

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1872-1882

by

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ABSTRACT

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1872-1882

Much valuable source material directly related to the development of Canadian literature can be found in the Canadian periodicals of the nineteenth century, one of the most important of which is the Canadian Monthly and National Review. This study of the Canadian Monthly, which includes an analytical index of its contents, investigates the management of the publication over its ten year period and examines the material in its pages. It supplements the history of periodical publishing in Canada and demonstrates the difficulties of economic survival for a Canadian literary enterprise in the nineteenth century marketplace.

Three prevailing conditions in Toronto in the early 1870's enabled Graeme Mercer Adam, the first publisher, sometime editor and major promoter of the Canadian Monthly, to realize the concept of an independent national journal: a strong sense of nationalism in the new Dominion, an expanding and more literate population, and the availability of literary and financial assistance from a new resident, Goldwin Smith. In the early years Goldwin Smith fulfilled the role of editor in everything but name. After his break with the magazine, it continued in a precarious economic condition under several editors and publishers until 1878. In July of that year, it amalgamated with Belford's Monthly Magazine to become Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review. Four years later it expired abruptly,

the publisher claiming that, as a business venture, the magazine could no longer be sustained.

During its existence, the Canadian Monthly provided a vital medium, otherwise unattainable, for Canadian literary talent, and most of the published authors of the late nineteenth century in English-speaking Canada contributed to its pages. It also provided a non-partisan forum for serious, intelligent discussion and debate on current controversial issues, both political and cultural. Strongly nationalist in its main interests and in its encouragement of native talent, the Canadian Monthly presented to its readers the awareness of the possibilities of an indigenous literature. For today's readers, it is a document of a society that shares much in common with our own. Its existence is testimony to the spirit and idealism of a small group of literary nationalists.

I wish to thank the members of my Committee and Mr. Peter Greig, Chairman of the Index Committee of the Bibliographical Society of Canada. Mr. Greig, in reply to my inquiries, has written me long, detailed letters about the art of indexing and has given me thoughtful assistance and cheerful encouragement in the preparation of the index for the Canadian Monthly.

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1870's a small group of literary nationalists in Canada founded, supported and managed to sustain for a ten year period an independent national magazine of literary importance to a developing Canadian culture. Dependent on a small Canadian market and obliged to compete with imported periodicals covering the full range of literary tastes, the existence of the Canadian Monthly was constantly precarious. Without the infusion of financial support, its demise was inevitable. Only through the energy and perseverance of a few who envisaged the possibilities of a national literature could a Canadian literary enterprise such as the Canadian Monthly survive, even for a brief period, in the nineteenth-century marketplace.

This two-part study of the Canadian Monthly outlines and discusses the publishing circumstances of the magazine and supplies an analytical index to its contents, without attempting a critical commentary on the literary values of its contributions. Documentation of the events in this period of literary publishing history in Canada has often been obscure and not always accurate, partly because of prevailing policies of editorial anonymity. The account of the publishing history of the magazine traces its progress under various editors and publishers. It supplies new material from some of Goldwin Smith's unpublished correspondence and upsets some of the assumptions about the early editorial management of the magazine. The Canadian Monthly is a valuable source of original work for many published authors of the late nineteenth century. The subject-author index

to the Canadian Monthly covers the extent and nature of their contributions, identifies some of the anonymous material, attributes certain pseudonyms to possible authors, and reveals the range of subject-matter.

The contributors to the Canadian Monthly over the ten years of publication included many of the foremost Canadian figures of the day, literary and political. The magazine afforded them a market for material which often lead to later publication in book form. Among these contributions originally published in Canadian Monthly are John G. Bourinot's The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People, Samuel Thompson's Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the Last Fifty Years, Samuel J. Watson's The Powers of Canadian Parliaments, Agnes Maule Machar's Lost and Won, and Mrs. Leprohon's Clive Weston's Wedding Anniversary. Some of the articles forming the basis of later books include David B. Read's history of the Bar of Ontario, George M. Grant's biography of Joseph Howe, Canniff Haight's reminiscences of early Ontario and George Bryce's historical account of Manitoba. Among the poems which found first publication in the Canadian Monthly were those by Charles Mair, Charles G. D. Roberts, Alexander McLachlan, Kate Seymour MacLean, George Murray, Susie F. Harrison and William Kirby.

G. Mercer Adam, the early promoter and first publisher of the Canadian Monthly, outlined the policies for an independent national magazine in his trade magazine, the Canada Bookseller, in 1870. Despite the unsuccessful record in Canada for journals of any literary significance, Adam considered the time was right for a new attempt. There was a strong sense of nationalism in the new Dominion and an expanding and more literate population. By the following year there was also the availability of literary and financial assistance from a new resident, Goldwin Smith.

Goldwin Smith's early participation in the affairs of the Canadian Monthly was not only vital to its founding but also to its existence in the first three years of its publication. Although the assumption has prevailed that G. Mercer Adam was the first editor, it becomes clear that Smith filled the post in everything but name. He was also responsible for most of the writing of many individual issues until his break with the publishers, Adam and Stevenson, in December 1874. The firm continued to publish the Canadian Monthly in spite of severe financial difficulties and attempted to increase its circulation with promotional schemes and greater contributions of original material.

Within two years, G. Mercer Adam retired from the firm to join forces with other Canadians in New York City in the business of reprinting English copyright books. The ambiguity of existing copyright laws allowed for certain reprinting practices which had repercussions on Canadian and American publishers. Incidents arising from these circumstances involving the Canadian Monthly and its publishers include the first printings of works by Wilkie Collins, W. D. Howells and Mark Twain.

The merger of Hunter, Rose, the original printers of the magazine, and Belford Brothers brought about the amalgamation of the Canadian Monthly with Belford's Monthly and the continuance of the publication as Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, in July 1878. Within months, the Belford brothers departed for the more lucrative American field of publishing and George M. Rose continued as publisher. Under George Stewart and finally G. Mercer Adam, the magazine continued to grow. The number of its contributors increased as did the amount and diversity of original material. Abruptly in 1882, the publication ceased. The

publisher claimed that, as a business venture, he could no longer sustain the Canadian Monthly.

The Canadian Monthly was a cultural luxury that Canada could not afford. It expired because of the demand for cheap, entertaining reading material and because lower printing costs and reprinting methods made cheap, entertaining reading available. The rising tide of cheaply produced foreign periodicals continued to swamp the market and eventually drowned any appeal the magazine had to a Canadian national sentiment.

PERIODICAL PUBLISHING IN CANADA BEFORE 1870

In September 1870, Graeme Mercer Adam, who later became the first publisher of the Canadian Monthly, remarked on "the constant failure of Canadian literary enterprizes, where these attempts have been purely literary," and the lack of support and appreciation for the "many efforts nobly made to establish a national serial literature."¹ The history of Canadian periodical literature in English to that date had indeed been marked with short-lived ventures and few successes. Since 1789, more than fifty periodicals of some literary pretensions were published for an average life of two years in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. An exception, the Literary Garland, survived for almost thirteen years.² Such titles as Literary Miscellany, Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository, and Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, indicate the miscellaneous mixture of the contents of many of the publications. As magazines catering to the literate public, most of them expressed and defined the main trends of current opinion in articles, essays and editorials, and developed contemporary literary tastes and talents in critical essays, fiction, poems and book reviews. At the same time, they furnished a valuable interim market for literary work and were important fields for new aspirants to literature. By 1870, only three major periodicals were still in publication: the New Dominion Monthly of Montreal, Stewart's

Quarterly of St. John, New Brunswick, and the Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art of Toronto. One reason advanced by G. Mercer Adam for the weak showing made by Canadian magazines was the lack of interest by the reading public in any Canadian publications.

The prevalent habit among the people of speaking contemptuously of our native literature is a bad and senseless one, and equally reprehensible is the thoughtless indifference of even reading people to anything that presents itself from the native press, no matter the subject.

Such an attitude, he claimed, retards "the development of a literature, which, since we have aspired to a national consolidated power, we should seek to make national."³ Pursuing the theme later that year Adam pointed to "lack of capital - lack of material - lack of vigor in tone and style . . . and finally, an active, constant, and ever-increasing competition from foreign periodicals. These causes have combined to render Canadian literary enterprises fruitless, almost hopeless undertakings."⁴

New circumstances in the new Dominion in 1870, however, convinced Adam that the time was right for the establishment of an independent national literary periodical in Toronto and he pursued the theme persistently in the pages of the Canada Bookseller. Adam had come to Canada from Edinburgh in 1858 as a young man of nineteen with some experience in the publishing business and had married a daughter of John Gibson, the editor of the Literary Garland. In Toronto, he had acquired the bookselling and stationery business of Dr. J. C. Geikie and with James Rollo as partner had published, between May 1863 and April 1864, the British American Magazine. In 1866, John H. Stevenson succeeded Rollo and the firm of Adam, Stevenson and Company was established. The firm began publishing in March 1870 a quarterly trade magazine, the Canada Bookseller, for which Adam, Pearson Gundy

claims, was responsible for most of the writing.⁵ In the first issue of the Canada Bookseller, Adam noted that the new Dominion had only two literary magazines and neither were published in Ontario. "With the extensive field the Province affords for the support of a live monthly," he observed, "it is not creditable to it that the Provinces to the East should thus have the start of us."⁶

The first Canadian periodical had been published over eighty years earlier in Halifax: The Nova Scotia Magazine: a comprehensive review of literature, politics and news, (1789-1792). Largely dependent on reprinted material, it appeared regularly from July 1789 to March 1792.⁷ Other early magazine ventures in the Maritimes included the Acadian Magazine (1826-1827) and the Halifax Monthly (1830-1833) of Halifax, and the Amaranth (1841-1843) and the Guardian (1860) of St. John. In 1867, in St. John, George Stewart founded Stewart's Quarterly, a publication providing a small market for a number of Canadian writers, drawn, Stewart later recalled, "from Newfoundland to British Columbia."⁸ These contributors included the poets, Charles Sangster, John Reade and Evan McColl, and the historians, Moses Harvey and Daniel W. Prowse of St. John's, John G. Bourinot of Halifax and Ottawa, James Le Moine of Quebec and D'Arcy McGee of Montreal.⁹

The first English language magazine in Lower Canada was the bilingual Quebec Magazine. Subtitled a "useful and entertaining repository of science, morals, history, politics, etc. particularly adapted for the use of British America," it was printed in Quebec from August 1792 to January 1794. In the 1820's, six journals were published, none of them surviving the decade: the Enquirer (1821-1822); the Scribbler (1821-1827); the Literary Miscellany (1822-1823); the Canadian Magazine and Literary

Repository (1823-1825); the Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, later called the Canadian Review and Magazine (July 1824-March 1825); and the Canadian Miscellany (April-September 1828). With the exception of the Enquirer of Quebec, these were all Montreal publications.

The most successful literary periodical up to the 30's was the Literary Garland, published in Montreal by John Lovell and edited by his brother-in-law, John Gibson. Gibson felt that the Garland's initial success reflected a growing prosperity in English-speaking Canada. "We have no hesitation in contending that with the true prosperity of every country, its literature is indissolubly associated."¹⁰ The country's growth in wealth and population did not ensure continuing support for the magazine, however, and in December 1851, a year after Gibson's death, it discontinued publication. The competition of foreign magazines from both England and the United States was proving formidable, according to an editorial for December 1850 which asked for the patronage "a Canadian periodical has the right to expect from a Canadian public."¹¹ Later, Susanna Moodie wrote that the Literary Garland had "been done to death by Harper's Magazine and the International."

