Homi K. Bhabha’s 1990 *Nation and Narration* established a field of postcolonial scholarship specifically concerned with the impact of transnational and transatlantic travel on the literary marketplace and the nation-state. More recently, *The Transatlantic Studies Reader* (2007) has attempted to collect landmark essays from other branches of transatlantic scholarship such as cosmopolitanism (as exemplified by John Carlos Rowe and Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins), Genre-theories that help articulate a language with which scholars can describe the complex networks at play in a transatlantic literary world (as exemplified by Deleuze and Guattari’s Rhizomic theory), and the importance of travel theory to transatlantic studies (as exemplified by Mary Louise Pratt, Mary Blaine Campbell, and many others).

Romanticism includes some Canadian literature; however, texts by Galt and those authored by other Canada Company agents are absent from the anthology, as is any explicit consideration of the economy on the transatlantic literary market. By turning to what I will call Canada Company texts—pieces written by authors affiliated with the Company in other capacities such as Galt’s work as Secretary, or Strickland’s work as Company Surveyor, or texts published by the Company itself—I show that the direct influence of an increasingly-free economic market on a more broadly-understood Anglo-American literary market (which includes the remainder of British North America post-Revolution) becomes evident. A more open British economy paired with increased transatlantic textual mobility facilitated by companies like the Canada Company resulted in changes to the idea of authorship and to the role of the author in a transatlantic economy.

Transatlantic Texts

It is the argument of this dissertation that when we read Galt’s North American publications with a consideration of economics in mind, we see that texts are no longer only reflective of their social and political contexts but that they are tradable commodities in themselves. Book historian James Raven aptly describes books as commodities; the scope of his analysis confines commoditized books to considering their circulation in a domestic British economy. I suggest that Galt’s North American publications demonstrate how books and articles in the periodical press were not merely objects for domestic exchange. As well, they were international exchange commodities making use of established trade routes.

In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith theorized how currents of foreign and domestic exchange were shaping international trade between Britain, its colonies, and other international trading partners like the United States, Jamaica, or the Baltic States. But we need to consider that fact that these same currents were also routes for textual circulation and that the transatlantic flows of goods, labourers, capital, and text were reproduced in the literature coming out of the Canada Company's venture into North America. For example, William Cattermole's 1831 pamphlet, *Emigration: The Advantages of Emigration to Canada* embodies in form and content the kind of mobility that the Canada Company aspired to offer to British emigrants. Cattermole's pamphlet, which is described in the subtitle as *the Substance of Two Lectures Delivered at the Town-Hall, Colchester, and the Mechanics' Institution, Ipswich*, presents practical advice to potential working- and middle-class emigrants. Cattermole, a Canada Company agent who lived in Upper Canada for seven years before returning to Britain, used his oral lectures and the subsequent publication of them as printed media to promote the Canada Company. Dedicating an entire chapter of the seven-chapter publication to providing "an outline of the Canada Company, and the prospects it holds out to British settlers" (*Emigration*, np), Cattermole sells the idea of Upper Canada and of the Canada Company first to his listeners in Colchester and Ipswich and later to his readers. This pamphlet includes several appendices. The first is a detailed financial report of the Canada Company's sales and budget. The second consists of letters from Cattermole, based in Upper Canada, to editors of British newspapers such as the *Suffolk Chronicle* describing the process of emigration with explicit financial data based on Canada Company figures. The third transcribes letters from diverse emigrants scattered throughout Canada Company lands to friends and relatives in Britain. These three

appendices, when considered alongside the body of the text, make explicit the link between corporate finance, print culture, and individual experience.

Much like the emigrants themselves, Cattermole—and his texts—are transatlantic in nature, as they move from Britain to Canada Company lands, and then back to Britain. Britain is the ultimate destination for this pamphlet, its author, and ultimately for the monies earned from North American emigration. As Cattermole describes, in response to the wave of emigration to North America of the 1820s and 1830s, “what must urge on the support of the British Parliament is the certainty of a full benefit of the capital abstracted from England; it will find its way back in the increased consumption by the Canadians, of manufactured goods” (100). The circuit Cattermole describes wherein raw goods are brought from Canada to Britain for manufacture, and sold back to Canadians at a profit, thereby ensuring the “full benefit” of the continued financial investment in Empire, mirrors the movements of Canada Company texts. Like goods more commonly understood as exchange commodities, Cattermole’s pamphlet began as a raw experience found in his work with the Canada Company, was brought back to Britain for manufacture—or in this case, publication—and, as evidenced by the pamphlet’s Appendix Three especially, circulated and exchanged in the literary marketplace in Britain and Upper Canada. Much like Cattermole, whose emigration expertise was sought and recognized in Upper Canada and in Britain,⁹ transatlantic movement—of people, of goods, of money, and of texts—was central to the success of the Canada Company. The transatlantic circulation of Canada Company texts and ideas

⁹ Cattermole’s experience convinced the Moodies, and by extension, the Trailis, to follow their brother Samuel Strickland, to Upper Canada.

paved the way for authors like William Cattermole and John Galt, the focus of this study, to publish stories of North American life for a British audience.

Authorship

John Galt's North American publications and their circulation and exchange as commodities in a transatlantic literary economy counter Smith's claims that authorship is unproductive labour. For Smith "unproductive labour" is labour that adds "no value to [...] the subject upon which it is bestowed" (422). He offers public servants as another example of unproductive, middle-or-higher class labour suggesting how

the labour of some of the most respectable orders in society is, like that of menial servants, unproductive of any value, and does not fix or realize itself in any permanent subject or vendible commodity, which endures after that labour is past, and for which an equal quantity of labour could afterwards be procured. (423)

In other words, according to Smith, both authorship and public service cannot constitute productive and valuable labour, because neither profession results in a vendible commodity. For Smith, for labour to be considered productive, it must result in a commodity that can be sold and that can result in an equal amount of labour in its production. For example, agricultural labour is productive because it results in grain that can then be sold as a commodity. That grain prompts new labour when it is milled, and it continues to participate in the economy as an exchange commodity when it is resold as flour. Smith sees authorship and public service, unlike "productive labour," as producing "nothing for which an equal quantity of service can afterwards be procured" regardless of "how honourable, how useful, or how necessary" the work may be. He continues, "'In the same class must be ranked, some both of the gravest and most important, and some of

the most frivolous professions: churchmen, lawyers, physicians, *men of letters of all kinds*" (423, my emphasis).

According to Smith, then, neither public service nor authorship constitutes productive labour because neither undertaking participates in the larger industrialized labour market.¹⁰ Smith places men of letters within a larger category of unproductive artistic labourers like "players, buffoons, musicians, opera singers, [and] opera-dancers" (423). Galt's work with the Canada Company and the subsequent publications resulting from his North American experiences, however, refute Smith's claims and suggest how literary texts circulated in a transatlantic marketplace amongst more traditional exchange commodities like timber or grain. What becomes evident in Galt's North American novels in particular is how authorship was changing -- for both Galt personally, and for the British nineteenth-century literary marketplace generally-- from a patronage model to a profession.¹¹

At the time Galt was publishing, the literary marketplace was undergoing drastic changes. According to Foucault, it was at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth that the author was truly "placed in the system of property"

¹⁰ Regina Hewitt explains how Smith "did not deny the intangible value of these [unproductive] occupations" and as the editors of the 1976 Oxford edition of *Wealth of Nations* explain, Smith admits that unproductive occupations are "indirectly productive of benefit to the community" (Hewitt in Hewitt, 348).

¹¹ In the *Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt* (1834), John Galt opens his three-volume literary memoir with the caveat that he remembers "very distinctly" the moment when he was "first sensible of the influence of the Muses" (1:1), when he was around six or seven years old. This memory—and its positioning as the opening statement of a lengthy discourse and history of his literary career—situates Galt's perspective on authorship within the eighteenth-century tradition of author-as-artist, inspired by "the Muses", and supported by wealthy patrons of the arts. These influential "Muses" prompted Galt to begin writing from early childhood, and as such, authorship made up an integral part of Galt's personal identity as well as acted as an unsuppressible artistic force.

signalled by “author’s rights, author-publisher relations, [and] rights of reproduction” (108). For Foucault, the embodiment of the author in a proprietary system is signalled through transgressive practices, “restoring danger to writing which [...] now guaranteed the benefits of ownership” (108-9). Galt’s North American publications make literal Foucault’s observation that the “author function is therefore characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society” (108). For Galt, the benefits of ownership extend beyond the confines of the book to include extra-literary work. By using his authority as an author to promote his work with the Canada Company, Galt, in his North American texts, demonstrates the increasing cultural authority of corporations and economic discourse in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

In the nineteenth century, “the practice of writing, production, and reading of books was a middle-class monopoly” (Cross 2). Galt, one of “a few people who [could] claim to be full-time writers” (Cross 2), is woefully understudied given his prolific output and the rich and revelatory quality of his works generally and his North American works specifically. One impediment to Galt scholarship is the simple fact that “Galt wrote too much” (Gordon 142). The persistence—or “sheer bulk of [Galt’s] output” (Gordon 142) is the direct result of authorship, for Galt, being a primarily economic decision. And though authorship was still largely seen as an individual undertaking—though anonymous publication practices were commonplace throughout Galt’s literary career—it was through a network of other writers and the larger cultural authority gained from this affiliation that Galt found some stability in his profession. Paul Rabinow explains how the changes that imbued authorship with larger cultural power and influence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were profound and lasting, arguing that

the authority of the author has continued to grow in literary productions. The identification and evaluation of a literary work are intimately linked to the fame, standing, and reputation of its author, and from the intellectual world that gravitates towards those in power. (25)

As Galt increased his publication record and became entrenched in the British literary world, his texts gained authority. In his North American publications, this authority was acquired from his own reputation as well as from the reputations of the authors with whom he surrounded himself. The result is a corpus of Anglo-American texts directly related to the Canada Company that presented themselves and were received as authoritative sources of information regarding emigration, political economy, and financial prosperity in a transatlantic world.

Galt's initial entry into the British publication business speaks to a trend that would follow him throughout his literary career: the exploitation of the *idea* of North America as a vendible commodity for consumption in the British literary marketplace. His first such publication, "A Statistical Account of Upper Canada," appeared in the *Philosophical Magazine* (October 1807), and like many others of its time, was an interpretation of North America based not on personal experience but on other already-published works.¹² In his subsequent writing, whenever convenient, Galt takes advantage of the authority of print culture to use his publications as a venue to promote the Canada Company. At other times, he uses authorship to translate the lived reality of emigration to North America into an entertaining and palatable version of emigrant life. In all cases, whether consciously or unconsciously, Galt is complicating a cornerstone of British economics, *The Wealth of Nations*. For Galt, land distribution companies like the

¹² "A Statistical Account of Upper Canada" is most heavily indebted to Galt's cousin, William Gilkison, who told Galt about his Upper Canadian experiences.

Canada Company make these publications possible, and this combination of business and authorship undercuts Smith's idea that colonization is detrimental to the British economy. Galt troubles Smith by demonstrating how, in a transatlantic economy, authorship becomes not only productive labour, but also a form of production that creates exportable commodities that support the domestic economy of Britain. In the following section of this introduction, I sketch out the basic argument of each chapter, paying close attention to how Galt critiques Smith's theories regarding colonization, the circulation of goods in a colonial context, and authorship.

The Canada Company Coat-Of-Arms

My dissertation begins with an examination of the Canada Company's coat-of-arms, its promotional practices, and a sample of its material. I argue that Galt's connection with the establishment of the Canada Company works as a critique (albeit probably largely unconscious) of Smith. The coat-of-arms acts as a metonym for the symbolic importance of the Company and its later, tangible influence on a burgeoning transatlantic literary marketplace. After a close reading of the coat-of-arms, I turn to a theoretical consideration of the Company's transformation from an intangible entity to a powerful, influential institution. I then argue that the Company, by virtue of the power invested in the process of incorporation, becomes a central figure for a literary coterie. As Nancy Henry and Cannon Schmitt remind us, "investment cut across all aspects of life: the financial sphere overlapped with the domestic sphere, overseas expansion promised to fund comfortable retirement, speculation rewrote the plots and themes of Victorian fiction and reshaped its form"(12). The rapidly-changing marketplace of Victorian England, for Henry and Schmitt, "reflected and influenced broader social

changes” (12) including “growth of Empire” (12). Though Henry and Schmitt’s study only begins in 1837, finance and its impact upon British culture were just as important in the previous two decades. Investment and financial speculation did not merely rewrite plots and themes of works of literature: they influenced textual production and produced texts worthy of consideration in and of themselves. Specifically, three aspects of the historical moment in which the Canada Company charter was granted and obtained—the discussion of corporations in the literary sphere, the repeal of the Bubble Act and the financial collapse of 1825—provide a crucial context when considering the importance of the Charter as a text in its own right.

The Periodical Press

In Chapter Two, I show that Galt continues his critique of Smith in a more subtle and complex fashion through his work in the periodical press. The work of the Canada Company was not limited to land development and distribution: it also enabled what Francis Jeffrey called “secondary writers” (Schoenfeld 5) such as Galt, William Dunlop, Samuel Strickland, and Andrew Picken to gather North American experiences that could then be translated from experience to text and subsequently circulated in the British literary marketplace. As Kathryn Sutherland comments in her introduction to *The Wealth of Nations*, “the learned clubs and societies which sprang up throughout Scotland in the course of the eighteenth century witness, among other things... an associative theory of the advancement of knowledge. In such clubs, professors of arts and sciences mixed with Scotland’s progressives, landed interest with merchants and members of the professions” (xxxix). Echoes of these clubs are seen in both the close professional friendships Galt cultivated as a contributor to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* and later

extended through offers of employment with the Canada Company. Smith's argument that there are clearly delineated categories of labour that are "productive" or "unproductive" is complicated by the collaborative nature of the texts resulting from this group's North American experiences.

This group of agents of the Company intended their personal emigration experiences to be marked by recognizable signs of colonial success, namely the clearing and settlement of land, and subsequent participation in a transatlantic exchange economy. William "Tiger" Dunlop was already an established Scottish author when he was granted the position of "Warden of the Woods and Forest" with the Canada Company in 1826. On the first page of his Upper Canadian narrative, *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada*, Dunlop claims that though he "once did study Adam Smith, he is out of date; Peter [sic]McCulloch reigns in his stead" (68).¹³ In spite of Dunlop's claim regarding Smith's irrelevance, Smith's theories on colonies and transatlantic exchange act as a normative model against which others are assessed. More interestingly, however, is the prominence of economic theory in the structure of Dunlop's narrative. The very first words of his book (authorial Preface aside) are dedicated to economic theory. This suggests the importance and wide spread circulation of these ideas at the time Dunlop's text was published. However, as I argue, the exchange economy into which this coterie eventually entered was not an agrarian one; instead, it was literary. I conclude the chapter by examining three key publications emerging from this coterie: Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada by a Backwoodsman*,

¹³ "Peter" McCulloch is actually John Ramsay McCulloch, a Ricardian political economist. In 1821, McCulloch founded the Political Economy Club, an organization dedicated to the promotion of free trade. J.S. Mill and Robert Wilmot-Horton (both of whom had close connections to Galt) were also members. McCulloch edited *The Wealth of Nations* in 1828.

Andrew Picken's *The Canadas as they Present Themselves at the Present Time*, and Samuel Strickland's *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*.

Lawrie Todd

Chapter Three demonstrates Galt's most explicit critique of Smith and most direct engagement with the political economic theory of his time. *Lawrie Todd* (1830), published while Galt was in debtor's prison, is a triple-decker novel that tells the story of a working-class nail-maker who flees political persecution in Scotland and makes his fortune in America. In this chapter, I argue that through the character Lawrie Todd, Galt actualizes Smith's economic theories regarding colonization and productive labour. Through Lawrie Todd's North American experiences, Galt points out the shortfalls in Smith's theories, and through the narrative arc, responds to these shortfalls. The alternative political economy represented in *Lawrie Todd* provides a middle ground model that allows British emigrants to embrace the most appealing aspects of Smith's doctrines—namely the potential for individual financial prosperity and class mobility—while maintaining British national loyalty.

In Galt's model, the ability to establish financial prosperity is found in investment and speculation, and is to his direct benefit as a share-holder in the Canada Company. Though Smith argues that colonies are a financial drain on the British economy, Galt demonstrates how ultimately any transatlantic financial gains are returned to British coffers; his novel concludes with Lawrie Todd's return to Britain. The similarities between *Lawrie Todd* and Smith are unmistakeable—Todd begins as a nail-maker (a trade that figures symbolically in Smith's writings), and then becomes a shopkeeper in the land of shopkeepers. Lawrie Todd, whose ability to flourish in a world of small-scale industry like

nail-making has been undermined by industrialization, eventually succeeds in the colonial context not by agriculture but by land distribution and speculative investment. In his critique of Smith, Galt is supporting the work of companies like the Canada Company. Galt exploits Smith's claim that America is the "ultimate fantasy empire" (qtd in Sutherland *WN* xvii) and recreates the fantasy to shape a protectionist British model. Instead of presenting America as a threat to the British economy, *Lawrie Todd* makes use of the idea of "fantasy empire" as exactly that—a fantasy—by presenting an emigration narrative wherein the eponymous character is able to maintain his British identity, become financially prosperous, and return those riches to Britain. Such a narrative undermines Smith's claims against colonization. Through the movements of protagonist Lawrie Todd, Galt shows how Smith's argument against government intervention in colonization is not only detrimental to the British economy, but to the individual as well.

Bogle Corbet

In *Lawrie Todd*'s companion novel, *Bogle Corbet* (1831), Galt returns to his critique of Smith's categorization of authorship as unproductive labour. The protagonist Bogle Corbet's life narrative reflects the Canada Company's changing attitude towards class-based emigration. When the Canada Company began, it intended to promote emigration of the working classes. However, it quickly learned that it needed to promote middle class emigration. Emigrants who came to Upper Canada without substantial financial means were unable to keep to the payment schedule set forth by the Canada Company, and as a result, shareholders were not seeing the promised returns on their investments. Emigrants like Bogle Corbet were theoretically more desirable because of

their higher class status. Given the harsh reality of North American emigrant life where survival depended on practical skills rather than financial solvency, Galt found this encouragement of middle-class emigration disingenuous. Generally speaking, middle-class emigrants did not have the practical skills and knowledge required to successfully settle undeveloped land holdings in Upper Canada. Through the character of Bogle Corbet, Galt ultimately argues that authorship—and the print market—is the only means by which the middle class emigrant can survive in North America. *Bogle Corbet* also shows how authorship is a productive mode of labour, resulting in the export commodity of literature. Galt intended *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* to be “companion novels,” and by reading them as such we are better able to understand Galt’s critique of Smith: in *Lawrie Todd*, Galt counters Smith’s claim that colonization is a threat to the British economy and that there must be a diverse labour market for any individual to financially prosper. *Bogle Corbet* engages with Smith’s notions of authorship as unproductive labour in a wider British Empire, and can also be read as a cautionary tale warning Britons on both sides of the Atlantic against the perils of an unregulated global economy.

Neither Lawrie Todd nor Bogle Corbet undertakes simple, one-way transatlantic journeys. For Lawrie Todd, though his journey is a typical transatlantic one, his multiple ocean crossings belie the notion of emigration being a one-way trip. Bogle Corbet’s world is larger than that of Lawrie Todd; he travels throughout the British Empire, ending his life—and the narrative—in Upper Canada. Bogle Corbet, aged, unhappy, and poor, puts his last efforts into writing his life story and sending the manuscript for publication in the British literary market. Unlike Lawrie Todd, who returns to Britain with his fortune, Bogle Corbet makes explicit the export possibilities found in texts for middle-class emigrants unable to acquire material wealth from agriculture but able to exploit readerly

desires for narratives of the “fantasy empire.” *Bogle Corbet* concludes with an extended appendix offering practical advice for settlers, and the juxtaposition between Bogle Corbet’s engagement in the literary marketplace and the Canada Company’s goal of selling specific tracts of land at a profit demonstrates how for Galt, these two seemingly-disparate arenas of life were remarkably similar and interconnected.

Conclusion

This dissertation concludes with an examination of Galt’s correspondence with British politician, Robert Peel, and the explicit political work of the literary press. At the end of his life, Galt was impoverished and receiving governmental financial aid. In spite of the failure of the Canada Company, he was also engaged in the development of another North American investment project—the British North American Company. In his letter to Peel, Galt suggests that his expertise in dealing with government (gained through his time with the Canada Company) his experience as a newspaper editor, and his financial dependency on the government make him the perfect candidate to edit a new publication whose sole purpose would be to promote government policy and projects in the periodical press. *Galt’s Occasional*, as it was provisionally titled, never came to fruition. However, as evidenced by his letters to Peel, Galt always believed that authorship was a profession that could directly engage in British political and economic milieus.

Galt’s North American publications reflect large-scale anxieties about the changing British Empire, specifically anxieties regarding land ownership and changes to financial and banking regulations. My analysis of Galt’s North American writing maps the influence of authors in the intersecting worlds of corporate finance, literature, and

colonial expansion. In my treatment of *Bogle Corbet*, I struggled with how to adequately represent the intricate, circum-Atlantic imperial network that informs and influences both the narrative arc of the text and the narrative of John Galt's life and relationship to authorship and to an empire whose wealth was underwritten by slavery. Issues of race and representations of blackness in *Bogle Corbet* are troublesome and disturbing for the contemporary reader to say the least. It is difficult to determine Galt's personal opinion on the slave trade and the abolition movement, as (so far as I have found) he makes no mention of this important and contemporaneous political debate in his correspondence, or in his *Autobiography* or in *The Literary Life*. Because of the space limitations of my dissertation, however, examination of slavery and its significance in underpinning the British Empire must be left for a future project.¹⁴

While Galt is explicit and even egregious in his representation of blackness in *Bogle Corbet*, his representation of indigeneity is equally problematic. In Chapter Two, I show how Galt's representations of Native North Americans in the periodical press almost dogmatically adhere to Romantic stereotypes of the “noble savage.” Perhaps more disconcerting, however, is the distinct lack of representation of indigeneity in novels like *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, which were intended to both entertain and

¹⁴ In his article, “Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World: John Galt’s *Bogle Corbet*,” Kenneth McNeil begins to engage with representations of blackness in *Bogle Corbet*. Outside of McNeil, there has been surprisingly little critical examination of the relationship between Jamaica, Britain, and Upper Canada, of the slave trade and the subsequent abolition movement which was at its peak during the time of *Bogle Corbet*’s publication, and of the relationship between West Indian exports such as sugar, coffee, and rum and the British literary marketplace, all connections that are made in *Bogle Corbet*. To examine complex issues like colonial export economies—whether they are slaves, coffee, sugar, or rum—and the literary marketplace would demand a level of research that would shift the focus of this entire dissertation; responsible scholarship would have me engage in a lengthy and important history of postcolonial scholarship beginning with Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* and moving through a vast body of postcolonial criticism and critical race theory to engage fully in the debates surrounding representations of slavery and blackness and the implications for textual and material mobility in the mid-nineteenth century.

educate the potential North American emigrant. This vast silence of representation metaphorically embodies the very real colonial project of extinguishing Indigenous peoples and cultures in North America, and analysis of these silences in Galt's texts deserves much more critical attention. The representation of women in Galt's *oeuvre* generally and in his North American texts specifically is another aspect of Galt's writing that has yet to be critically addressed. Ironically, the lack of representation of female experiences in North American emigrant narratives by people like Galt prompted Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill to write with a specifically female immigrant audience in mind, leading to their current canonical status as foundational Canadian authors.¹⁵

In "What is an Author," Michel Foucault argues that "It would be pure romanticism . . . to imagine a culture in which the fictive would operate in an absolutely free state, in which fiction would be put at the disposal of everyone and would develop without passing through something like a necessary or constraining figure" (Foucault 119). For Galt, the constraining figure was an economic one. Writing under financial duress for most of his life, Galt developed a career that counters the notion of the author as "solitary genius," a notion that has, until recently, been associated with the Romantic period.¹⁶ Rather than writing in solitude, Galt exploited his personal relationships to secure venues for his North American publications and to fill empty positions in the Canada Company. Galt treated authorship as an economic alternative to his true life's

¹⁵ Traill published *The Backwoods of Canada* in 1836 to provide domestic advice for immigrant women, followed by *The Female Emigrant's Guide and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping* (1854) which was reissued under many variant titles. Susanna Moodie published *Roughing it in the Bush* (1852) and *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* (1853).

¹⁶ For a longer discussion on the changing attitude towards authorship in the early nineteenth century, see Michelle Levy's *Family Authorship and Romantic Print Culture* (2008).

work—business and colonial entrepreneurship. The economic underpinnings of Galt's literary career directly counter Smith's claims that authorship is unproductive labour and that colonization will be to the financial detriment of the British economy. Galt's last publication before his death was a series entitled "Letters concerning projects of improvement for Upper Canada" published in the *Cobourg Star* between November 1836 and March 1837. These letters speak to Galt's lifelong commitment to the colonial expansion project, the opportunities he saw for Britons in land speculation and development in North America, and to the central role of print culture in circulating corporate ideals and investment opportunities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Chapter 1.

Upper Canada, Inc.: The Literatures of the Canada Company

Sweeping reform of banking and Company law in the 1820s significantly shaped John Galt's participation in a transatlantic literary marketplace. After his return from his first trip to Upper Canada in 1819, Galt began to publish extensively in the periodical press and worked to develop the Canada Company, a joint-stock venture tasked by the British government to sell over one million acres of Crown lands in Upper Canada. The most significant result of Galt's foray into land speculation and the British corporate world is found in the corpus of publications facilitated by the work of the Canada Company. This chapter analyzes how companies like the Canada Company refute Adam Smith's claim that colonization is financially detrimental to the British Empire through showing how alongside the financial gains found through the traditional work of colonial expansion (such as land settlement and speculation), publications resulting from the colonial North American experience should also be considered as a type of colonial export. These publications, penned by Galt, William "Tiger" Dunlop, Samuel Strickland, and Andrew Picken, demonstrate how corporations like the Canada Company had a direct impact on the literary sphere and suggest how texts could circulate as export commodities.

Colonial expansion and its effect on the British domestic economy is one of Adam Smith's central concerns in *The Wealth of Nations*. In a section entitled "America

and East Indies" in Book IV, Smith critiques the practice of monopoly trades, arguing that "if the colony trade...is advantageous to Great Britain, it is not by means of the monopoly, but in spite of the monopoly" (774). The practice of monopoly trading, whereby tariff and taxation relief alongside exclusive trading rights were extended to colonial exporters, thus infringing upon "the natural and free state of colony trade" (772), was common when *The Wealth of Nations* was published. For Smith, a free market would result in increased colonial profits and decreased financial liability for Britain. In his view, the "proper business of all new colonies" (774) is agriculture, and it is through free-market exportation of agricultural goods that both individual emigrants and the British economy will see profitability. The implementation of the controversial Corn Laws¹⁷ beginning in 1813 prompted wide-spread discussion of foreign importation practices and the circulation of agricultural goods, however, and brought classical economic theories based in Physiocracy¹⁸ such as Smith's onto centre stage in the political, print, and public spheres alike. From its inception, the Canada Company aimed to have exclusive sale and development rights over its lands in Upper Canada, a corporate mandate that rebutted Smith's critique of corporate monopolies.

On December 30th, 1824, the Earl Marshall¹⁹ received an application for the creation of a coat of arms for the Canada Company.²⁰ This application, submitted by the

¹⁷ The Corn Laws were a set of duties applied to cereals imported to Britain from outside the Empire. Essentially, these laws ensured that colonial products were given preference over foreign ones. The laws included offsetting the cost of transatlantic transport of grain for colonial exporters as well.

¹⁸ For Smith and other Physiocrats, 'value' was a complex category in which there was a correlative relationship between the labour needed to produce a tradeable commodity and its price in the market. For Smith, the most 'valuable' objects were those directly resulting from agricultural endeavours.

¹⁹ The Earl Marshall is a Royal Officer whose official duties include managing the Office of the Coat of Arms.

joint-stock Company, was the first step towards incorporation, a status which would grant the Company important legal rights. At the time of the application, Sir George Naylor was the Garter Principal King of Arms, and it was in this capacity that he eventually granted the Royal Charter to the Canada Company on August 19, 1826. The practice of granting a coat of arms and a royal charter might be read as symbolic and interesting yet relatively unimportant for the practical undertakings of a land-distribution Company like the Canada Company. However, as I will argue in this chapter, an analysis of the coat-of-arms indicates how symbolic texts disclose the values and practices of the specific bodies they represent and of the larger political and social milieu in which these texts are produced. Echoes of the values symbolized in the coat-of-arms are also found in the texts that eventually made their way back across the Atlantic to Britain as a result of their authors' employment with the Company. Thus, reading the coat-of-arms as a preface to interpreting the literature written by Company affiliates and Blackwoodian authors like Galt, Dunlop, Picken, and Strickland signals how all of the publications facilitated by the Canada Company were not solely literary works. They reflect contemporaneous British economic and political reform and the central role of corporations and political economy as popular topics of political debate in the literary marketplace in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The economic climate at the time the Canada Company was applying for incorporation was tumultuous to say the least. During the years between the repeal of the Bubble act and the 1844 act “for the Registration, Incorporation, and Regulation of Joint-Stock Companies,” incorporation was possible only through a private act of

²⁰ See Appendix A.

Parliament or a Royal Charter (Poovey 16).²¹ The series of regulatory measures concerning corporations speaks to the increasingly central role of corporate bodies in British society as the nineteenth century wore on. The process of incorporation was relatively exclusive: “in the years before 1844, only a few companies, including the East India Company and the Bank of England, achieved this status” (Poovey 16). Incorporation was a “rarely granted privilege” (Ireland 43), and because of its rarity, incorporation carried with it cachet and authority. At the time the Canada Company was incorporated, the unstable nature of British domestic and foreign markets caused widespread anxiety for shareholders and the general public alike. An anonymous article in *The Times* [London, England] June 5th, 1826, situates the incorporation of the Canada Company in this troubled economy, beginning by contextualizing its report amidst the financial chaos of the newly-opened stock market and suggesting that “Ministers have become extremely anxious” and that governmental trade stimulus has begun “at the wrong end” (2) of a supply-and-demand economy such as that theorized by Adam Smith. The author goes on to explain how

²¹ The Bubble Act – which had been prompted by the 1720 collapse of the South Seas Company—made incorporation illegal unless sanctioned by Royal Charter or Act of Parliament. Once it was repealed in 1825, as Joel Bakan suggests, “the corporation [and specifically the joint-stock venture] was poised to begin its ascent to dominance over the economy and society” (Bakan 10). The same year the Bubble Act was repealed there was a near-total collapse of the British economy, later known as the Panic of 1825. Nearly every well-established financial institution in Britain was devastated by the collapse, including the Bank of England. Mary Poovey argues that in the wake of the 1825-26 economic crash, “joint-stock companies played an increasingly important role in nearly every aspect of British finance” (15). This increased importance is directly related to the shift from partnership to incorporation: “a joint-stock corporation was a distinct legal entity” that acted “under law as a single body” (Poovey 16). The Bubble Act made the process of incorporation difficult and costly, resulting in most businesses being run as partnerships, a system under which partners retained individual legal liability for the actions of the Company. Between the repeal of the Bubble Act in 1825 and the joint-stock act of 1844, incorporation became a standard method of structuring business in Britain. Incorporation brought certain legal protections for the business, but until the joint-stock act of 1844 and the later limited liability partnership act of 1856, the question of individual liability was still under debate. For an excellent history of the evolution of the joint-stock bank, see Alborn, pp 85-115.