These American monthlies, got up in the first style, handsomely illustrated, and composed of the best articles selected from European and American magazines, are sold at such a low rate, that one or the other is to be found in almost every decent house in the province. It was utterly impossible for a colonial magazine to compete with them. . . .¹²

The Garland provided a valuable outlet for contemporary Canadian talent, although as Carl F. Klinck has pointed out, it was only rarely "devoted to distinctively native subject-matter."¹³

Later brief ventures in Montreal and Quebec included the Montreal Literary Magazine (1856), the British-Canadian Review (1862-1863), and

the Canadian Patriot (1864). In 1867, John Dougall founded and edited the New Dominion Monthly in Montreal, which claimed to be the "only literary monthly in the Dominion and more interesting as well as much cheaper than most imported magazines."¹⁴ To combat the competition from foreign sources, the best appeal to the public was to advertise as a Canadian product and undercut the market.

The earliest attempt in Upper Canada to establish an indigenous literary magazine was John Strachan's Christian Examiner (1819-1820) in Kingston.¹⁵ The 1830's saw the brief lives of the Canadian Garland (1832-1833) in Hamilton, and the Canadian Magazine (1833) and the Canadian Literary Magazine (1833) in York. The latter periodical, considered by Carl Klinck to be the most interesting of the 1830's, was published by George Gurnett who had earlier brought out the Gore Gazette (1827-1828).¹⁶ In 1846, Dr. E. J. Baker published his Canadian Monthly in Kingston, ostensibly to lessen "the importation of light literature from the United States,"¹⁷ and in 1847 Mr. and Mrs. J.W.D. Moodie in Belleville attempted a journal of their own, the Victoria Magazine. Both journals survived for only one year. During the fifty's in Toronto the Anglo-American Magazine was published from 1852 to 1855 with Robert J. MacGeorge as editor, and the Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science and Art (1852-1878) was established with Henry Youle Hind, the geologist, scientist and explorer, as editor. The latter, published by the Canadian Institute as an attempt to bridge the gap between science and industry by 1856, had become predominantly an academic journal with science its major preoccupation and the university men its largest contributors.¹⁸

The last major literary periodical founded in Ontario before 1870 was G. Mercer Adam's own publishing venture, the British American Magazine: devoted to Literature, Science, and Art (1863-1864), edited in Toronto by Henry Youle Hind. Comprised almost entirely of original material, it could be considered a precursor of the Canadian Monthly and National Review. Most of the contributors, including Mrs. Leprohon, Charles Sangster, Charles Mair, Louisa Murray, W. G. Beers, John Reade and Daniel Wilson, became regular contributors to the Canadian Monthly. A major feature of each issue of the British American Magazine was the extensive section of reviews of leading British, American and Canadian quarterlies and monthlies, as well as conscientious reviewing of selected books. These reviews were often detailed and learned, exhibiting a wide range of scholarly interests on the part of the anonymous reviewers.

With the experiment of the British American Magazine behind him, Adam, in 1870, was envisaging a good weekly review devoted to Canadian interests, and based on the following principles:

First, carrying a free lance, and being the organ of no man and no party, it would command the support of politicians, because they would find there independent discussion from a purely Canadian point of view. At present our newspaper discussions are entirely regulated by the interests of individuals and parties, without regard to those of country and nationality. Secondly, it could be made a home paper, to some extent original, partially eclectic, and a welcome visitant to every educated domestic circle. Thirdly, it would have a department carefully prepared for literature and scientific essays, and would afford a field for native literateurs and scientific men to give to the world and their country the benefit of their researches. And lastly, it would give a tone to our political and other discussions of a much higher character than the ephemeral, personal, and superficial style adopted by the newspaper press, and we trust, be the advent of a new era in Canadian literature.

The rumour had been heard, he concluded, of the possibility of such an enterprise being attempted and he wished it "heart God speed."¹⁹

This attempt may have been the Canadian Literary Journal: devoted to select original literature, and the interest of Canadian literary societies, which came into being in July 1870, lasted for one year, then continued from July 1871 to January 1872 as the Canadian Magazine, with Robert Ridgeway as editor. Slight in content and literary quality, it was not the kind of enterprise Adam was anticipating. The prototypes for Adam's proposed journal were the new highly successful British periodicals like Macmillan's (1859), Cornhill (1860), the Contemporary Review (1866) and, in particular, the Fortnightly Review (1865). Founded with the editorial policies of George Henry Lewes, the Fortnightly was in turn modelled on the Revue des Deux Mondes (1829), of Paris.²⁰ Like the French model, the Fortnightly included a variety of miscellaneous items - articles, fiction, reviews and poems - and abandoned the traditional anonymity of contributors. In both regards, it was unprecedented in British journalism. The Fortnightly's stated policy of editorial impartiality, which under John Morley, editor between 1866 and 1881, led to the journal being considered "the standard bearer in the battle of rationalism against orthodoxy"²¹ was consistent with Adam's concept of independent journalism.

The main alternate reading fare for Canadians in the 70's was imported literature, primarily from the United States, and the local newspapers. "What then do the three and a half millions who inhabit Canada read?" asked James Douglas. "Imported books and home-made newspapers."²² The total value of books imported into Canada in 1874, according to Douglas' figures, amounted to \$958,773, twice the amount of the year 1868, while

the number of newspapers distributed by the Canadian Post Office had risen from 14,000,000 in 1867 to 25,480,000 by June 1873.²³ Of the 457 newspapers and periodicals published in Canada in 1874, 46 were dailies and 325 were weeklies. Ontario alone supported 23 daily newspapers and 212 weekly publications.²⁴ Susanna Moodie had commented in 1853 that "the standard literature of Canada must be looked for in her newspapers."²⁵ Douglas concluded in 1875 that they were "the chief mental pabulum of our people."²⁶ The character of newspaper journalism, G. Mercer Adam observed, lacked breadth and quality. He decried its tone, partisan political bias and dearth of literary merit:

In a literary aspect our papers are very indifferently made up; the selections being either frivolous or positively baneful in their character. The leading articles, also, too often run into questionable personalities, or are hammered out into an endless strain of party politics. Literary criticism or review writing we have none; and but rarely do we find our papers afford their readers the treat of a high class, patriotic and statesmanlike article on our national policy, our connections, and relations with the mother country or on matters social and industrial in our midst.²⁷

The chances for Adam's realizing his vision of an independent Canadian journal, like the Fortnightly, were greatly abetted by the spirit of nationalistic fervour which caught the imagination of some of the Canadian population in the early post-Confederation years. These nationalist sentiments of the new Dominion were stimulated by the activities of the Canada First Association, a movement formed in Ottawa in the spring of 1868. During the next few years it managed to generate considerable enthusiasm for an increased Canadian autonomy and to promote a sense of nationhood, particularly following the publication of Canada First: or Our New Nationality, a pamphlet by W. A. Foster, one of the founders of the movement.²⁸

But two other factors of a more practical nature conspired to make the establishment of the journal feasible. The first was the burgeoning population, measured by the 1871 census as three and a half million, of which the people of Ontario represented nearly forty-five per cent.²⁹ Described as "expansionist and aggressive," Ontario's make-up was "largely Protestant, convinced of the desirability of material progress, setting its sights often from persuasive American examples."³⁰ Stimulated by the signs of publishing successes south of the border, there had been increased activity in the publishing trade in the province. Toronto, the capital, although still smaller than Montreal, had usurped its importance as the centre of English publishing in the new Dominion.³¹ The second and more important factor was Goldwin Smith's arrival and participation in the cultural and journalistic scene of Canada. Before financial backing could be secured for a literary periodical with limited circulation possibilities, the assurance of authoritative counsel was vital. Goldwin Smith's contribution, both editorially and financially, made the enterprise economically viable at the outset.

When the first issue of the Canadian Monthly and National Review emerged from the Toronto presses of Adam, Stevenson and Company late in December 1871, its preface (written by G. Mercer Adam as the publisher) began with reserved optimism:

Where several attempts have failed, the success of a new attempt must always be doubtful. But it is hoped that the effort to give an organ, in the form of a periodical, to the intellectual life of Canada, is now made under better auspices than before. There has been of late a general awakening of national life, which has probably extended to the literary and scientific sphere: of the large number recently added to our population, the ordinary proportion may be supposed to be writers or readers; and special circumstances have favoured the present publishers in obtaining literary assistance in the conduct of their Magazine.³²

He continued with a statement of the principles and aims of the Canadian Monthly, which recalled his words of two years before. The magazine intended primarily "to deal with Canadian questions and to call forth Canadian talent" while seeking "in all quarters" the materials of an interesting and instructive magazine. Contributors would be allowed latitude in the expression of opinion but the magazine would not be open to "party politics or to party theology." Finally the intention of the publishers was to "preserve, in all its departments, a tone beneficial to the national character and worthy of the nation."³³ Adam had launched his dream but not without the help of a non-Canadian newcomer.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹Canada Bookseller, I (September 1870), 5.

²See Appendix A, p. 210, for Chronological List.

³Canada Bookseller, I (June 1870), 5.

⁴Ibid., I (September 1870), 6.

⁵In his book, Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada before 1900 (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1965), p. 19, and in "Literary Publishing," in Carl Klinck, et al., eds., Literary History of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 185, Gundy refers only to twelve monthly issues of the Canada Bookseller of 1872. These issues, which have proved difficult to trace, were published as the Canada Bookseller Miscellany and Advertiser. The earlier quarterly issues ran from Vol. I, No. 1 (March 1870) to Vol. II, No. 1 (April 1871).

⁶Canada Bookseller, I (March 1870), 12

⁷Arthur H. U. Colquhoun, "A Century of Canadian Magazines," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 142

⁸George Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 163.

⁹In the "Valedictory" of the final issue, the editor claimed that: "Well-known authors, high up in the literary firmament threw off well-digested and happily-conceived articles which at the time of their publication attracted much and well-deserved attention." Stewart's Quarterly, V (January 1872), 338.

¹⁰John Gibson, Literary Garland, I (December 1838), 1.

¹¹Literary Garland, IX (December 1850), 586.

¹²Susanna Moodie, "Introduction to Mark Hurdlestone," in R. L. McDougall, ed., Life in the Clearings (Toronto: Macmillan, 1959), p. 290.

¹³Carl F. Klinck, "Literary Activity in Canada East and West," Literary History of Canada, p. 146.

¹⁴Prospectus for 1871, New Dominion Monthly, V (January 1871).

¹⁵H. Pearson Gundy, "Literary Publishing," p. 176.

¹⁶Carl F. Klinck, "Literary Activity in the Canadas," p. 140.

¹⁷Arthur H. U. Colquhoun, "A Century of Canadian Magazines," p. 147.

¹⁸Carl F. Klinck, "Literary Activity in Canada East and West," pp. 153-4. In January 1878, the Canadian Journal was superseded by the Royal Canadian Institute Proceedings.

¹⁹Canada Bookseller, I (September 1870), 6.

²⁰Walter Graham, English Literary Periodicals (New York: Octagon, 1966), p. 258.

²¹Walter Graham, ibid., pp. 259, 260.

²²James Douglas, "The Present State of Literature in Canada and the Intellectual Progress of its People during the Last Fifty Years," Canadian Monthly and National Review, VII (June 1875), 476. Hereafter cited as CMNR.

²³James Douglas, ibid., p. 479.

²⁴Rowell's Newspaper Directory of 1874, cited in James Douglas, ibid., p. 479.

²⁵Susanna Moodie, "Introduction to Mark Hurdlestone," p. 292.

²⁶James Douglas, ibid., p. 479.

²⁷Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 6.

²⁸Henry J. Morgan (1842-1913), George T. Denison (1839-1925), Robert G. Haliburton (1831-1901) and Charles Mair (1838-1927) were the other four founders.

²⁹Arthur Harvey questions the validity of the official figures in "The Canadian Census of 1871," CMNR, I (February 1872), 97-104. Waite claims 3,700,000 in the 1871 census. Peter B. Waite, Canada, 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 8.

³⁰Peter B. Waite, Canada, 1874-1896, p. 9.

³¹H. Pearson Gundy, Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada,
p. 14.

³²CMNR, I (January 1872), 1.

³³Ibid.

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY AND GOLDWIN SMITH

"We had the gratification of bidding Mr. Goldwin Smith, the very distinguished Professor of English History in Cornell University, welcome to our literary capital," wrote G. Mercer Adam in the Canada Bookseller of January, 1871.¹ The occasion was the first of a series of lectures on history to the "Ladies' Classes" organized by Dr. Daniel Wilson of the University of Toronto.² "We trust," Adam concluded, "Mr. Smith will find the literary circles of our educational metropolis congenial to his tastes."³ Smith had come from England to Cornell University as a visiting Professor of English and Constitutional History in the fall of 1868 with a distinguished career in journalism behind him, having decided to retire from political life in Britain. During his term at Cornell, he paid extended visits to relatives in Toronto and his family ties influenced his decision in 1871 to make Toronto his home.⁴ The concept of a "pioneer" literary venture which hoped to preserve the integrity and idealism of a young nation and counteract the influence of the flooding of imported printed material appealed to Smith. By September 1871, he was writing to friends in Oxford from Ithaca, New York, of his involvement and interest in the establishment of the Canadian Monthly.

They are going to try to give the intellectual life of Canada an organ in the shape of a national magazine, to be called the Canadian Monthly. I am to contribute to it and help the editor a little, but not, as has been reported, to be the editor myself. The first number will probably appear in November, when I shall

go to Toronto to take part in launching it. I bespeak for the Magazine, in the interest of Canadian nationality as much as on literary grounds, the favour of Waring and my other literary friends.⁵

Scheduled for November 1871, the first issue of the magazine was delayed and finally appeared towards the end of December, dated January 1872. By this time, Goldwin Smith was in Toronto soliciting literary contributions and actively engaged in the management. In February, with the first two issues off the press, he was writing to Ithaca that he had been able "to do nothing for some days but look after the Canadian Monthly."⁶ By August, hampered by the restrictions of managing the magazine, which included a printers' strike in March, and unable to leave to attend to the details involved in the death of his stepmother in England, he had begun to realize the burden of the task he had taken on. "I am not sure that I should have had anything to do with the magazine," he wrote to Mrs. Corson in Ithaca, "if I had foreseen that it would interfere so much with the freedom of my movements. But now I am in for it; I must not let the undertaking 'fizzle' if I can help it, more especially as friends of mine have supported it in the faith of my superintendence."⁷ That summer, Adam travelled to England with John Lovell, the Montreal publisher, to lobby for an amendment to the Imperial Copyright Act of 1847 while Smith, operating with an assistant whose services he described as "precarious," coped with such emergencies as the paper running out in the middle of a printing.⁸

The assumption that G. Mercer Adam was the first editor of the Canadian Monthly cannot be substantiated in the light of Goldwin Smith's correspondence during those first years of the magazine's publication,

or in contemporary references to Adam's role in connection with the magazine.⁹ As publisher and main promoter of the Canadian Monthly, Adam was undoubtedly much involved in the formulating of its policies and its format and in some of the writing. At the same time, he was publishing and writing his trade magazine the Canada Bookseller¹⁰ and attending to the affairs of his firm, Adam, Stevenson, which were in a state of flux.¹¹ The possibility of his filling the post of editor in those days as well is not only remote but never stated, either in the magazine or elsewhere. In his correspondence, Goldwin Smith always referred to Adam as the "publisher" of the Canadian Monthly.

Meanwhile Smith could be considered editor in everything but name. In January 1873, he mentioned the prospect of obtaining "trustworthy help" in the management of the magazine.¹² By March, he was able to declare that "we now have an editor with whom we get along pretty well." At the same time he referred to his recent illness which had rendered him unequal to work: "as the forthcoming number of the Canadian Monthly will probably show."¹³ By that time, he was responsible for most of the material in the magazine.

The make-up of the Canadian Monthly, as established by Smith and Adam in the first issues, became the general pattern for its format over the succeeding years. Each issue consisted of articles or essays covering a broad spectrum of political, cultural, social, religious or literary interests; at least one serialized novel, some short fiction, several selections of poetry; and special columns or editorial departments, like "Current Literature," "Current Events" or "Book Reviews." Largely made up of original material usually signed by the contributors, a small

proportion of whom used pseudonyms, each issue also contained some reprinted or translated material. Books were reviewed editorially each month in the "Book Reviews" columns and sometimes formed the basis of articles in the body of the magazine.

Editorial writing began to take over more of each issue towards the end of 1872. Not unexpectedly, the magazine had failed to show a profit in its first year of publication: its continuance was debated and the decision made to carry on with certain stringencies, such as fewer original articles.¹⁴ The February 1873 issue, for example, contained besides the editorial material only two articles, one by Goldwin Smith; three reprinted poems; a reprinted essay from a British publication and a translated tale from the Revue des Deux Mondes. In December 1872, Smith had introduced a monthly department of "Current Events," which became a standard editorial item of the magazine until 1878. In it, Smith, and later other writers, discussed and interpreted contemporary international affairs as well as Canadian.¹⁵ For the first two years until December 1874, and with the exception of the issues published from December 1873 to May 1874 when he was visiting England, he was responsible for the writing of "Current Events." This section of the magazine made up in quantity the deficiency of material from other sources for the next two years. Smith was also writing many of the book reviews and contributing to "Current Literature," a department which surveyed and critically reviewed the subject matter in the leading British periodicals. But at no time during this period was his name prominent in the magazine itself, for he carefully confined his signed contributions to no more than one each issue and usually under his pseudonym, "The Bystander."¹⁶

His style and literary tastes can be found in such reviewing as that of Browning's Fifine at the Fair: "To the initiated we have no doubt it is the intensity of light: to the uninitiated it is almost total darkness."¹⁷ The metaphysical obscurity of the poets of the "Psychological school"¹⁸ and the lack of conscientious attention to fact on the part of historians, like James Froude,¹⁹ were typical targets of Smith's critical writing. His scholarly competence as a reviewer is typified in a review of Arthur Helps' Thoughts Upon Government which concludes with the remark that:

Mr. Helps is a fine scholar but he has fallen into a curious little error on p. 106, by ascribing as an original idea to Machiavelli a classification of the different kinds of practical intellects, which Machiavelli merely translated from some well-known Greek lines.²⁰

Positive identification of authorship in the book reviews of this period becomes difficult, however: the reviewers in general display an impressive knowledge of the intellectual milieu of the various works examined as well as workmanlike critical orientation of their subject matter.

The practice of obtaining translations of European short stories was Smith's solution to supplying fiction for the journal until native talent was accessible or acceptable. In the fall of 1871, he wrote to friends in Oxford and Ithaca soliciting their help in this respect. The publishing of translations of foreign tales obviated the complications of copyright and, though the translators were paid, probably proved less expensive. Smith was firm about the quality of the stories, however: "I wish to throw down the gauntlet to sensation novels and if possible to do something toward protecting our young Canada from that most poisonous narcotic and its influence, even if in so doing we damage the Magazine

commercially, as I suppose we shall."²¹ The appearance of one of the first of these translated tales came from Smith's Oxford friend, Professor Friedrich Max Muller, and is preceded, in part, by the following notice:

Rush through "In the sunshine" as you would through a sensation novel, in haste to arrive at the murder scene, and you will be utterly disappointed: read it with attention and forms of beauty will appear. It appeals, like other stories of the same class, not to the nerves, but to the taste and feelings. The reader will be the better, not the worse, for its perusal.²²

The didactic tone of this notice, with its trace of condescension, typified Smith's approach to the Monthly's readers. He wished to protect the young Canadian nation from pervasive corrupting trends in literature, while attempting to avoid offending Canadian moral tastes,²³ which, at times, he considered "narrow and vastly unsound."²⁴ At the same time, he viewed his activities on behalf of the magazine with considerable equanimity.

Do not be afraid of my incurring disappointment by trying to keep the Canadian Monthly alive. My life has not been one of such brilliant success that I should be sensitive on that score. If the enterprise escapes actual failure, I shall be as well pleased. . . . Nor am I likely, as a loafer, to be much better employed. The Magazine has a real value in the eyes of some of the best men here.²⁵

The first years of publication produced contributions from a widely diverse group of Canadians, many of them prominent in their fields. Academics included Dr. H. Alleyne Nicholson, Professor of Natural History and Botany at University College, Toronto; the Rev. George Bryce, historian and later founder of Manitoba College; and Dr. John W. Dawson, principal of McGill University. Among the journalists of the day, the following were representative contributors: A. H. Dymond, M.P., later editor of the Toronto Globe; John G. Bourinot, clerk of the House of Commons and former editor of the

Halifax Herald; M. J. Griffin of Halifax, later editor of the Toronto Mail; James Beaty, Jr., son of the founder of the Toronto Leader; Charles Lindsey, Registrar of Toronto, former editor of the Toronto Leader and son-in-law and biographer of William Lyon MacKenzie; John Lesperance of Montreal, editor of the Canadian Illustrated News and later editor of the Dominion Illustrated; W. D. LeSueur of Ottawa, contributor to the Montreal Gazette and Star; and Thomas White, Jr., editor of the Montreal Gazette. Writers and historians of established reputation included Samuel E. Dawson of Montreal; the Rev. W. W. Withrow, later editor of the Canadian Methodist Magazine; Samuel J. Watson and John Langton. Other writers dealing primarily with Canadian affairs were James Young, Liberal member of Parliament for Galt; James D. Edgar, Speaker of the House of Commons; and the elder statesman, Sir Francis Hincks. Established poets of the day, John Reade, Charles Sangster, George Murray and Alexander MacLachlan, were also among the early contributors. The Strickland sisters were represented by poems from Susanna Moodie, and poems and essays from both Catherine Parr Traill and her daughter, M. E. Muchall. The first serialized novels were from the pens of Louisa Murray, Mrs. J. V. Noel, Mrs. Leprohon and Agnes Maule Machar, ("Fidelis"), names already familiar to Canadian readers.