In consequence of the adjustment of the points in dispute between the Government and the Canada Company, a requisition has been presented to the Committee of the Foreign Stock Exchange, calling on them to decide on the respective bargains in the shares of that Company, which were made dependent on the completion of the charter. (*Times* [London, England]. 5 June 1826:2, my emphasis)

This article appeared on the second page of the *Times*, a newspaper with a circulation of more than 20,000 which positioned “itself as the champion of middle-class opinion and [as] ‘thundering for reform’” (Wood qtd. in Brake and Demoer 627). The article’s salient position in the publication corroborates the economic anxieties articulated in the piece. Further, the importance of the charter as a panacea for these anxieties would inform the circulation of the literature created as a result of the Canada Company business in North America. By obtaining charter status, the Canada Company was vested with governmental authority; the business proposals it made were imbued with the cultural and financial cachet of its charter status. By extension, the literature produced by Canada Company authors, who specifically promoted emigration to Canada Company lands, benefitted from this authority. Whereas many contemporaneous travel narratives encouraged North American emigration, the texts penned by this group of Canada Company authors could support claims based on individual experience with the authority of an incorporated Company.

Becoming Corporate

The process of incorporation was in flux at the moment when the Canada Company applied for Charter status in 1825. By 1826, there was no longer a strict requirement for a Special Act of Parliament or the granting of a Royal Charter to obtain incorporation. Hence it is noteworthy and exceptional that the Canada Company was

able to secure a Royal Charter in this political moment. Corporations were becoming an increasing presence in Britain, and the fact that the Canada Company Board of Directors still sought Charter status in spite of the considerable time, procedure, and expense of the process speaks to the continued authority of Charter status in spite of relaxed financial regulations. The Canada Company's successful charter application gave the corporation access to the legal rights and privileges exclusive to a corporation; much like the agents of its Company who enjoyed increased class status and worked to maintain this status in Upper Canada, by virtue of the becoming a corporation the Company also enjoyed the benefits of a higher echelon of business practice. The act of incorporation brought together this group of disparate, global stock-holders under one Company charter and coat-of-arms; this new, collective corporate identity gave the group an official status, thereby raising the exchange value North American land alongside the exchange value of the literature arising from the Company, as I will argue later.

The word 'corporate' suggests a movement between the symbolic and the material, between active (verb) and descriptive (noun). An understanding of this ambiguity in the term 'corporate' is crucial to a more complete consideration of the role of the Charter in the Canada Company and the Company's subsequent position within the larger British colonial project and within the transatlantic literary marketplace. In his decision to grant the Canada Company's request for incorporation and the accompanying coat-of-arms, King George IV articulates the transformative power of the act of incorporation. Through the power vested in the "royal charter under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" the process of incorporation transforms "several of [the King's] subjects into one Body politic and corporate by the name of 'The Canada Company'" (Canada Company Charter np).

The ornate document that is the Canada Company Charter at once reminds us that the body politic is a reference point to the power of the monarchy as well as the (relatively) new status of the United Kingdom. Much like the ceremony of baptism, the granting of the charter and its seal make legitimate the name of the Company, bringing its affiliates and its members into the fold of gentility and respectability. Further, because the Company no longer *needed* a Royal Charter to obtain most of the benefits of incorporation, the charter functions in as much a symbolic way as a material one. The charter signals to any reader of Canada Company documents—whether maps, official reports, or emigrant guides—that the Company has been officially sanctioned by the government and the King. In light of the Panic of 1825, its Royal Charter status also signals a kind of security; this is not the kind of Company that needed to wait for the repeal of the Bubble Act to achieve incorporation. Moreover, the material importance of incorporation by Royal Charter offers another level of security for potential investors and settlers; because the Canada Company obtained a Royal Charter, its investors benefitted from statutes regarding limited liability, which would not apply to investors in companies without Royal charter status until after 1844.²²

The charter and the coat of arms are some of the first official texts documenting the intention of the Canada Company.²³ These documents outline the intention of the Company to work towards “the settlement and *improvement* of the *lands of the Crown in that highly important colony*” (np, my emphasis), Canada. This Company, once incorporated by Royal Charter, was well-situated not only to work to settle land in Upper

²² See Paddy Ireland “Capitalism without Capitalists” regarding the legal history of incorporation. Though a Royal charter was no longer strictly necessary for a Company to reap most legal benefits of that status, it wasn’t until the joint stock act of 1844 that shareholders were fully cleared of any legal responsibility under incorporated status.

²³ Please see Appendix A.

Canada, but also to improve them. Further, the categorization of the lands as Royal territory suggests a tone of national loyalty and service on the part of the Company instead of marking its true context as a joint-stock venture whose primary goal was to earn money for its directors and share-holders, located across the Empire.²⁴ As one of the early forms of ‘branding’ a Company, the coat-of-arms instills official authority to the Company by virtue of the process by which a coat-of-arms was obtained and creates a visually recognizable symbol of the Company that began to crop up across Company documents.²⁵ For example, on a map detailing the lands available for sale and distribution through the Canada Company that would have been displayed in the Lancashire Canada Company agent’s office, the coat-of-arms is positioned above the map of Upper Canada; similarly, the Canada Company office in York, Upper Canada would have displayed versions of these same maps. The Company coat of arms thereby served as the visual symbol for the Company on both sides of the Atlantic.

The coat of arms reflects the aims of the Company generally speaking: the crest is topped with an oak tree, an ancient symbol of England. The top of the shield is adorned with a Scottish thistle, an English rose, and an Irish shamrock, locating the Company within the fold of the United Kingdom and Ireland as described in the

²⁴ There is archival evidence of Canada Company shareholders investing in the Company from Barbados, the West Indies, Jamaica, Ireland, Upper and Lower Canada, as well as from throughout Britain (MS 8502 LMA). There is an interesting argument to be made regarding the increased circulation of paper joint stock certificates and bonds, the Bank of England’s ‘solution’ to the Panic of 1825—printing more paper money—and the increased circulation of print facilitated by cheaper paper and industrialized printing. However, this is outside of the scope of this dissertation. See Larry Neal for the changing landscape of England’s financial system in the wake of the Panic of 1825.

²⁵ There is little scholarship describing the actual process of designing the coat-of-arms. At the time of the Canada Company’s application for a royal Charter, George Naylor held the position of Royal Garter, and extant scholarship suggests that he would have read the Charter application (which describes the Company’s intended work in detail) and designed the coat-of-arms on behalf of the Company.

application and charter. However, the details of the crest are positioned on a St. George's cross as background. The cross, positioned directly under the English oak, emphasizes the Englishness of the venture in spite of the 'equal' positioning of the Scottish thistle and Irish Shamrock. The prominence of the St. George's cross is ironic, given how influential and important Scots would generally be to the success of the Company; indeed, as I will describe later in this chapter, the writers who were the most successful at exporting Canadian tales were Scottish, not English.²⁶ In some versions of the crest, English lions flank the shield, enforcing the idea that though the Company is in service of the British Empire, at bottom, it is *English*.²⁷ The cross creates a perfect quadrant to highlight four aspects of the work of the Company; when read as a discrete text, the crest offers a glimpse into the stages of the emigration experience. The beaver in the upper left echoes the history of the fur trade in Upper and Lower Canada, while symbolically invoking the need for individual industry to succeed in the colony. Popular mythology attributed to beavers human-like capacities for organizing labour to benefit the larger group as a whole, a mythology with echoes to utilitarian and corporate organizing principles. With an industrious, utilitarian spirit, the settler can then begin to fell trees and clear his settlement, represented by the saw and axe depicted in the upper right quadrant. The plow in the lower left quadrant represents the next stage of agricultural settlement, marking the moment when, once his fields are cleared, the emigrant-settler can sow his crops and begin to reap the fruits of his labours,

²⁶ Of the writers whose texts are directly indebted to the Canada Company (Galt, Dunlop, Picken, Strickland), only Strickland is English. The others are all Scottish. Further, the Irish made up far more of the emigrant population to Upper Canada than did the English; Scottish emigrant numbers were comparable to English ones. See *The Courier* Jan 21, 1830; July 3, 1830; *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, Volume Two; Helen Cowan *British Emigration*, Appendix B, table 2; Roger Dennis Hall's *The Canada Company*, 267.

²⁷ See Appendix A.

represented by the golden sheaf of wheat in the bottom right quadrant. This simple narrative glosses over the harsh conditions and difficult environment to which British settlers arrived in the early nineteenth century. Most tellingly, however, is the Company motto: “Non Mutat Genus Solum,” or “Country does not change the race.”²⁸ The motto of the Company contradicts the emigration literature at the time, which suggests that change is possible for settlers, that by emigrating they will find that they can begin anew and become more successful outside of the constraints of the economically crippled and overpopulated British Isles. However, as the motto suggests, companies such as the Canada Company will make it their duty to ensure that Upper Canadian society is not only recognizable but is *unchanged* from its British counterpart. In other words, the North American agents of the Canada Company, its British board of directors, and its stockholders found throughout the empire needn’t worry: the Canada Company has every intention of working to recreate class systems in Upper Canada. The ideology suggested by the Canada Company’s Charter and coat of arms is replicated in other more literary texts produced under the auspices of the Company. Before I turn to analyzing these texts, I will consider Adam Smith’s perspective on monopoly companies in colonies and discuss how Smith’s theories do not take into account the literary texts produced in conjunction with the work of colonial companies.

²⁸ The seemingly-simple motto is upon second glance remarkably complex: while the most common translation is as stated above, “genus” can also translate to “family” or “clan”, rather than race. While the general sentiment of the motto is unchanged using an alternative translation of ‘genus’, to translate ‘genus’ to ‘family’ invokes the later rhetoric of the Family Compact, a group in Upper Canada closely aligned with the Canada Company. Interestingly this same phrase was used in the 1870s as the motto for the *Western Australian Times*.

Smith on Colonies

In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith argues that a corporate presence in colonial lands will result in economic manipulation to the benefit of the upper echelon of colonial society. The corporate monopoly, or the “exclusive Company” (729) is the “expedient” that is best able to “stunt the natural growth of a new colony” (729). For Smith, a corporate monopoly—such as that granted by the British government to the Canada Company for exclusive land sale rights of the Huron Tract—is detrimental to both the British and the colonial economies, as corporate monopolies infringe on the free market. For example, if the primary export product of a colony is grain, then a Company that has exclusive rights to export grain can control the export quantity and falsify its value on the transatlantic exchange market. Smith argues that “some of the most important productions of America and the West Indies [are] grain of all sorts, lumber, salt provisions, fish, sugar, and rum” (732). The “general advantage” of colonial expansion to North America is found in the “variety of commodities which [Britons] could not have otherwise possessed”; some of these surplus products are “for pleasure” and others to “increase their enjoyments” (750). Smith was likely referring to sugar, cocoa, tobacco or rum when he was thinking about surplus produce that would increase enjoyment. Literature such as the books, articles, and stories made possible through the Canada Company complicates Smith’s definition of export commodities. Like timber and fur, these texts are the result of productive colonial labour; like sugar, cocoa, or rum, these texts circulate as objects for enjoyment as well as for instruction and corporate promotion. The seemingly-dichotomous work of Canada Company authors who participated both in explicitly corporate ventures with the Company while also engaged in literary production counters Smith’s claim that corporate monopolies will impinge upon

financial prosperity. Instead, these authors show how land speculation and development through the Canada Company results in multiple opportunities for middle-class financial prosperity, be it through share-holder dividends, through agricultural development, or through opportunities to enter into the British literary marketplace.

Export Literatures

Emigration literature was a well-established branch of the periodical and imprint British presses by the time the Canada Company was promoting its land in the 1820s. Samuel Strickland, whose own role with the Canada Company and whose retrospective text, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West* (1853) will be analyzed in detail later in this chapter, describes how data regarding climate, land-availability, and instructions for developing a settlement can be found in literature circulated by the Company. One such source of information is “the scarce and valuable [Hind’s Pamphlet], for the sight of which [Strickland] is indebted to the Canada Company, and of which [he has] already availed [himself] so largely” (2:29). Later, Strickland describes the “useful little pamphlet, by Frederick Widder, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Canada Company” (2:192) as the source for the financial information he references in his text. Such pamphlets point to the Canada Company’s direct intervention in the literary marketplace: not only is Strickland indebted to the Company for access to the pamphlets, he then reproduces their data in his larger-scale, British publication for circulation in Britain. Strickland goes on to sing the praises of land speculation and transatlantic investment in his book’s second volume, offering a neat example of the collapse of boundaries between the literary marketplace and the investment world. Lamenting his departure from the

Company, which he calls a “mistake” (2:140), Strickland speaks directly to his reader, arguing that:

There can be no doubt that land speculation is one of the surest and best means of making money in Canada, provided the speculator can afford to sink his capital for a few years. He must also be a person well acquainted with the country and its capabilities, the quality of the land and timber, number of mill privileges, and the best and most eligible situations for towns and villages, in which case there is no danger of his being a loser. Indeed, if the land is well selected, there is almost a certainty of the speculator doubling his purchase money in the short space of three to seven years. (2:140-41)

Strickland’s praise of land-speculation echoes the Canada Company promotional materials like maps with lengthy descriptions of climate, land quality, and Upper Canadian geography, helping transform potential settlers into “persons well-acquainted with the country” (Strickland 2:140).²⁹ Even though the Canada Company drastically cut Strickland’s salary, he maintains that transatlantic investment is still the best way to guarantee economic success in Upper Canada. Strickland maintains his Company loyalty throughout *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*. By continuing to promote the Canada Company, Strickland offers Britons multiple methods to fiscally benefit from colonial expansion. Britons disinclined to emigrate might make use of Strickland’s text, purchase Canada Company land, and begin to earn dividends as Canada Company shareholders until they resold their Upper Canadian property at a profit. Strickland’s continued promotion of the Canada Company makes his text as much a corporate investment guide for would-be investors as an emigrant guide for would-be emigrants.

²⁹ The Canada Company would have displayed maps of its lands, descriptions of the Upper Canadian climate, and documents offering advice to emigrants in its head office, located on St. Helen’s Place, London. These maps all included an image of the coat-of-arms.

Literature like *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West* becomes an important aspect of corporate promotion. By using his text to circulate his opinion on the Company, Strickland shows the important influence of literature on the business world.³⁰ An even more explicit example of the influence of the artistic sphere on the business world is found in William Cattermole's Canada Company-funded lecture tours, briefly mentioned in the Introduction. When Cattermole toured England, "the Company undertook to pay expenses and provided a commission of 7.5 percent on sales. His speeches were [subsequently] printed and circulated" (Hall 277-78). This tour proved to be one of the most effective methods of reaching potential emigrant groups outside of London. The resulting text, *Emigration: The Advantages of Emigration to Canada: Being the Substance of Two Lectures, Delivered at the Town-hall, Colchester, and the Mechanics' Institution, Ipswich, May, 1831*, published by Simpkin and Marshall, proved to be immensely popular.³¹ In spite of the wide circulation and popularity of Cattermole's lectures, even in textual form, first-hand emigration stories, circulated by reprinting letters from emigrants to British friends, relatives, and even newspaper editors proved to be the most "effective form of advertising" (Hall 36) for the Company.

The authority granted to first-hand, individual experience and the corporate advertising potential found in the literary marketplace is exemplified by Andrew Picken's text, *The Canadas, As They at Present Commend Themselves to the Enterprize of Emigrants, Colonists, and Capitalists: Comprehending a Variety of Topographical*

³⁰ In a longer version of this manuscript I will investigate whether Strickland, like Galt, continued as a shareholder in the Company after he left his official position. My suspicion is that he continued to be a share-holder, and as such, would have a vested financial interest in the Company's continued profitability even after he was no longer an employee.

³¹ Further evidence of the importance of this text in Canadian literary history is its inclusion in the Coles Canadiana Series; it was republished in a popular paperback format in 1970.

Reports Concerning the Quality of the Land, etc. in Different Districts and the Fullest General Information Compiled and Condensed from Original Documents Furnished by John Galt, Esq., and other Authentic Sources. John Galt, who provided documentation regarding Upper Canadian life based on his time in North America, lends literary authority to the text. The listing of the intended readership of “emigrants, colonists, and capitalists” underscores the close relationship between emigration, economics, and print. In his introduction, Picken hierarchizes the three categories of intended readers in more detail. “Emigrants,” whom Picken describes as “mere labourers” (5), are those individuals who are “standing at the bottom of the scale of society at home [and] would be happy to go to any spot, where they could procure a subsistence by physical exertion” (5). These working class labourers “ought to be the first to emigrate” (5). The second class of readers, “colonists,” are described as “a better class of persons” (6), and these are “men reared to manufacture...who cannot procure employment at home” (6). The third class of reader, “capitalists,” who are described as a “superior class at home” (9), and as “still a better class of persons” (12), will be motivated to emigrate because of “the prospect of *losing caste* in their own country, of descending beneath and being avoided by their former equals” (13, original emphasis). *The Canadas* is explicitly intended “for persons of this [third] sort” (13). Economics is clearly a motivating factor in determining what type of emigrant the Canada Company hopes to encourage.

Texts like Strickland’s and Picken’s—by and for capitalists—encourage readers to support corporate monopolies like the Canada Company. Support of the Company takes many forms: emigration to its lands, financial investment, or the purchase of Company literature. Reading Strickland and Picken’s texts as direct results of their work with the Canada Company (whether from North America or from Britain) shows how

literary texts also circulate as colonial export products. *The Canadas*, authored by Picken, who (according to extant historical and archival evidence) never visited Canada, banks on Galt's reputation and first-hand experience to provide the materials that serve as the basis for the text. Picken dedicates the text to Galt, and in his dedication, makes the link between Galt's literary and business lives explicit. Galt's work with the Canada Company, according to Picken, should be considered as "public services deserving a praise that well may be put in honourable competition with an extended literary frame" (iv). Though Picken is referencing Galt's own already-established reputation within the British literary marketplace, he too builds a literary frame throughout the text. In spite of criticizing existing travel or emigrant narratives as "hasty opinions of publishing travellers" (2), Picken goes on to reference well-known authors like Joseph Bouchette (2), John Howison (16), Galt (*Bogle Corbet*) (17), Basil Hall (19), John Pickering (36), William Bell (38), Charles Stuart (45), John McTaggart (106), John McGregor (208), F.F. DeRoos (222), Washington Irving (231), Nathaniel Gould (231), James Fenimore Cooper (235), and Richard Bonncastle (276), as substantiating evidence for the claims he is making throughout his text regarding emigration. Alongside these literary texts, Picken cites the texts published by the Canada Company itself. Given that the entire text is a compilation of documents provided by John Galt, it is unsurprising that Picken would include so many other emigrant authors within his publication. What is important to consider is *how* Picken cites these texts. Explicit intertexuality aside, Picken even adopts a similar sentence structure and tone to cite a well-known text like John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* (1821) as he does to cite Canada Company documents. Consider the following examples: "'Mechanics,' adds the same observer [as cited by Howison] 'cannot fail to do well in Upper Canada' (17) and "'Industrious men,' adds the Company, 'may look forward with confidence to an improvement in their situation' (17).

In both these sentences, Picken's syntax and sentence structure emphasize the personification of the Canada Company that began with its incorporation by Royal charter. By citing the Company in the same manner as any other author of a travel or emigration text, Picken solidifies the position of the Company within the 'literary frame' as an authorial presence akin to that of Howison and others. This personification works to align the Company with Galt, whom Picken describes as occupying an interstitial position between the business and literary worlds. Quoting *Bogle Corbet* at length, Picken begins to offer specific, practical advice to the potential successful emigrant, whom Picken sees as "industrious" (24), or possessing what the narrator Bogle Corbet calls "handicraft" knowledge (3:136). Because *Bogle Corbet* was published in 1832, the same year as *The Canadas*, Picken is effectively puffing Galt's text within his own. The overlap between the literary and business worlds Picken suggests through his equation of government documents, Canada Company publications, and literary texts is equally highlighted through his subtle advertisement of Galt's most recent publication in *The Canadas*.

Indeed, on the front cover of Picken's text, his name appears below that of Galt, and though he clearly is the author of the text, writing the dedication to Galt, the advertisement, and the introduction, he hesitates to use the word "author." Instead, Picken calls himself "the compiler." Picken has compiled documents that are "official and authentic... [and] of no ordinary stamp" (v). Just as his personification of the Company imbues it with the cultural cachet obtained from situating the Company as a member of the transatlantic literary coterie such as the above-mentioned one, so too does categorizing the compiled documents as "official" and "authentic" imbue them with the economic power found in an incorporated Company like the Canada Company. These

documents, largely obtained from John Galt and Nathaniel Gould, “Deputy Governor of the British American Land Company” (vi), make up a considerable portion of the 350-page main text, which has over eighty pages of appendices and various other paratextual elements, including maps and an index. Unsurprisingly, the other source for this type of “official” and “authentic” documentation is the British American Land Company, a project Galt began after his removal from the Canada Company. The not-so hidden agenda of Galt and his fellow directors is made obvious in the “Advertisement” for the text, where Picken explains how he “applied to the Canada Company for access to a Report of an Inspection” of the Huron Tract lands, “but for some unassigned reason the Directors declined allowing a sight of any documents which they had not themselves printed” (vi). In his appeal for information to the Canada Company Board of Directors, Picken personifies the Canada Company. This personification transforms the Company from an inhuman corporate entity into a quotable author whose texts are situated amongst other contemporaneous accounts of North American emigration. The Board of Directors take on an editorial role, determining the scope of what their author, the Canada Company can make available through the literary marketplace.

Though the Canada Company was the official government agent tasked with selling the Huron Tract lands, thereby embodying the type of corporate monopoly Smith criticized, it is important to remember that it was, at bottom, a *Company*. It was a joint-stock Company whose first obligation was to its shareholders and to turn a profit for them. Indeed, when Picken describes the intended audience for his text, he describes not only the “mere” labourers, but “ persons in better circumstances” (1), who may enquire after Canada “either with ideas of settling there themselves, or with a view to the *profitability of investment of capital* in connexion with colonial companies formed at

home" (1-2). Whereas other Canada Company texts like those of Samuel Strickland and William "Tiger" Dunlop promote and laud the Canada Company while encouraging emigration and settlement, Picken is unique in including a third motivation behind his text: to encourage *investment* in the Company from readers who have no intention of emigrating to Upper Canada. The topographical descriptions and detailed charts of potential settlement tracts found throughout the text are therefore not only intended as a guide for new settlers, but serve as proof for sound investment. And by only including sanctioned documents published by the Companies themselves, the biases of Picken's text are brought to the fore. Picken's text attempts to show how Britons, like himself, could profit from corporate monopolies in North America without leaving Britain. As Picken demonstrates, companies like the Canada Company provided opportunities for foreign investment as well as provided opportunities for authorship.

Much like Picken's compilation, *The Canadas*, William "Tiger" Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* (published by John Murray in 1832) is deeply indebted to the Canada Company, and upholds the goals and tenets of the stock venture throughout the narrative. The corporate interests of the Canada Company are more subtly represented in Dunlop's "Sketch" than those found in *The Canadas*. Dunlop's epigraph reads "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce,"³² and much as with the tripartite readership of *The Canadas*, here too we see how Dunlop foregrounds emigration, colonization, and capitalism. Dunlop, who claims the impetus for his text is "sheer laziness" (65), is initially vague about his association with the Canada Company. In saying only that his "principal employment has been, to traverse the country...for the express purpose of obtaining

³² Dunlop, famous for his humour (see Lizars; Klinck's *The Tiger*), surely would not have chosen a quote by Napoleon in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars without a good dose of irony.

statistical information” (66), Dunlop conveniently glosses his status as one of the most powerful agents of the Canada Company in North America. *Statistical Sketches*, which Dunlop hopes will provide “information to emigrants that they may not be disappointed on their arrival in Canada” (66), relies upon Dunlop’s experience and expertise gleaned from his employment with the Canada Company. And though Dunlop claims “laziness” as his motivation for authoring the text, he was a well-established participant in the British literary marketplace prior to his emigration to Upper Canada. Like Galt, Dunlop’s literary reputation facilitated his entry into the Upper Canadian business world, and in a circuitous movement, his work with the Canada Company then paved the way for him to become a transatlantic contributor to the British periodical press.

Dunlop’s references to the Canada Company are more subtle than Picken’s. However, I would argue that it is its subtlety that makes Dunlop’s promotion of the Canada Company so effective. When he initially outlines who might benefit from emigration to Upper Canada, Dunlop suggests that anyone of substantial means should seriously consider whether or not Canada is a “good investment” (70). He argues that “a man of large capital...had better lend the surplus [income] on mortgage...than invest it in business” (70). Here, Dunlop is subtly suggesting that rather than invest in individual enterprise, individuals with economic means should invest in land. He goes on to suggest that potential emigrants who “have no particular motives...to settle in one part of the province more than another,” should settle in the Canada Company’s Huron Tract (79). In other words, emigrants with money should not embrace individual enterprise, as this would not prove to be a “good investment.” Instead, they should invest their money in land and increase their mortgages. And this land should be purchased through the Canada Company. Similarly, these emigrants of means, who may wonder how “money

should be taken to Canada" (75), are advised to "lodge it with...agents for the Bank of Upper Canada, or at the Canada Company's office in St. Helen's Place [London]" (75). Here, Dunlop's text underscores how the Canada Company encouraged and implemented structures to facilitate investment and emigration by settlers of means; Dunlop uses his text—which is intended as a guide to supplement first hand advice—to provide explicit instructions to alleviate any concerns that might give economically prosperous settlers pause when considering emigration.

Like Dunlop, Galt recruited Samuel Strickland to work for the Canada Company, and, like Dunlop, Strickland exploited his experience with the Company and his connections to the British literary marketplace to publish his text, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*. Samuel Strickland was paid more than his sister, Susanna Moodie, for his version of life in Upper Canada, which was published by Richard Bentley in 1853.³³ Strickland's retrospective narrative deals more explicitly than either Picken's or Dunlop's with the Canada Company, its role in Upper Canada and interpersonal relationships amongst Canada Company agents. In 1825, Samuel Strickland had immigrated to Upper Canada, and was promptly approached by John Galt to act as a surveyor of Canada Company lands. Though Strickland's Upper Canadian memoir wasn't published until 1853, the narrative is explicitly retrospective and contemporaneous with those of Dunlop, Picken, and Galt. Strickland's fit with these other Scottish authors is somewhat oblique,

³³ See Strickland's publishing contract with Richard Bentley, as well as Michael Peterman's *Letters of a Lifetime*. Peterman attributes this disparity in payment to Agnes Strickland's role in Samuel's publication. Susanna Moodie famously dedicates her text, *Roughing it in the Bush*, to her sister Agnes (with whom she was not particularly close) to try and exploit her sister's British literary reputation as well.

given that the text by this English author was his only large-scale publication.³⁴ The Strickland family was a literary one, and after their father's death in 1818, the five Strickland sisters began to pursue careers as professional writers. Biographer Rosemary Mitchell explains that the sisters, most notably Agnes Strickland, who edited Samuel's text—began to spend part of the year in London, where they “made important literary contacts, meeting the poet Thomas Campbell, Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, and William Jerdan, editor of the Literary Gazette” (“Agnes Strickland” np). By 1853, Samuel Strickland benefitted from his sister Agnes's well-established literary reputation and secured himself a publishing contract with Richard Bentley for his Upper Canadian narrative; similarly, Samuel includes a poem by Agnes near the end of the text (2:370) to remind the reader of their familial and professional relationship. The Strickland name was becoming known in London literary circles around the same time that Samuel emigrated to Upper Canada and that Galt was in London pursuing the incorporation of the Canada Company.

Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West is undoubtedly a Canada Company text. For Strickland, one can—and should—only become an author of emigration literature once “he has experienced all the various gradations of colonial existence,” and if he hasn’t had this range of experience, “he is hardly competent to write on such a subject” (iii). On the first page of the Preface, Strickland makes the Canada Company’s role in textual production explicit; as he outlines the range of experience that makes him suitable to pen an authoritative text on Upper Canada, he explains how his “connection with the Canada Company [has] also afforded [him] some opportunities of acquiring

³⁴ Strickland also published in the *Victoria Magazine* (1847-48) under the pseudonym “Pioneer” (Strickland 294) and contributed a poem and part of a chapter to his sister’s book, Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush*.

additional information” (iii). Once Strickland has adequately proven his ability to inform his reader regarding Upper Canadian emigration experiences, he explains how

emigration to Canada is no longer attended with the difficulties and disadvantages experienced by the early settlers...The civilizing efforts of the Canada Company have covered much of the wild forest-land with smiling corn-fields and populous villages. Indeed, the liberal manner in which the Company have offered their lands on sale or lease, have greatly conduced to the prosperity of the Western Province. (vii)

Later in the text, the first-person narrative returns to the subject of the Canada Company. In Chapter XV, Strickland compares his first experience of visiting the Goderich region, describing it as “one vast solitude...unbroken save by the whoop of the red-man or the distant shot of the trapper” (1:234).³⁵ Strickland then asks the reader to “behold what the energies and good management of the Canada Company have effected,” outlining the urban infrastructure now in place. This “prosperity,” according to Strickland, “is due to the liberality and excellent arrangements of the Canada Company” (1:235). Strickland calls the Company lands “spirited and enterprising”(1:236), symbolically linking the potential settlements back to the imaginary power imbued by the Company charter and subtly reminding the reader that the Company is not only for potential settlers but for “enterprising” investors as well. Making sure to mention that “this incorporated Company contracted with Government” (1:236) to sell the Huron Tract lands, Strickland goes on to describe his initial interactions with John Galt at length, concluding with his own version of Galt’s dismissal from the Canada Company.

³⁵ Goderich Ontario was the town founded by William “Tiger” Dunlop.