To a considerable extent the views expressed by the contributors to the Canadian Monthly were representative of the principles and policies of the Canada First Association.²⁶ There is no doubt that the magazine's aims of high ideals of patriotism based on no-party principles were in accord with those of the movement.²⁷ However, of the five original founders of Canada First, only G. T. Denison and Charles Mair contributed to the magazine under their own names.²⁸ The cloak of anonymity that shrouded

the activities of Canada First also enveloped the editorial policies at the Monthly.²⁹ Impersonality of editorship, which on several occasions was hotly defended in its pages, was quite in line with the sentiments of those involved with Canada First.³⁰ Goldwin Smith had early been sympathetic to the movement, but it had begun to disintegrate in 1875 several years before his articles advocating Canada's union with the United States appeared in the Fortnightly Review and later in the Monthly.³¹

Early in November 1873, Smith sailed for Britain and did not return until May, 1874. During that period he did not contribute to the Canadian Monthly. His letters to Charles Lindsey indicated that Lindsey was responsible for most of the material in "Current Events" for those six months. During Smith's stay in England, the financial difficulties that had beset the Monthly from the beginning were compounded.³² In November, 1874, the firm of Adam, Stevenson went into bankruptcy because of, according to Smith, "disasters in their general business and to the ruin of the capitalist who supported the firm by some unfortunate speculation."³³ After considerable deliberation, the decision to continue the Canadian Monthly was again made, ostensibly for the sake of its advertising contracts. Goldwin Smith's active participation in it, however, was at stake. In December 1874, he wrote Charles Lindsey that he had declined "positively though in friendly terms" to contribute any longer because the offer Adam had presented to him had supplied no information as to "parties, capital brought in, or terms to be offered."³⁴

The hesitancy evident on the part of Adam and Stevenson in their offer to Smith reflected the problem with which they were faced. Smith's connection with the Canadian Monthly was common knowledge and the journal,

quite apart from its other features, was possibly considered to be a platform for his increasingly controversial views. George Brown of the Toronto Globe had been leading the opposition to Smith in a series of personal attacks on him for opinions cloaked in the anonymity of unsigned articles in the magazine. The Canadian Monthly had on several occasions defended Smith "in the interest of Canadian journalism," and deplored the violation of "impersonality of editorship."³⁵ Besides, it was claimed that the attacks sometimes missed their mark when the opinions were attributed to the wrong source. "It is amusing to see the paragraphs complacently criticised as betraying the ignorance of a 'stranger,' when, in fact, they are from the pen of a Canadian long and intimately conversant with the political and commercial affairs of the country."³⁶ In an account of a farewell dinner held for Smith on the eve of his departure for England in the fall of 1873, the Canadian Monthly paid tribute to his services "rendered to the cause of national literature at the sacrifice of personal ease and personal advantage, for a worthy purpose."³⁷ Obviously the Canadian Monthly was greatly indebted to Smith but the reduced number of subscribers in the summer of 1874 indicated that something was amiss. The image of the Canadian Monthly as an independent organ of the intellectual life of Canada and a strong force in the development of its literature was at stake and was possibly threatened by the hostility towards Smith aroused by the editorials in the Globe. Animosity toward Smith could also mean the loss of vital financial backing from some quarters.

Whatever the circumstances of his retirement from the Canadian Monthly were, relations between Smith and Adam were not as friendly as Smith had suggested that winter of 1874.³⁸ In a letter to Charles Lindsey,

he expressed the hope that Adam, Stevenson "will not be encouraged by any of our friends to persevere."³⁹ If they did, he predicted the magazine would be a "starveling affair" and in order to ensure that his name was no longer connected with the enterprise he asked Fiske at Cornell University to insert a notice to that effect in the Cornell Era.⁴⁰ In "Current Events" of January 1875, Canadian Monthly announced their loss of a "valued contributor":

Great as this loss may be, we shall endeavour to repair it, in some degree, by firmly maintaining the old literary standard, and by enlisting new talent in the service of the Magazine. We have every hope that by exertions it is proposed to make, the Monthly will be found not less acceptable to our readers than heretofore.⁴¹

On the whole it was a relief for Smith to make the break with Canadian Monthly because a new journal, the Nation, was absorbing much of his interest. The first number of the Nation had appeared in April 1874, while Smith was in England. In March, he had written from Oxford to Lindsey saying that W. H. Howland had informed him of his name being included as a shareholder in a new weekly paper, and, although he assumed this was the undertaking they had discussed earlier, he had understood they would not commence with the plan until his return to Canada. In April, he read the prospectus of the Nation in the Canadian Monthly and found it did not cover the same ground as planned in their original proposal. Moreover, he did not approve of the name. Upon his return to Canada, however, he became a regular contributor to its pages until it ceased publication in September, 1876.⁴²

Smith did make a few subsequent contributions to the Canadian Monthly, including four "Papers by a Bystander" in 1879. These papers

were forerunners of his new periodical, The Bystander, which first appeared in January 1880. Primarily devoted to political comment, it also discussed current literature in terms of the major issues of the day. Written entirely by Goldwin Smith, The Bystander appeared intermittently until October 1882, and achieved an outstanding reputation and following both in Canada and abroad. Elisabeth Wallace, in her biography of Smith, claims that it attained a larger circulation than any previous Canadian periodical. But, financially, it could not be sustained indefinitely. As Smith wrote at the time: "It is sold at the lowest possible price that it may get into the hands of the people, and I am well content if I do not lose much beyond my labour."⁴³

The Canadian Monthly was the first publication in Canada Smith assisted with both his writing talent and his financial backing, but not the last. Besides the Nation, the others included the Toronto Telegram, the Winnipeg Tribune, the Weekly Sun and the journal, The Week. "His arrival in Toronto," Elisabeth Wallace points out, "inaugurated a new era in Canadian journalism . . . [which] owed him a debt it could never wholly discharge."⁴⁴ Not only was Goldwin Smith's experience as a professional journalist important in the establishment of the Canadian Monthly, but his lively intelligence, gift of expression and breadth of interests helped to create, in the Canadian Monthly, a challenging new level of journalism in colonial Canada.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

¹Canada Bookseller, I (January 1871), 8.

²Goldwin Smith later reported his version of a similar occasion in Montreal: "I have come here to take part in a movement for the intellectual regeneration of that unsatisfactory creature woman by giving lectures on English history before the Ladies' Education Class. The class consists of 200 ladies and does very well. I am lecturing at the same time to the 'University,' one of some eight or ten 'one horse' institutions as the Yankees call them, among which the resources of superior education in this country as in the United States are miserably frittered away." Cornell University, John M. Olin Library, Collection of Regional History and University Archives, Goldwin Smith Papers, letter to Mrs. George Waring, October 25, 1872. Hereafter cited as GSP.

³Canada Bookseller, I (January 1871), 8.

⁴Elisabeth Wallace. Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto: University Press, 1957), p. 50. Smith did not find all of his relatives so congenial. "I have just returned from a visit to some bush-whacking relatives on the secluded shores of Lake Simcoe in Canada. The Canadians of those districts are, as compared with their Yankee neighbours, unprogressive; but they are physically a fine race, and kindly and courteous. They are intensely loyal and exaggerate all English habits and prejudices. Politically, when I am among them, I am in Gath of the Philistines." GSP, letter to George Waring, June 28, 1869.

⁵GSP, letter to Mrs. Waring, October 9, 1871.

⁶GSP, letter to Mrs. Hiram Corson, February 4, 1872.

⁷GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, August 2, 1872.

⁸"Yesterday I went to the office and found that in the middle of printing the paper had given out, and that no more was expected for a week. The deficiency was supplied after a fashion: but this shows to what accidents pioneer magazines are liable." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, August 18, 1872.

⁹One of the first references to G. Mercer Adam as the first editor of the Canadian Monthly is found in Elisabeth Wallace, Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 72. Wallace does not cite the correspondence between Goldwin Smith and Professor and Mrs. Hiram Corson of Ithaca, New York, which provides much of the information concerning Smith's involvement with the magazine.

¹⁰Pearson Gundy, Book Publishing, p. 19.

¹¹In spite of early notices to the contrary, Adam and Stevenson announced their decision in 1871 to continue their retail business, having made new arrangements for its detailed management. Business would continue as usual but on the "cash principle." Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 44.

¹²GSP, letter to Professor Fiske, January 15, 1873.

¹³GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, March 18, 1873.

¹⁴GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, November 1872.

¹⁵W. J. Rattray is the only other contributor to "Current Events" who has been positively identified. George Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 165.

¹⁶See Index. "I thought it better not to be prominent in the first number, but rather to put the Canadians forward, as it is a specially Canadian periodical. So you will see nothing with my name but a translation from Lucretius which has already appeared in the Cornell Era," GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, December 7, 1871.

¹⁷CMNR, II (September 1872), 286.

¹⁸"Those who are not partizans of the Psychological school, who prefer something more 'simple and senuous,' who think that the domain of mental science and that of poetry should be kept distinct, who in reading poetry look for high enjoyment not for hard intellectual effort, who resent metaphysical obscurity as a defect from which all really deep thinkers, including the greatest poets, are free, will not unfrequently rebel against Mr. Forman's judgments." CMNR, I (March 1872), 278.

¹⁹"To us the exposure of Mr. Froude's character is no new revelation, for we have long regarded him as one of the most unconscientious and untrustworthy writers who ever tampered with the calling of an historian." CMNR, I (May 1872), 477.

²⁰CMNR, I (June 1872), 563.

²¹GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, December 7, 1871.

²²CMNR, I (February 1872), 152.

²³"Balzac's name might perhaps rather frighten our people. The Dumas no doubt would do excellently." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, February 4, 1872.

²⁴GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, November 22, 1872.

²⁵GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 1873.

²⁶R. L. McDougall, "A Study of Canadian Periodical Literature of the Nineteenth Century," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950), pp. 277-9.

²⁷For two specific references to the Canada First Association, see W. D. LeSueur, "Old and New in Canada," CMNR, VII (January 1875), 1-9 and "Current Events," CMNR, V (January 1874), 68-9.

²⁸W. A. Foster's "Down the St. Lawrence in a Raft" appeared anonymously, CMNR, VI (October 1874), 343-55. The anonymous article "Half-Breeds of Red River," is possibly by Mair, CMNR, II (October 1872), 303-9.

²⁹Norman Shrive speculates on the motives for the secrecy surrounding the Canada First movement in Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 33-4.

³⁰"Current Events," CMNR, III (March 1873), 225; IV (October 1873), 321.

³¹Goldwin Smith, "The Political Destiny of Canada," CMNR, XI (January 1877), 596-614.

³²"When I was away, as they could not get anyone to take my place, everything was at loose ends and there was a terrible falling off of subscribers." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 29, 1875.

³³GSP, letter to Fiske, December 24, 1874.

³⁴GSP, letter to Charles Lindsey, December 11, 1879.

³⁵"We should be the last to claim the privilege of anonymous writing as a cover for anything to which a man of honour would blush to put his name. . . . No personalities can ever affect the position of any one connected with this journal, or turn the journal itself a hair's breadth out of the course which its managers think proper to take." CMNR, IV (October 1873), 321.

³⁶"Not but that a stranger might have some advantages, if, besides being strange to the soil, he were in any reasonable measure strange to certain things which are beginning to grow in it." Ibid., IV, 321.

³⁷"If, at times, Mr. Smith's efforts drew upon him attacks from the party press which ought to have fallen upon other shoulders, and if, at others, a respect for impersonal journalism failed to secure him immunity from personal assaults, he was obliged to bear the fire from both armies, if not without complaining, at least without redress." Ibid., IV (December 1873), 548.

³⁸"My retirement or rather some circumstances connected with it made my dealings with the firm a little cool for a time." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 29, 1875.

³⁹GSP, letter to Lindsey, December 11, 1874.

⁴⁰GSP, letter to Fiske, December 24, 1874.

⁴¹CMNR, VII (January 1875), 82.

⁴²Later Smith declared that he was never a member of the Canada First Association, nor had anything to do with the starting of the Nation, "though afterwards, when that journal was in difficulty, I was persuaded for some time to help it with my pen." Goldwin Smith, Reminiscences, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 443.

⁴³Wallace, Goldwin Smith, p. 88.

⁴⁴Wallace, Goldwin Smith, p. 99.

III

PUBLISHING PROBLEMS, 1875-1878

The prospectus of the Canadian Monthly for 1875 reflected the crisis of November 1874. Reviewing their three years of operation, the publishers reminded their readers of the words in the first issue of the journal: "Where several attempts have failed, the success of a new attempt must always be doubtful." But, they continued, they still hoped to gain a larger audience "among the growing body of the educated and establish [their] claim to be a pioneer and leader in that new Canadian literature which is yet to be." The old difficulty still remained: the small Canadian publisher was competing with the ever-growing mass of foreign publications which covered the spectrum of literary tastes.

Of the obstacles in the way, the most serious has undoubtedly been the narrow sphere in which they were obliged to work. There is no constituency here so extended, as those appealed to by the publisher in England and the United States. Moreover, the field that exists must always, to a certain extent, be occupied by the imported serials. Hence, though sufficient support has been received to further the prosecution of the enterprize, the measure of success secured must remain relative - limited to the public whose ear can be reached by a Canadian Publisher.¹

What had been considered a difficulty at the start, "the possible dearth of Canadian writers" and that of "securing native contributions," had not proved a problem and encouragement of native talent remained a prime objective.² The Canadian quality of the magazine, which differentiated it

from its most formidable competitors, was thus emphasized. Later that year, James Douglas referred to the Monthly's "grave vicissitudes" and concluded: "If it must share the fate of its predecessors, its stoppage will be only another proof of the lack of public national feeling among the English-speaking population of the Dominion and of any real desire to foster and encourage native literature."³ Efforts in 1875 to render the magazine "more popular and therefore more acceptable to the general reader" as suggested in the prospectus, included a supplement to each issue in the form of portions of the Annals of Canada by William White, and special club subscriptions including the bonus of three "handsome volumes bound in cloth for the years 1872-1874, express charges paid," with the payment of ten dollars for each new subscription.⁴

The regular subscription rate at this time was three dollars and fifty cents per year and thirty cents for the individual copy. At that price, Canadian Monthly was in the range of the popular "shilling monthlies" of Britain, like Cornhill and Macmillan's. The periodicals that catered to a more serious audience, like the Fortnightly, the Contemporary Review, and the Nineteenth Century, all had relatively small circulations and sold for half a crown.⁵ In 1872 circulation of the Fortnightly had risen to 2,500 from 1,400 in 1867.⁶ It is unlikely that the Canadian Monthly subscribers could have totalled more and it was evident that the returns to the publisher could not have exceeded the expense.

Adam and Stevenson continued as publishers of the Canadian Monthly in 1875 and 1876. They renewed their efforts to build a larger circulation and find more financial backing in spite of the depressed business conditions of the mid '70's. Isaac Buchanan of Hamilton was one of the businessmen

approached. In a letter replying to overtures made to him by the firm, he declared that he was unable to assist with the necessary financing but urged holding off as long as possible from parting with the magazine. He also advised pursuing a policy of "alienating no one while attracting as many supporters as possible on the basis of its character and its new style of effort," adding that a purely literary journal of original material was "scarcely sufficient in Canada even in good times."⁷

The "new style of effort" was manifest within the magazine by an increased number of individual contributors each issue, and more original light fiction, often in the popular form of personal narratives or signed with such alliterative pseudonyms as "Lizzie Lyle." That year marked the emergence of a series of debates on the religious aspects of the conflicting claims of science and nature. One of the issues, sparked by reprinted essays of John Tyndall and James Martineau, was the philosophy of materialism; another was the fundamentalism of the American revivalists, Moodey and Sankey. George J. Romanes, A British writer and former Canadian, entered the discussion on the efficacy of prayer with W. D. LeSueur, Samuel E. Dawson and the redoubtable Miss Machar. Other new contributors included Grant Allen, writing from his post at Queen's College, Jamaica; George M. Grant, principal of Queen's University; Henry Scadding, the Toronto historian; and John Hunter-Duvar, poet and editor.

When G. Mercer Adam was still with the Monthly, it published two contributions of Charles Mair. One was a two-part article, "The New Canada," expressing the nationalist sentiments of Canada First at a time when the movement was fast losing strength, and the other a poem "Kanata." Mair was living in Portage la Prairie at that time and doing very little writing.

The article was a revision of an earlier address,⁸ but the poem was the original version of one later published in the Dominion Illustrated of December 29, 1888. The poem reflects the poet's bitter resentment of the corrupting influence on Canada's freedom by the European settler. The first is a gentler poem than the second; the final stanza speaks of hope and a second birth. Norman Shrive, in his book on Mair, discusses the second version only. He comments on Mair's telling John Garvin that "Kanata" was written "when our foreign immigrants were swarming into the country - the poem's final stanzas referring to them have proved prophetic." Shrive continues: "His memory was at fault, of course, because the poem was written when few settlers of any race were coming to Canada."⁹ Mair also failed to remember that he had published the original poem earlier, in 1876.¹⁰

The department of "Current Literature" continued to review the contents of the leading British journals, commenting on the current topics and leading arguments, their quality of expression, and the validity of the debates. Such reviewing provided the reader with capsulized commentaries on most of the issues of the day - philosophical, economic, literary and social. G. Mercer Adam possibly had the major hand in the writing of this section of the magazine for it had been a feature of Adam's first publication, the British-American, and was discontinued when Adam, Stevenson ceased to be the publisher.

In the fall of 1876, Adam left Toronto and the Canadian Monthly and joined John Wurtele Lovell in a publishing partnership in New York City. He had been forced, for a while at least, to abandon the task of directly developing the "new Canadian literature which was yet to be."¹¹

The notice of his departure and new venture declared, ironically, that in reprinting English authors the partners "will by their labours help materially in stimulating the growth and progress of a healthy literature in this country as well as in the United States."¹² Lovell was the son of the Montreal publisher of the Literary Garland and the manager of the firm's branch at Rouse's Point, New York.¹³ He had set up this establishment on the Canadian border in 1872 to reprint British copyright works and sell them in Canada with the payment of 12% duty or send advance copies to London for "first publication" and have the benefits of Imperial copyright.¹⁴ With Lovell, Sr. in co-partnership, Lovell and Adam formed the new firm of Lovell, Adam & Co. based in New York City in 1876 for the purpose of reprinting cheap editions of British copyright books.¹⁵ Later in the year Francis L. Wesson was taken into the firm but in 1877 the partnership dissolved.¹⁶

The copyright issue was a major one for Canadian publishers.¹⁷ Not allowed to reprint British copyright books unless negotiations were made with the author, Canadian publishers found that the market became fully supplied by American publishers who were under no restriction. The Canadian Copyright Act of 1872 had been disallowed and although the later Act of 1875 extended certain privileges to any person then domiciled in Canada, the Canadian publishers were still at a disadvantage in reprinting any books, American or British, protected by Imperial copyright. Canadian Monthly had always been careful to acknowledge reprinted works. The publication of the serialized fiction of such authors as Wilkie Collins, F. W. Robinson and William Black were accompanied by notices indicating compliance with copyright requirements. On one occasion, Canadian Monthly felt called

upon to protest "in the name of journalistic decency - to say nothing of common honesty," the lifting from their pages of the whole of a novelette, copyrighted at Ottawa and for which the Canadian Monthly had paid the author.¹⁸

We have observed, with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure, that some members of the Press of the Dominion appear to look upon the contents of the Canadian Monthly much in the same light as Lord Dundreary's valet regarded his master's wardrobe, and, acting upon principles similar to those which actuated that eccentric individual, transfer, without scruple, from our columns to their own, whatever strikes their fancy.¹⁹

They concluded firmly that "should this caution not prove efficacious to put stop to the practice complained of, we shall be reluctantly compelled to resort to a legal enforcement of our rights."²⁰

For the following year of 1877, the Canadian Monthly appeared under new publishers, Hart & Rawlinson. Primarily booksellers and stationers, they later began to publish American reprints. The new publishers effected little change in the make-up of the Monthly, and the editor remained unidentified. The only innovation was the introduction of a new department, "Round the Table," which encouraged the exchange of reader's views. Guest writers contributed opinions and discursive musings on very general topics, light and serious, but were seldom identified by name.

In January, 1878, the management of the Canadian Monthly underwent another change, with the original printers of the magazine, Hunter, Rose & Co., undertaking publication. The founders of this firm, Robert Hunter and George Maclean Rose, having bought out the printing establishment of Samuel Thompson in Quebec,²¹ later secured a government printing contract in Ottawa. In 1871, they consolidated their business in Toronto and began

publishing Canadian reprints of English copyright books, for which, Rattray claimed, "the firm honestly compensated the authors whose work they reproduced, although this of course placed them at a disadvantage as compared with the piratical publishers of the U.S."²² Hunter, Rose had printed the Canadian Monthly for other publishers since its inception in 1872. Since December 1876, they had also printed for Belford Brothers Belford's Magazine: A Magazine of Literature and Art. The magazine was made up of reprinted American and British stories and serials, often lifted from Belford's current reprinted books, along with articles, poems, and stories by Canadian writers. Many of these contributors, including Susanna Moodie, Charles Sangster, John Reade, John Hunter-Duvar, John G. Bourinot and M. J. Griffin, also wrote for the Canadian Monthly.