Strickland argues that “Galt was ill-used by the Canadian Government” (1:239), calling Galt “a most honourable man, and incapable of any meanness” (1:240).³⁶

Strickland, who was “selling land and receiving payment for the Company,” received a letter from Galt in 1829 telling him of Galt’s “resignation” from the Canada Company (1:286). This resignation was, in fact, Galt’s removal from his position as Company Superintendent. Strickland refers to Galt’s dismissal as his “retirement” (1:286); by representing the end of Galt’s work as Superintendent of the Canada Company not as a dismissal or removal but as a voluntary resignation or retirement, Strickland underscores his support of Galt. The penultimate chapter of *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*’s first volume acts as a narrative bookend to the Preface. In this chapter, Strickland recounts the death of George IV and the ascension of King William IV. Recalling how he and Canada Company Superintendent Charles Prior organize a celebration for “all the settlers within reach” (1:345) to mourn George IV and celebrate William IV (1:345), Strickland makes the relationship between Company loyalty and corporate loyalty explicit. “Dressed in their best attire [,] and ready to show their loyalty” (1:346), the settlers play “Rule Britannia” and celebrate the British Royal family. An American in the crowd observes that these “Britishers [sic] make as much fuss proclaiming [their] king as [Americans] do celebrating [their] anniversary of independence” (1:349). At the end of the celebration, the settlers “give three more cheers for the King, and three for Queen Adelaide...Three cheers were then given for the Canada Company, three for the Commissioners, and three for the old Doctor

³⁶ Strickland is not wholly supportive of Galt: he suggests that Galt’s downfall was in his choice of “inexperienced young men, recently arrived from the old country” (241) to fill positions within the Company. The author-figures who occupy more managerial positions within the Company are exempt from Strickland’s critique.

[Dunlop]" (349-50). Toasting the Canada Company directly after the Royal family is no coincidence; the Company is akin to Royalty in Upper Canada, especially for Prior and Strickland, who depended upon the Company for their livelihood and class status.

In the last pages of Volume One, Strickland recalls the first harvest of the Huron tract, and the festivities to mark this historic day in Upper Canada celebrate the Canada Company once again. The narrative account of the celebration opens with a poem on the harvest by Agnes Strickland. The inclusion of the poem, which lends little to the narrative itself, serves as a reminder that Agnes Strickland had a hand in the production of Samuel's text. Further, it suggests a relationship between the representation of the harvest and the British literary world. Finally, the harvest, which Samuel Strickland compares to "the red battle-fields of Napoleon" (1:371), is completed with a ceremony not unlike that performed to celebrate William IV's ascension. To celebrate the harvest, Madame von Egmond³⁷ cuts the first sheaf of wheat (1:372). This act, a symbol of both the colonial agricultural victory over previously uncultivated territory, marks the entrance of these agricultural settlers into transatlantic economic exchange. Further, Madame von Egmond's cutting the first sheaf of wheat, given her perceived family history, symbolically represents a British victory over the French during the Napoleonic war. To complete the ceremony, the settlers "gave three hearty cheers for the Canada

³⁷ Madame von Egmond, wife of Anthony J.W.G. von Egmond, famously cut the first sheaf of wheat harvested on Canada Company lands. Anthony von Egmond's personal history is mysterious, though when in Upper Canada, he had the reputation to have fought for Napoleon and then changed sides to end the war fighting for the Allies (Strickland 365; Lizars). Biographer W.J. Van Veen has since disproven this claim. The von Egmonds had purchased land from the Canada Company, and were important in developing roads and travelers' inns between Waterloo and Goderich. Later Anthony von Egmond was associated with the Mackenzie Rebellion and was outspoken in his criticism of the Canada Company. See W.J. Van Veen's "Anthony von Egmond", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (np); S. Strickland, p 365.

Company" (372). These celebrations highlight the ongoing importance of colonial loyalty and the intimate relationship between colonial loyalty and Company loyalty.

Just as Strickland bookends the first volume of his narrative with overt references to the Canada Company and its relationship to the British aristocracy, he also conspicuously notes Agnes's role as editor in large font on the cover of the text (in a style akin to that adopted by the publishers of *The Canadas*). By including Agnes's poem in the final chapter of *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, Samuel subtly links his text within the larger British literary landscape. By framing his narrative with representations of these intimate relationships between government, the colonies, and the British literary marketplace, Strickland ideologically collapses loyalty to Britain and loyalty to the Canada Company. Though Volume Two concentrates much more heavily upon representations with local indigenous peoples and relationships between the settlers and indigenes, the Canada Company nevertheless maintains a consistent presence throughout the text. Company publications continue to find their way into Strickland's narrative, suggesting that Canada Company publications play an important role in the everyday life of the settler. For example, Strickland describes a harried voyage across Lake Huron, wherein he relies on knowledge gleaned from his "study of the Canada Company's Maps" (2:126) to navigate stormy waters. In his description of this voyage, Strickland invokes a specifically British frame of reference, calling Lake Huron the "Thames", and describing the river-crossing as a "transatlantic" voyage. This "transatlantic" (2:126) journey across the North American "Thames" (2:126) symbolically reflects the importance of transatlantic textual circulation and the corporate intervention in not only the emigrant experience in Upper Canada, but on the British literary marketplace as well. Like Strickland, Dunlop and Picken also provide strong examples of

the important role of the corporation in literary production and its transatlantic circulation. The complicated and tangled interpersonal and professional relationships that the Canada Company exploited to facilitate its incorporation and the subsequent publications that arose from its work in Upper Canada find parallels in the author-publisher relations in Britain. In the following chapter, I will examine how the “tangled network” (Rukavina 14) of Canada Company authors deployed the periodical press to promote their corporate ventures, and through this practice, complicate and problematize Adam Smith’s notion of productive and unproductive labour.

Chapter 2.

Speculative Merchants: John Galt and the Periodical Press

The periodical press was the ideal publication medium for an opportunistic writer like John Galt. The explosion of literary periodicals in the early decades of the nineteenth century meant multiple potential venues for Galt's writings. Conventions of anonymous and pseudonymous authorship meant Galt could take full advantage of the potential earnings found in this vast medium by simultaneously publishing in multiple periodicals, or even publishing multiple articles in one magazine. After Galt was recalled to England upon suspicion of financial mismanagement of the Canada Company in late 1829 and subsequently imprisoned for debt in the King's Bench Prison in London, he began to see the economic potential of his North American experiences. Galt had thought that Canadian emigration would prove to be financially lucrative, a perspective directly resulting from his investment in and direction of land speculation ventures, but his experience in North America was far from the economic and political success he expected. He returned to Britain financially insolvent, unable to extract his investment from the Canada Company, and desperate to regain his social and economic footing in Britain. Galt's modest financial gains resulting from his North American business ventures eventually came not through banking channels resulting from land speculation; rather, they resulted from British literary publications.

Galt's publications on North American topics demonstrate the transatlantic nature of the literary marketplace, especially with regard to emigration texts. A careful examination of Galt's periodical contributions and the circumstances of their production unearths a critique of Smith's economic tenets regarding productive labour and speculative mercantilism. In *The Wealth of Nations*, "it is the merchant, or the owner of mercantile capital, in whom Smith is most interested, and by whom he is most disturbed" (Rothschild and Sen 333). Smith's speculative merchants rely on mobility—especially maritime mobility—and change their loyalties to procure the widest profit margins. Like the merchants, the periodicals are mobile, dynamic in their structure and content, and benefit from opportunistic editors and contributors. Emma Rothschild and Amartya Sen describe Smith's merchants as "indifferent citizens" (334) who

seek political advantage from every government. They have an intelligent knowledge of their own interests, and they seek to promote these interests by the pursuit of monopolies. They are excited by risk, and they dread competition. They conspire with other merchants, and they also conspire against them. (334)

In the nineteenth century, authors and editors of British literary periodicals embodied many of the characteristics of Smith's speculative merchant. Embedded in a literary marketplace rife with competition and collaboration, the periodical press mirrors larger-scale practices of trade and exchange. Like merchants who trade goods for the highest price in a globalized market, authors like Galt could benefit from the growing literary marketplace by publishing similar or almost identical accounts in multiple periodicals. Galt's deployment of the periodical press and his ability to manipulate the literary marketplace to benefit the Canada Company finds parallels in Smith's description of the speculative merchant, who

exercises no one regular, established, or well-known branch of business. He is a corn merchant this year, and a wine merchant the next, and a sugar, tobacco, or tea merchant the year after. He enters into every trade when he foresees that it is likely to be more than commonly profitable, and he quits it when he foresees that its profits are likely to return to the level of other trades (157).

Galt, who championed speculative investment in his development of the Canada Company, and then engaged in similar practices by publishing reviews, stories, articles, and novels all based upon his North American experiences, mimics the behaviours of Smith's speculative merchant. Just as the speculative merchant might be engaged in corn trade one year and wine trade the next, so, too, do we see Galt publishing romanticized versions of North American life in the *New Monthly Magazine*, matter-of-fact, authoritative emigration guides in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and picturesque sketches in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*.

Galt's contributions to the periodical press are significant in multiple ways: they speak to the central role of periodicals in the mid-nineteenth century, they offer a glimpse into the political underpinnings and political work of these periodicals, and they undermine the notion of singular authorship, uncovering how professional authorship was a collaborative practice. For Smith, a free market is one in which the individual has the ability to maximize his or her earning potential through labour; in a parallel fashion, investigation into Galt's North American publications in the periodical press uncovers how his seemingly-individually authored texts were indebted to a network of editors and authors. Just as speculative merchants collaborated or competed with one another to ensure the highest profit margins, so, too, did members of Galt's literary circle. At times author-editors would collaborate in order to publish literature that promoted the Canada Company. At other times, author-editors would compete with one another and, as

exemplified by Henry Colburn and William Maginn, established rival publications. Galt's contributions to the periodical press, especially between 1829 and 1834, counter Smith's idea that authorship is unproductive labour, and complicate the notion of singular authorship under examination in literary circles in the last years of the Romantic era.

Alongside the prose fiction for which he is most famous, Galt was a published poet and published over eighty articles in the British periodical press throughout his career, more than thirty of which treat his North American experience. This chapter analyses a selection of items from his periodical corpus. Choosing and organizing this sample has proven a difficult task. Galt produced an almost unbelievable amount of writing during the period immediately following his recall from the Canada Company. In 1829, he was writing the novel *Lawrie Todd* while publishing monthly in the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, and also publishing almost every month in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*. He was also occasionally contributing to *Blackwood's* and to *Tait's*. In this chapter, I will examine two articles from *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*: "Canada", an omnibus review published in the July 1832 issue, and "Guelph in Upper Canada," an epistle published in November 1830. I will examine two articles from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*: "The Emigrant's Voyage," a short story published in November, 1821, and an opinion piece titled "Bandana on Emigration" published in two parts in April and September, 1824. I will conclude with an examination of Galt's five-part epistolary series titled "Letters from New York", which he published in the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* between August, 1829, and March, 1830. I have chosen articles that illustrate the aspects of Galt's North American publications that are most germane to this dissertation: generic hybridity, political

engagement with colonial policy, and reflection of authorship as a collaborative, productive form of labour.

In 2001, Mark Parker concluded that “periodical literature, especially of the [Romantic] period, stands as a large and relatively unknown body of empirical fact to which our current theories do not extend” (183), and this still holds true today.³⁸ In the 1830s and 40s, periodicals were the “big business” (Demoor 1) of the publishing industry. As Robert Patten and Royal Gettmann have both argued, the publishing industry was devastated by the collapsing British economy, and for publishers like Murray, Bentley, Blackwood, and Colburn, literary periodicals supplemented their waning income from books. However, the value of these periodicals was found not only in sales figures: they also were a valuable medium for promoting political and corporate interests.

³⁸ Blackwood's has been the subject of two notable book-length studies, both authored by David Finkelstein: *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (2002) and *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930* (2006). Robert Morrison and Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, eds *Romanticism and Blackwood's: An Unprecedented Phenomenon* (2013) is currently in press. Fraser's, on the other hand, has not been the subject of sustained scholarly attention since Miriam Thrall's 1934 book, *Rebellious Fraser's*. There is virtually no scholarship that considers the New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. Mark Parker's *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism* (2000) begins to examine the influence of the literary periodical in defining and shaping an understanding of Romanticism. More recently, Mark Schoenfeld provides an insightful consideration of the larger political role of the literary periodical in the Romantic era in his Volume, *British Periodicals and Romantic Identity: The 'Literary Lower Empire'* (2009), as does David Stewart in his 2011 book, *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (2011). In a 2002 special issue of *Prose Studies*, Kim Wheatley provides an excellent overview of the periodical press in the mid- to late-Romantic era, arguing that there are “three developments in particular [that] helped to shape the distinctive periodical culture of the Romantic era” (3): the 1802 creation of *The Edinburgh Review*, the establishment of Blackwood's in 1817, and the increased presence of weekly or even daily newspapers (3-4). While Parker, Schoenfeld, and Stewart provide excellent analyses of the periodical press in the Romantic era, their respective studies are specific to Romanticism and the role of the periodical press in contributing to, challenging, or even dismantling preconceived scholarly notions of Romantic-era literary texts and their contexts of reception and production. What is missing, then, is a consideration of the role of the periodical in the tumultuous period of the 1830s and 40s, an era marked by lingering Romantic attitudes towards authorship and the sweeping transformation of the financial world which saw the literary marketplace adapt to the wide-scale political reform of the era.

In spite of its growing status as a profession, authorship was still reverberating with the echoes of the idealized Romantic version of author-as-singular-genius. Patrick Leary describes how in the mid-nineteenth century, periodicals like *Fraser's* "stand astride a fault line" between the Romantic and Victorian eras, wherein contributors like Galt vacillate between "heroic genius" and "author-businessm[e]n" as "respectable literary professional[s]" (106). Galt took advantage of this instability in producing multiple representations of North America. In his contributions to *Blackwood's*, exemplified by "Emigration to Upper Canada" and "Bandana on Emigration," for example, Galt adopts a tone of cool authority. Alternately, in his series first published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, "Letters from New York," and his series in *Fraser's*, "Sketches of Savage Life," Galt creates fictional representations of North American life rife with impassioned Romantic images. The tension found between these two distinct authorial personas is as indicative of Galt's intimate knowledge of the inner machinations of the literary marketplace as it is symptomatic of his financial desperation.

Galt had long been aware that textual representations of North America were a profitable undertaking, given that his earliest literary representation of Upper Canada was published in the *Philosophical Magazine* nearly twenty years before his first transatlantic voyage in 1821. Galt's periodical representations of North American and of the Canada Company and those written by members of his coterie in the periodical press reflect larger-scale political and economic changes of Empire. Ultimately, Galt deploys the periodical press as a tool to promote colonization through his business ventures, even in the wake of his dismissal from the Canada Company. For Smith, "colonies and empires were, in general...a monument to unreason" (Rothschild and Sen 341). Galt's North American publications refute Smith's dismissal of the benefits of

Empire and demonstrate how collaborative writing practices in the periodical press could support the Empire from afar as well as provide financial support for Britons living at home or abroad.

Based on the Upper Canadian experience of his cousin, William Gilkison³⁹, Galt's first publication about North America, "A Statistical Account of Upper Canada" (*Philosophical Magazine*, 1807), foreshadows the later format of texts like *The Canadas* and the appendix of *Bogle Corbet*. Though Galt had not yet been to Upper Canada, his tone is authoritative throughout the article, whose "object...is chiefly to give an arranged view" of the Upper Canadian landscape. Galt occasionally cites Gilkison in the text; in so doing, he locates Gilkison within the larger realm of the British Empire. Invoking the terms of Lord Selkirk's land grant, Galt reminds his reader that "his lordship's lands in Upper Canada were granted...on condition that within a limited period they should be settled with inhabitants; a principle calculated to excite that very spirit of emigration in others" (7-8). The authoritative, pseudo-scientific tone of the article helps present Upper Canada as a landscape ready for British emigrants, thereby providing an early example of the role of the British literary marketplace in promoting Upper Canadian emigration. The practice of publishing supposedly first-hand accounts based on previously-published texts was not a new one; in fact, this practice was common throughout nineteenth-century travel and emigration narratives. By invoking Gilkison, Galt also foreshadows the later, more explicit practices of collaboration that would continue throughout his literary career.

³⁹ Galt's cousin, William Gilkison, began his career as a merchant seaman. He held a post of naval command during the War of 1812. He returned to Scotland after the war with his family. In 1832, he came back to North America with Galt, settling near what is now Brantford, Ont. See D.E. Fitzpatrick, *Canadian Dictionary of National Biography*.

Collaborative authorship and publication offer an alternative practice to the very individual experience of free-market trade theorized in *The Wealth of Nations*. Financial prosperity is, according to Smith, derived from the labour of other people, and individual wealth is determined by “the quantity of that labour which [any given man] can command, or which he can afford to purchase” (43). Rather than purchasing authorial labour from Gilkison, who (as far as extant records show) received no financial remuneration from Galt for his contribution to “A Statistical Account,” Galt relies on established practices of authorial collaboration to facilitate his own entry into the transatlantic literary marketplace.⁴⁰

In the nineteenth century, literary periodicals were particularly dependent on collaboration for their successful production and distribution, and *Fraser's*, one of Galt's most important venues, is no exception. The structure of a magazine like *Fraser's*, dependent upon a coterie of author-editors, its contributors a point of pride, echoes the corporate structure of a Company like the Canada Company. This kind of joint-stock venture was dependent on geographically disparate investors and a board of directors to successfully function, much as a magazine like *Fraser's* might signify a singular authority in an editorial name or the singular name of a contributor as a figure-head for the publication while relying on a diverse editorial team to successfully produce the magazine. Both the joint-stock venture and the literary periodical relied on a wide range of resources functioning within bureaucratic structures. Galt was not only able to negotiate these different bureaucracies; he saw the similarities between the two structures and exploited his personal and professional relationships to increase his own

⁴⁰ My research indicates that Gilkison never published an account of his North American experiences. In Canadian history, Gilkison is best known as the founder of Elora, Ontario.

status in the business and literary communities. When we consider Galt's North American periodical publications, we must also consider the bureaucratic structures that informed their content and facilitated their production: the Canada Company and the periodical press.

Just as the agents of the Canada Company worked to ensure the Company's profitability for their own benefit as well as that of its shareholders, so, too, did the members of the Fraserian coterie strive to ensure sales and profitability of the magazine, in their roles both as authors and as editors.⁴¹ Galt was no stranger to collaborative writing practices. Sometime after September, 1826, Galt, David "Delta" Moir, and William Blackwood discussed Moir's role as an editor of Galt's work in a triangulated, multiple-letter correspondence. In this letter, Moir explains that Galt has given him permission "to cut and carve" Galt's manuscript as he sees fit.⁴² The frank discussion regarding collaborative writing and editing practices in this correspondence belies the public representation of Galt's supposedly singularly-authored publication. In the case of Galt's contributions to *Fraser's Magazine*, the ties between his transatlantic literary group and

⁴¹ Mark Schoenfield describes "institutional heteroglossia" (26) as the major commonality found between the burgeoning corporate world of the early nineteenth century and the Romantic-era periodical press. Schoenfield argues that "periodicals are corporate entities that emerge from legal corporations—publishing houses—and that operate within the figural corporation of the periodical industry" (29, my emphasis). As mentioned in Chapter One, incorporation before 1825 is a very specific categorization applicable only to companies granted charter status, which is why I am reluctant to suggest that periodicals are corporations.

⁴² See Ian Gordon's article "Plastic Surgery on a Novel" as well as a letter written sometime after 19 September 1826 in which Galt tells Blackwood that he has "given [Moir] full liberty to omit and change whatever he thinks may be improved by the alteration." Similarly, Blackwood writes to Moir regarding the same MSS. Blackwood asks Moir to reply once he has "corrected the sheets," and to "send [Blackwood the sheets] for proofs," which Blackwood will send back to Moir for revisions if necessary (Acc 9856 no. 38, *House of Blackwood Papers*, National Library of Scotland). These letters show how multiple authors were writing, and editing the articles that eventually were published under the name "John Galt" in *Blackwood's Magazine*.

the political careers of these authors as colonial agents in Upper Canada foreground the influence of mercantilism on the British periodical press in the early nineteenth century.

Collaborative Authorship

After fellow Blackwoodian William Maginn left Blackwood's in 1830 to begin a London-based rival publication, *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Galt published thirty-one articles with Maginn. Between February 1830 and January 1833, only four of Galt's eighteen contributions were not directly related to North America or the larger project of British colonial expansion. *Fraser's*, then, became Galt's primary venue for representing North America, which he did under a variety of names and in a variety of ways, ranging from book reviews to meditations on Corn Laws.⁴³ In spite of differing generic conventions, the underlying purpose of each text is virtually the same: to promote emigration to North America to the readers of literary periodicals. In other words, the articles are self-reflexive and aim to encourage literary emigrants to follow his own example.

In the November 1830 issue of *Fraser's Magazine*, a small illustrated piece entitled "Guelph in Upper Canada" offers one example of ambiguous co-authorship. While it is attributed to Galt in the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, in the magazine itself the piece is clearly framed by *Fraser's* editor "Oliver Yorke." This pseudonymous character, primarily attributed to William Maginn but influenced by the

⁴³ His contributions to *The New Monthly* are the most nostalgic in tone, and emulate more conventional Romantic-era representations of the Sublime, of natural life, and of indigenous contact. His contributions to *Tait's* are reminiscent of his early Scottish works.

large group of “Fraserians” who met and collaborated regarding the magazine and its direction, introduces the piece:

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. (436, my emphasis)

In the short introduction to what is supposedly a copy of a private letter between Galt and an unnamed friend, Yorke maps out the main functions of Galt’s North American periodical contributions. Firstly, using the first person plural pronoun, Yorke suggests the type of editorial collaboration operating behind the scenes at *Fraser’s*. Secondly, by describing Galt and his friend as “advocates” of emigration, Yorke presents the periodical itself as also fulfilling a role of promoting emigration, as this letter “must be interesting” to *Fraser’s* readers. Using William “Tiger” Dunlop’s in-progress manuscript as intertext uncovers the rich market for texts treating the subject of North America, as the suggestion is 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 in 1832. Invoking the language of civility, Yorke foreshadows Galt’s later contributions to *Fraser’s*, which depict indigenous peoples of North America, namely Huron and Iroquois people, presenting a dichotomous view of the relationship between settler-colonists as a “civilising” force upon the “savage” original inhabitants of North America. But most importantly, Yorke speaks to the link between the literary marketplace and the colonial expansion project when he names Galt as the “author and editor” of Guelph, Upper Canada. Through his work at the Canada Company, Galt founded the

town of Guelph, Upper Canada. By publishing the account “Guelph in Upper Canada” and naming Galt as “author and editor” of both town and literary text, Editor William Maginn collapses the distinction between the worlds of literature and business.

Galt, an established member of *Fraser's* self-conscious, “distinct literary coterie” (Leary 111), takes a central role in another exemplary piece entitled “Canada” published in the July, 1832 issue of *Fraser's*. In this piece, the interconnectedness and the centrality of collaborative writing and editing practices offers a direct counter to the highly-individualistic tenets underpinning Smith's theories on financial success in *The Wealth of Nations*. This item, ostensibly a review of three supposedly single-authored texts by William Dunlop, John Galt, and Andrew Picken, suggests that Canada not only offers a locale where emigrants can find new economic opportunity but also begins to function as a site of literary, cultural, and political production, thereby developing a new genre for the British periodical press. This genre, like the texts treated within the July 1832 article, is a hybrid one: part review, part puff, part political tract, part literary text, part emigration guide. Perhaps most importantly, the hybridity of this genre suggests the intimate friendships at work behind each of the texts under consideration—and the friendships at work in Upper Canada—and thereby serves as a synecdoche for the venture that provided material for the primary texts being reviewed. This multiform genre showcases the important political and cultural role of a masculine *coterie* on both sides of the Atlantic; indeed, as George L. Parker suggests, at this time best-selling books concerning the Canadian colonies achieved commercial success in large part because of “the intellectual support...from the influential British reviews and quarterlies, such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's*, and the *Athenaeum*, which reached British Americans in affordable American reprint editions”(351). Publications like *Fraser's*

facilitated a transatlantic exchange of ideas, materials, and money. Like the Canada Company that was dependent upon a network of investors, directors, and agents working on both sides of the Atlantic for its success, so too did the periodical press depend upon similar transatlantic networks of readers, authors, and editors collaborating to maintain financial solvency.

The table of contents for the July 1832 issue of *Fraser's* showcases an article simply entitled “Canada’ By Tiger—Galt—Picken” as the opening piece to the magazine. Unlike other articles in the issue, which are listed anonymously, clearly marked as review pieces, or clearly excerpted, this first article’s descriptor is ambiguous. In a footnote to the title of the piece, “Canada” is described as a review of *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* by Dunlop and *The Canadas as They Present Themselves at the Present Time to the Enterprize of Emigrants, Colonists, and Capitalists [...]* by Andrew Picken; the indeterminacy of the title “Canada” and its tripartite authorial attribution shows how the piece itself and the texts reviewed therein are collaborative in nature, co-authored by specifically named and well-known contributors to *Fraser's* and other contemporaneous periodicals. “Canada” becomes then, not a title, but a genre: in other, previous issues of *Fraser's*, similar multi-text reviews are published under umbrella titles such as “Biography” or “Historical Drama.” In this instance, the word “Canada” acts as both a recognizable place of interest to readers (who are also potential emigrants) and as an example of a new literary genre, which is precisely the type of text being reviewed. The intentional ambiguity of the title offers an explicit glimpse into the implicitly collaborative nature of the magazine and of the emigrant process that facilitated the production of Dunlop’s and Picken’s texts. Though Galt is cited before Andrew Picken in the title of the review, neither text comes from his pen. Picken’s text

has relied heavily on documents “furnished by John Galt”; however, Picken is the only named author of *The Canadas as they at present commend themselves to the Enterprise of Emigrants, Colonists, and Capitalists* [...]. Galt had directly facilitated the production of these two texts by providing opportunities through the Canada Company for both Dunlop and Picken to work in Canada. Representations of Upper Canada and of Upper Canadian life were already well-established in the content of British literary periodicals generally and in *Blackwood's* specifically (such as John Howison's 1821 tale “Adventure in the North-West Territory” and Galt's own review of Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* from that same year). However, “Canada” is something different: at first glance, it seems that there are three distinct works by three different authors treated in the review. The collapse of authorship and of textual discretion underscores Galt's important role in furnishing opportunities and materials for both Dunlop's and Picken's texts. The specific, individual author and the specific, individual text become less important than the relationship between authors and the relationship between the periodical press and emigration texts. By naming the article “Canada,” *Fraser's* editor Maginn becomes complicit in the metonymy. As editor, he, too, is engaging in speculative practices, hoping that *Fraser's* readers will be persuaded to purchase his magazine in part because of an interest in North America. “Canada” can be read as a metonym for the mercantile economic world of which Smith was so critical: whether its authors were working as individuals or as a group, the purpose of this article is to promote the Canada Company and its lands. At bottom, this article exploits collaborative practices and individual ones in order to circulate ideas about North American emigration with a distinct bias towards emigration through the Canada Company.

The first line of “Canada” argues that “a pleasanter little book never came out of the press” (636); the use of the singular article “a” further adds to the notion that one collaborative piece is being reviewed, not distinct, single-authored texts. The reviewer offers a lengthy biography of Dunlop before engaging in any analysis or evaluation of his text, and this biography firmly situates Dunlop within the larger project of British colonial expansion. Describing Dunlop first as a “surgeon with the Connaught Rangers...actively engaged in the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, against the Yankees” and later as having gone “with his regiment to Calcutta” where he began writing for *Blackwood’s* as Colin Ballantyne (and, incidentally, earned his nickname of “Tiger”), the biography makes explicit the links between colonial expansion and the periodical press in Britain. With this connection clearly in view, the reviewer then moves on—not to review Dunlop’s text—but to describe Galt’s work with the Canada Company (636). Dunlop’s own emigration story is then described by the reviewer: “Galt had, about this time, succeeded in organising the Canada Company, which has since treated him with such signal ingratitude; and Dunlop accepted office under it in the year 1826, with the sounding title of Warden of the Black Forest, and immediately started for Canada” (636-37). Galt was clearly responsible for Dunlop’s emigration to Canada; even more to the point is the fact that the explicit connection between Galt and Dunlop in “Canada” reveals the intimate relationship between the already nepotistic periodical press and the business of emigration at work in Upper Canada, particularly under the auspices of the Canada Company.

Through a close linkage between Galt’s position with the Canada Company and Dunlop’s success as both a writer and an emigration agent who “is, at present writing, one of the most popular men in Upper Canada, and of course, universally consulted by

emigrants of all classes on their affairs,” the reviewer reiterates the intimacy between the business and literary worlds in Upper Canada and Britain (637). By using the periodical press to promote Dunlop’s book by virtue of its relationship to Galt and the Canada Company, the reviewer’s promotion of the Canada Company is two-fold: potential emigrants can support the Company by using its services (and Dunlop as one of its most senior agents in Upper Canada) upon their arrival in Upper Canada, but even before making the decision to emigrate, potential emigrants of “all classes” can “consult” Dunlop by reading his text, *Statistical Sketches*. Indeed, the reviewer cites Dunlop’s own supposed motivation for writing *Statistical Sketches*:

Some authors, [Dunlop] says, write for fame, some for money, some to propagate particular doctrines or opinions, some have spite, some at the instigation of their friends, and not a few at the instigation of the devil. I have no one of these excuses to plead in apology for intruding myself on the public; for any motive, which has at least the merit of novelty to recommend it, is sheer laziness. (637)

While Dunlop clearly adopts the common trope of the humble author in his preface, the idea of Dunlop as ‘lazy’ serves as a reminder that this was not simply a literary enterprise: it was the result of an intricate web of friendships linking the political, literary, and entrepreneurial realms. Dunlop’s text responds to an overwhelming demand for his expertise and this demand acknowledges the intimate and interpersonal nature of both the publishing industry and of the emigrant experience as defined by Canada Company literature. Businesses like the Canada Company depended upon the British periodical press, whose circulation would result in a wider-scale promotion of its ventures than possible through circulating its own materials through its own channels, namely emigration agents and Canada House, then located at 23 St. Helen’s Place, London. The periodical press—and *Fraser’s* in this instance—depended upon

companies like the Canada Company to provide its contributors with politically salient experiences that resulted in texts that were subsequently published, reviewed, and circulated amongst its readers.

Near the end of the treatment of Dunlop's text (whether consciously or unconsciously) the reviewer makes an explicit case against Smith's arguments against bureaucracy and colonial corporate monopoly. In a lengthy passage offering a comparison between immigration to the United States and to Canada, the reviewer explains how:

In Canada, we have stumbled by accident, or had thrust upon us by some means or other, what may be considered the great desideratum in financial science, vis. the means of creating a large revenue with light taxation. This arises from three causes: first, that we derive a very large sum annually from lands the property of the crown, which are sold to the Canada Company, and from timber cut on crown lands, &c; second, that we derive a revenue from public works...thirdly, because we make our [American] neighbours pay a little of our taxes; and shall...if they keep on their tariff, make them pay a pretty penny more. (641)

Government, crown property, colonial export revenue, and the development of Upper Canadian society—largely made possible by the Canada Company—provide rationales for emigration to Upper Canada rather than America. The reviewer describes Dunlop's favourable treatment of Canada as a more financially solvent option for potential emigrants. The decision to immigrate to Upper Canada, according to the reviewer, is informed by “plain common sense, blended with true-hearted loyalty,” and is surely informed by the recent trauma of the American Revolution. This kind of recommendation is one that will work to keep our “colonies [...] safe, even in spite of reform” (641). This brief comparison—however true or false it may be—situates the Canada Company as a force that facilitates emigration by virtue of agents like William

Dunlop and facilitates the publication of emigration guidebooks informed by his experience working for the Company while maintaining an environment of fiscal opportunity for potential emigrants. The one fiscal opportunity that is left unacknowledged in the review, it seems, is the potential for emigration to provide experiences that can be later exploited for publication. Indeed, the fiscal benefits of using their Canadian experiences as material for their writing careers were plentiful for both Dunlop and Galt. Storytelling and reportage then become another business venture in the Canadian landscape. In the conclusion of his treatment of Dunlop's text, the reviewer reminds us that storytelling, and its potential in a literary marketplace not yet saturated with travel narratives, is another benefit for the emigrant:

Meet [Dunlop] wherever we may, we shall meet a good fellow, whose various wanderings over the world have filled him with shrewd good sense, and stored him with wealth of tale and anecdote beyond that of any other man now living. It is recorded of him that, on his return from India, he entertained the Company after dinner every day with stories, and that he never repeated one a second time during the voyage. What an immense and multifarious stock he must have laid in sense! (641)

Storytelling is a by-product of the colonial experience, one that can clearly facilitate entry into or secure a continuing position within the intellectual class at work in Britain and Canada. If narratives are exportable by-products of the colonial experience that result in financial and cultural gains for their authors, then authorship can be considered as productive labour.

Just as periodicals as a genre embody many characteristics of Smith's speculative merchants who are willing to both compete and collaborate, so, too, do individual contributors embody many of these same characteristics. Contributors to individual periodicals are in competition with one another for publication opportunities

and work in collaboration to ensure the ongoing success of the periodical and to create articles to be exchanged in the literary marketplace. James Grant suggests that in *Fraser's*, this class of “contributors are numerous and talented. They are a little literary republic of themselves. They are a happy brotherhood, living in a world of their own” (320). The influence of this ‘brotherhood’ of contributors is clear at the end of the *Fraser's* review, which continues with the caveat that it would be “unpardonable to publish an article [...]on Canada without taking notice of a most useful and amusing Volume just published by Picken, our friend The Dominie” (642). Given that “more than two dozen Britons who explored northern North America before 1840 saw individual books published in their lifetimes or had them appear shortly after their deaths,” it would certainly stand to reason that not every such publication would be reviewed in *Fraser's* (MacLaren 34). What would then become truly “unpardonable” is not the potential exclusion of Picken's Volume from treatment in *Fraser's*, though the reviewer claims that “the book must be the manual not only of the emigrant, but of the traveller”; instead, the unpardonable offence would be to exclude Picken from the coterie being represented in the review (642). However, unlike Dunlop, Picken is not given a lengthy biography as preface to discussion of his title. Introduced only as “our friend, The Dominie,” Picken is swiftly and certainly positioned within the coterie of authors who contribute to the periodical press through pseudonyms. Even though Picken is not eulogized to the same length as Dunlop or Galt in the *Fraser's* review, his inclusion in the item solidifies his position within the male coterie that is working to promote emigration in Canada as well as facilitating participation in the lucrative periodical press. Through his literary connection with Dunlop and Galt, initially made through *Blackwood's Magazine*, Picken was offered a position as an agent of the Canada Company, and because of his relationship with Galt specifically, he acquired material to contribute to the exploding

genre of emigration narratives being published both as monographs and as individual periodical pieces.

After this brief introduction, the reviewer delves directly into Picken's preface, which, like Dunlop's, is suitably humble: Picken does not even consider himself an author; instead, he uses the term "compiler" to describe his role in creating his text. The documents that Picken has 'compiled,' he suggests, come from the need of "two great public bodies, as well as the government" to acquire this knowledge (642). The reviewer then goes on to explain that "Galt has supplied some most valuable papers," and asks "and who is there so well qualified?" (642) Even on the cover of *The Canadas*, Picken is listed below Galt, despite the fact that the book is arguably Picken's text. The reviewer argues that it is "very unnecessary to eulogize Galt or Picken" (642). However, it is only Picken whose qualifications are left unacknowledged, because Galt has already benefited from a lengthy introduction and from political and economic contextualization in the review of Dunlop's text. Immediately prior to the publication of *The Canadas*, Picken published *The Club Book* (1831); tellingly, this compilation of pieces by notable authors, including Galt and James Hogg, allows Picken to make explicit the notion that the coterie of authors and publishers is indeed a club.

A review such as "Canada" epitomizes James Mussell's claim that periodicals, rather than being "a single coherent tract of writing, marked with the name of an author and neatly presented in a single bound object...[are] multi-authored, on a range of subjects...and are linked to the explicitly commercial world of journalism" (10). As the Canada Company authors have shown, periodicals speak to the link between the literary marketplace—with all of its accompanying tensions between artistry and commercialism—and the explicitly commercial financial sector. For Galt, periodicals

were not only a venue in which he might engage with the literary coterie that paved his way into relatively steady employment and friendship; they were also the venue through which he could continue to voice his support of emigration, of his own joint-stock venture, of future joint-stock ventures he was pursuing such as the British American Land Company. They furthermore allowed him to critique the political milieu he felt was so unsupportive of his vision for colonial expansion. Readers become potential emigrants, able to contribute to the financial solvency of the struggling British literary marketplace, and able to invest in companies such as the Canada Company.

As William Maginn showed with the article “Canadas,” editors of literary periodicals were also influential speculators, anticipating readerly desires in determining the content of each issue. As Galt’s ongoing relationship with Blackwood reveals, literary editors were also engaged in more explicit practices of transatlantic corporate speculation and investment.

A less-Romantic Version: Galt’s *Blackwoodian* North America

In a letter dated August 7, 1823, John Galt wrote to William Blackwood asking him to invest in the Canada Company. Blackwood’s wealth would have made him an easy target for Galt’s tireless search for Canada Company investors. Though Blackwood ultimately declined this investment opportunity, he nevertheless participated in the Canada Company’s expansion scheme by publishing multiple articles regarding North America and the Canada Company. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Galt consistently

published ‘non-fiction’ accounts of North America in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*.⁴⁴

These accounts, framed as non-fiction in title and tone, are nevertheless as fictitious in their representations of North America as his more overtly literary contributions to the *New Monthly* and *Fraser’s*. First, I will examine an early contribution, entitled “The Emigrant’s Voyage to Canada,” published in November 1821. I will then turn to two pseudonymous articles, entitled “Bandana⁴⁵ on Emigration—Letter the First,” published in April 1824 and “Bandana on Emigration,” published in September, 1826. This small sample of articles on emigration demonstrates how Galt’s work with the Canada Company inflected his more literary contributions to the periodical press.

In November, 1821, Galt published a story titled “The Emigrants’ Voyage to Canada” in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. This fictional narrative, which appeared nearly three years before Galt’s first voyage to Upper Canada, reveals some of the concerns of new emigrants choosing to undertake a transatlantic voyage. The story, recounted by an anonymous narrator, primarily takes place during the voyage itself, the ship only landing at Quebec in the last paragraphs of the tale. The plot of “The Emigrant’s Voyage”—wherein the emigrant passengers who have paid for their transatlantic passage discover two stowaways on the ship—acts as a thin veil for a more compelling impetus behind the story: the articulation of potential sources of anxiety for new emigrants and the presentation of information which might assuage those anxieties. The voyage itself, which is initially arduous, causes many emigrants to vow “that if they could once reach home, they would rather starve there than again endanger their lives

⁴⁴ Galt published the widest variety of articles with his friend, confidante, sometimes financier, and long-time correspondent Blackwood, who was also the publisher of 8 of his 12 novels.

⁴⁵ Unlike the stories behind the nicknames and pseudonyms of William “Tiger” Dunlop and David “Delta” Moir, there is no explanation for Galt’s choice of pseudonyms.

by making a voyage to a foreign land" (457). The passengers have little faith in the Captain's ability to navigate through stormy waters, and one emigrant even suggests that he "noticed some things that made [him] doubt the Captain's skill" (459). Though this emigrant was "never on the sea before," he argues that he has "read *Lloyd's List*" (459), which presumably gives him sufficient authority to be able to comment upon navigational skill. This emigrant's reference to *Lloyd's List*, a long-running newspaper specifically dedicated to maritime and shipping news, suggests the central role of print culture in determining an emigrant's frame of reference prior to establishing individual, first-hand experience. By the end of the story, when the passengers are exchanging information with the emigrants of another ship regarding the best sites for settlement, the general consensus is that they have all "derived information from a man who had *read books on the subject*, and knew all about the matter" (469). Here, we see how print culture—whether explicitly didactic or subtly informative—plays a central role in offering potential emigrants information and advice. The intertextual connections found in this story foreshadow Galt's later work as the producer of diverse exchangeable commodities, whether through his work at the Canada Company or as the author of print material that is useful in both its position within the periodical press and in its position as an authoritative text to which potential emigrants might turn.

This move, in which Galt establishes himself as an authority on emigration by virtue of authorship in the periodical press, sets the stage for his later contributions, most of which come in the wake of his dismissal from the Canada Company. With few exceptions, Galt's North American articles are published between 1823 and 1836. There are few examples of didactic pseudo-fictive articles like "The Emigrant's Voyage." Instead, Galt typically employs the review genre as a platform for his opinions on

emigration and North American life. The most explicit examples of Galt's opportunistic use of his position within the British periodical marketplace to promote his own business ventures is found in one of the two articles he published under the pseudonym "Bandana," titled "Bandana on Emigration," which was published in two parts in the April 1824 and September 1826 issues of *Blackwood's*. In "Emigration," Galt ruminates on the role of the British government in colonial emigration policy and practice. In the first installment, he argues that emigration is "one of the most important questions in the science of political economy" (April 1824 433). Providing his own response to the lengthy and public controversy surrounding Robert Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1803), Galt argues that emigration is the "safety-valve" of Britain,⁴⁶ and offers an alternative to the dichotomy between supporting and repealing the Poor Laws. In contrast to Malthus, who considers inequality and poverty as inevitable components of any capitalist system, Galt posits that if the "profitable cultivation" of the colonies were undertaken "by capitalists" (434), Britain would see "far richer results" (434) than the same undertakings by "poor emigrants" (434). In his alternative model, Poor Laws might stand and there would be no need to naturalize abject poverty, nor would an economy that might adequately support the poor be necessarily at the expense of either the individual Briton or the larger British economy. Instead, if the capitalists were to emigrate, as per Galt's proposition, there would be no need to repeal the Poor Laws. The capitalists would be able to bolster the domestic British economy from afar. Emigration, for Galt, should be considered an economic venture, but not a direct response to Malthus's theories regarding overpopulation. Instead, according to Galt,

⁴⁶ In *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Malthus advocated the dissolution of the Poor Laws and further education for the poor, which would enable the poor to take responsibility for their poverty. Malthus's theory was controversial and debated in the British periodical press, perhaps most famously by William Hazlitt.

emigration should be undertaken by the middle or upper classes—capitalists—to best exploit all transatlantic economic opportunities for Britain and for individuals. Galt’s favourable opinion towards emigration counters Smith’s opinion that colonization will inevitably lead to British financial detriment. For Galt, emigration will provide a solution for both classes: for middle-class Britons looking to maintain their status by providing opportunities for land ownership, financial speculation and investment, and material for publications; for working-class emigrants, undertakings like the Canada Company will provide employment opportunities for agricultural development alongside the possibility of owning land, a class marker decidedly out of reach for working class Britons.

The periodical press was one main venue for debates like that surrounding Malthus’s *Essay*; similarly, Galt deploys the periodical press to present his own theory of political economy regarding emigration. In the April 1824 publication, titled “Bandana on Emigration,” Galt cites an anonymously-published 1822 document entitled “Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada” wherein the costs of emigration—for both the government and the individual—are presented in specific, monetary terms. The inclusion of this document at once offers corroborating evidence for Galt’s argument for “capitalist” emigration and for his claim that emigration is not only a colonial undertaking, but also an important—and thus far neglected—branch of political economics. Later, Galt suggests that it is the duty of the government to make use of Crown reserve land to encourage exactly the kind of emigration he is advocating, asking “why it is that [these Crown lands] are not brought to sale, and a fund created out of the proceeds, to assist in the business of emigration?” (439) This question, when taken in the larger historical and political context of Galt’s extra-literary work, is a rhetorical one. Galt eventually succeeds in convincing the Government to sell these lands and, using a schema remarkably like

the plan cited in this ‘letter,’ encourages middle class emigration under the auspices of the Canada Company, which secures the exclusive rights to sell the crown lands to which Galt refers to here. In the second part of his meditation on emigration under the pseudonym Bandana, the explicit encouragement of middle-class emigration remains at the centre of Galt’s argument. In the September, 1826 article, published after the incorporation of the Canada Company, Galt counters common understandings of the government’s colonial emigration policy, which he sees as being broadly understood as encouraging working class emigration. Increased mechanization, according to Galt, is a major cause of anxiety amongst the labouring class, and this anxiety—coupled with the mismanagement of government funds being too often “directed to [British] trade and manufacture” (472), can be remedied through emigration. Galt posits that “government can never be proper traders” (472), and the solution to this inefficiency is through “joint-stock colonization companies” (474). The merger between joint-stock companies and emigration policy and practice is one that Galt sees will be to the “universal benefit of the empire” (474). Unlike Smith, who argues that colonial monopolies such as that of the Canada Company and its lands will “diminish [rather] than increase the sum total of the revenue which the inhabitants of the country will derive from profits of the stock” (778), Galt encourages his readers to invest in the Canada Company, which will benefit individuals as well as the British economy. Emigration, according to Galt, is a central tenet of colonization; colonization should be viewed as a purely “commercial adventure” (474) resulting in the creation of “asylums for the emigrants” (475). These companies, which Galt explains are well-established in Australia and Van Dieman’s Land with the purpose of finding “employment of the convict and the outcast” (475), have not fully merged with the commercial undertaking necessary to be true “colonial” companies.

Using comparable Australian and South African undertakings as a frame of reference sets the stage for Galt's discussion of the Canada Company, which, compared with the Australian and the Van Dieman's Land Companies, is "altogether a colonial undertaking" (475). What makes the Canada Company an entirely colonial undertaking are its goals of removing obstacles for emigrants, "providing effective means and modes of both relief and benefit to the mother country" (475), and of inducing "a better class of persons to emigrate—that intelligent class possessed of small capitals" (475). This "better class" of emigrants, a claim Galt makes much more explicitly in the piece published after the Canada Company's incorporation, is one that Galt argues will shore up the British economy. For Galt, it will be through internal trade, "the surest measure of national wealth" (April 1824 440), and through the "increasing population, with increasing comforts and increasing wants" (April 1824 440) that Britain will find economic success in Upper Canada. In other words, Britons should "not look to the produce which the emigrants may raise from the soil" but should instead look to the "solid and permanent investment of their funds" (April 1824 440) as the "true and proper basis" for encouraging emigration to Upper Canada.

In spite of Galt's fraught position with the Canada Company, his opinion regarding emigration never really changes. Even as late as 1829, in the immediate wake of his dismissal, when he publishes an article entitled "Colonial Discontent" (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* Sept 1829) which would suggest his disenchantment with emigration schemes, he continues to argue that the only way forward for the colonial government in Upper Canada is through middle-class, or what he calls "capitalist," emigration. The colonial government has erred, Galt suggests in its approach, and he suggests the following remedy:

Instead of holding out inducements to persons of capital to go into the country, paupers have only 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...Were it the case, however, that capitalists could be induced to settle in the province [of Upper Canada], and to form a tenantry, the character of the province would be speedily changed. There would then be a more enlightened class, from whom the legislators and magistrates would be supplied. (336).

The middle-class emigrant for Galt is of two-fold value: he⁴⁷ will provide an intelligentsia from which more effective government officials might be selected than those currently in office, and, should the British government apply the correctives Galt is suggesting in its approach to emigration, the middle-class emigrant will be able to successfully engage in land speculation, shoring up the unstable stock-market economy of mid-1830s Britain, which (as I discuss in Chapter One) was increasingly reliant on individual investment for financial stability.

Much like the financial speculation Galt hoped to encourage through land investment in Upper Canada, so too must speculation on the *idea* of North America have arisen in the minds of readers of periodicals like *Fraser's* and *Blackwood's*. Galt makes multiple uses of the periodical press: through articles like those written under the pseudonym "Bandana," he is promoting the Canada Company itself and he is promoting emigration to Upper Canada to settle on land which, by the time his 1826 article, is published, is exclusively for sale by the Canada Company. Moreover, he is also

⁴⁷ While women did emigrate, they typically did so alongside their husbands or to meet their husbands who had been deployed into the colonies as government officials. I will use the pronoun 'he' to designate emigrants in the context of Galt's argument, because it was the male emigrant who could hold the land title and who typically made financial decisions for his household.

exploiting a readerly desire for tales of financial success and security by publishing various accounts of North America in the periodical press.

Periodical Politics: John Galt and *The New Monthly Magazine*

After his recall from the Canada Company, Galt was financially desperate and willing to sell his stories about North America to any publisher who might offer him an advance. Though he had been loyal to Blackwood for the years leading up to his Canada Company venture, Galt could not afford the sentiment of loyalty at the expense of ready money. As a result, Galt's first North American publications following his return from Upper Canada in 1829 were with Henry Colburn, who had recently taken over the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*. Unlike *Fraser's* and *Blackwood's*, both of which had explicitly political agendas, the *New Monthly* fostered a reputation for being apolitical. Indeed, in a February 1831 letter to the editor of *Fraser's*, a reader who was fed up with the political nature of both *Fraser's* and *Blackwood's* vows to switch over to the *New Monthly Magazine*. Yet despite Colburn's best efforts to depoliticize his periodical, the *New Monthly* was not immune from the politics of the periodical press. For example, in its January 1836 year-end review, *Fraser's* makes its goals as a periodical explicit, arguing that

considering the immense importance of *Fraser's Magazine* to the welfare, moral, intellectual, and physical, of the community at large...considering that [editor, William Maginn] has always obtained the assistance of the first writers of the day, in every department of literature...considering the literary merit of the articles contributed, the fearless spirit of independence in which the reviews of all new works have been undertaken—considering that this journal is *not connected with any large publishing house, and that the public have therefore a guarantee that its opinions will neither be sold for lucre nor biased by self-interest*...your Committee feel no little difficulty in suggesting either alteration or

amendment in the method hitherto so successfully pursued" (55, my emphasis).

In asserting its independence from large publishing houses, *Fraser's* is taking a jab at "puffing." This practice, whereby a publishing house promotes its book-length texts in reviews published in its own periodicals, was one for which Henry Colburn was infamous.⁴⁸ Galt, however, was not above taking advantage of Colburn's practices of boosting "book sales through puffing and advertising" (Latané, *DNCJ*, 131). Under Colburn's "direction the *New Monthly* was a business asset, and profitable in its own right [, as] he correctly gauged the growing public taste for literary pleasure divorced from politics and personalities" (Latané, *DNCJ*, 131).⁴⁹

In spite of Colburn's aim to provide an apolitical periodical to readers supersaturated with the overt politics of most periodicals of the time,⁵⁰ Galt's contributions to the *New Monthly* were nevertheless imbued with his own political views on colonial expansion and settler-emigration policy and practice. Galt's series, "Letters From New York," was published under the pseudonym "A." between January and March, 1829. The epistolary genre provides a frame for Galt's hybrid style, whereby he includes any potentially saleable literary trope, creating a text that will appeal to a wide range of readers. Because the *New Monthly* explicitly set out to be less political than contemporaneous periodicals, Galt stifles the political commentary that permeates his

⁴⁸ The most comprehensive history of the House of Bentley is still Royal Gettmann's 1960 *A Victorian Publisher*. See pp 62-68 for details regarding Henry Colburn's "abuse" of puffing practices.

⁴⁹ Damien Atkinson notes that in spite of Colburn's initial aim to depoliticize the *New Monthly Magazine*, Edward Bulwer Lytton, who acted as the magazine's editor from November 1831 to August 1833, "advocated political reform (especially the 1832 Reform Bill through the journal" (*DNCJ* 444).

⁵⁰ Both *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* were explicitly Tory in their politics; the *Edinburgh Review* was Whig.

contributions to more political magazines like *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's*. Nonetheless, his contributions to the *New Monthly* likewise demonstrate the intervention of the British literary marketplace in North American ventures.

The series is largely a description of the manners, life, and landscape of New York State. There are brief moments of more explicit political commentary; however, the series is mostly comprised of descriptive passages of the towns and countryside.⁵¹ These passages belie the underlying politicization of the series, which in fact, offers a descriptive map of the route emigrants would take between their arrival at New York City and lands available for settlement in Upper New York State. In the third installment, Galt juxtaposes these descriptions with his own rhymed verse describing the work of settlement; this arrangement fulfils a Romantic literary expectation of high art by shifting from prose to poetry while also mapping the close relationship between print culture and North American emigration and settlement practices. Galt clearly addresses a specific readership at the beginning of the March 1829 installment in which he opens with a confession that he missed Trenton Falls, and would have to rely on "engravings and drawings" (239) instead. Making a clear gesture towards the central role of the picturesque and of tourist itineraries that included iconic waterfalls, Galt ventures to "say, to those who are affected with the amiable languishment and all that, which 'being a-seeing of waterfalls' produces on your *London and romantic minds*, while jauntily po-shaying [sic] in quest of the picturesque, they are well deserving of attention" (*NMM* March 1829 293, my emphasis). Galt's readers, located in London, with "romantic" minds, are ones who expect transatlantic travel to include "picturesque" waterfalls.

⁵¹ Specifically, Galt mentions the history of the founding of the United States and offers a brief opinion on the American penitentiary system. His analysis of the American penitentiary system foreshadows Dickens's lengthy treatise thereof in *American Notes*.

Eschewing picturesque descriptions of the landscape typical of a North American travelogue like this one, Galt evokes the sublime and describes the silence of the forest as “awful” (239). While he includes a sonnet, “On the Entrance of the American Woods” (239-40) in an attempt “to describe the first impression of the interior of the forest, that mingled sentiment of awe and mystery with which the images of age, and strength, and vigour there, irresistibly affect the heart,” it is only in his description of the act of clearing this forest that Galt employs superlative language, explicitly naming the process as “picturesque,” arguing that

it must be a matter of sad regret to the poets that a more dignified epithet than “chopping” has not been invented to designate the Herculean task of hewing down the giants of the woods; for really the business itself is not only noble and picturesque, but is often accompanied with circumstances highly imaginative” (240).

Here, Galt collapses the work of settlement and that of the literary imagination. Chopping down trees to clear land for settlement and agricultural development is named as a “business” that is aligned with the “picturesque” elements of transatlantic tourism such as waterfalls and forests. Settlement and literary work are further aligned when Galt describes the circumstances of forest-clearing as “highly imaginative.” He goes on to expand this description, describing the chopping down of trees as having “a fullness in the sound of the woodman’s first strokes much more musical in the American woods than in ours” (240), suggesting that the possibility for class mobility is found not only in economic terms but in artistic ones as well. In “America,” the act of chopping down wood is not merely labour; it is closely aligned with artistic work. Herein lies the connection with Galt’s larger project supporting North American emigration: in a North American context, settlers can expect fruits of physical labour that will not only take the form of cleared land but will also facilitate artistic production. Galt concludes the introduction to

his poem “The Chopping” with an even more explicit articulation of the connection between physical and artistic labour, arguing that “there is something altogether in the labour of opening new scenes for the shelter and the industry of man, that cannot be witnessed without emotion and a strange delight” (240). Here, clearing of the forest not only provides space for “shelter” and “industry,” it also provides space for “new scenes.” By using visual language (“scenes”) rather than geographic language to describe the cleared settlements, Galt offers an echo back to his earlier links with the picturesque tradition. Indeed, these cleared lands “hath made [him] again poetical” (240); the inspirational quality of these cleared lands is not in relation to agricultural export as might be expected from land cleared for settlement. Instead, the commodity made available for export through land-clearing is poetry to be circulated in the periodical press.⁵²

Galt adopts the pseudonym “A” for these pieces and attempts to depoliticize these articles. Nevertheless, Anglo-American politics and the political role of the periodical press are foregrounded in the series. The series opens in the August 1829 issue with the following meditation on authorship and the role of the periodical press, which is worth quoting at length:

It is possible, certainly, that by writing a just and generous account of the Americans, I might help to correct the misrepresentations of national prejudice; but with every disposition to adopt your suggestion, I doubt if it be practicable. I mean, if materials exist from which a book, that ought to sell, might be made. (130)

⁵² “The Chopping” is dedicated to “denizens of lake and lair” (240), who are displaced by a “stranger” who claims [their] homes, and rears his dwelling there” (240). Typical of Galt, there is no mention of indigenous peoples displaced from their homes because of colonial settlement. Throughout Galt’s North American work, there are few representations of indigenous peoples: there is a short series called “Sketches of Savage Life,” published in *Fraser’s*; there are disparate representations of indigeneity in his series “American Traditions,” also published in *Fraser’s*; there is a metafictional story found within *Bogle Corbet*.

Here, Galt makes explicit the goal of his periodical contributions at this time: to sell. While he offers a subtle critique of extant representations of Americans, against which his representation might be “just and generous,” nevertheless, he “doubts” whether this type of representation can be “practicable” if the goal is to write a book that “ought to sell.” He goes on to suggest that

There have, no doubt, been authors, and right good ones too, who have so practised with booksellers, that they have together sent forth, both in quarto and octavo, works of much gravity, and rich with a marvellous semblance of facts, by which they have gained golden opinions for several consecutive months; but such speculations are not reputable when discovered. (130)

Again, Galt’s critique is nuanced: these other authors who are more “practiced with booksellers” have published representations consisting of a “semblance of facts.” However, “such speculations are not reputable” when subject to further inquiry. Galt’s subtle critique maps the saleability of North America as an imaginary landscape in the British literary marketplace. Rather than being concerned with accuracy, he is more concerned with saleability. In other words, as he reminds his readers throughout the series, “Letters From New York” is not a travelogue, but instead is a series of “reminiscences” (*NMM* March 1830, 239). The impetus for an accurate representation of America is stifled by the reality that “just and generous” representations won’t sell in Britain.

It is the saleability of transatlantic experience that carries the most value for Galt. He goes on to suggest that “perhaps, by the help of old associations and frequent comparisons, I might have made a magazine article out of the incidents of the voyage; but even in that I must soon have found my pen at fault, for the pride, pomp, and

circumstance of the pashawic⁵³ [sic] of his Majesty's quarter-deck were so appeased by the discipline 'grown to habitude' of Captain L----, that the rude sea grows civil in my recollection of the ----, her quiet crew, and gentlemanly officers" (August 1829, 130). It would only be through recognizable representations of the difficulty of transatlantic travel that Galt could expect to earn any income from his stories. Readers were not interested in stories about genteel and incident-free transatlantic travel. Were he to represent the "rude sea" as he remembered it—with "civility"—his pen would be at fault and his story would not be as saleable. In this brief introduction, Galt foreshadows a trend in transatlantic travel narratives critical of America, its people, and its institutions that would continue well into the 1840s and 1850s, perhaps most famously by Frances Trollope and Charles Dickens.⁵⁴ Galt also foreshadows his own contemporaneous work, particularly his novel *Lawrie Todd*, a triple-decker novel published in 1830 by Colburn and Bentley that offers an optimistic and positive representation of nineteenth-century America. Most importantly, however, is the saleability of these stories: within the narrative frame of "Letters from New York," the ability to write a story that will sell supersedes the need for historical accuracy; saleability helps to account for the gamut of generic styles and variety of representations of North America found within the corpus of Galt's North American texts.

Juxtaposition between overt promotion of the Canada Company's business interests and deployment of the periodical press to voice concerns about the waning stock market, along with tension between colonial bureaucrats in London and those in

⁵³ "Pashawic" seems to be an etymological variant of the term "pashalik," which is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the area or jurisdiction ruled by a Pasha. A pasha is Turkish Ottoman equivalent of an emperor.

⁵⁴ Frances Trollope's *The Domestic Manners of Americans* (1838) and later, Charles Dickens's *American Notes* (1840) and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1854-55) famously criticise American society.

the colonies, and analysis of the central role of literary figures like Galt and Dunlop in both the business and literary worlds, together make clear how the periodical press is not merely a literary business nor is the Canada Company merely a joint-stock venture. Instead, these two worlds are interconnected by both the figures that inhabit them and the texts they produce. A response to Smith's critique of authorship as unproductive labour and Smith's critique of mercantilism, especially speculative merchants, is found in Galt's North American periodical contributions. However, Galt's most explicit critique of Smith is found in his first North American novel, *Lawrie Todd*, the subject of Chapter Three.

Chapter 3.

Actualizing Smith: *Lawrie Todd* and John Galt's Alternative Political Economy

Written in the wake of his removal from the Canada Company, John Galt's first North American novel, *Lawrie Todd* (1830), was commissioned by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, who expressly desired a three-volume work suitable for circulation in libraries. Galt originally proposed the novel to his friend and long-time publisher, William Blackwood, Sr., who turned down the offer. In a letter to Blackwood dated July 26, 1830, Galt explains the financial impetus for publishing with Colburn and Bentley: having been put in debtor's prison upon his return to Britain, he was desperate for ready money, and the £300 advance offered by Colburn and Bentley was too much to resist. The reality of Galt's unemployment and subsequent poverty combined with the renewed prominence of *The Wealth of Nations* (prompted by J.R. McCulloch's 1828 edition) meant that finances and economics were foremost in Galt's mind upon his return to Britain. Galt saw a market niche for a novel that addressed the most pressing concerns of British society in late 1829: North American emigration, economics, and the threat of industrialization to the middle-classes. Recognizing a readerly desire for tales of economic success and class mobility, Galt drew upon his experiences with the Canada Company and penned a novel that satisfies these market demands while also engaging in larger debates of political economy. *Lawrie Todd* is a complex triple-decker novel. Its

eponymous protagonist begins life as a nail maker who flees Scotland to avoid political persecution. Upon arrival in America, he realizes nail making will not prove to be sufficiently profitable in the age of increasing industrial technology, so he opens a shop. The shop does not result in his financial success; it is only when he ventures into land speculation that Todd becomes financially prosperous. After his success as a land speculator, Todd decides to return to Scotland with his new-found wealth, where he experiences increased class status, and lives out the rest of his life in relative comfort.