Belford Brothers was set up in 1876 in Toronto by Alexander Belford, his brothers, Charles and J. Robert Belford, and James Clarke. Charles Belford was assistant editor of the Toronto Leader and later editor of the Toronto Mail. In 1871, when they took over A. S. Irving Co. to establish the Canadian News and Publishing Co., G. M. Adam had noted "they were capable and enterprising men; and their business record in the way of native publishing ventures . . . shows them to be industrious, intelligent and shrewd." As to their business practices, he put forth the prevailing Canadian stance:

Most of [their publications] have had a very large sale, being representative of current literature, popular among a class that will and must be amused. Though this class of writing has but little intrinsic merit, and is likely to be but ephemeral in character, yet if this literature is to be sold in the country, we may as well have it employ native labour in its manufacture, so long as it infringes no legal copyright. The moral interest of the author . . . it may perhaps, be time enough to respect when our American friends respect English copyright interests.²³

The Belford brothers' later connection with the Canadian Monthly, although brief, precipitated an incident in a continuing copyright feud between them and Mark Twain. It began with the reprinting by the Canadian News and Publishing Co., their earlier firm, of a series of sketches by Twain, lifted from the pages of Galaxy.²⁴ The Canadian Monthly, in March 1876, had carried another sketch of Twain's, "A Literary Nightmare," and acknowledged it as reprinted from the Atlantic Monthly. That same year, this sketch, along with "Old Times on the Mississippi," was published, without permission of the author, by Belford Brothers in book form. Belford Brothers had also brought out a cheap edition of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer and sold copies in the United States as well as Canada, thereby, according to Samuel Clemens in a letter to his publisher, taking all the profits out of the book: "We find our copyright law here to be nearly worthless, and if I can make a living out of plays, I shall never write another book. . . . The Canadian Tom Sawyer has actually taken the market from us in every village in the Union."²⁵ Meanwhile, Belford Brothers had written to the editor of the Atlantic, W. D. Howells, in November 1876, asking whether arrangements could be made to publish Mark Twain's future contributions to the Atlantic: "We would be willing to pay liberally for the right to publish them in the magazine although the law allows us to pirate them."²⁶ Clemens replied to Howells that "If there is another magazine in Toronto (or Montreal) I want to give it advanced sheets - Belford Brothers, the miserable thieves, couldn't buy a sentence from me for any money. Is there another magazine - I earnestly want to give advanced sheets to it."²⁷ The following year, having completed "Some Rambling Notes on an Idle Excursion," Clemens again put the question to Howells,²⁸ and also inquired of H. O. Houghton, the

publisher of the Atlantic, his opinion of the Canadian Monthly, then published by Hart & Rawlinson. Clemens was apparently unaware of the reprinting (with acknowledgement) of the earlier sketch "A Literary Nightmare" in the Canadian Monthly. When Houghton had assured him that the Canadian Monthly was a "first class journal," Clemens arranged for duplicate proofs of "An Idle Excursion" to be sent to the magazine.²⁹ It appeared in the Canadian Monthly from October, 1877 to January, 1878, with the note "published from advanced sheets by arrangement with the author and his American Publishers."³⁰ The editors of the Mark Twain-Howells Letters claim that "Clemens probably offered the articles to the Canadian Monthly without charge. The device prevented the Belford Brothers from pirating them: but the strategy could not be repeated because in June, 1878, the Canadian Monthly was taken over by the Belford's."³¹ But, as Gordon Roper points out, "he did not beat the Belford Brothers. . . . Once again they anticipated his authorized English and American publishers by issuing in 1878 an edition - the first anywhere in book form - of an Idle Excursion."³² The volume also contained "The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton," a piece which had appeared in the Canadian Monthly in March 1878, "published by arrangement with the author." Twain had intended to send a third sketch to Canadian Monthly, probably "About Magnanimous-Incident Literature," according to a letter to Howells in March 1878.³³ He decided later, however, that he would not venture simultaneous publication in Canada unless Houghton could get the Canadian copyright immediately transferred to himself or some personal friend of his.³⁴ Clemens either realized the futility of assigning copyright to any Canadian publisher, or had heard of the impending merger of Canadian Monthly and Belford's.

The Canadian Monthly was to be taken over by Clemens' hated enemies the Belfords with the issue for July 1878, and some rumour of the impending change had apparently reached Boston. Clemens would have suffered agonies if he had helped the Belford's get Canadian copyright to any of his work by sending it himself to a magazine they were about to acquire.³⁵

For the third time the management of the Canadian Monthly was to change hands. The newly formed publishing company which took over publication was, ironically, only briefly connected with the Belford's.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

¹Prospectus for 1875, CMNR, VI (November 1874).

²Ibid.

³James Douglas, "Intellectual Progress of Canada," CMNR, VII (June 1875), 474.

⁴Advertisement, CMNR, VII (January 1875).

⁵Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: University Press, 1963), p. 322.

⁶E.M. Everett, The Party of Humanity (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 321.

⁷Public Archives of Canada, Buchanan Papers, Buchanan to Messrs. Adam, Stevenson, August 7, 1876.

⁸Norman Shrive, Charles Mair, Literary Nationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 131.

⁹Shrive, ibid., pp. 201-2.

¹⁰Instances of early work which was later published in an altered version can also be found in the poems of Alexander McLachlan. The poem, "To an Indian's Skull," published in the Canadian Monthly in 1872 appears later in a considerably expanded version in his Poems and Songs. See Alexander McLachlan, Poems and Songs (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1874), pp. 162-5, and CMNR, I (February 1872), 142-3.

¹¹Prospectus for 1875, CMNR, VI (November 1874).

¹²CMNR, X (September 1876), 276.

¹³Lovell was also a nephew of John Gibson, the Garland's editor and G. M. Adam was a son-in-law of Gibson.

¹⁴He thus proved "by reductio ad absurdum, that he could do in exile what, as a Canadian, he was not permitted to do at home." CMNR, II (July 1872), 90.

¹⁵Madeleine B. Stern, Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1956), p. 262.

¹⁶Lovell later became "one of the largest distributors of imported books at cheap prices that publishing history ever witnessed." Stern, Imprints on History, p. 264.

¹⁷See CMNR, I (April 1872), 289-99; II (July 1872), 96; II (December 1872), 575; Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, I (September 1878), 396-76. Hereafter cited as RB CMNR.

¹⁸CMNR, IX (June 1876), 562.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Samuel Thompson, Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer, 1833-1883 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1884), pp. 220, 229.

²²W. J. Rattray, The Scot in British North America, IV (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 131.

²³Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 25.

²⁴Gordon Roper, "Mark Twain and His Canadian Publishers," American Book Collector, X (June 1960), 15.

²⁵Hamlin Hill, ed., Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers, 1867-1894 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 106-7.

²⁶Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson, ed., Mark Twain-Howells Letters (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 166.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰The final instalment in Canadian Monthly included a note from the author regarding the omission of a name in the original proof from Atlantic.

³¹Smith and Gibson, Twain-Howells Letters, p. 201.

³²Roper, "Mark Twain and His Canadian Publishers," p. 19.

³³Smith and Gibson, Twain-Howells Letters, pp. 222-3.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

IV

ROSE-BELFORD'S CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1878-1882

The amalgamation of Belford's Monthly and the Canadian Monthly, resulting in the emergence of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review in July 1878, came about with the joining of forces of Hunter, Rose and Company and Belford Brothers. The new firm of Rose-Belford Publishing Company was established with George M. Rose as president and Robert Belford as manager, operating from 60 York Street, Toronto. The alliance between Rose and the Belfords was short-lived for within a year the firm moved to the former Hunter, Rose quarters at 25 Wellington Street and Alexander and Charles Belford with their partner, James Clarke, reorganized and moved to Chicago. Robert Belford, meanwhile, set up Belford and Company in Toronto but later also moved to New York.¹ The firm of Rose-Belford continued in Toronto under George Rose and his brother, Daniel. Robert Hunter of Rose's original firm died in 1877.

The unauthorized reprinting of American books undertaken by Belford Brothers was continued by the new firm. The sharp increase in the reviews of American books from Canadian publishers in the first issues of the magazine after amalgamation reflected the extension of such practices in Canada. From July to December 1878, forty-five books of the sixty-two reviewed bore both American and Canadian imprints, one had both British and Canadian publishers and two had all three.

The Canadian Monthly did not, however, become a Rose-Belford house organ for the promotion of the publisher's offerings. Under its new editor, George Stewart, it attempted to promote such popular journalistic features as the serialized novel and the illustrated article. It also strove to maintain its earlier standards which had earned it an excellent reputation but small financial support. George Stewart later recalled that the Canadian Monthly "though a very excellent publication, was not paying."² Stewart's career in publishing had started in 1865 with the Stamp Collectors' Monthly Gazette in St. John, New Brunswick. In 1867 he had founded and edited Stewart's Quarterly, gaining an acceptable reputation for the magazine during its five years of publication. A regular contributor to Belford's Magazine, in May 1878 he moved to Toronto to take over the editorship of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly.

In compliance with the pressure to compete with the illustrated monthlies, the Canadian Monthly began to run illustrated articles. As the cost of engraving was high, the illustrations were purchased from American publishers at a reasonable price.³ These illustrations appeared in other contemporary journals, but not necessarily accompanying the same articles. One American editor was known to supply illustrated copy by selecting some cuts from a stock built up over the years and commissioning a writer to write around them.⁴ Another method of supplying copy was to run excerpts from a current book in the publisher's press. At least one of the Monthly's illustrated articles was an excerpt from a forthcoming Rose-Belford book, Annie Brassey's A Voyage in the Sunbeam.

Under Stewart the Canadian Monthly began to purchase more fiction from American writers than heretofore. The serialized novels of earlier

issues had been those of the Canadian writers, Louisa Murray, Agnes M. Machar, Mrs. J. V. Noel and Mrs. Lovett-Cameron, supplemented by those of the popular British authors, F. W. Robinson, William Black and Wilkie Collins. Belford's Monthly had been publishing work from James Payn, Edgar Fawcett, Walter Besant and James Rice before the amalgamation and these names began to appear in the new Canadian Monthly. Stewart later recalled that Payn's terms were well within their financial resources, for Payn "was not very much embarrassed with wealth at that period."⁵

Stewart's account of his transactions with Wilkie Collins raises the possibility that Rose-Belford brought out the first edition anywhere of at least one of his stories. Canadian Monthly purchased The Haunted Hotel for one hundred pounds, a price which included serial and book publication rights, "and the privilege of selling it to any American publisher, save Harper Brothers of New York, with whom the author had a quarrel."⁶ The Monthly later sold the item for three hundred dollars and considered itself amply re-imbursed. The first instalment of The Haunted Hotel appeared in the British magazine Belgravia in June 1878 and in Canadian Monthly in July, and the story was published in book form by Chatto and Windus of Piccadilly in November 1878.⁷ Because the Canadian Monthly carried a review of The Haunted Hotel under the Rose-Belford imprint in the November issue, it is reasonable to assume that it was published the month before. Stewart also purchased a second story from Collins, The Fallen Leaves. Collins considered this work to be his best to date and accompanied each instalment with a note, one of them stipulating "the absolute, literal reprinting of "The Fallen Leaves" . . . the gentle reader will have the

story exactly as I have written it, or will not have the story at all."⁸

Published by Chatto and Windus in July 1879, the serialized form appeared in the Canadian Monthly from February 1879 to March 1880. The Rose-Belford edition of the novel, however, was not reviewed in the Canadian Monthly until October 1879.