Lawrie Todd is not merely a novel that has been mostly forgotten by literary critics, in spite of its influence on how a “large group of British readers understood and felt about America” (Shain 254), nor should it simply be read as a picaresque novel. Instead, it should be read as an actualization of Smith’s economic theories. Through the protagonist Lawrie Todd, Galt brings Smith’s theories about colonization and the division of labour to life. Lawrie Todd begins life as a nail-maker, immigrates to North America for different and better political and financial opportunities, and eventually becomes a shopkeeper in the nation of shopkeepers. These distinct parallels between Lawrie Todd’s life-narrative and Smith’s descriptions of labour and of North American colonialism make Smith’s influence on this novel obvious. But Galt also provides a criticism of Smith in his narrative. Instead of making Todd rich, the shop becomes a burden. 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. Instead, the protagonist Todd—and his wealth—return to Britain. Reading the novel as an explicit engagement with Smith and a political economic theory in its own right, we can see how Galt uses the novel to offer an example of how Britons can work towards individual economic prosperity while

maintaining loyalty to the Empire. In Galt's alternate political economy, monopoly corporations are not an economic threat: instead, they occupy a central role in the colonial economy and help to cement authorship as a crucial and profitable colonial profession.

Given the pervasive nature of Smith's economic theory in both Britain and America at the time Galt was writing and the obvious ways that *Lawrie Todd* embodies Smith's doctrines of colonial economics and the division of labour, we can see how *Lawrie Todd* acts as an adaptation of *The Wealth of Nations*, and how it is a direct response to Smith's critique of colonization and a defense of corporate monopolies. In Galt's alternative model of political economy, transatlantic movement can result in economic benefits for Britain. Moreover, Galt's model responds to cultural anxiety about the loss of national identity. Britons who chose to immigrate to America after the American Revolution knew they were choosing to leave the Empire and become part of the new Republic. Because *Lawrie Todd* ultimately returns to Britain wealthy and prosperous, Galt's novel offers Britons a model that demonstrates how emigration to America could allow Britons to keep their national identity while taking advantage of the economic opportunities found abroad. Companies like the Canada Company were fundamental to Galt's modification of Smith's political economy and presentation of a new model for emigrant movement and experience as represented in *Lawrie Todd*. If we keep *Lawrie Todd*'s narrative conclusions in mind alongside a critical consideration of the context of the novel's production, it becomes clear that Galt is not just in dialogue with Adam Smith and later economists that extend Smith's theories, like Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo; Galt is using *Lawrie Todd* as a mouthpiece to counter the wide-spread Physiocratic political economic theory circulating in Britain in the 1820s and

1830s. Galt's novel suggests that productive labour includes authorship and land speculation, and models how the British economy could benefit from colonial expansion if settlers return to Britain with their newly-acquired North American wealth, as does Lawrie Todd.

In the alternative political economy proposed in *Lawrie Todd*, transatlantic emigration no longer seems to be a unidirectional vector but is instead a dynamic circuit. Rather than presenting colonization and corporate monopolies threatening Empire, Galt suggests that the transatlantic movements of money, labour, and text shore up Britishness amongst emigrants. Todd, his wealth, and his narrative trace the same circuitous movements, and thus reinforce Galt's critique of Smith. Wealthy, middle-class, productive labourers are no longer under threat from the "great [American] empire" which, according to Smith, "existed in imagination only" (1207). Instead, America provides a temporary landing-place for Britons to earn money and gather experiences that can then be translated into tradable commodities—texts—that will circulate in financial and literary marketplaces on both sides of the Atlantic.

Whereas for Smith, the imaginariness of America is meant to critique Britons dedicated to the continued financial support of colonial efforts, for Galt, the imaginariness of America is precisely the location of its value. Lawrie Todd's ability to take advantage of British notions of America and exploit popular assumptions to facilitate land speculation ventures results in his material wealth, which ultimately returns to British coffers, thus demonstrating how transatlantic movement and emigration can be to the benefit of the British economy. For Galt, the ability to take advantage of British notions of America and exploit popular assumptions (even in the wake of his failed attempts at land speculation ventures) facilitated the production and transatlantic

circulation of an extremely popular text. Print culture then becomes a natural extension of the transatlantic routes mapped by settlers like Lawrie Todd and companies like the Canada Company.

The textual production of *Lawrie Todd* and the immense, transatlantic circulation of the book highlight the ironic relevance of Galt's critique of Smith's categorization of authorship as unproductive labour. Though Galt is most explicit in his defense of authorship as an economically productive profession in *Bogle Corbet*, the workman-like circumstances under which Galt produced *Lawrie Todd* speak to his larger understanding of authorship as a profession rather than an art. As I discuss in my introduction, Smith considered public servants and "men of letters of all kinds" (423) to be engaged in unproductive labour. If, as Smith argues, unproductive labour is work that is un-exchangeable on a commodity market, *Lawrie Todd* shows how Galt is in clear disagreement with Smith's assessment of literary work. In the novel, Lawrie Todd earns his income not through the exchange of vendible commodities as defined by Smith. Instead, he earns his money by successful land speculation. *Lawrie Todd's* circulation in a transatlantic literary marketplace, produced as a result of Galt's public service, offers a further refutation of Smith's definition. But Galt goes beyond simply refuting Smith. He offers a new model that allows Britons familiar with Smithian doctrines of economics to embrace certain aspects of classical political economy such as the belief that class mobility and individual wealth are attainable goals. Then, Galt adapts Smith's model and suggests that the means by which individual Britons might achieve these desirable goals is not through the elimination of governmental structures, bureaucracy, and free trade. Instead, he argues it is through an increased presence of corporate monopolies acting at the behest of the government, through trade regulations, and through a transatlantic

print culture that Britons might achieve financial prosperity. As I have shown in Chapter Two, Galt deployed the periodical press to promote the Canada Company and to point out the benefits of authorship in a colonial economy. Galt saw his work with the Canada Company as an extension of public service, and of a larger benefit to Britons. Before I turn to an analysis of Galt's representation of land speculation in *Lawrie Todd*, I will consider how Galt's own work as an author and a land speculator suggests alternatives to Smith's dismissal of authorship and public service as unproductive labour.

By locating men of letters as part of the unproductive labour class, Smith discounts the changing literary landscape of eighteenth-century Britain. These changes were vast and varied, and coincided with developing print technology, increased paper production, and a diversification of the literary landscape to include a plethora of media including periodicals (Siskin 160-61). Professionalization, in the words of Clifford Siskin, was "an enabling condition of economic growth" (160), and authorial professionalization and the establishment of "alternative forms of institutional self-control" go hand in hand. These institutions, which Siskin sees as primarily embodied in the periodical press, share characteristics with bureaucratic institutions like the Canada Company and with other offices of public service. There is an important contradiction between Smith's categorization of literature and public service as being unproductive undertakings, incapable of producing exchangeable commodities, and the reality of texts like *Lawrie Todd* being produced directly as the result of Galt's work in the public service with the Canada Company. In a transatlantic literary marketplace, novels like *Lawrie Todd* demonstrate how books are also exchangeable commodities. Further, the connection between Galt's work with the Canada Company—his work in the public service—and his literary work becomes stronger when we consider how an influential thinker like Smith

considered both occupations as unproductive and frivolous. *Lawrie Todd*, then, as a text and as an eponymous protagonist, offers a direct response to Smith's theories and demonstrates how transatlantic labour will result in economic prosperity for the individual and for the British economy.

The Wealth of a (new) Nation?: Adam Smith and *Lawrie Todd*

When *Lawrie Todd* was published, there was a real shortage of land available in Britain. Anxiety surrounding the maintenance of a landed gentry and the lack of potential new land holdings in Britain was one main impetus for the promotion of emigration. Manufacturing during the rise of the Industrial Revolution became the source of income for more and more Britons thereby solidifying land ownership and agricultural development as a marker of success. For Smith, one of the main signifiers of national economic success is agriculture. As he explains, "the most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbors in agriculture as well as in manufactures; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former" (13). In Smith's model, colonial success can only truly be marked by the simultaneous development of a fruitful agricultural settlement alongside manufacturing industrialization. In Galt's actualization of *The Wealth of Nations*, Lawrie Todd does not earn his fortune through actually working the land, nor do the American settlements he inhabits display a blossoming industrial sector. It is through Todd's management of the land, and his engagement with land development and land speculation projects that he becomes rich. Having begun his life as an immigrant in small-scale manufacture, as a nail-maker, becoming a shop-owner, and eventually moving out to manage the agricultural settlements outside of the settlement town of Babelmandel, Lawrie Todd

excels at manufacture—being the best nail-maker in America—while simultaneously recognizing that agriculture and the successful settlement of agricultural land are the keys to true colonial success. Galt takes Smith's notion that agriculture and its exportable goods are indispensable for the emigrant seeking financial success in North America. He then adapts Smith's notion, making land *speculation* rather than land *cultivation* the most financially profitable venture for the new emigrant. Galt's adaptation of Smith's model functions in two important ways: first, it entrenches bureaucratic structures like those found in the Canada Company as fundamental to any emigrant wishing to experience the highest possible financial gain. Secondly, Galt's model complicates Smith's idea of the division of labour. In a transatlantic economy shored up by speculative investment, Galt uses Lawrie Todd to demonstrate how manufacturing is no longer the most efficient and economically-profitable undertaking for emigrants. Instead, manufacturing is simply the means by which emigrants might achieve the end of entering into speculative finance. Manufacturing provides Todd with the financial means to undertake an agricultural settlement; in America, mercantilism and manufacture then become the key to class mobility.

In spite of the possibility of class movement for someone like Todd in an American context, there is still an increased social and cultural class signification attached to land ownership and agricultural settlement. Todd's shift from an urban, manufacture-based setting to a more rural one that encourages agricultural development is reflected in his anxiety surrounding industrialization upon his arrival in America; when Todd enquires about work to be had as a nail-maker, he is advised that “a machine for cutting nails out of hoops had been recently set up, by which the Americans were of the opinion they would soon have the supplying [sic] of the whole world with nails” (*LT* 1:38).

Todd's anxiety regarding industrialization is directly addressed in Smith's theory of the "Division of Labour," where he argues that "the invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labour ... enable one man to do the work of many" (14), thereby increasing the output of labour without a correlative increase in the number of labourers. The shift from the potential for individual capitalist success to a mechanized global market fills Todd with dismay; however, his faith in what would later be called 'the American dream' has not yet been fully extinguished. When a fellow passenger asks for a nail-maker, Todd responds with the challenge that he will "make more nails in one day than any man in America" (40). The challenge is at once Todd's assertion of his own position as an emigrant entrepreneur as well as a declaration in his faith in the Smithian system that will reward individual success.

In Volume One of *Lawrie Todd*, Galt offers a near-direct comparison to Smith. After having been challenged to a bet, Todd explains how "for the bet of a six-pence, make in one day...three thousand two hundred and twenty two nails" (1:41). Galt's nail-maker is quantitatively more productive than Smith's. However, the inversion of the place values in the two quantities, where for Smith, *two thousand three hundred* becomes for Galt *three thousand two hundred*, suggests that Galt is modifying Smith's example, perhaps accounting for increased technological efficiency while invoking one of the best-known examples of the division of labour in *The Wealth of Nations*. While the assignment of the particular trade of nail-making to Todd could be read as simply an apt vocation for an emigrant to a land undergoing large-scale development, the similarity between Galt's description and that of Smith is uncanny, suggesting that Galt's text is in direct dialogue with *A Wealth of Nations*, especially as it is not through nail-making, nor through the ability to use a mechanized nail-making machine that Lawrie Todd finds

financial success. Neither material goods nor an ability to industrialize contribute to Todd's wealth. Instead, it is through the establishment of a structured financial system and Todd's ability to successfully speculate in a transatlantic market that he grows rich. It is through access to funds, whether brought from Britain, earned in America, or borrowed while in America, that emigrants following Galt's critical model will thrive across the Atlantic. At the time Galt was writing *Lawrie Todd*, he was personally imprisoned for extensive personal debt. After the financial crash of 1825, extensive changes to banking laws in Britain meant that financial institutions and their structures were changing and unstable. In the following section I will show how Galt responds to Smith's advocacy of a less-regulated colonial banking system.

Indebted to Empire: Banking and Emigration

Such a structured financial system includes debt. The importance of debt and its metaphorical representation of the tensions between British colonial and new American cultures bring to mind Smith's sentiment regarding public debts in the context of the American Revolution. As Smith explains, America should be actively repaying debts to Great Britain in the aftermath of the revolution:

It is not contrary to justice that both Ireland and America should contribute towards the discharge of the public debt of Great Britain...a government to which several of the colonies of America owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution, and to which all the colonies of America owe the liberty, security, and property which they have ever since enjoyed. (1204)

Smith's articulation of American independence being literally indebted to Britain is reflected in the tension we see within the larger context of banking in *Lawrie Todd*. The bank acts as the cornerstone of society, yet individuals only obtain success thanks

to the generosity of other, perhaps more institutionally suspicious individuals, first demonstrated through Mr. Hoskins, and later, through Baillie Waft, Todd's nemesis-cum-friend, who lends Todd money to help him re-establish a life in Scotland at the end of the narrative (3:288-89). Even in a semi-regulated state, the banking system in *Lawrie Todd's* America ultimately supports British coffers: though Lawrie Todd feels a deep loyalty to his adopted community, he is nevertheless unable to represent America ethically from within the confines of its political institutions because of his deeply ingrained Scottish identity. Ultimately, the mobility through which the irrefutably Scottish Todd and his money return to Scotland counters Smith's notion that colonial expansion will inevitably result in British financial expenditure, not gain.

Given that emigration and settlement were seen primarily as opportunities for financial security, economic prosperity, and class mobility, the success of each member of these societies is determined—at least in part—by their economic success. For Smith and equally in *Lawrie Todd*, individual savings and lending practices free from institutionalization are necessary conditions for financial prosperity. The locus of the economic world is the bank, and in Volume Three of *Lawrie Todd*, the establishment of a town bank and the role of the banker in emigrant society speak to the importance of institutionalized capitalism and bureaucratized lending systems as a marker of successful social development. Todd's critique of bankers and the banking system as a whole are suggestive of Smith's observations on private savings and lending practices:

In a rude state of society there are no great mercantile or manufacturing capitals. The individuals, who hoard whatever money they can save, and who conceal their hoard, do so from a distrust of the justice of the government, from a fear that if it was known that they had a hoard, and where that hoard was to be found, they would quickly be plundered. (1158-59).

Similarly, in *Lawrie Todd*, despite Todd's misgivings about bankers and their position as intellectuals, the bank is considered a key signifier of developmental success and a step towards civilization in the settlement. Todd's own initial foray into agriculture is thanks to the private lending of Mr. Hoskins, who clearly—according to Smith's model—maintains a deep distrust of government, revealed by his practice of saving his money at home. After Todd pays off all his creditors, sells his store, moves his family out of the city and onto a rural settlement, he is left penniless. He suffers a debilitating illness, and while he is questioning how he is going to support his wife and five children, his friend Mr. Hoskins offers financial aid to him and his family. Hoskins keeps his savings in a box behind his door, and when he hears of the financial difficulties of Todd's family, he explains how the money, "not worth a cent as they lays there" (1:157), would be better used to support Todd's settlement endeavors. In spite of Todd's own entry into settlement and his subsequent financial success facilitated by this private, non-institutionalized lending, Todd still sees the financial institution as a clear signifier of success in the settlement:

I had always considered the establishment of the Bank as the making of the town: other causes, no doubt, contributed also, and the mills essentially; but previously there had been a famine of money constantly amongst us. (2:293-94)

While classic markers of industrialization such as "the mills" contributed to the establishment of the town, in Galt's adaptation of Smith, it is the Bank at Judiville that symbolizes urban development and a step towards civilization.

This famine of money, according to Todd, caused "many adventurous mechanics and tradesmen to forego their best-considered plans," but with the establishment of the bank, "a new life issued from them, quickening and stirring up the energies of all trades"

(2:294). In other words, in Galt's economic model, it is the bank—a synecdoche for the British financial system as a whole—that will support manufacture and urban colonial development. The tension between Todd's considering the bank as the signifier of successful settlement and the suspicion of banks, initially borne from his need to borrow from his friend Mr. Hoskins to save his family from ruin and confirmed by his later statement that "there being nothing so pernicious to commercial credit, as that uncertain system which discounts at one time more freely than at others" (2:295), speaks to residual anxieties resulting from new American freedom from British rule.

By writing *Lawrie Todd* as an actualization of Smith's classical economic theory, Galt gives readers an alternative to wholesale separation from British national affiliation. Rather than asking readers or potential emigrants to choose between national independence, a full belief in the wholesale efficacy of an entirely free market, and individualism on the one hand, and lingering colonial loyalty, the recognition of international relationships and the need for community resources on the other, the bank at Judiville acts as a metaphor for a middle-ground political economy. At the end of the chapter, Todd attempts to explain how, unlike other banks, "the issues of the Judiville Bank were never increased, save by aids, to new customers, or by the old ones showing good and sufficient causes to entitle them to farther accommodation" (2:294-95). The Judiville bank never increases interest rates, but on the other hand, in contrast to private, individualized lending systems embodied by the agreement between Todd and Hoskins, interest rates nevertheless exist. Neither as regulated as British financial systems and institutions nor fully unregulated, the bank at Judiville attempts to reconcile a larger tension between a colonial history and the cultural memory found therein,

particularly in a town populated primarily by new emigrants with a desire for independence from Empire, by introducing a semi-regulated banking system.

By adapting a dichotomous perspective on financial regulations and colonial banking and offering a moderate, alternative model to transatlantic finance through the bank at Judiville, Galt shows readers how they might take advantage of financial rewards in America while retaining British national loyalty and offering continued support of the British economy. Potential financial gains aside, the other potential gain sought by emigrant Britons was class mobility. Before I move to my analysis of Galt's self-identification as both a businessman and as an author, I first will show how he uses some of Smith's most recognizable examples of the benefits of industrialization and adapts them to reflect his own interests, namely the centrality of print culture in promoting emigration and the importance of land distribution companies like the Canada Company to class mobility.

The economic rewards of emigration and the importance of national identity in an increasingly mobile, global society come to the fore when we consider the political, economic, and print culture contexts of *Lawrie Todd*. In the first Volume of *Lawrie Todd*, we see some of the most central tenets of Smith's economic theory exemplified. Indeed, Todd begins his journey in the working class, and is quickly chosen to manage his fellow emigrants on the ship that brings him from Britain to America. Initially, Todd's plan is to rely solely on his skill as a nail-maker as means of making his fortune. After Todd realizes that mechanization and the very process of the division of labour as theorized in *The Wealth of Nations* will make his plan of working as a nail-maker impossible, he becomes a shopkeeper. Todd's choice to forgo industry and enter directly into commerce also represents Galt's choice to adopt Smith's economic theory and adapt it

to fit his own model. In this age of capital and mechanization, Smith describes the growing influence of consumerism in society:

To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. (779-80)

Not only is Todd a shopkeeper himself, but he eventually enters into the political realm, demonstrating the intimate relationship between government and business even in a burgeoning capitalist society like late eighteenth-century America. Todd lives in a nation where not only is government *influenced* by shopkeepers, individual politicians *are* shopkeepers. So while there may continue to be a cultural nostalgia and cultural value attached to agriculture and land ownership as the signifier of economic success for Todd and other emigrants, Todd's life experience belies this notion, as it is his work as a shopkeeper that provides the economic foundation for all his American experiences and that contributes to his eventual financial success and class mobility. Todd supplements the income from his small shop with the growth and development of domesticated plants and seeds facilitating the entry of small-scale agriculture into the increasingly urban American society. He merges the practical with the artistic by selling plants in decorative pots, and it is the artistic aspect of his plants that separates his stock from other plants available (1:108). Todd's initial success with seed distribution is the result of his advertising "in the newspapers" (1:108). Once Todd has adequately created a demand with little supply for his flowers, he then enlarges his business not through agricultural expansion, but through print culture. The real success of Todd's sales comes as a result of his discovery of "a catalogue of seeds for sale, by William Spades and Co. of London" (1:109). This transatlantic seed catalogue inspires Todd to "publish [...] a catalogue of

[his] own" (1:109), a North American version of the London catalogue "adapted...to suit the seasons of [the local] climate" (1:109). As a result of his version of the Spades and Co. catalogue, Todd enters into transatlantic publishing and finance, remitting "a sum of money to Messrs. Spades and Co. with an order" (1:109) for more seeds. Todd's expansion into plant and seed sales acts as a metaphor for the work of the novel itself. By recognizing the transatlantic role of print culture in land cultivation as found through gardening and seed selling, Todd's entry into a transatlantic textual marketplace foreshadows his later entry into land distribution, promotion of transatlantic emigration, and eventual return to Britain culminating in the production of the tale *Lawrie Todd*.

Galt repeatedly employs botanical metaphors throughout the triple-volume novel to emphasize the conflation of individual settler-emigrants and exchangeable agricultural goods within the framework of British colonial expansion. For settlers like Mr. Hoskins, and for joint-stock ventures like the Albany Land Company, the fictional land distribution Company in *Lawrie Todd*, true economic potential is found in their "intention to *plant* villages" (2:97, my emphasis). So while agricultural work is seen as the most productive, the conflation of individual settlers with seeds like those for sale in Todd's shop makes explicit the economic value of land development and emigration. In other words, upon his initial arrival in America, Todd seems to have bypassed the most "productive" of labours according to Smith—agriculture—and entered directly into manufacture and sales, less productive contributions to a capitalist society. In fact, even in his seemingly-urban role as a shopkeeper, Todd has been participating in agriculture all along. Agriculture and manufacture are therefore intimately linked and not, as Smith might suggest, discrete economic realms. In Galt's political economy agriculture is simply the gateway to land speculation, the true means to achieving financial success.

When considering his move from Babelmandel to the settlement, Todd laments that he “knew as little of bush-work as any other store-keeper or mechanic, or even a director of a land-Company” (1:167). By juxtaposing store-keepers, manufacturers, and directors of land-companies, Galt uncovers the foundations of societal development within the colonial context. Galt reveals the difference between industrial development facilitated by mechanization as articulated by Smith, and what I argue is the different development of agriculture within the same economic frame Smith proposes. The store-keeper acts as the gatekeeper to developing mercantilism, marking a shift from sustenance living and barter and trade to a society reliant upon the import and export of goods for sale and to purchase. Indeed, if the store-keeper is to achieve any success in a colonial setting, manufacture must be increased to meet the demand of a larger and more geographically diverse population. Further, the development of industrial technologies—as Smith argues—facilitates the increased demand for manufactured goods; however, it decreases the number of skilled labourers necessary to sustain the market. So when Lawrie Todd argues that “even [the] director of a land-Company” (1:167) knows little of settlement, we see the difference in development between manufacturing and agriculture. Whereas manufacture is developing thanks to increased mechanization and technology, as Smith explains, the structure of the agricultural industry develops not necessarily by increased mechanization (though to be sure, this is certainly one aspect of its changing economic structure) but also through an increasingly bureaucratized system within which settlers and farmers must negotiate to obtain, purchase, or sell settlement lands. Galt never wavered in his belief that it was through corporate monopolies like that of the Canada Company that Britons could experience significant monetary dividends through land speculation. Even though Todd is derisive of the land agent and the director of the land Company, these roles are foundational to

Todd's ability to realize his dream of financial prosperity in America. When read as an actualization of *The Wealth of Nations*, the presence of The Albany Land Corporation in Lawrie Todd as the most direct reflection of Galt's personal experiences in North America with the Canada Company becomes obvious. As such, Galt's experiences with the Company immediately preceding the publication of *Lawrie Todd* provide important context for metaphorical interpretation. Over the course of several months, Galt provides William Blackwood with a detailed account of his removal, the subsequent controversy, and his financial ruin. In the following section, I want to suggest how Galt's correspondence with William Blackwood regarding his removal from the Canada Company demonstrates the intimate relationship between Galt's work as a businessman and Galt's work as an author.

From Man of Business to Man of Letters: The Context of *Lawrie Todd*'s Literary Production

As I argued in Chapter One, John Galt's work with the Canada Company, first as Secretary and later as Superintendent, was the most important undertaking of his life. He always considered himself a businessman above all else, and the opportunity to truly make his mark in the British colonial expansion project was his goal since his days developing the union canal project in Scotland. However, the unfortunate and rapid demise of Galt's career as a land-developer and businessman resulted in serious damage to his reputation within the business world while his personal finances were left in shambles. Indeed, his involuntary removal from the Company cut to the quick, and his reaction to his removal is well documented in both letters to colleagues and friends and in the second installment of his autobiography, *The Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt* (1834).

Between March 1828 (NLS MS 4021 ff 200) and May 1829 (NLS MS 4024 ff 177), there is a distinct absence of correspondence between Galt and his primary publisher, mentor, and friend William Blackwood Sr. In his letter dated March 28, 1828, Galt is cautiously optimistic about his Canadian venture, describing his work in settling both Guelph and Goderich, Ontario. In spite of the optimistic tone Galt uses to describe these settlements and his own home in Guelph, he feels tension with the Company Directors:

My business is coming very effusive and appreciated and promises to answer the best expectations of those who founded the Company—But my own situation ...which is far from being comfortable, indeed so little so that last year about this time I was within an [day] of throwing it up, and but for an unforeseen occurrence I should by this time have been now in any way to England. Not however with the invitation of us going, but to see if I could have persuaded the Directors, that the attempt to manage a career in which men's feelings [and] characters are as much objects of consideration as their bargainings [sic] from the distance of St Helen's place would be found impracticable. It vexes me to see how easily my work may be done and yet how having difficulties are constant and time lost in correspondence and controversy. (NLS MS 4021 ff 200)

Here, we see one of the first glimpses of Galt's overt critique of directors of land companies, and their disconnection from the reality of settlement. Like the land-agent in *Lawrie Todd*, whom Galt describes as knowing so little about settlement, Galt reveals the importance of first-hand experience in settlement before claiming any base of real knowledge regarding North American emigrant life. In his next letter to William Blackwood, dated May 29, 1829, Galt has been removed from the Company and his vitriol towards the directors of the Company is thinly veiled:

You have heard what has happened in the Canada Cpy—The capital is not forthcoming and the actual shareholders have intimated the fact to Government. Towards men then has been for upwards of twelve months the most annoying conduct, all about which you will in due time hear. (NLS MS 4024 ff 177, original emphasis)

Three weeks later, Galt is still embroiled in the controversy with the Directors of the Company, and in a letter dated June 17, 1829 to William Blackwood, Sr., he describes how “it is the state of money matters as the part of the property that is the root of all the evil which brought me home” (NLS MS 4024 ff 179). In spite of his dedication to his North American ventures, Britain—and specifically his ties with the British literary marketplace—still signifies as ‘home’ for Galt.

Two weeks later, on June 30, 1829, Galt describes his evolving conflict with the Board of Directors to Blackwood, explaining that after an investigation, he will have “leisure” time to continue his writing:

I shall now have some leisure, the shareholders of the C[anada] C[ompany] have declared to Government their inability to fulfill their contract and [skirted] a modification of the terms. This...will take several months, but it was disingenuous towards me to complain of a fault which the terms of the contract obliged me to commit, if it can be imparted as a fault, to follow up the original views and invitations with which the Company was found. (NLS MS 4024 ff 181)

Here, we see Galt’s critique of the Government, of the Company, and of the “evil” treatment which precipitated his ex-communication from the Company fold and forced his return to Britain, where he was eventually imprisoned for unpaid debts. Indeed, Galt explicitly links his own experience with the Canada Company and emigration with the tale of Lawrie Todd in the preface to the first British edition of *Lawrie Todd*:

The author, having recently superintended a Colonial experiment of great magnitude, it may be imagined that in Judiville he has described his own undertaking. This is not the case; for the narrative embraces the substance of his knowledge, whether obtained by inquiry, observation, or experience. The subject is more important than novels commonly treat of. A description, which may be considered authentic, of the rise and prowess of a successful American settlement, cannot but be useful to the emigrant who is driven to seek a home in the unknown wilderness of the

woods...The book, therefore, though written to amuse, was not altogether undertaken without a higher object. (1:iv-v)

Here, we see the tension between Galt's categorization of writing as a "leisure" activity intended to amuse, and the "higher object" of political and economic theory he models in the narrative. The "higher object" for Galt is an unwavering commitment to mercantilism, in spite of his fraught departure from the Canada Company. Authorship, for Galt, was an extension of his mercantilist "higher object." Given his ongoing struggle to meet deadlines with publishers and the health problems that plagued him throughout his life, often requiring his wife to act as his amanuensis, writing was certainly not the "leisure" activity Galt makes it out to be. Galt's categorization of writing as leisure is one that is suited to a traditional Romantic-era view of authorship, that was quickly being questioned by narratives such as *Lawrie Todd*, that revealed in explicit ways that texts—and novels in particular—were increasingly politicized vehicles through which authors could provide social critique. In other words, the widening literary economy and its transatlantic readership shaped the form of the novel as well as its content. Galt used this novel to engage in a political debate with his readership informed by his own experience as a failed colonist and businessman; Bentley dictated the form of the novel to best conform to the demands of the literary marketplace at the moment of the novel's production, a context that was increasingly affected by advances in print technology, a more efficient and wider-reaching postal service, increasing literacy, more leisure time for the middle-classes, wider book circulation, and more accessible lending libraries. As Smith argues, the same mechanization that has irrevocably changed the labour market has similar effects on the intellectual realm:

Before the invention of the art of printing, the only employment by which a man of letters could make any thing by his talents, was that of a public or

private teacher, or by communicating to other people the curious and useful knowledge which he had acquired himself. And this is still surely a more honorable, a more useful, and in general even a more profitable employment than that other of writing for a bookseller, to which the art of printing has given occasion (182).

The disdain with which Smith—and Galt, to a certain extent—view commissioned writing suggests that *Lawrie Todd* needs to be considered as a primarily economic object, not a literary one. Because Galt's transatlantic tales are a direct result of his experience in the North American labour market, and were commissioned for sale and circulation by Colburn and Bentley, like Smith, Galt views these novels as extraneous yet necessary labour rather than as significant contributions to his literary *opus*.

A New Workplace: Labour in the New World

In *Lawrie Todd*, we can see the tension between the notion of productive and unproductive labour in a North American context. Indeed, as Peter S. Onuf argues in his treatment of the reception and influence of Smith in America in the years leading up to the American Civil War, “Adam Smith and the Crisis of the American Union,” Smith’s conception of the division of labour is inextricably linked to a conception of historical progress. Reading *Lawrie Todd* as a critique of Smith, we can see underscored what Trumpener calls British literature’s ‘obsession’ with “historical and cultural change” between 1760 and 1830 (xiv). In this period, Trumpener argues novelists are “rethinking the political and epistemological bases of the novel” (xiv), and as *Lawrie Todd* suggests, novelists such as Galt are rethinking the economic bases of the novel as well. Given that *Lawrie Todd* takes place over the course of Todd’s lifetime, the novel offers a

representation of emigrant experience that is informed by the notion of progress as well as an adherence to and promotion of Smithian economics in an American setting.

Read chronologically, *Lawrie Todd* tells the tale of a working-class nail-maker who emigrates, manages to secure himself a managerial position on his emigration ship, becomes a fairly successful nail-maker and a very successful shop-owner, helps found a settlement, enters into politics, and returns to Scotland, having achieved economic success and a position of increased class status facilitated by his success as an emigrant to America. After his return, he laments the bifurcated nature of emigrant identity, always feeling both at home and away in either his “native land” (3:155) or in his adopted country of America. This type of reading lends to the characterization of *Lawrie Todd* as “optimistic” (Trumpener 267). This optimism becomes more evident when *Lawrie Todd* is contrasted with the markedly melancholic and more introspective companion novel, *Bogle Corbet*, which is the subject of Chapter Four. However, this optimism is further enhanced by a metaphorical interpretation that considers Todd’s return to Scotland having achieved the goals of economic gain and class mobility as the climactic point of the text.

In part facilitated by this type of metaphorical reading, in part facilitated by the notion of America-as-refuge from class and economic oppression visible in Britain at the time of Todd’s emigration, reading *Lawrie Todd* as purely optimistic oversimplifies the important political work of the novel. *Lawrie Todd* was written under financial duress and the most extreme of deadlines; as a result, according to Gordon, “Galt fell back on his recent experiences” (*John Galt* 92) as fodder for the triple-decker commissioned by Colburn and Bentley. Galt’s experiences in North America, specifically his experiences with the Canada Company, alongside the Thorburn manuscript, inform the narrative of

Lawrie Todd, and this context—and the deep ties to Smithian economics—are revealed by considering how the narrative's conclusions inform earlier parts of the story. Todd's movements are not unidirectional or teleological. Instead, they are transatlantic and multiple. Todd's movements trace a transatlantic circuitous route that models an alternative economy of settlement and finance wherein supposed emigrants and their monies eventually return to Britain.

At the end of the novel, Lawrie Todd returns to Scotland after several transatlantic voyages. His final departure from America is a sad occasion. Indeed, as Todd describes the community gathering organized to send him and his third wife, Sarah, off on their voyage, he explains how "Without letting even [his] wife know, short-bread, seed-cakes, and wine—a full service of all the elements commonly in use at a Scottish burial, were prepared for the occasion" (3:292). The men of the community served this banquet, "all in mourning, as if they were serving a funeral" (3:292), and indeed, Todd describes looking at the community members attending the gathering, "so many that [he] loved and valued, standing as it were at the bed-side of [his] departal, and considered [himself] destined to see some of them no more within the scene and sphere of time" (3:292-93). To leave America, then, is akin to death. For Todd, leaving America is not only leaving the dream of economic prosperity behind. The sadness both Todd and his community express at his imminent departure suggests that his experience in America was one of considerable happiness. However, this happiness is only conveyed through a retrospective narrative. In looking back, the very narrative structure counters the teleological model Smith sees as central to societal development and economic prosperity. Todd rarely expresses happiness while *in* America. He can only express this happiness because of his departure. Britain, then, becomes the geographic

locale of happiness and prosperity earned in America. *Lawrie Todd* proposes a political economic emigration model whereby Britons can experience the financial benefits of emigration while maintaining their Britishness. The political economy of *Lawrie Todd* is reliant upon the transatlantic mobility of individuals, money, and text. This mobility results, as exemplified in *Lawrie Todd*, in a positive, productive, and fundamentally British experience for emigrants.

The world of *Lawrie Todd* is decidedly transatlantic. “Disparate people, ideas, and commodities” (Manning and Cogliano 3) are at once gathered in relatively dense and discrete North American geographic sites: first, New York City, later, the town of Judiville, and later still, the settlement of Babelmandel, and characters seldom move between these three places. Yet, individuals are still very much transatlantically mobile, as evidenced by Todd’s multiple journeys between America and Scotland throughout the narrative. Indeed, as Manning and Cogliano argue, “Transatlantic traffic in ideas moved from west to east as well as from east to west, and in circulatory patterns that complicate vectors of transmission” (6). These circulatory patterns facilitate Todd’s “successful” emigration and subsequent class mobility. They also create opportunities for Galt to reap the benefits of an ever-expanding transatlantic literary marketplace and a growing readership on both sides of the Atlantic. According to Gordon, after its publication, *Lawrie Todd* “remained popular for many years” (*John Galt* 93), and part of the novel’s ongoing popularity was thanks to “the photographic realism of [Galt’s] picture of colonial life, [which] appealed to the public” (93). The appeal of this supposedly “photographic realism” is tempered by a critical reading that suggests that emigration to America will result in a strong, loving community that contributes to a society wherein economic prosperity is not only possible but is very likely. For Galt, this prosperity did not mean

giving up national loyalty: in the model he creates in *Lawrie Todd*, potential emigrants do not have to choose between Empire and Republic. Instead, they can take advantage of opportunities to increase their wealth and class status in North America through engagement with land distribution companies and other corporate structures, without giving up imperial loyalty. Indeed, when considering a foray into the American political arena, Todd reminds the reader of the sanctuary of America:

It is true, that America had been to me a land of refuge; verily, a land flowing with milk and honey...It contained all that was dearest to me in friends, and kin, and substance; and what was there in the far-off valleys of Scotland to getter me from serving, by head or hand, the country of the adoption. (3: 199)

There is no doubt for the reader that America, for Todd, is a land of wealth, opportunity, and fulfillment, a realization that causes Todd much guilt about his Scottish identity. Todd agonizes about taking up the request to sit in the American legislature, “oscillati[ng]...between the past and the future” (3:199), concluding that “truly it is an awful thing for a man to forswear his native land” (3:200). For Todd, then, to participate in American politics is to relinquish the link between his personal identity and his national one. However, when he begins to engage in the political arena in earnest, we see this dichotomy tempered by an acknowledgement that with emigration comes the possibility of a new, hybrid identity: a transatlantic one.

In his speech to his potential voters, Todd describes his experience of transatlanticism, foregrounding his emigration experience as a central aspect of his identity: as he explains, he has “always been proud of [his] Scottish name”; his Scottishness is precisely what sets him apart from other members of his American community, who Todd describes as being “of another nation” (3:208). The link between

personal and national identity is one that is of utmost concern; Todd articulates the anxiety around foreignness at length in his speech, asking the voters to consider whether

the questions which rouse the animosities of nations are of that kind in which I am conscious of being least able to sustain a proper part...But search your own hearts, and then say, if you can, that in a national quarrel you would be satisfied with only justice. 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? (3:209-10)

Here, we see that despite Todd's status within the Babelmandel settlement, a lingering anxiety of national loyalty remains, particularly in the wake of the American Revolution. It is in Todd's own treatment of these deep anxieties that Adam Smith and the relationship between emigration, the individual, the economy, and the nation state come to the surface. In a lengthy familial metaphor, Todd acknowledges the potential threat he may pose as an emigrant acting within the most formal of political arenas in his adopted nation:

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, and where the love of country is blended with the love of parents—a love which hath no relation to condition, but is absolute and immutable—poor or rich, the parent can neither be more nor less to the child than always his parent, --and I feel myself bound to my native land by recollections grown into feelings of the same kind as those remembrances of parental love which constitute the indissoluble cement of filial attachment. (3:210)

By aligning national identity with a familial one, Todd is echoing the all-pervasive rhetoric of colonialism. The mother country, in his case Scotland—and on a larger scale, Britain—subtly aligns Todd within the framework of colonial rhetoric, a framework from which American revolutionaries fought to extract themselves and declare independence.

Further, by collapsing the tangible, economic reasons for emigration and therefore potentially for a transatlantic personal identity such as the one adopted by Todd with the language of the family, Todd uses affect to gain the trust of these potential voters. The “absolute, immutable” love between a child and his parents is one that, in Todd’s metaphor, is “indissoluble.” For Todd there is no possibility of ever undoing the love between parent and child and therefore, in his analogy, between individual and his country of birth. When Todd turns down the offer to run for the legislature, he explains that he “cannot serve [American] national interests with all [his] heart” (3:211), and therefore cannot stand for office, for he does not feel “the heart’s love—that love which was bred and twined within [his] bosom before [they] ever met, cannot be given, for it belongs to one that is far away” (3:212). Here, Todd reveals that while personal identity is always complex and dynamic, reflecting varied geographies and various communities; nevertheless, for Todd, national identity and personal affiliation with the country of one’s birth are so ingrained, so “bred and twined” into one’s body that it is impossible to fully replace. As Todd shows, national identity and affiliation are not based upon geography: instead, these loyalties are deeply internalized. Before I conclude my analysis of *Lawrie Todd*, I will examine the role of maintaining national affiliations through transatlantic print culture in the novel.

A New Literary Marketplace: Print Culture in the New World

In *Lawrie Todd*, communities can be ‘imagined’ in the Andersonian sense through economic doctrines as well as through print culture. The relationship between a mobile, transatlantic print culture and economic policy culminates in revealing a deep distrust of government evidenced throughout the narrative, and this conclusion is

particularly important in an American context. To emigrate to America was, for Britons, a conscious choice to leave the Empire. So, for Galt to promote emigration to America rather than to Upper Canada is a clear critique of Empire and revelatory of his disillusionment with the possibility for emigrant prosperity in the colonies. The link between transatlantic print culture and economics is made clear in the first descriptions of the local settlement newspaper, which foreground not the paper itself, but its advertisements. The newspaper then becomes a vehicle for further entrenchment of mercantile capitalism within print culture. When Galt describes the *Judiville Jupiter*, the settlement's newspaper as "handsome" (3:129), and comments that its "advertisements were adorned in a most sumptuous manner, the like of which is not even to be seen in even the fashionable morning-papers of London" (3:129), he highlights at once the importance of the advertisement to the authenticity of the newspaper, as well as the importance of maintaining a transatlantic link between print cultures. Advertisements are aestheticized, and measured not—as one might imagine—against a more local example, such as a newspaper from New York City, but instead are measured against print culture in London. The imagined community created by this particular newspaper is reliant on a shared economic community that understands the importance of advertising. There is further evidence for the transatlantic mobility of the newspaper between Britain and America, as Mrs. Beeny, Todd's would-be-suitor, conspicuously leaves an "old Edinburgh newspaper" (3:41) in her parlour for Todd to find. The settlement newspaper is not only a text that provides evidence for transatlantic textual mobility, but its production also provides valuable evidence for the transatlantic nature of the literary community and its import into the larger community of the settlement. Dr. Murdoch, the original editor of the *Judiville Jupiter*, was also the community dominie (3:129) alongside Mr. Dineloof, who is described as having "skill in rhyme-making" (3:129) and as being "a

great friend of the Ettrick Shepherd" (3:130), referring to James Hogg. Aligning the newspaper—and therefore popular settlement print culture—with the British literary marketplace, foregrounds the importance of transatlantic print culture. Further, as Todd argues, one of Dr. Murdoch's most redeeming qualities as the editor of the *Judiville Jupiter* was the "fond familiarity with old Scottish matters and things" (3:186) found in his editorials. Indeed, the newspaper acts as a barometer for the growth of the settlement, and as Todd explains, "now that the town had tripled [sic] in population since the establishment of the *Jupiter*," fellow settler and politician, Mr. Semple established in "concert with certain opulent new settlers for the establishment of another paper, which they called "The Chopper, or the Oracle of the Woods" (3:186). The political divide between the *Jupiter* and *The Oracle* becomes quickly obvious: *The Oracle* in particular "was to open the way for [Mr. Semple] to be elected a representative to the State Legislature" (3:187). Newspapers, and by extension, the journalistic authorship found therein, mark an important branch of societal expansion. The newspapers are a product of the emigration experience, and their sway over the political landscape suggests that authorship carries a specific, important political function in the settler economy.

The establishment of the Judiville newspaper signals the entry of settlement society into the global political and economic world. Looking to the establishment of the newspapers in *Lawrie Todd*, their political work, and the close alignment between the newspaper and a larger literary community, brings the role of a transatlantic literary economy to the fore. As evidenced by including a specific reference to James Hogg, the need to compare—and indeed, to better—the practices of the London papers suggests the increasing political import of print culture in America and a desire to explicitly connect this burgeoning cultural realm with the established, politicized British one. Indeed, near

the beginning of Volume Three, while Todd is back in Scotland, Galt deliberately inserts yet another literary reference. Todd's sense of a lack of "conversible people in the village" (3:21) of Bonnytown, the town of his birth, causes him to "seek acquaintances afield" (3:21); one such acquaintance is "Doctor Delta, of Musselburgh, a pleasant, mild and sensible young man, somewhat overly addicted to poetry of the pale sort" (3:21). Todd describes Doctor Delta as "not only a man of letters and knowledge, but reciprocal and true-hearted" (3:21). Here, we see Galt acknowledging his own literary community, for "Doctor Delta of Musselburgh" is of course, David M. Moir, a contemporary of Galt, fellow *Blackwood's* contributor, close friend of both Galt and Blackwood, and informal editor of Galt's material, as I discussed in Chapter Two. The scattered references to contemporaneous British writers in *Lawrie Todd* reinforce the import of print culture in transatlantic literary and financial economies.

Conclusion

When we read the first Volume of *Lawrie Todd* informed by the conclusions of Volume Three, we can see how much of this anxiety surrounds political dissidents and political unrest. At the beginning of the narrative, Lawrie Todd is charged with treason because of his involvement in the movement for Parliamentary reform. By the end of the narrative, Todd has declared his love and loyalty to his British—and more specifically Scottish identity—evidenced by Galt's use of Scottish vernacular interspersed throughout the text. To read his involvement with a group of political radicals—always keeping in mind his ultimate political position of utter loyalty to the nation-state suggests—that the potential disorder caused by requests for political reform can be cured by emigration, a suggestion that is echoed in the promotion of emigration

particularly for the working classes who were an increasing threat to the British middle class. One solution to this threat, which, in light of Todd's success and the class mobility he exercises by the end of the narrative, is embodied in Todd's ability to enter into the middle class immediately upon his departure from Britain; once he has personally entered the middle class, there is very little subsequent reference to the working class. We can read the exclusion of the working class from the rest of the narrative as a response to the anxieties represented by Todd's initial foray into radical politics and the threat working class radicals pose to the middle and upper classes: he is only able to exercise class mobility once he has shed his identity, left his radical politics in Scotland, and refashioned himself in America. America becomes a land of the middle class; if the British working class (as emulated by Todd) can emigrate to America and exercise class mobility, they will no longer pose a threat to the existing middle-class Britons remaining at home. If, like Todd, they eventually return to Britain, they will no longer be political radicals but instead they will have reaped the benefits of more moderate politics in the new world, and like Todd, will work to promote emigration.

Whereas for Smith, government and bureaucracy will interfere with the 'natural' machinations of the market, for Galt, bureaucracy is the key to ensuring companies like the Canada Company are necessary and profitable. Galt uses Todd's experience of transatlantic travel to defend the role of bureaucracy in the colonial expansion project. Almost as soon as Todd's ship leaves Britain, he is thrust into a 'management' type role on the ship, where he surveys and manages the distribution of food and water amongst the other emigrant passengers. This role is particularly important to consider because of its liminality: at once part of the crew and part of the passengers, Todd is able to move between two worlds. He is trusted by both the crew and the passengers; as he explains

it, after distributing each passenger's water allowance fairly, because of his "fairness and equity in the trust gained me the goodwill of all on board" (I:33). Indeed, he concludes the chapter with explaining how he "was made an instrument to prevent misrule and mutiny in the ship, and to minister to the comfort of all on board" (34). However, what is clear is that Todd's supposed equity is founded in a deeply unequal system: it is not, in fact, the duty of any manager on a for-profit ship such as the one undertaking a transatlantic voyage to 'minister to the comfort of all on board'. In fact, the explicit goal of the voyage is to earn money for the Company who owns the ship. Further, if we read Todd's role as a supervisor as indicative of the political landscape at work in North America upon his arrival, then we can see how while it might *seem* that mid-level positions like his are important to be able to prevent 'misrule,' the key term here is, in fact, "instrument." Todd, like so many other colonial agents and middle managers in America and Upper and Lower Canada, was instrumental in promoting emigration and land settlement. However, this was not for the good of each individual. Rather, these efforts directly increased the financial solvency of the colonial government in Britain, of the central government in America, or of the land distribution agency employing managers to promote their land and its use as potential emigration settlement territory. In other words, from the moment Todd becomes transatlantic, he embodies a critique of Smith. Companies like the Canada Company—and by extension, the British government—would fiscally benefit from transatlantic experiences such as Todd's.

The references to Smith's economic theory throughout *Lawrie Todd* are unquestionable, and the relevance of these theories to mid-nineteenth century Britain is unremarkable. However, Galt's explicit employment of Smith in his literary narrative is noteworthy for a number of reasons. *Lawrie Todd* (and its companion novel, *Bogle*

Corbet (1831), which I treat in the next chapter) is one of Galt's most explicitly political novels. Deviating from his previous (and more critically lauded) Scottish histories, Galt uses his experience in North America to inform these texts. The result of considering the importance of Smith in *Lawrie Todd* is not the unsurprising conclusion that both are reflecting a specific moment in capitalism. Instead, it is that Galt is demonstrating how capital is quickly usurping Empire as the mobilizing force of a globalized economy. Further, reading *Lawrie Todd* through Smith helps uncover some of the anxieties about the precariousness of the landed gentry and the stability of Empire regarding class status and class mobility in the years leading up to the Reform Acts of 1832. Reading *Lawrie Todd* as a critique of Smith reveals the important political and economic work of a dynamic, transatlantic print culture, a dynamism that is even more prominent in *Lawrie Todd*'s companion novel, *Bogle Corbet*.

Chapter 4.

Literary Exports: *Bogle Corbet* and the Economics of Transatlantic Authorship

Unlike *Lawrie Todd*, which is specifically set in the United States of America, a nation that in its Declaration of Independence embraced economic doctrines of free trade and individualism, *Bogle Corbet* offers a narrative of North American colonial emigration. In *Bogle Corbet*, Galt warns against removing corporate monopolies like the Canada Company and other governmental bureaucratic structures from colonial economies, warning that without their assistance, there is no possibility of success for the middle-class emigrant. Writing against the grain of Adam Smith and other anti-mercantilists, Galt uses his protagonist, Bogle Corbet, to show that under classical economic theory, the only means for middle-class, North American emigrant success in a free market society is to be found through an entry into transatlantic print culture.

My previous chapters have shown that through his work with the Canada Company, his participation in the British periodical press, and his novel *Lawrie Todd*, Galt challenges Adam Smith's opposition to British financial support of its colonies and wholesale critique of corporate monopolies, as well as Smith's division of labour and characterisation of authorship as unproductive. *Bogle Corbet* contains Galt's most explicit statement in support of authorship as an export commodity. My analysis of Galt's participation in the periodical press shows how the very structures and relationships of

the periodical press emulate the corporate structures that made many periodical publications about North America possible. The previous chapter argues that in *Lawrie Todd*, Galt adapts *The Wealth of Nations* to showcase the shortfalls of Smith's theories when put into practice in North America, and offers an alternative model of political economy that allows Britons to exploit North America's opportunities for fiscal prosperity while maintaining British national loyalty. This chapter now shows that in *Bogle Corbet*, Galt further extends his critical adaptation of Smith's political economy, and shows how in a specifically colonial context, corporate monopolies are crucial for middle-class emigrant success; without such support, as he demonstrates through the life narrative of Bogle Corbet, middle-class emigrants are left vulnerable in a world rife with class revolution, and with few options for financial solvency save an entry into an increasingly-transatlantic literary marketplace.

Set in 1789—after the American War, between the Maroon Wars in Jamaica, in the early days of the French Revolution, and just before the Haitian slave revolt—*Bogle Corbet*, like *Lawrie Todd*, takes place in the late eighteenth century at a time when the world's political and economic stage was in flux.⁵⁵ This complicated narrative tells the story of Bogle Corbet, the son of Scottish emigrants who are living in Jamaica. Corbet's parents die when he is a young child, and he is brought back to Scotland to determine the course of his education. Ultimately, Corbet is educated in London, and after working as an apprentice weaver and benefitting from a more formal education, he becomes an absentee plantation manager. Over the course of the narrative, Corbet triangulates around the Empire, traveling between the West Indies, Britain, and Jamaica, before

⁵⁵ The first Maroon war was fought in Jamaica in 1731; the second was fought between 1795 and 1796. The French Revolution took place between 1789 and 1799 and the Haitian slave revolt took place between 1791 and 1804.

undertaking the transatlantic voyage that would be the last trip of his life. His North American life is difficult and as a result, the narrative ends with Corbet and his wife living in poverty with the pending publication of his life-story as their only hope for economic gain. The political revolutions that informed the global politics of Bogle Corbet's world were underpinned by economics, and with the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776, the same year as the American Declaration of Independence, economic theory strengthened ties between Britain and America while the political and imperial links were fraying. Indeed, just as imperialism is always, at bottom, an economic undertaking, so too was authorship for Galt. While critics have considered *Bogle Corbet* as part of the Scottish Romantic tradition, as part of Canadian literary history, as linked in significant ways to Galt's business ventures with the Canada Company, or as representative of an emerging form of intercolonial nationalism, no one has yet read *Bogle Corbet* for its suggestions of potential alternatives to the waning of British political imperialism and economic fortitude in the mid-nineteenth century. By considering the complex and multi-faceted narrative of *Bogle Corbet* within this complicated global historical context, we can see that Galt ultimately argues against Adam Smith's categorization of authorship as unproductive labour and shows how one remedy for political revolution and national peace is found through middle-class emigration. Without the presence of a corporate monopoly like the Canada Company, the only economically prosperous emigration venture for middle-class emigrants is found not through settlement, agriculture, politics, or business; instead, it is found through authorship.

Like its companion novel, *Lawrie Todd*, *Bogle Corbet* has received little critical attention, and when it has been discussed, it has, with few exceptions, been treated as a "Canadian" tale. The brief resurgence of Galt studies in the mid-1980s, inspired by

Elizabeth Waterson's 1984 conference at the University of Guelph, led to the subsequent publication of *John Galt: Reappraisals* (1985), a collection of scholarly articles which aimed to expand Galt scholarship with a particular focus on what Erik Frykman calls Galt's "new world novels," namely *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*.⁵⁶ Many years after Waterston's edited collection was published by the University of Guelph Press, Katie Trumpener drew attention to the severely abridged New Canadian Library edition of *Bogle Corbet* published by McClelland and Stewart in 1977 (edited by Waterston), and argued that "the full novel deserves a more complex reading" (278).⁵⁷ One significant absence resulting from the truncated New Canadian Library edition is the central role of mobility and of transatlantic travel. In this version, *Bogle Corbet* seems to be a simple transatlantic narrative. However, the full text shows Bogle Corbet's course through much of the empire, residing in or visiting Britain, the West Indies, and North America. The New Canadian Library edition's over-simplification of Corbet's life-long travel undercuts the complex nature of the colonial network, of business, and of emigration and personal identity. It is not, as one might gather from Waterston's edition, that Corbet's identity shifts from "Scottish" to "British" to "Canadian," or as Daniel Coleman puts it in *White Civility* (2006), that characters in Scottish Canadian novels evolve from "distinct Scottishness through generalized Britishness to deliberate Canadianness" (87). Instead

⁵⁶ The four contributions that deal with *Bogle Corbet* in any significant manner tend to focus explicitly on the "Canadian" section of the lengthy text (the last few chapters of Volume Two and all of Volume Three), consider *Bogle Corbet* within some context of Galt's own work with the Canada Company (as is the case with Galt biographer Ian A. Gordon's contribution, as well as historian Gilbert Stetler's analysis of Galt as a town planner, and Nick Whistler's analysis of Galt's *Biography*), or consider *Bogle Corbet* in the context of his other Scottish novels (as do Martin Bowman and Ian Campbell).

⁵⁷ In her book *New Canadian Library: The Ross-McClelland Years, 1958-1972*, Janet Friskney interrogates the Canadian literary market conditions that resulted in many texts such as *Bogle Corbet* being drastically truncated for inclusion in the New Canadian Library series. For Waterston, the severe trimming of *Bogle Corbet* was likely the only way she could get the novel republished at all.

Corbet's personal identity is more complex: while clearly moving through the "evolution" of identity that Coleman suggests, Corbet invokes a larger-scale, trans-colonial identity.

Near the end of Volume One, Corbet looks not to Scotland, England, or Canada, but "towards *Jamaica* as [his] native land" (1:254, my emphasis). National affiliation is not merely passive for Corbet: it prompts his later decision to visit the West Indian sugar plantations he manages from Scotland and his further voyage to revisit the Plantagenet plantation in Jamaica where he was born. Corbet's national identity is embedded in the British Empire; his movements follow imperial trade routes between the Caribbean, Britain, and North America. Theories based on Smith surrounding import-export taxation, colonial expenditures and governance, and the intervention of corporate monopolies in the financial sphere, were consistently being discussed in Parliament, and in the press. By making the trade routes central to establishing Corbet's national identity as well as to the financial viability of his extensive travel and private education, Galt's novel enters into these debates and offers a counter-model to Smith's version of colonial economy and the role of authorship.

One of the methods by which Canada is locked "into triangulated relationships with its fellow colonies and with its British home base" (Trumpener 287) is through authorship and print culture. Trumpener invokes Foucault, who, when interrogating the nature of authorship, reminds us that the author's name "seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing, its mode of being" (107). Galt's presence is palpable throughout the novel, in the movements and actions of the protagonist as well as in the paratextual elements of *Bogle Corbet* such as its Preface that promotes its use as an emigrant guide as well as a novel and the appendices that describe, in specific detail, lands for sale by the Canada Company.

While we cannot conflate Galt and Corbet, neither can we hold them as entirely separate. Trumpener, who calls Corbet “a *product* of empire on every level” (279, my emphasis), invokes economic language in her very assessment of Corbet. This text is not merely a product of empire in that its content is the direct result of Galt’s colonial experience with the Canada Company. It is a product of empire in its own right. As Galt demonstrates through the novel, authorship is a productive colonial undertaking that can mitigate the potential downfalls of North American emigration for middle-class Britons that Galt sees as the result of a free global economy.

Productive Authorship in a Circum-Atlantic World

As the concept of ‘author’ was shifting from the earlier eighteenth-century model of solitary genius to the later notion of the professional author embarking on a career in the literary marketplace in the mid-nineteenth century, so too was Galt wavering between his own identities as author-artist and as businessman-colonist.⁵⁸ In the constructed narrative of *Bogle Corbet* as well as in Galt’s life, authorship and colonial expansion are concomitant undertakings. In his periodical publications, Galt shows how corporate monopolies like the Canada Company facilitate a literary reproduction of North America for British readers, and in *Lawrie Todd*, Galt shows how novels can also act as instructive texts about political economies. In *Bogle Corbet*, Galt underscores how in a

⁵⁸ Juliet Gardiner defines Romantic authorship as “singular, individual, confessional, allowing the concept of authorial intention to be reinscribed in ways that present the author as the meaning of his/her text beyond the writing of it through a series of specified performative acts in the process of the production of the meaning of his or her book” (263). We can see how Galt is struggling against this singular definition of authorship (as I discuss in Chapter Two) with the development and fruitfulness of his literary coterie, and again with Galt’s vacillation between being part of the literati, which he signifies by citing previous publications to signal his authority over a text, and by signing a text as John Galt, which signifies his current work as an author.

colonial context, literature is as much of a colonial export commodity as are more traditional colonial export commodities like rum, sugar, or tobacco.

Though *Bogle Corbet*'s metafictive nature is clear from the first page of the Preface, the novel's first explicit treatment of authorship arises only in the second Volume through Galt's depiction of Mr. Adage, a friend of Mr. Mashlim's, who happened to be in London while Corbet and Mashlim were visiting the Colonial Office. Adage, who had "just come to town to publish one of his books" (2:136), emphasizes the new role of London as the current central powerhouse for publishing in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Further, by setting this important conversation regarding authorship specifically in the Colonial Office, Galt underscores how literary works should be considered as another type of colonial export commodity. As I discuss in Chapters Two and Three, Galt is responding to Smith's notion that authorship is unproductive labour. In *Bogle Corbet*, Galt animates this debate through creating Smithian archetypes in the characters of Mr. Adage and Mr. Woodrife. These characters, each of whom represents a contemporaneous view of authorship, as either a profession or as an artistic undertaking, reveal how Galt takes issue with Smith's notion that authorship is unproductive labour and instead argues in favour of increasing colonial bureaucracy and governmental intervention in both the literary and the colonial marketplaces. Mr. Adage, who brings cultural and class cachet to the dinner party that follows the conversation in the Colonial Office, is plagued by one "weakness, common enough among authors: he thought literature the first of professions" (2:139). Authorship, for Mr. Adage, embodies

⁵⁹ Edinburgh had once been the locus for Enlightenment thought and publishing in Britain. Specifying London as the locale where authorship and publishing took place seems particularly salient to Galt's discussion of authorship and publishing given that his long-time Edinburgh publisher William Blackwood had rejected Galt's North American novels and they were published by London-based publisher Richard Bentley and Sons.

the notion of the 'man of letters' patronized to create art as a "creative genius, the autonomous author" (Mark Rose 3). For Adage, this concept has anything but disappeared:

he could see nothing so splendid in man as literary genius; all practical talent was to him as something operative and mechanical; even oratory, that rules law and nations, he considered as inferior; and invention, that adds power to dominion, and multiplies the means and varieties of enjoyment, had in it, according to his way of thinking, an alloy and sediment, compared with the intellectual element embodied in words. (2:141)

The most egregious violator of the realm of letters for Adage is "the man who has been bred to commerce of any kind" (2:147-48); the businessman who attempts to write should, according to Adage, be held "in high treason in the republic of letters" (2:148). Authors, for Adage, adhere to Smith's notion that authorship is embedded within a larger cultural framework of unproductive labour. However, Mr. Woodriffe, an eccentric fellow diner, offers the opposite perspective. For Woodriffe, it

is however, but only the secondary and inferior of mankind that make [authorship] a profession; no great man ever only wrote books, he did something more; and none of the few who have affected the destinies of the world, have written books at all. (2:139)

Mr. Woodriffe sees authorship as an extension of other, more 'productive' work. Galt's own bifocal career pattern as both businessman and author are evident in Mr. Woodriffe's critique of authorship, and indeed, Corbet, already trained in the 'operative and mechanical,' reflects Galt's own shifting position concerning authorship. For Corbet—like Galt, who saw writing as both a profession and an art—writing is seen as a possible supplement to his income rather than the result of inspired genius: "with [his] waning income and waxing family, it had come two or three times into [his] head, that having so long eschewed commercial speculations, [he] might try [his] hand at

something like a work on political economy" (2:142). For Corbet, a 'non-fiction' text on a serious topic such as political economy is the compromise between the considerations of authorship as presented by Adage and Woodriffe. This compromise is reflected in Galt's own relationship to writing. From the earliest days of his career, William Blackwood categorized Galt as an "old literary merchant", making it clear that Galt was always capable of negotiating the business of authorship and the flourishing publishing industry of the early nineteenth century (Blackwood letter 16 June 1820 np).