During Stewart's year as editor, an incident arose involving Goldwin Smith and Sir Francis Hincks. In the first of Smith's "Papers by a Bystander" in January 1879, he had criticised earlier statements by Hincks, who retaliated to the "Bystander" with further argument on the subject in "Round the Table."⁹ Hincks, in the same issue, continued his critique of Goldwin Smith's "The Political Destiny of Canada," in an article of his own similarly titled.¹⁰ Stewart later recalled the situation:

Sir Francis Hincks wrote strongly on the Letelier difficulty in Quebec, and broke a lance with Prof. Smith. Some years afterwards the old statesman called at my residence in Quebec to ask me to give him the name of his opponent. Of course, I could not gratify him without consent of the writer.¹¹

If Stewart's recollections are not at fault, Hincks evidently was not aware of the identity of the "Bystander" nor did he realize he was taking on his old opponent by another name. It was the first appearance of Smith's pen name in the Canadian Monthly since his break with the magazine four years earlier. The practice of anonymous journalism still remained, it seemed, a cherished tenet.

With the resignation of George Stewart as editor in 1879, the magazine moved into another phase.¹² The frontispiece of the July issue of that year bore, for the first time, the name of G. Mercer Adam as editor. For the next three years, until its demise in 1882, the Canadian Monthly expanded in size and became almost exclusively made up of original material

by Canadian writers. The continuing controversy of science and religion developed further with the publishing of Goldwin Smith's article, "The Prospect of a Moral Interregnum." Theological and ethical aspects of a morality with or without religion were vigorously debated while two other topical issues, the "temperance question" and the "woman question" provoked further articles in a running exchange of arguments.¹³

Fiction was enormously popular reading fare in this period although contributions to the Canadian Monthly were relatively few. "However stagnant the general publishing trade might be there is no dearth of fiction," the Monthly noted in 1875. "If novel reading keeps pace with novel writing, there must be little else read."¹⁴ In the United States, fiction filled the pages of the "family" monthlies and weeklies but was not dominant in such magazines as Harper's and the Atlantic. Most of the serial fiction in American periodicals came from England and editors frequently complained of the American writers' lack of narrative talent.¹⁵ Good short stories appeared to be particularly wanting. The editor of Galaxy stated that: "Our public has no notion whatever of the poor quality of almost all the writing in this department submitted to American publishers and editors."¹⁶ In 1872, the Monthly had pointed out that: "We prefer short tales to serials, but we welcome every description of fiction, from the domestic novel to the fairy tale. Humour in any form is as acceptable as it is rare."¹⁷ The short story form, however, was still limited largely to "true life" narratives and undramatic "adventure" stories.

With the dearth of good fiction, any opportunity presented to publish writers like Mark Twain and William Dean Howells would be considered very profitable and the appearance of a story by Howells, "A Fearful Responsibility,"

in the July and August 1881 issues of the Canadian Monthly, published without any acknowledgements, raises certain speculations. Howell's father, W. C. Howells, had contributed several items to the Canadian Monthly in 1878, the year of his appointment as American consul in Toronto, having previously held the consular post in Quebec.¹⁸ The Howell family had many close connections with Canada (Annie Howell having married Achille Fréchette, brother of the French Canadian poet) and visits were often exchanged across the border.¹⁹ William Dean Howells was familiar with Mark Twain's feud with the Belford's and had had his own trials with the Canadian firm.²⁰ The story, "A Fearful Responsibility," was published in Scribner's a month before its appearance in the Canadian Monthly and had either been lifted from their pages without the author's permission or had been given or sold to the Canadian Monthly. Howells would be sufficiently familiar with the magazine to learn of an unauthorized reprinting of his work. If the Canadian Monthly published the story without an "arrangement with the author" as indicated, it was uncharacteristic of Adam and the earlier established practices of the magazine. It is possible that a need to promote the magazine at this time overrode any compunction he may have had.

Contributions of poetry during these final years of the Monthly increased from two or three to an average of eight original poems an issue. Public demand for poetry may not have been greater but the sources, at any rate, were more plentiful. As with the earlier poetry, the quality was uneven. The celebration of the months, the seasons and the years were still recurring themes and the deaths of leading figures continued to be appropriately acknowledged with commemorative poems. In a day when many

political leaders "like Cartier, Howe and McGee" were in Adam's words "in sympathy with literature,"²¹ poems of translations of classical verse were not uncommon from the pens of writers, journalists and politicians. But among these intellectual exercises, the work of some young emerging poets began to appear. In 1880, Charles G. D. Roberts began to contribute to the Monthly from Chatham, New Brunswick. One of his poems, "Off Pelorus," appeared in the magazine in April 1881.²² Its later publication in his collection, In Divers Tones, is a slightly revised version.²³ Other youthful contributors during these years were Frederick George Scott and Sara Jeannette Duncan, names attesting to G. Mercer Adam's role as a receptive and encouraging editor.

Charles Pelham Mulvany wrote of the "self-sacrificing care" by Adam devoted to the Monthly:

With scant appreciation and no reward, Mr. Adam laboured for years to keep life in the Canadian Monthly, whose publishers showed little inclination to second his efforts by any expenditure of money in canvassing for, or in other ways promoting, the success of the serial which they owned. In how many cases, known to the writer, has Mr. Adam written long letters of encouragement and counsel to literary aspirants? . . . Owing to the course pursued by the publishers, the contributions were unpaid for, and it is a remarkable proof of Mr. G. Mercer Adam's personal influence among literary men, that contributions of such high merit should have poured in and over so long a period. When the inevitable end came, it was not due to any exhaustion of the literary material, which was never more vigorous and abundant than in the latest issues of the Monthly.²⁴

With the June issue of 1882 the final announcement of the Monthly appeared. The reasons for its suspension, which the publishers hoped would not be permanent, included "our inchoate state as a nation," the increasing competition from American and English magazines, and the lack of support from the press, from public figures and from the reading public.

The public has its preferences, and has a right to them, and if it gives little heed to native projects in higher literature, or finds more attraction in those that have their source abroad, Canadian publishers must accept the situation and await the development of a national spirit more favourable to culture and intellectual advancement. Till we reach the self-containedness and self-dependence which it is to be hoped the country will one day attain, Canadian literary enterprise will have little to encourage it. . . . Without the stimulus of patriotism all enterprises of a purely literary character must languish, and Canadian talent be drafted off to more remunerative spheres.²⁵

For G. Mercer Adam, the greater sphere of remuneration proved, finally, to be the United States. Immediately after the demise of the Monthly, he had continued his work in literary publishing in Canada, including the editing of the Canada Educational Monthly, which he had founded in 1877, and the managing of the Bystander for Goldwin Smith. But when Henry J. Morgan wrote in 1903 to inform Adam of his nomination to the Royal Society of Canada,²⁶ the letter found Adam in New York. Adam's reply was revealing:

In many respects, I should have been glad to have continued my work in Canada, but the field there, at the best, is a narrow one, as you know, and when one has large responsibilities as I have in the shape of numerous offspring, by two dear wives, it behooves one to make many sacrifices, and forego even one's loved country, for the sake of boiling the pot and making some provision, however modest, for one's own.²⁷

To the end, Adam remained in the background of Canada's literary scene. In a postscript to his letter to Morgan he said, "I have frequently thought of writing an article in the way of personal reminiscence connected with Canada and my own literary work."²⁸ There is no evidence that he did.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹Gordon Roper, "Mark Twain and His Canadian Publishers," American Book Collector, X (June 1960), 18.

²Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 164.

³Ibid.

⁴H. A. Innis, The Strategy of Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 2.

⁵Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 164.

⁶Ibid., 165.

⁷Michael Sadlier, Excursions in Victorian Bibliography (London: Chaundy & Cox, 1922), p. 146.

⁸Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 165.

⁹Francis Hincks, RB CMNR, II (February 1879), 248-50.

¹⁰Francis Hincks, RB CMNR, II (February 1879), 170-82.

¹¹Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 165.

¹²Stewart retired "to accept the editorship of the Quebec Chronicle." Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 166.

¹³See Index.

¹⁴CMNR, VIII (August 1875), 188.

¹⁵Frank L. Mott, History of American Magazines (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 224-5.

¹⁶Galaxy, XIX (February 1875), 288-9.

¹⁷CMNR, II (July 1872), 1.

¹⁸W. D. Howells, Life in Letters of William Dean Howells, Vol. I, Mildred Howells, ed. (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928), pp. 250-1.

¹⁹"Mrs. Howells means to buy clothes in Canada. How very different it is when they propose to print one's book in Canada, and smuggle that across. It makes me feel terribly." W. D. Howells, letter to John Hay, May 2, 1879, in Life In Letters of W. D. Howells, p. 269.

²⁰"I suppose Belford is on the watch for my new book. I'm in hopes he'll find it too long to publish at the cheap rate he gets out the others." W. D. Howells, letter to W. C. Howells, April 17, 1880, in Life in Letters of W. D. Howells, p. 284.

²¹G. Mercer Adam, "The late William Alexander Foster, Q.C.," in Canada First, A Memorial of the Late William A. Foster, Q.C. (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1890), p. 203.

²²RB CMNR, VI (April 1881), 377-8.

²³Charles G. D. Roberts, In Divers Tones (Boston: Lothrop, 1886), pp. 46-8.

²⁴C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto, Past and Present (Toronto: Caiger, 1884), p. 210.

²⁵RB CMNR, VIII (June 1882), 660.

²⁶The establishment of the Society had come under criticism in CMNR. See Index.

²⁷Public Archives of Canada, Henry J. Morgan Papers, G. Mercer Adam to Morgan, November 30, 1903.

²⁸Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The Canadian Monthly expired at a time when no other Canadian periodical could be considered a competitor for its audience. The Nation had ceased publication in 1876, the New Dominion Monthly in 1878, and the Bystander, temporarily, in 1881 to be resumed again in 1883. Whether the immediate causes for its demise were caused more by lack of promotion on the part of the publishers, as suggested by Mulvany, than by lack of interest on the part of the public, the fact remained that the market among the English-speaking reading public of Canada was not sufficient to sustain the kind of journalism the Monthly afforded. The Canadian public never had supported the magazine sufficiently to make it a financially viable business. Nurtured by Goldwin Smith at its beginning, it did not become the "starveling affair" he predicted after he had weaned it, but only because of the efforts of G. Mercer Adam and others who continued its publication with little if any material profit and considerable sacrifice.

The boom in magazine publishing in England and the United States had caused one editor to comment that, "there were more magazines in the wretched field than there were blades of grass to support them."¹ Another was concerned over the "mania of magazine-starting" which, he feared, should "spend itself by every successful writer becoming possessed of a magazine of his own."² But the boom did not result in large circulations for the

magazines in the same class as the Monthly.³ The first class periodicals in these countries had the advantages of reaching audiences abroad as well as at home. Rose-Belford's, in 1878, advertised facsimile editions of the Fortnightly Review, published from duplicate plates which reached them so promptly from England they were able to sell copies "as soon as the original arrives in Canada, and at one-half the price."⁴ Although the Monthly had been pleased to report a brief comment in its behalf in the English Publishers' Circular in 1873⁵ and the Bystander was claimed to have been read widely in England,⁶ colonial productions generally received scant attention abroad. The circulation of a Canadian magazine, as Adam point out, was almost entirely limited to a "public whose ear can be reached by a Canadian publisher."⁷

Dependent on a small public, the Canadian Monthly did to a large extent owe its existence to what Goldwin Smith called "a short-lived glow of national feeling which passed through the veins of the community on the morrow of Confederation."⁸ "A stimulus of patriotism"⁹ had animated a small group of people to persist in their efforts to maintain certain standards of journalistic endeavour. The magazine was born in terms of high idealism: the stated aim was to encourage a literature "indigenous in character and honest and pure in spirit."¹⁰ It succeeded as a publication with a mature and independent objectivity that was new in Canadian journalism. For a literary periodical, independence of outlook became an increasingly expensive commodity in a welter of popular literature.