Galt uses the narrative of *Bogle Corbet* as a vehicle for his own ruminations on authorship and the changing publishing industry in mid-nineteenth century Britain, perhaps nowhere more obviously than in Volume Two, in chapter 18, entitled "A Conversation". Veiled as a discussion between Corbet and Adage, the conversation is prefaced by Corbet's comment that he "should not dismiss his conversation with Adage lightly, for although it was on his part evidently intended to magnify the dignity of bookmaking, and by corollary himself, it had considerable influence on the resolution [Corbet] was soon subsequently to adopt" (2:142). Galt uses chapter 18 to air his concerns and critiques of the literary marketplace generally and of critics specifically. As I explain in Chapter Two, Galt took full advantage of the intricate network of friends and acquaintances that made up the critical and editorial spheres of the Edinburgh and London periodical presses, particularly in relation to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*. In *Bogle Corbet*, he uses Adage to critique reviewers, suggesting that reviewers young and old, "persons of all capacities are allowed to wound the finest minds", and that "the greatest fault finders are the weakest of men" (2:144). According to Adage, critics are failed authors, and it is only upon their failure that they become "palatable to the public" (2:146) as critics. Though

Corbet counters Adage's essentially wholesale trouncing of critics by asking if "not all the friendships, affections, and partialities come in aid of an author, as well as of any other man" (2:146), Adage suggests that in fact, "the most difficult obstacles in the path to eminence are raised by friends" (2:146). For Adage, friends might tolerate the publication of one book—he uses a "book of travels" as an example – yet multiple publications will not only be disavowed by friends, but these friends will not even purchase these publications, especially if "the authors happen to be poor" (2:148). When we consider the context of *Bogle Corbet*'s production alongside Adage's treatise on authorship and the literary community, we can see that Galt's own cynicism bleeds through the narrative fabric. Galt, imprisoned and feeling alienated from his literary community after his failed stint at North American business, poor and desperate for income from any source, clearly has taken issue with his literary community. Though Adage equates the critics' responses to texts as being clearly rooted in "feelings" of "Like and Dislike" (2:143), Corbet suggests that the relationship between literary quality and saleability is an important one, arguing that

surely it is not expected that authors, more than any other persons, should be dependent on the charity of friends? If books do not sell, the evil of publication will soon cure itself; muslins will not be made if they cannot be sold, nor will books be printed if they will not sell" (2:148-49).

Herein lays the rub for Galt: both *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* are texts that were commissioned precisely because they *would* sell, or at least that was the hope of publishers Colburn and Bentley. The underlying implication is that there is a clear relationship between an author's personal relationship to his or her literary community (which includes the author-critic relationship Adage describes) and the saleability of his or her texts. Through Adage and Corbet's conversation, Galt describes the impossible

situation of the author-for-hire: if an author's friends are his or her critics, and if these reviewers—as explained by Adage—will always be the most critical of a given text, to the point of refusing to purchase a text, and if the sales and saleability of a text become then the markers of its quality, what economic possibility lies in authorship? For Corbet, this quandary is without resolution, and the conversation “had the effect of deterring him from ever attempting authorship” (2:149). Corbet, who had “not many early friends of such capacity and acquirement as to make [him] stand in awe of their strictures, and as to the spite or envy of [his] former commercial acquaintances” (2:149), sees no future earnings in penning even a non-fiction text like the book on political economy he thought a possible supplement to his commercial income. For Corbet, writing and emigration are intimately linked as potential sources of income. For Corbet, “the [financial] motive which led [him] to think of writing thus became changed into a thought of emigrating” (2:150). Though Corbet thought of emigration “with a doubt which merged into despondency” (2:161), and though his wife “was thoroughly convinced that the idea of emigrating was, as she called it, a mad scheme” (2:161), nevertheless Corbet resigns himself to the fact that “no expedient was suggested, nor could be devised, to alleviate the increasing pressure that was closing around [his family]” (2:161-62).

For Galt, *Bogle Corbet* is not just a novel nor is it just another emigration guide. It is also the medium through which he can comment upon the colonial government and take up the wide-spread debates regarding emigration and political economy circulating in 1820s London. The ideas of economists Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus, and J.R. McCulloch were being taken up and debated by authors, economists, journalists, and politicians alike. These spheres were overlapping, and Galt’s response to ideas surrounding authorship and colonial bureaucracy and emigration speak to the

vast influence of economic theory and the changing economic landscape for Britons of all classes in multiple arenas of nineteenth-century British life. Galt's extensive use of print as an explicitly political medium in *Bogle Corbet* offers some insight into the work of the author in a changing imperial political environment. So, when Corbet and his family are eventually removed from their estate at Oakhill, and barely cling to their middle-class status as they even need to replace their footman with a "whelp of the parish" (2:165), the economic pinch of a financially-depressed Britain and the effects of economic depression on the middle class are made acutely visible. Nearly impoverished, Corbet initially seeks "refuge in the woods of America" (2:170), which he sees as the "only expedient by which [his] adversity and [his domestic...] vexations could be alleviated" (2:176). Corbet's decision to emigrate to America is met with disappointment by "a prosperous gentleman" (2:177), whose opinion Corbet clearly values. At the end of *Bogle Corbet*, Corbet's wife, Urseline, laughingly suggests to her husband that based on their Upper Canadian experiences, they "shall soon have matter for a novel in three Volumes of [their] own" (3:282). After hearing that their friend Mr. Jocelyn was in the midst of writing his memoirs, Urseline argues that while she shall "weary" (3:283) for Jocelyn's memoirs, Corbet's text is merely "whey and water" (3:283) because he "never met a right novel-like adventure in all his days" (3:284). Urseline goes on to say that Corbet's memoirs—unlike Jocelyn's, which Urseline considers "worth seeing" (3:283)—are "as common as an old newspaper" (3:285). And while Urseline's derisive remarks about her husband's reluctant authorship distinguish once again the tension found between a life worthy of memorialization such as Mr. Jocelyn's and the pragmatic earning potential for the mundane middle class emigrant like Corbet through print culture, more interesting is her advice on how to negotiate the complex, transatlantic literary marketplace.

Jocelyn becomes useful for Corbet not, like Adage, as a mentor or as a fellow member of a literary coterie, but rather as a vehicle to return Corbet's manuscript to Britain for publication. Corbet, who has been reassuring his wife that he will send the manuscript to London as soon as he has found a "careful private hand" (3:285) finds himself trusting Jocelyn with his work. Inversely, it is the middle-class emigrant (in this case, Jocelyn), who becomes the valuable conduit that facilitates colonial production and export. At the end of the narrative, Corbet reflects upon his life, drawing the reader's attention to the metafictive aspect of the narrative. This story of his emigration, which in turn becomes the novel *Bogle Corbet*, is a hybrid text: part novel, part emigration guide, and part political tract that through its ambiguous positions on fraught current issues such as slavery, trade laws and duties, colonial government, and political rebellion, reveals Galt's knowledge of the always-political nature of print culture in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

For Corbet, the only success possible post-emigration is to enter the literary marketplace; the middle-class emigrant will fail in engaging in the traditional colonial export economy and instead must creatively resituate himself within the same economic framework, exporting an imaginary version of Upper Canada through print in order to avoid "suffering too keenly the privations incident to the wildness of his situation" (3:298). Though Corbet claims not to regret his choice to emigrate to Upper Canada, the concluding chapter of the narrative belies his claim. In Corbet's view, emigration is best left to younger men; the outcome of his story shows that he was unable to undertake the long-term commitment to settlement that proponents of transatlantic emigration believe will result in economic success. Unlike Lawrie Todd, who ultimately returns to Scotland after 'emigrating' to America, Bogle Corbet can be considered a 'true' emigrant. He

leaves Scotland for Upper Canada, and never returns. At the end of the narrative, he sets out to pen his account of his time in Upper Canada. Never having found the economic success of Lawrie Todd, Corbet's only return to Britain is through his creative recreation of Britain in his narrative. The conclusion of *Bogle Corbet*, then, suggests that authorship is an alternative mode of participation in colonization when the conventional avenues—like settlement and political office—prove to be untenable.

Circum-Atlantic Colonialism

The socio-economic, political, and literary contexts surrounding *Bogle Corbet* inform Galt's own position as an author as well as his representations of authorship within the text. Galt's entry into the coterie of Scottish literati of the early nineteenth century (as I discuss in Chapter Two) owed much to the explosive popularity of the historical novel immortalized by Scott's *Waverley* novels and his own contribution to the burgeoning genre with *The Ayrshire Legatees* (1821).⁶⁰ The relationship between the past and the present informs the narrative structure of Galt's more critically lauded and currently studied Scottish novels and is a key component to a more complete critical appreciation of his North American novels—especially *Bogle Corbet*—as well. As Ian Duncan argues in *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (2007), following Walter Scott's "invention" of historical fiction at the beginning of the nineteenth century, later writers contributed "the primacy of the novel as a representation of national life" (xii). Unlike Galt's Scottish novels, *Bogle Corbet* does not adhere to any recognizable

⁶⁰ Nick Whistler points out how "the following passage from *The Omen* (1825) reveals that [Galt] had the necessary predilection for the past: 'Some feel that their consciousness of life is in their recollections, others enjoy it in their anticipations. I am of those whose sense of being is derived from the past'" (in Waterston, ed. 44).

genre or narrative structure, however: it is full of ambiguities, and these ambiguities are symptomatic of Galt's own position as an author negotiating a rapidly-changing literary landscape, and of this particular text being marketed as both a novel and an emigration guide. Textual and authorial ambiguity in the case of *Bogle Corbet* reflects the changing and dynamic nature of authorship in what Kenneth McNeil calls the "circum-Atlantic" economy of the text and of the context of textual production. Noting the significance of the novel's preface, McNeil locates *Bogle Corbet* within Galt's corpus of "theoretical histories" (301), as this work "offers a mode of historical realism in which claims to truthfulness are located in the domain of the probable and the empirical" (301). The mobility of the character Bogle Corbet and the consequent representations of the mobility of print reflect larger cultural anxieties about an unstable empire; these anxieties are manifest through its characters' individual psychological symptoms. As McNeil argues, the "speculative, conjectural register of *Bogle Corbet*'s political economy is set against the melancholic quality of the transatlantic history it recounts" (315-16), and it is the tension between political economy and the melancholy of *Bogle Corbet*'s eponymous protagonist that mirrors the tension between the artistic and entrepreneurial milieus that determine the novel's transatlantic context of production.

Bogle Corbet's narrative traces the triangulated movements of its eponymous main character, and as in *Lawrie Todd*, these movements follow established routes of more traditional economic exchange. Galt's second North American novel opens with Corbet's recollections of his early life, the most vivid memory being of his own transatlantic voyage, which he recalls as "the sight of great water, of men who made a loud noise, and of a narrow bed in a dark place" (1:3). We never learn Corbet's precise age; however, 1789 positions Corbet in Jamaica between the two Maroon Wars of 1731

and 1795.⁶¹ This historical context positions Galt's narrative within the context of political rebellion against British colonialism, and figures Black Jamaicans as a threat to Empire; Canada becomes the "asylum...across the Atlantic" (1:8) that had opened for "so many of us [middle class emigrants]" (1:8) in the early nineteenth century. Though Corbet clearly holds fond memories of his childhood nurse Baba, "though she be black" (1:3), nevertheless he must leave Jamaica for Britain to complete his education and truly enter into the British middle class. Corbet's relationship to national identity is complex, informed by an acute anxiety regarding the middle class in Britain: he considers Jamaica as his "native land" (2:247), yet he clearly also identifies as a Briton with tenuous links to Scottish nationalism and Jacobin revolutionaries. Jamaica signifies as a threat to Corbet's own middle class sensibility and to British sovereignty as a whole throughout the novel. Indeed, when Corbet eventually embarks upon his Canadian transatlantic voyage, he wonders "why should a voyage of this kind fill [him] with more anxiety than when he sailed for Jamaica" (2:247), suggesting that Jamaica represents a source of anxiety against which Corbet measures other colonial experiences. Movement through the empire does not result in success for Corbet: instead, travel provokes anxiety and prompts economic failure. This anxiety regarding transatlantic travel can be read as a metaphor for Galt's anxiety about free trade and the unregulated movement of goods across the empire.

⁶¹ The Maroon Wars, were the result of the coordinated efforts of the indigenous population of Jamaica and escaped slaves; these groups, in spite of having far fewer fighters than their British colonial counterparts, used guerilla tactics to successfully keep the British imperialists at bay for over seventy years, until a treaty was signed in 1739. However, peace between the British colonists and the Maroons was short lived, and the Second Maroon War (1795) ended with the entire Trelawney Town Maroon population being deported to Nova Scotia in 1796. See Matthew Parker's *Sugar Barons*.

Corbet's anxiety is not only fueled by geographic instability and movement: it is also fueled by political instability and unrest. Galt moves quickly from representing the threat of Jamaica and Corbet's need to flee the colony to receive an education to another, more local threat to Empire: Scotland, and Jacobin political revolutionaries. Corbet, who goes to Glasgow to apprentice as a weaver, with the intention of becoming a manufacturer, enters into the heart of colonial rebellion. When Corbet begins his apprenticeship, though he notes that "the men [of Mr. Aird's weaving shop] were all equals and companions in humble life" (1:39), he nevertheless reminds the reader that he "was the only one there that could in any way aspire to be a gentleman" (1:39). In spite of the rhetoric of equality and opportunity regarding the weavers of the shop, class difference is omnipresent. The almost inherent quality of Corbet's articulation of class informed by Aird's weaving shop is replicated in the structure of his own education. Corbet's educators embody the divide between the arts and business that Galt himself struggled with throughout his career: Dr. Leach, a surgeon who had "given physic during the American War" (1:13) and who valued a more theoretical education-- "he was, in short, an economic philosopher" (1:13) -- represents the artistic and theoretical value of education. Marriage between education and economics is theorized by Adam Smith, and Dr. Leach emblematises Smith's theory of education. As Mary Poovey explains, Smith treats "numbers...[as] actually part of a theoretical question" (*A History of the Modern Fact* 243), and along the same vein, Leach sees education as not merely a means to a practical end—it is also the introduction to complex theories that inform seemingly rote disciplines like economics or mathematics, which deal largely in numbers. Education, according to Smith, is always theoretical and the recognition of the theoretical (rather than practical, as found in apprenticeship) value of education is the moment in which interdisciplinarity and interconnection can be acknowledged. In other words, when

education is viewed as a primarily theoretical undertaking, it becomes a more holistic venture, informing all aspects of the student's life. When Adam Smith discusses the foundations of North American colonial success, he argues that "the colonies owe to the policy of Europe the *education* and great views of their active and enterprising founders" (749, my emphasis), suggesting the importance of a European education over a colonial one. Dr. Leach represents the necessity of a European education to economic success in the colonies; philosophy, political economy, and formal education are central to the colonization project. Macindoe, a merchant who inherited much of his wealth from an uncle serving in British India (1:10), represents the view that education is job-training; Leach embodies in Britain the practices Corbet would later sell as the means for colonial success across the empire, namely land acquisition, settlement, and development (1:10-11). Though Corbet initially suggests that it is Macindoe's apprenticeship model and not Leach's theoretical one that will prove most beneficial for the potential emigrant, by the end of the narrative when Corbet is reliant upon authorship as his only means to recuperate any fiscal security, it becomes clear that Corbet must be educated in Europe and not Jamaica if he is to have any chance of becoming a successful colonist.

Political Radicals in the Colonies

The bureaucracy that is so important to the successful functioning of the circum-Atlantic empire is also a system that tempers political radicalism. This bureaucracy then functions on both a practical and ideological level: it protects middle-class interests in Britain by providing a locale (in this case Upper Canada) where middle-class emigrants can retain their status; it also acts as a neutralizing space that diffuses political radicalism. This becomes particularly evident near the end of the novel, when James

Peddie, one of the first of Corbet's emigrants to ultimately choose to emigrate to America rather than Upper Canada returns, hat in hand, explaining how he's "no thinking it's a vera commodious thing for a labourous man to be overly political, and yon cackhouses wi' their domineering, for they are desperate at that, take as meikle pains before ye can rule them rightfully, as if they were borough corporations" (3:208). In his broad Scotch dialect, Peddie is reinforcing the notion first presented early in Volume Three by a character only known as the Scotchman: that the working class will suffer economic consequences by attempting political radicalism or even engagement, and that the bureaucracy of the American political system is such that political engagement requires an ability to patiently navigate the systems in place. Peddie returns to Upper Canada, vocally repentant about his choices to attempt political engagement and to prefer America over Upper Canada. In the end, he returns "to the King's dominions, which is the next thing to a native land" (3:210). Like Peddie's experiences in the US, so too does Upper Canadian bureaucracy act as a neutralizer toward working class political engagement.

In *Bogle Corbet*, Upper Canada becomes a space to temper political radicalism in spite of the global context of political revolution. As one "old shrewd Scotchman" describes,

he had been something of a radical in the old country, but that in coming to this, he had been converted, as he said himself, into more 'rationality'-- a natural effect of Colonial circumstances, where persons in authority, being more on a par with the other inhabitants than those at home, are, in consequence, regarded with less respect, and their 'phantastic tricks' spoken of with keener resentment, even when their conduct deserves more indulgent consideration. (3:9)

One way that the Upper Canadian bureaucracy neutralizes political radicalism is, as the old Scotchman describes, by lessening the gap between the working and middle classes. If, as he explains, “persons in authority” are more “on a par” (3:9) with other emigrants, in contrast to Britain, where there is a significant class divide between workers and managers, then the result is ‘rationality’ rather than continued radicalism. Colonial authorities are “regarded with less respect” than their British counterparts, and the Scotchman’s suggestion is that while a more egalitarian colonial class hierarchy results in authority figures being less ‘respectable’, counter-intuitively, this lack of distance results in a more peaceful society: where there is a smaller class divide, there is less respect for individual authority figures, but also less need for political radicalism against a more divisive system. The need for a more equal class system for the success of the colonies is emphasized by the Doctor, who argues that emigrant “friends and neighbours should not settle in community, but should mix themselves with strangers” (3:12). Settlements—and settlers—succeed, according to the Doctor, “where emigrants of different degrees and trades mingle...and every thing about them becomes promising” (3:13). However, what becomes clear throughout the course of the narrative is that while emigrants ought to “mingle,” there needs to be an overarching bureaucracy to manage the colony; Galt helped implement this managerial class through the Canada Company, and sees this structure as (at least in part, if not entirely) the responsibility of the colonial government.

Hence Corbet regards the Government as being responsible for not only informing potential emigrants about colonial society, but also for providing training for new emigrants prior to embarking on a transatlantic voyage: he suggests that “were emigration conducted on proper principles, instead of encouraging the helpless to come

aboard, and then leaving them to shift for themselves, [he] would have them prospectively prepared by some instruction in handicrafts" (3:136). If the government were to shoulder its responsibility as outlined by Corbet, it would hold an important role in publishing and distributing emigrant literature as well as providing "instruction in handicrafts". The literary marketplace—at least in regard to emigrant literature—would shift from being reflective of increasing capitalism to being a governmental undertaking; texts such as *Bogle Corbet* would be promoted and distributed through 'official' channels rather than through the literary marketplace. Similarly, rather than encouraging specific trade training, another mode of entering into a capitalist society, handicraft training would both provide skills and occupy bored emigrants during the winter months. The suggestion here is that current emigrants are generally unskilled and require training, and furthermore, that boredom is a main complaint in Upper Canada.⁶² It is not only boredom that is the cause of unrest in the colonies, however. Corbet argues that the "colonies are peopled on too lax a system—a system indeed so bad, that it might almost justify the supposition of the Government, in permitting it to remain unaltered, practised some occult policy to repress the progress of improvement" (3:136). The lax Upper Canadian colonial system, for Corbet, has "an obvious tendency...to favour a relapse into barbarity", much like the "backwoods-men of the United States", who have "declined from the civilization of their progenitors" (3:137). By introducing the rhetoric of progress, civility, and regulatory bureaucratic systems, Corbet is making his case for the necessity of Colonial management to improve the relationship between Upper Canada and Britain, and one alternative is through publishing. Further, by suggesting that

⁶² This can be read as an argument for an increase in readership as well. According to Richard N. Altick, in the mid-nineteenth century, "If the common man did not necessarily become wiser after he had an abundant supply of printed matter at his command, he was certainly kept amused" (5).

emigrants of all classes should be trained in some kind of leisure work or “handicrafts”, Corbet invokes the doctrines of colonization articulated by Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* by suggesting that colonization is not purely a political or economic undertaking, but rather an “art”, that requires a more robust repertoire of skills to create a “civilised” society. According to Smith, “the colonists carry out with them a knowledge of agriculture and of other useful arts, superior to what can grow up of its own accord in the course of many centuries among savage and barbarous nations” (714-15). The colonies *need* settler-colonists to create a civilized nation-state that is capable of engaging in global politics and economics. Not any kind of settler will provide these artful skills, and through the character of Andrew Gimlet, Galt makes the case that there is a certain *kind* of settler who is the most desirable for creating a politically engaged and civilized nation-state.

One of the most important settlers of Corbet's group of emigrants is Andrew Gimlet, “a clever and decisive person for his education and station in life, and whom [Corbet] had from the first employed as a sort of foreman” (3:142-43). When Gimlet decides to leave the Upper Canadian settlement for New York State, where he finds “more constancy of employment than he saw any chance of obtaining in the province” (3:143), he prompts “every one of Mr. Pullicate's association... [to quit] the settlement” (3:144). Corbet is full of “vexation” (3:144) at first, but then realizes that “a better class of settlers began to [come] around [him]—persons capable of purchasing the lands and improvements of those, who with the restlessness inherent in the emigrants' mind, had become uneasy in their locations” (3:144). Here we see how Corbet is collapsing moral judgment and class: those who have the financial means to become land owners in Upper Canada are “better” settlers, in spite of his repeated warnings that settlement is

difficult and in fact almost impossible for middle-class emigrants. As he suggests, “town-bred people are certainly, of all others, the least fitted to endure with complacency the vicissitudes and privations of forest-life; and this we experienced *to an acute degree*” (3:145, my emphasis). Though Galt is humorous in describing the intensity of Corbet’s ‘privations’: “a fortnight without tea, while the milk was in that polluted state—a positive calamity,” (3:145) underlying the comedy is the very real observation that the middle-class (or what Corbet describes here as “town-bred” emigrants) are working to recreate a pseudo-British society on the other side of the Atlantic. Richer emigrants, who are the ones to suffer these types of “privations” in the colonies, are considered “better”. The contradiction in this position belies Galt’s own thoughts regarding emigration: working class emigrants require bureaucratic, systematized management by middle-class, land owning emigrants. Not only is this what the working-class is accustomed to in Britain, but according to Galt, it is what they *need* in order to succeed as settlers. Indeed, in *A Literary Life*, Galt makes explicit the link between successful emigration and the need for “better” settlers: in *Bogle Corbet*, he was “desirous to exhibit the causes which now induce a genteeler class of person to emigrate than those who did so formerly” (1:312). Middle-class settlers then are “better” settlers, because they fulfil Galt’s own desire to create middle management in Upper Canada, allowing him—and as I argue in Chapter One his friends and fellow authors -- a class stratum wherein they can reap the economic benefits of colonization without having to undertake the difficult physical labour of actual settlement.

Middle Class Emigration

In spite of Lawrie Todd being cited as the example of emigration success as I discuss in Chapter Three, embodying the potential for personal economic growth and political and class mobility resulting from a successful North American emigration experience, in *Bogle Corbet*, the character of Eric Pullicate acts as a foil for Todd. Corbet's decision to emigrate to America rather than to Upper Canada is supported by "the advice of a shrewd Scotchman, recently from America: one Mr. Lawrie Todd" (2:180-81). Todd, who has "recently published some account of himself, and his adventures as a settler in the woods" (2:181), has "gleaned so much various information...that [Corbet] has no doubt he may have lessened many of [their] prospective difficulties, and taught [him] to avoid hardships which the stranger in the forest should be well prepared to encounter" (2:181). Galt uses the narrative structure of *Bogle Corbet* to emphasize the companion nature of these two texts.

By inserting Lawrie Todd's character into the narrative of *Bogle Corbet*, and specifically by describing Todd as "a settler in the woods", thereby echoing the subtitle of *Lawrie Todd*, Galt is able to advertise his other North American text, situating himself—and subsequently both texts—as hybrid genres that fulfill expectations of the novel as well as of emigrant travel guides. Todd becomes not just an experienced emigrant whose opinion Corbet values, but also "a friend" with whom Corbet has "consultations" (2:184) regarding his emigration plans. Examining *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* as companion novels rather than discrete texts—as they have been considered thus far—makes evident the longer-reaching possibilities of emigration. Todd is not only capable of attaining economic success through the acts of emigrating and participating in American capitalism as described in *Lawrie Todd*, but as we see in *Bogle Corbet*, Todd

is able to successfully negotiate class mobility in Britain upon his return, and is further able to establish himself as an author-expert regarding British emigration. His role as an author, therefore, is closely linked to his ability to move between North America and Britain; it is through both bodily and textual mobility—specifically through authorship—that Todd can establish himself as an expert. This expertise, translated through interpersonal relationships such as his acquaintance with Corbet, as well as through the successful publication of Todd's own story of emigration, is as much of an economic position as an artistic one. When Colburn and Bentley published *Bogle Corbet* in 1831, *Lawrie Todd* was already in its second edition.⁶³ The result of inserting Todd into the narrative of *Bogle Corbet* is that Galt replicates the emigration expertise embodied by Todd through his own authorial position; in other words, he positions himself alongside Todd in his authorial capacity to exert his own expertise as an emigration agent and mentor for potential emigrants to North America.

Galt's desire for his first-hand experience to be the basis for the sales of both *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, which he is depending upon to secure his release from debtor's prison, is reflected in the importance and weight of Todd's first-hand experience, which is described as "practical wisdom...derived from experience" (2:194). The potential economic value of first-hand experience is made clear through its description as a "fund of useful information" (2:194, my emphasis) for potential emigrants. Given the explicit economic value of this information, and Todd's desire to share this experience

⁶³ As I state in Chapter Three, *Lawrie Todd* underwent at least 16 American editions. Because there were no transatlantic copyright laws in effect at the time of its publication, neither Galt nor Colburn and Bentley received remuneration for this extraordinarily popular text. *Bogle Corbet* never enjoyed similar success to that of *Lawrie Todd*. The second edition of *Bogle Corbet* was published by Colburn and Bentley in 1839; Elizabeth Waterston's truncated Coles Canadiana edition was published by McClelland&Stewart in 1977; a German translation was published by Corvey in 1989-90.

with other potential emigrants, a fruitful comparison between *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* and the respective representations of class mobility and experience resulting from emigration can be made.

In Galt's agreements with publishers Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, *Bogle Corbet* is explicitly described as "a companion to *Lawrie Todd*" (BL, MS 46611). In this agreement, like that signed for the publication of *Lawrie Todd*, Galt is offered a £300 advance, with subsequent payments to be received upon the completion of the novel and the publication of its second edition. Reading these two novels as they were intended, that is to say, as companion texts, brings to the fore a far more complex picture of emigration and its political and socio-economic underpinnings. If Galt—and his publishers—were considering these novels as companion pieces, there is an assumption that knowledge of *Lawrie Todd* will inform the reception of *Bogle Corbet*. Given that Lawrie Todd's success is not purely based on his experience as a settler, but instead funded by his prosperity as first a nail-maker, then a shop keeper, then a land developer and *finally* as a settler, Galt's revised version of Todd's experience as narrated through Pullicate is disingenuous to say the least. Todd did not earn all his money through settlement but rather through a lengthy and diverse approach to a flourishing capitalist society. Secondly, Pullicate's warning to Corbet foregrounds the importance of class as an important consideration when determining a destination for emigration purposes as well as when projecting potential success for new emigrants. For Corbet, a "gentleman", settlement seems—according to Pullicate—to be a scheme that is bound to fail. Once in Upper Canada, Corbet becomes quickly aware that relocation is not an easy undertaking for the middle-class emigrant. Corbet recalls Pullicate's unheeded warnings regarding the difficulties of emigration for a middle-class Briton such

as himself, whom “habit and education had...unfitted to contend successfully with the difficulties of a woodland life; difficulties which the emigrant must resolutely nerve his spirit to encounter” (3:14). The realization that emigration is a difficult undertaking for the middle class emigrant has clearly had an impact on Corbet and is a point he repeatedly emphasizes. Finally, what Pullicate offers is evidence to support to Galt's obvious claims that class mobility is virtually impossible in Britain—with or without the benefit of emigration experience. Pullicate, who speaks with a heavy Scottish brogue throughout the narrative, never leaves his working class employment and is engaged in revolutionary politics, nevertheless enjoys economic success and by virtue of his increased association with Corbet, Mr. Woodriffe, and their associated circles in both London and Scotland, seems to embody the type of class mobility Galt suggests is impossible without emigration.

Just as Pullicate warns Corbet that though Todd *seems* to have experienced true class mobility, he is not accustomed to “genteelity”, so too is Pullicate never truly considered as belonging to the “gentlemanly” class like Corbet and Woodriffe. Woodriffe goes as far as to suggest to Corbet that Pullicate is insidious and manipulative and is “one of those who find out the weaker side of their neighbour by trying the strength of the stronger. He is a virtual Iago” (2:202).⁶⁴ In Woodriffe's view, regardless of how much money Pullicate has, and regardless of his intelligence and political savvy, he will never truly enter the middle class. In spite of the business acumen displayed by Pullicate throughout the first Volume of the novel, Corbet expresses a similar disdain for Pullicate, which demonstrates his snobbery regarding their class differences: when he leaves for

⁶⁴ Comparing Pullicate with Iago concisely conveys how Woodriffe maligns Pullicate while suggesting that *Bogle Corbet's* reader will be familiar with Shakespeare, thereby implicitly associating Galt's text with the established literary canon.

Kingston, he parts “with a feeling [he] can only describe as an ugly aversion” (1:237), for though Pullicate is “undoubtedly respectable” (1:237), “his manners still remained vulgar, the spirit of the workshop controversies still clung to him, and a carefulness of self, that [Corbet] can find no other name for than democratic egoism, eclipsed his good qualities” (1:237-38). In fact, Corbet goes as far as to admit that though Pullicate “cut” Corbet, “the nature of [their] commercial interest obliged [Corbet] to treat [Pullicate] outwardly as a friend” (1:238). Corbet’s need to treat Pullicate as a friend illustrates the threat felt by the middle-class, whom Corbet represents.

In the advent of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, the economic reliance of the middle-class on politically radical working-class individuals such as Pullicate threatened the very ways of life enjoyed by Corbet. The ‘friendship’ between Pullicate and Corbet becomes even more strained once Corbet realizes that Pullicate, who was the foreman and political leader of the Jacobin weavers at the Glaswegian weaving shop where Corbet first entered the workforce, and has never left the working class, has just finalized the purchase of a “mansion” (2:155) which represents the economic success Corbet aspires to and never achieves. Further, Pullicate offers his opinion regarding emigration, suggesting that before well and truly finalizing his emigration plans, Corbet should seriously consider class difference as an important—if not deciding—factor in determining where he might best find prosperity on the other side of the Atlantic. Pullicate warns Corbet “no’ to be overly particular in following [Lawrie Todd’s] footsteps, for he was naturally of a lower degree in the means of education than [Todd]” (2:195). Pullicate sees the class difference between Corbet and Todd, who does “not yet seem...to have grown familiar with genteelity” (2:195) in spite of the financial success resulting from his emigration. Instead of settling in the woods like Todd, Pullicate

suggests that “wherever [Corbet] settle[s], to pick [his] place, no’ o'er far from the howffs of civilization” and that a “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). Corbet is heavily invested in sustaining the established class hierarchies that determine both his and Pullicate’s societal positions, and though he feigns friendship with Pullicate out of economic necessity, he does not heed his warnings regarding the potential difficulty for the middle-class emigrant to North America. Access to ready money and class were key factors in succeeding in Upper Canada as they were in Britain. And, though Pullicate warns Corbet of the potential downfalls of emigration, Corbet is confident in both his family’s ability to negotiate existing class structures to best benefit their emigration experience and in his family’s ability to access adequate funds to balance any financial needs that may arise once on the other side of the Atlantic. Prior to emigrating, Corbet’s confidence extends to the colonial government, which he sees as an ally to the middle-class British emigrant.

Role of the British Government in Emigration

Most emigrants, as Corbet has explained earlier, leave Britain for financial reasons; however, in order to ensure a successful emigration experience, emigrants must have sufficient means to facilitate their overseas and over-land transport, and to establish a settlement in order to attain success in the settler colony. Corbet explains how his family “brought more means with [them] to procure assistance than [other emigrants] commonly do,” highlighting the irony of the economics of emigration. He goes on to suggest that “those [emigrants] who can afford to avail themselves of the

established conveyances for the mercantile travellers of the country, danger and hardship may be easily avoided" (2:296). Here, we see Galt extolling mercantilist values in a colonial context: not only does Galt consider mercantilism and its governing structures a financial boon to the British economy; as well, in Upper Canada, merchant travellers establish emigrant practices that subsequent middle-class emigrants can follow. One of the governing structures Corbet sees as lacking in Upper Canada is the presence of "regular establishments to guide and aid those who, to the natural depression arising from their friendless condition, ever stand so much in want of counsel and assistance" (2:273). The type of assistance Corbet is advocating is precisely the advisory work Galt undertook with the Canada Company; however, Corbet's categorization of this work as being "friendly" is disingenuous at best: emigration agents and emigration companies were also in the business of emigration, working to make a profit for their shareholders and directors as well.

For Galt, *Bogle Corbet* is not only a novel that demonstrates how authorship is productive labour. In its capacity as an emigrant guide, it makes up part of the colonial bureaucratic structure he sees as lacking. Corbet suggests that emigrants to Canada suffer "from neglect" (2:273), and he suggests that it is through the narrative of *Bogle Corbet* that he will attempt to remedy the neglect of the government, in the expectation that his reader "may possibly derive hints from this narrative that will not be useless" (2:274). One of Corbet's motives for providing information for his readers is that the information he received prior to emigrating was "not entirely erroneous, it was yet more applicable to a lower class of emigrants than [his family] conceived [them]selves to be" (2:298-99). Unlike Lawrie Todd, who provided Corbet with much of his information regarding North American emigration, and who—as I discuss in Chapter Three—

embodies the potential for class mobility as a result of emigration, Corbet does not seem to desire class *mobility* as much as class *stability* for the middle-class emigrant. In other words, unlike the working-class Lawrie Todd who was able to rise into the middle class after his time in America, Corbet wants to maintain the middle-class status he is on the verge of losing in Britain.

Galt uses the end of Volume Two to offer his explicit opinion on transatlantic colonial politics in a chapter entitled “Colonial Reflections”. Here, Galt suggests that though “political dissatisfaction is indigenous to all colonies, that the Canadians...have less cause of complaint against the mother country than she has against them” (2:307). What Galt is referencing here is the economic “burden on the British people” caused by the colonies. Galt views this burden as a direct result of “the negligent colonial system of the mother country” (2:308) that he sees as bloated with bureaucracy and rife with “men dressed in a little brief authority” who are “prone to play fantastic tricks” (2:308). Corbet’s chief target is “the imperfect management exercised by the Imperial government” (2:308) over Upper Canada. The weakness of the management of the colonies lies, for Corbet, in the lack of any “department which can furnish the slightest information respecting the colonial lands open for settlement” (2:309). Corbet’s solution to this lack of support through the Colonial Office is to establish an institution that provides maps of the “townships and colonies” in “every Custom-House of the United Kingdom” (2:310) to assist the emigrant to make an informed decision regarding the location of his settlement and to alleviate “much of that uncertainty...which hangs so gloomily before [the emigrant] as he quits his native land” (2:310). This criticism of the British Government is made several times throughout the triple-decker novel; even near its conclusion, Corbet offers yet another reminder that “it is greatly to be lamented that our Solons in Downing-street

have never attempted to institute a code of laws to regulate colonists, after they shall have reached their locations" (3:213). Unlike Smith, who warns against the expense or "unfortunate effects of all the regulations of the mercantile system" (770), Galt advocates for more bureaucracy and an increased presence of companies like the Canada Company.

Explicitly Political: *Bogle Corbet* as Colonial Critique

The obvious links between the work Galt was doing with the Canada Company prior to his recall to Britain and the subsequent publication of his North American novels are most visible in his continual reference to the necessity of bureaucratic structure and land agents in Upper Canada for successful emigration. For example, when Corbet finally arrives at the region where he and his family will ultimately settle, he "immediately proceed[s]" (3:4) to the land agent, whom Corbet describes as "a respectable officer" (3:5), whose "suavity and willingness to oblige [makes] indeed a lasting impression" on Corbet (3:5-6). Though many new emigrants have "complained of their treatment" by this land agent to Corbet, nevertheless he concludes that "they themselves [are] the cause of all the inconvenience they suffered" (3:6). The reason that emigrants cannot help themselves in a North American context, according to Corbet, is their lack of familiarity with business:

Emigrants being chiefly persons little accustomed to official business, like all such, do not sufficiently respect the indispensable forms of office, and those observances of routine which regularity requires, imagining themselves not regarded with sufficient consideration, when it is their own importunity and want of knowledge that constitue[s] the fault. They should always avail themselves of local aid and advice, and ever consider that the business they have to transact, although an exception in the tenour of their lives, is the daily and constant trade of those with whom they have to deal" (3:6).

Blaming the emigrants for their negative experience with the land agent suggests that successful emigrants are ones who not only are familiar with navigating bureaucracy, but are ones who are also familiar with seeking out information. Successful emigrants are those who both respect authority and are capable and willing to access information that is distributed through knowledge structures like land agent offices or emigration guides like that of Corbet. What is underlying Corbet's critique of these emigrants in relationship to their experience with the land agent's office is that they are not the 'right kind' of emigrant.

The 'wrong kind' of emigrants have brought on their own difficulty—or even failure—because of their unwillingness to respect bureaucratic authority. As Anne Frey explains,

Although British government was far from a meritocracy, agencies promised to give positions to certain members of the middle class in a way that older aristocratic structures did not. For writers of all political persuasion, the rise of radical reform and the growth of a mass reading audience raised fears about the status of a reading public. Imagining their work as part of a state, these writers hoped to find license and strategic power to shape their audience. (5)

Invoking Dickens' Chancery Court and Office of Circumlocution as the main frame of reference when considering nineteenth-century attitudes towards bureaucracy, Frey argues that "the late Romantic attitude to government can seem surprising. Far from criticizing bureaucracy's intrusiveness, hard-heartedness, or inefficiency, these authors entrust state bureaucracy to form individual morality, stir national identity, and improve the well-being of the British population" (6). Galt felt betrayed by the Empire he was trying to promote through his work with the Canada Company, and Frey's analysis offers one explanation for Galt's continued belief in the importance of government and

bureaucracy. Galt was torn between the middle-class monopoly of the British literary marketplace that financially sustained him and his family⁶⁵ even after his death and the betrayal he felt after his recall and dismissal from the Canada Company; however, he always maintained that bureaucratic systems such as those he established in the Canada Company (as I discussed in Chapter One) ensured middle-class employment in the colonies. *Bogle Corbet* shows how authorship is the method by which the burgeoning Canadian nation-state becomes aestheticized *and* materialized: by writing about Canada and using his text as a vehicle for political critique and voicing his opinions regarding political reform, Galt turns the imaginary aesthetic of Canada into a material commodity that can then be exchanged on both sides of the Atlantic. Further, the material text, when read and circulated in Britain, supports the idea that the colonies are a place where political radicalism can be 'cured', acting as a panacea for the middle-class anxieties.

Economy of Colonies

In his critique of the current system of colonial 'management', Corbet's revised schema can be read as heavily informed by Smith's theory of the economics of colonialism. Corbet asks:

Why, also, should not the colonial lands have a specific value set upon them?--but, instead of a money-price, a labour-rate?...Why, instead of offering [major public works undertaken in the colonies] to be executed by contract, like the works in the old country, are the public lands not valued to those who receive grants, and so many days' labour on such works required en lieu of payment? The main expense might be thus defrayed without touching the pocket of John Bull at all. (2:310).

⁶⁵ After Galt died in April 1839, his wife Elizabeth Galt appealed to the Royal Literary Fund and received £50. Royal Literary Fund Archive, BL, Loan 96 RLF 1/927/0a

Corbet offers an alternative economic framework for colonial settlement and land distribution, airing concerns regarding the cost of the colonies to Britain. Similarly, Smith concludes *The Wealth of Nations* by positing that “if the project [of monopoly-based colonial trade] cannot be completed, it ought to be given up” (1208). Corbet, in his articulation of the limitations of transposing the British practices of land sales and distribution, along with settlement practices, into an Upper Canadian context, in tandem with his further concern with the cost of the Upper Canadian economy to “John Bull,” echoes Smith's advice that if “any of the provinces of the British empire cannot be made to contribute towards the support of the whole empire, [then] it is surely time that Great Britain should free herself from the expence [sic] of defending those provinces” in either war or peace time (1208). No longer imbued with ideology or political purchase, Smith's perspective on colonialism is purely economic; the colonies must be considered in light of the health of the British economy. Like Smith, Corbet's concern is an economic one, specifically linked to land ownership and settlement, one of the foundational concepts of colonialism as articulated by Smith.

The third Volume of *Bogle Corbet* emphasizes that land is a valuable commodity and is also indicative of a larger paradigm shift that needs to occur when emigrants arrive in Upper Canada. Rather than land being impossible to acquire because of shortage, lack of economic means, or class (as in Britain), Galt reminds his reader that “land in Canada is a commodity as vendible as any other merchandise; but [emigrants] bring with [them] Old-World notions, and require to be some time in the country before [they] become properly sensible of the fact” (3:28). However, land is not the only commodity in Upper Canada: although not as egregious in its practice as was the slave trade in Corbet's previous colonial home of Jamaica, people—and labour—are valuable

commodities in settler North America. Corbet makes this explicit in his explanation that “the first effectual step in colonization is to plant a village” (3:30-31). As Captain Campbell remarks to Corbet, in Upper Canada, “land is still...so much of a commodity, that no one seems to buy for an income, but only to sell again” (3: 97). For middle-class emigrants, land is not the means to enter into a transatlantic economic exchange dominated by agricultural production. Rather, middle-class emigrants buy land as primarily a speculative investment opportunity. Instead, what middle-class emigrants “plant” are working-class labourers who develop infrastructure such as roads, canals, and mills, and prepare land for agricultural use, which may occur only when working class emigrants have repaid their debts to their middle-class emigrant agents, to whom many owe the funds required to have made the transatlantic voyage. Indeed, as Corbet explains, “in the Old Country, canals and railways are formed for the convenience of an existing commerce, but on this continent they constitute the most efficacious means for spreading colonization” (3:219). The commerce *is* the spreading of labour in an Upper Canadian context. Colonization, or “the planting of mankind”⁶⁶ (3:36) necessitates an influx of labour, and middle-class emigrants, embodied by Corbet (and Galt, through his work at the Canada Company, for that matter) are those who import and export labourers. By employing this agricultural metaphor to describe the success of “the art of colonization” (3:36), Galt collapses two seemingly distinct milieus: art—in this case, literature—and political geographical expansion by way of colonization. When Galt categorizes colonization as an “art” rather than as a political strategy to strengthen the British Empire, he makes a link between politics and literature. By employing an

⁶⁶ The rhetoric of agriculture and the use of the agricultural metaphor to represent emigrants is a trope found throughout nineteenth-century Canadian emigration literature, and Galt continues the use of botanical metaphor he began in *Lawrie Todd* throughout *Bogle Corbet*.

agricultural metaphor to describe the method of successfully executing this “art”, he reduces individuals into the exchangeable goods like grain that the colonial—and imperial—economies depend upon. So when colonization becomes an “art”, someone like Galt—with experience as both an author and a political player on the colonial stage—becomes invaluable as a mentor for potential new middle-class emigrants. Further, *Bogle Corbet* becomes more than an *object d'art* or a picaresque novel about emigration, suitable for circulation in Bentley's Standard Novel Series: it becomes a necessary guide for emigrants. Galt has written a novel that provides entertainment while also demonstrating the necessity of literature as part of the larger framework of the British circum-Atlantic economy.

Like literature—and labour—the colonial economy does not rely upon money; instead, as Galt describes, the settlers in *Bogle Corbet* quickly realize that the exchange of goods is “as good as bank notes”(3:47), and begin to manipulate the existing economy, exchanging “beef...into tea, and flour into spirits and sugar” (3:48). This manipulation, according to Galt, “constitutes the difficulty of regulating [emigrants], even when they see it is for their own good” (3:47). Bureaucracy and regulation are, for Galt, necessary for order and civility in the colonies; and in a most patronizing fashion, he explains how emigrants, “accustomed to the superintendence of a master” (3:47) become “helpless” (3:48). The only solution then, is for the colonial “Government to establish some law for [the...] regulation” (3:48) of emigrants, because “thousands on

thousands annually reach Canada⁶⁷, undirected and unprotected, with only their own separate means; for those who undertake to conduct them across the Atlantic, are, in all that relates to settlement, as ignorant as themselves" (3:49). For Smith, who sees corporate monopoly as a detriment to the earning potential found in emigrant labour, British government bureaucracy is overly involved in colonial expansion. Galt's critique of the government is precisely the opposite: that it is precisely because the colonial government is not involved *enough* in emigration schemes and in its support of administrative companies benefitting from a corporate monopoly like the Canada Company that Britain has suffered financial losses.

In his authorial Preface, Galt opens *Bogle Corbet* by describing the objective of the 'novel', which is to "give expression" to a character affected by the "commercial circumstances of the age", and "to show what a person of ordinarily genteel habits has really to expect in emigrating to Canada" (1:iii). Galt explains that while his original intention was to write a purely "didactic" text, upon "reflection, a theoretic biography seemed better calculated to ensure the effect desired", because "we disguise medicine, and he but mixes truth with fiction" (1: iii-iv). This Preface foregrounds the relationship between the literary marketplace and emigration, suggesting that as a genre, the novel is more effective at communicating the lived experience of emigration and providing practical advice in order to "help to lighten the anxieties of those whom taste or fortune prompts to quit their native land, and to seek in the wilderness new objects of industry, enterprise, and care" (iv) than are the myriad of emigration tracts and pamphlets being

⁶⁷ *The Courier*, a newspaper Galt edited for a short while (the dates are unknown) cites emigration numbers to Canada as being "unusually high" in the January 21, 1830 issue; similarly, on July 19, 1830, *The Courier* runs a piece from the Quebec Official Gazette that suggests "the amount of Emigration this year to the Canadas may be rated as high as 30,000". See LONM28669-71, British Library Newspaper Archive.

circulated at the time.⁶⁸ Indeed, Galt's own emigration project, the Canada Company, published a number of emigration pamphlets circulated in Upper and Lower Canada and Britain; nevertheless, the Preface to *Bogle Corbet* suggests that even Galt considers the novel a more effective genre to communicate the reality of and promote emigration.

Given the context of the novel's production, I would like to consider a more cynical view of Galt's choice of genre. Galt's candour regarding the "disguise" of the text, mixing truth with fiction, is unusual. The argument that "the author's opportunities to acquire knowledge of the kind which he has here prepared have been, at least, not common" and that the information presented in the novel "was studiously gathered to be useful to others" (1: iv) complicates the suggestion that *Bogle Corbet* is a fictitious work. As Galt suggests, emigrants sought "industry, enterprise, and care" in the colonies, rightly citing economic profitability as the main impetus for leaving Britain. Similarly, by juxtaposing first-hand knowledge of Upper Canada alongside the more scientific statistics found in the Appendix⁶⁹ under the guise of a philanthropic motivation of being "useful to others", Galt offers personal experience as an equally reliable source of empirical knowledge while sidestepping the notion that he, as author, sought profitability through authorship.

By foregrounding personal experience as knowledge that is as valuable as the more recognizable empirical knowledge conveyed through the statistics found in the

⁶⁸ Richard Bentley published over 300 texts pertaining to travel, life, and emigration outside of Britain between 1829 and 1898; John Murray published the Home and Colonial Library series between 1843 and 1849. There were also dozens of emigration tracts and pamphlets published by unknown or anonymous authors that were similar to William Cattermole's popular *Emigration: the Advantages of Emigration to Upper Canada* (1831).

⁶⁹ *Bogle Corbet's* Appendix is a lengthy list of townships and potential settlement sites describing the agricultural possibilities, natural resources, and colonial infrastructure available in each township and area.

Appendix to *Bogle Corbet*, Galt creates a hybrid text. This novel can be read for entertainment as well as be used as a reference guide for any reader who has decided to emigrate to North America. The appeal to a wider range of potential readers increases *Bogle Corbet's* market. At once promoting emigration while criticizing the colonial expansion practices that led to his own personal bankruptcy as well as that of the novel's protagonist, at once a novel and an emigration guide, Galt employs a deliberate ambivalence in *Bogle Corbet* that offers a resounding counter to the mostly optimistic *Lawrie Todd*.

Indeed, this ambivalence is visible not only in the contents of the author's Preface, but also on the title page of the original 1831 edition.⁷⁰ Galt authors *Bogle Corbet* under his own name, an identification that while becoming increasingly common, was not consistently his practice until the publication of his North American novels. The title page of *Bogle Corbet*, when read in the context of Galt's other works, reveals the malleability of authorial attribution. In works he considered more literary, his authorial attribution was solely indicated by his previously published, literary works. This traditional attribution practice aligned Galt with other 'men of letters'. In *Bogle Corbet*, a book he describes as merely "tolerable," (qtd in Gordon 101) Galt's attribution is more ambiguous. It is indicated by both his name as well as by previously authored texts. The inclusion of both name and previously-published works suggests that for publishers

⁷⁰ There is a lengthy and important critical debate surrounding the analysis of paratextual elements like title pages, appendices, footnotes, etc. Gerard Genette's *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987; English translation 1997) argued for the importance of considering paratextual elements as part of the text. Later scholars like Jerome McGann and Juliet Gardiner point out flaws in Genette. One such flaw, for Gardiner, is Genette's "failure to account for the distinction between the author and the publishers, his tendency to see the publisher as the enabler, indeed the continuation, of the author's intention, and paratexts as the vehicle, signals an untenable, essentialist fixity of meaning for the text" (Gardiner 258).

Colburn and Bentley, authorial attribution and a paratextual element of the text like the title page function in multiple ways. The title page situates Galt within the British literary landscape by virtue of the inclusion of previously-published texts.

Ambiguous attribution practices—as evidenced on the *Bogle Corbet* title page—speaks to the shifting position of Galt within literary and financial spheres.⁷¹ In spite of the more explicit authorial attribution of his name, Galt continues to uphold the existing tradition of citing previous publications as an equally revelatory marker of authorship, allowing him to “group together a certain number of texts, define them, differentiate them from and contrast them to others...establish[ing] a relationship among the texts” (Foucault 107). Galt continues to employ deliberate ambiguity in this practice, because instead of citing his most popular works by way of self-identification, namely *Annals of the Parish* (1821) and *The Ayrshire Legatees* (1821), Galt cites *Lawrie Todd* (1830) and *The Life of Lord Byron* (1830), both texts with equally ambiguous generic categorization, another emigration tale and a literary biography respectively.⁷² The texts Galt uses on *Bogle Corbet*'s title page reveal his own identity crisis as he shifts from author to colonial agent and back to author. *Bogle Corbet* was written for entertainment value and Galt's own economic gain as well as a tool that sought use as a colonial emigration guide to be used in building Empire and eventually nation status in Upper Canada.

⁷¹ See Appendix B.

⁷² Interestingly, in Colburn and Bentley's advertisements for both *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, the authorial attribution is made both with Galt's name and as the “author of *The Annals of the Parish*, *The Ayrshire Legatees*, etc”. (For example, see BL LONM28669-71, beginning on January 18th, 1830).

Conclusion

By reading *Bogle Corbet* across the grain of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, and specifically through the section treating colonialism, we can see the nature of literature and indeed, authorship as an economic *product* that is as much an export commodity as are the fabrics being woven by Jacobin weavers at the beginning of the narrative and the Jamaican rum imbibed by Corbet and his tutors later on. Galt exploits Corbet's fluid identity to use the narrative as a tool through which he can critique his own treatment as a colonist and business man within the literary marketplace and as an Upper Canadian entrepreneur. Daniel Coleman argues that Galt's "own painful experience of the rise and fall of fortunes and their relation to the rise and fall of character features as a central concern in these [North American] novels" (93). Whereas Coleman argues for the centrality of character and reputation as key factors for success as significant political agents in the Canadian political realm, I would like to extend Coleman's claim to show how in *Bogle Corbet*, authorship is a tool Galt uses to participate in the political arena in Canada and in Britain. In *The Literary Life*, Galt goes as far as to compare the commissioned writing of *Bogle Corbet* to "another proof, if one were wanting, that booksellers step from their line when they give orders like to an upholsterer for a piece of furniture" (*A Literary Life*, 1:311). In spite of the fact that Galt was frustrated at Colburn and Bentley's heavy-handed approach to publishing *Bogle Corbet*, his comparison between his work as an author and the work of an upholsterer divulges his ongoing struggle between considering authorship as a literary art and recognizing it as indispensable labour in a transatlantic British economy.

Conclusion:

Robert Peel and Galt's Occasional

Between 1823 and 1834, John Galt engaged in correspondence with politician Robert Peel.⁷³ Although sporadic, this correspondence makes explicit Galt's reliance on informal networks and on his work in the political and business worlds to succeed in the literary realm. At first, Galt hopes that Peel will "accept a copy of a new work" of his, "the subject of which relates to the transactions that have deeply affected the Scottish character" (letter, 23 April 1823, *BL MS 40355 f354*). Galt writes to Peel again November 8th, 1824, asking him to accept a copy of his "second attempt to describe the manners of Scotchmen" and encloses a copy for King George IV as well (*BL MS 403559 f143*).⁷⁴ Peel promptly replies, and in a letter dated November 11th, 1824, promises to forward the text to the King (*BL MS 40369 f292*). Writing to a politician with the position of Home Secretary was definitely less conventional than the more common practice of offering a text to Royalty to whom a dedication might be made. As I discuss in Chapter Two, Galt was keenly aware of the sway of informal networks and interpersonal relationships on the infrastructure of the literary marketplace. Peel, who studied with Byron, read

⁷³ Peel was the British Prime Minister from 10 December 1834 to 8 April 1835, and again from 30 August 1841 to 29 June 1846.

⁷⁴ Because the early 1820s marked one of Galt's most prolific periods, it is difficult to know precisely which text he intends to give to Peel and King George IV. As he puts it, "the manners of Scotchmen" were a central focus of many of his texts. Galt published *The Entail* in 1822, and *The Gathering of the West, Ringan Gilhaize, or The Covenanters*, and *The Spaewife: A Tale of the Scottish Chronicles* in 1823.

literature, and was close friends with another prolific periodical contributor-cum-politician, John Croker, seems a particularly apt recipient for Galt's self-promotion.⁷⁵ As I have shown in the previous chapters, Galt was aware that literature was a marketable product to which he attached few illusions of artistic grandeur. Galt's correspondence with Robert Peel makes it clear that for Galt, literature was always an economic and highly-political realm.

After his removal from the Canada Company, Galt writes to Peel again. This time, Galt's acknowledgment of the political power of the literary marketplace is explicit. His letter to Peel dated December 23rd, 1834, is worth quoting at length, not least because (to my knowledge) there is no extant criticism that considers the importance of this letter. In the immediate wake of Peel's Tamworth Manifesto, Galt writes:

The ferment in this part of the country is very great, arising from a permission of the power conferred on the multitude by the Reform act, and by the better informed classes shirking, as I think, from their duty. Therefore, as the press either tries to conciliate the mob or to maintain extreme opinions I would propose *the establishment of a cheap publication on the principles given forth as those of the present ministry. But as no profit only loss can be expected, the speculation offers no inducement to private men.* (BL MS 40407 f123, my emphasis)

In this first part of Galt's letter, we see his anxiety regarding class mobility rise to the surface. The Tamworth Manifesto acknowledges the social anxieties regarding the Reform Bill of 1832 and the subsequent political unrest resulting from implementations and interpretations of the Reform Act. This declaration, published by Robert Peel (then running in an uncontested seat in Parliament in Tamworth) on 18 December 1834, makes Peel's position clear: he will support the spirit of the Reform bill, but he will not

⁷⁵ See John Prest, "Sir Robert Peel (1750-1840)" and William Thomas, "John Croker", *Dictionary of National Biography*.

tolerate political agitation. Galt's proposal for a periodical is a suggested response to the political agitation present throughout Britain. In his letter to Peel, Galt acknowledges the press's ability to influence general societal attitudes towards the political sphere, through either conciliation or extremity. For Galt, the best response to the power of the press is found in print culture as well: his proposal to establish "a cheap publication" is explicit in its motivations. Not unlike the reviews found in magazines such as the one I analyzed in Chapter Two, this publication would operate under the guise of impartiality much as the reviews like "Canada" were published under a guise of anonymity. In this correspondence, Galt makes it explicit that though the provisional title would be *Galt's Occasional*, a title that would situate the publication in the literary marketplace alongside other contemporaneous miscellanies such as *Bentley's Miscellany* (which began in 1836), rather than alongside more explicitly political publications like newspapers. *Galt's Occasional* was intended as a governmental mouthpiece that would be used to respond to critics of Peel and his fellow cabinet members.

In the December 23rd, 1834 letter we see Galt articulating the evolving realities of the literary marketplace. In the wake of the economic crises of 1824-25 and 1829-30 which saw so many publishing houses collapse due to financial insolvency, the literary marketplace was truly no longer built on patronage. Galt's proposed periodical would be one that "offers no inducement to private men", who are now, as I explain at length throughout this dissertation, accustomed to a financial world built on speculation. Over the course of Galt's career, and as I explain in Chapter One, especially in the years he was working to incorporate the Canada Company, the British financial world drastically changed. Moving away from business practices based upon limited liability partnerships to arrangements reliant upon the protection found within incorporation, these changes in

the financial world meant that individual Britons not only became used to but relied upon their abilities to speculate, invest, and collect dividends on a stock market that had only been open for ten years when Galt is writing to Peel. After the fiasco that marked the end of his career with the Canada Company, Galt was all too familiar with the trends of speculation, and knew that “private men” would be unlikely to invest—or speculate upon—a publication that had little chance of profitability. Galt rhetorically aligns the periodical press with joint-stock ventures like the Canada Company by describing the potential publication as a speculative financial venture. This rhetorical choice, like his appeal to Robert Peel for the establishment of *Galt's Occasional*, completes the circuit between the financial world, the political world, and the print culture world.

Galt explains the logic of starting a literary periodical by way of responding to political critique—and his own qualifications to edit such a publication—at length in his 23 December letter. He argues that because he is receiving a “gratuity from the royal bounty”, and is “already in the pay of the public”, this periodical would already be government funded. He suggests that, in his role as editor, his payment should be £1000, a slight increase from the salary of £850 which he received as editor of *The Courier*.⁷⁶ Throughout his life, Galt used the periodical press—and the literary marketplace generally—as a political tool that he deployed in the hopes of increasing his own financial solvency. This letter to Peel suggests that in spite of all of his setbacks, or what Galt calls “unmerited misfortunes” (letter to Peel 23 December 1834, original emphasis), he continued to see the potential found in the links between the political

⁷⁶ There is no conclusive evidence that determines when, precisely, Galt worked as editor of *The Courier*. Between January and April 1830, there was a plethora of articles concerning North America and North American emigration that suddenly dropped off. We know that Galt was editor “briefly” in “1830”; I argue that we can say with some confidence that Galt acted as editor of *The Courier* between January and April, 1830.

world and the literary marketplace right until the end of his career. The purpose of his letter to Peel was not only to increase his own income and provide a veiled medium for Peel's political views. As well, the letter includes a newspaper clipping of yet another letter Galt wrote, this time to a newspaper in Greenock, where he was living in 1834. This letter is to appeal to "the Electors of Greenock" who, in Galt's opinion, ought to support Edward Ellice's campaign for British Parliament (BL MS40407 f 123 verso). This correspondence indicates how Galt recognized the important political role of literature throughout his career, and through casual connections with powerful politicians like Peel and more intimate relationships with lower-profile politicians like Ellice⁷⁷, sought to make these connections even more authorized and explicit. As I've shown throughout this dissertation, Galt used his fiction and non-fiction texts as vehicles for his own political beliefs and opinions, and through his establishment and nurturing of his literary coterie, recognized and valued the political nature of literary production as well.

This dissertation has shown that John Galt's North American texts need to be reconsidered: not only do they demonstrate literary merit worthy of scholarly attention, they also demonstrate how these North American texts acted as a medium for Galt's promulgation of his own opinions regarding emigration, colonial expansion, and financial reform in early-nineteenth-century Britain. My research shows how Galt's work with the Canada Company affected the literary marketplace on both sides of the Atlantic, and though his appointment with the Company was short-lived, the Company continued to operate into the mid-twentieth century. Re-examination of Galt's North American texts in

⁷⁷ Edward Ellice first worked in North America as of 1803 to help unify Canadian fur-trade interests between the North-West Company, the XY Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. His family had been in business in the colonies (namely New York, Canada, and the West Indies) since the eighteenth century. (See Millar, "Edward Ellice", National Dictionary of Biography).

light of his involvement with the Canada Company, and turning a critical eye to the documents of the Company that Galt had such an influence upon, bring to the fore the relationship between the changing political economy, the transatlantic literary marketplace, and the role of the author as a political actor.

My aim in this dissertation has been to demonstrate that John Galt, whose influence reached across geographical distance and vocational boundaries, is a writer worthy of substantial critical consideration. His North American texts have been vastly understudied, and yet these texts were not merely popular reading material in their time: they reflect the changing political economy of mid-nineteenth-century Britain, they reflect the changing role of the author and the publisher in an increasingly-mobile print marketplace, and perhaps most significantly, they map multiple intersections between imperial politics, speculative capitalism, and authorship.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Canada Company Charter

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Appendix B. *Bogle Corbet* Title Page