For its contributors, the Monthly's requirements were "temperateness of tone, courtesy and a fair ability of treatment."¹¹ Their names form a large part of the lists of the published authors of the latter

half of the nineteenth century. The Monthly had provided them with a vital medium that was encouraging of their talents and, in a sense other than financial, rewarding for their efforts.

For the readers of its day, the Monthly offered guidance and some stimulus in the exploration of new work in literature and ideas. It often provided critical standards of performance and expression. Most importantly, it presented to the Canadian reader the awareness of the possibilities of an indigenous literature.

For today's reader, the Canadian Monthly presents a document of an earlier era which was involved in issues paralleling those of our present society - from the calls for a "new" nationalism to the pleas for the protection of Newfoundland seals.¹² It affords a valuable insight into the sources of developing trends in Canadian culture and literature. Above all, it bears testimony to the spirit and idealism of a small group of literary nationalists who not only kept it alive in a strongly competitive marketplace but maintained the high standards they had early set for it.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

¹William Tinsley, cited in Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 359.

²Round Table, VI (November 23, 1867), 337, cited in Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 5.

³Altick, English Common Reader, p. 360.

⁴Advertisement in the Canadian Spectator, I (February 23, 1878).

⁵CMNR, III (March 1873), 263.

⁶Elisabeth Wallace, Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 88.

⁷CMNR, VI (December 1874), 573.

⁸Smith, The Bystander, II (January 1883), 68.

⁹RB CMNR, VIII (June 1882), 660.

¹⁰CMNR, IV (December 1873), 548.

¹¹RB CMNR, IV (February 1880), 113.

¹²CMNR, V (June 1874), 552.

INDEX

to

The Canadian Monthly and National Review 1872-1878

and

Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 1878-1882

INTRODUCTION

1. Subject and Author Headings

Entries under the subject and author headings are listed in chronological order. This sequence reveals the development or pattern of an individual author's contributions and of specific subject matter. In the line entries, the names of contributors are given as signed and pseudonyms indicated.

Sample entry:

ARDAGH, Alice Maud 1866-1936
A woman's love. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:74 J1 80

Explanation:

Alice Maud Ardagh's poem, "A Woman's Love," can be found, under her pseudonym "Esperance," in volume five of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review on page 74 in the issue for July 1880.

Where only a possible identification can be made, there is a cross-reference in the heading to the attributed name, preceded by ? and enclosed in brackets to indicate editorial insertion.

Sample entry:

AURORA [pseud, see also ?MORGAN, Mary]
A song. [P] 2:324 O 72

Explanation:

The pseudonym, "Aurora," is possibly that of Mary Morgan. Her poem, "A Song," can be found in volume two of Canadian Monthly and National Review on page 324 in the issue for October 1872.

No positive identification of pseudonyms or of anonymous contributors has been made without textual evidence found either in the Canadian Monthly or in source material which is listed in the Bibliography. Suggested attributions are based on textual references in the magazine, (such as place-names accompanying some contributions), dates of publication, and the nature of the material.

2. Fiction and Poems Headings

Entries under the form headings, FICTION and POEMS, are listed alphabetically by title.

Sample entry:**FICTION**

An adventure and no mistake. J.F.N. 2:429-35 N 72

Explanation:

The story, "An Adventure and No Mistake," by J.F.N. can be found in volume two of Canadian Monthly and National Review on pages 429 to 435 in the issue for November 1872.

3. Book Reviews Heading

Under the form heading, BOOK REVIEWS, books reviewed are listed by author in alphabetical order. Reviews are unsigned unless designated by [Rev. by ...], in which case, the review forms the basis of a feature article. The date of publication of the book is given only when it differs from the date of entry. The name of the author of the book is followed by the title, the publication details if given, and the location in the magazine. The authors are listed as given in the text of the book review.

Sample entry:

BOOK REVIEWS

Carlyle, Thomas

Reminiscences. N.Y.:Harper. Toronto:Campbell. RB6:544-8
My 81; [Rev. by L.Murray] RB7:121-33 Ag 81

Explanation:

The publication, Reminiscences, written by Thomas Carlyle and published in New York by Harper Bros. and in Toronto by James Campbell & Son in 1881, is reviewed anonymously in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, volume six, on pages 544 to 548 in the issue of May 1881. It is also reviewed by L. Murray in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly, volume seven, on pages 121 to 133 in the issue of August 1881.

4. Other Editorial Departments

The following editorial departments of the Canadian Monthly contain material not indexed under subject headings, but references to their locations in the magazine can be found under their titles.

Bric-a-Brac. Miscellaneous items of light material.

Books Received. Listings of new publications.

Current Events. Commentary on contemporary political affairs primarily in Canada.

Current Literature. Reviews and references to material in leading contemporary periodicals and brief references to new offerings in publications.

Literary Notes. Items of interest in the sphere of publishing, such as news of forthcoming books.

Music and the Drama. Current musical and theatrical events in Toronto.

Round the Table. Readers' views on a variety of miscellaneous topics.

Science and Nature. References to current practical, technical, or scientific items of interest.

The Monthly's Scrap Book. Short anecdotes and verse.

Canadian Monthly
and National Review

Rose-Belford's
Canadian Monthly
and National Review

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Symbols

[F] Fiction	[P] Poem
[R] Review	[pseud] Pseudonym
(Rep) Reprinted	(Tr) Translation
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The trade of Canada during 1871-1872. 3:221-3 Mr 73

Reform in ocean passenger travel. Anon. 5:97-101 Fe 74

The situation: commercial and financial. 8:123-31 Ag 75

The four fat and the four lean years. 13:186-9 Fe 78

see also BOOK REVIEWS

YOUNG, Joseph

An Indian's views of Indian Affairs. (Rep from North American Review)
 RB2:615-25 My 79

YOUNG, Julian Charles

Mathews, the comedian. (Rep from A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian)
 2:183-7 Ag, 274-83 S 72

An Austrian romance. (Rep from A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian)
 3:339-45 Ap 73

YOUNG, S.W.

The last days of the Irish parliament. RB3:10-25 J1 79

YOUNG PEOPLE

RB8:213-7 Fe, 319-22 Mr, 432-6 Ap, 542-5 My, 647-54 Je 82

YOUTH

Concerning youth. M. RB4:362-7 Ap 80

YULE, Pamela Vining 1825?-1897

Eloise. [P] Mrs.J.C.Yule. 1:446-7 My 72

The dance of the winds. [P] Mrs.J.C.Yule. 2:344-6 O 72

The wayside elm. [P] Mrs.J.C.Yule. 5:400-2 My 74

see also BOOK REVIEWS

APPENDIX A
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CANADIAN MAGAZINES, REVIEWS
AND LITERARY JOURNALS

The following publications, published monthly unless indicated otherwise, are listed in the order of the date of their founding. The list, which cannot claim to be comprehensive, includes major magazines of literary relevance for the period, 1789-1880

1789-1820

Nova Scotia Magazine, and comprehensive review of literature and news.
Halifax. July, 1789 - March, 1792.

Quebec Magazine. Quebec. August, 1792 - January, 1794.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Miscellaneous Repository. Halifax. 1806.

Christian Examiner. Kingston, later York. 1819-1820.

1820-1830

The Enquirer. Quebec. May, 1821 - April, 1822.

Scribbler. Montreal. (Weekly), June, 1821 - March, 1827.

The Literary Miscellany. Montreal. (Semi-monthly), November, 1822 -
June, 1823.

Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository. Montreal. (Quarterly), July,
1823 - February, 1825.

Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal. Montreal. (Quarterly),
July, 1824 - September, 1826.

Acadian Magazine: or, literary mirror, consisting of original and selected
matter on literature and other subjects. Halifax. July, 1826 -
June, 1827.

Gore Gazette. Toronto. 1827-1828.

Canadian Miscellany: or, the religious, literary and statistical intelligencer. Montreal. April, 1828 - September, 1828.

New Brunswick Religious and Literary Journal. St. John. (Weekly), January, 1829 - February, 1830.

The Lower Canada Watchman. Kingston. 1829.

1830-1840

Halifax Monthly Magazine. Halifax. June, 1830-1833.

Monthly Magazine. Montreal. 1831-1862?

British North American Magazine and Colonial Journal. Halifax. February, 1831 -

Literary Miscellany. Niagara. 1832?

Canadian Garland: a semi-monthly and miscellaneous journal. Hamilton. (Weekly), September 15, 1832 - August 31, 1833.

Canadian Magazine: religion, science, literature, morality, agriculture and fiction. York. January, 1833 - April, 1833.

Canadian Literary Magazine. York. April, 1833 - June, 1833.

Bee: a weekly journal devoted to news, politics, literature, agriculture, etc. Pictou. May 27, 1835 - May 16, 1838.

Colonial Pearl: a volume devoted to polite literature, science and religion.

or

Halifax Pearl: Halifax. (Weekly), 1837 - May 16, 1840.

1840-1850

Amaranth: a monthly magazine. St. John. January, 1841 - December 1843.

Christian Mirror: devoted to the interests of religion and general literature. Montreal. August, 1841 - September, 1844.

Monthly Review. Toronto. 1841.

Nova Scotia: a monthly magazine. Halifax. February, 1842 - April, 1842.

Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine. Kingston. May, 1846 - April, 1847.

Victoria Magazine. Belleville. September, 1847 - August, 1848.

Colonial Protestant and Journal of Literature and Science. Montreal.
January, 1848 - March, 1849.

Canadian Gem and Family Visitor: a literary and religious magazine. Cobourg.
January, 1848 - December, 1849.

The Magic Lantern. Montreal. March, 1849 - September, 1849.

1850-1860

The Mayflower, or Ladies Acadian Newspaper. Halifax. May 1851 - February
1852.

Son of Temperance and Canadian Literary Gem. Toronto. February, 1851 -
December, 1854.

The Provincial or Halifax Monthly Magazine. Halifax. 1852 - December, 1853.

British Colonial Magazine. Toronto. (Weekly), 1852-1853.

Anglo-American Magazine. Toronto. July, 1852 - December, 1855.

The Canadian Journal: a repertory of industry, science and art. Toronto.
August, 1852 - January, 1878.

er. Halifax. 1853.

aeum. Halifax. 1855-1856.

Canadian Review and Journal of Literature. Montreal. 1855-1856.

Canadian Quarterly Review. Toronto. January, 1856 - April, 1856.

Montreal Quarterly Review. Montreal. 1856 or 1857?

Canadian Military Gazette: sporting and literary chronicle. Ottawa.
(Weekly), February 3, 1857 - May 15, 1857.

1860-1870

Guardian: a monthly magazine of education and general literature. St. John.
January - September, 1860.

Colonial Review: a weekly journal of politics, literature and society.
St. John and Halifax. 1862.

British Canadian Review. Quebec. December, 1862 - February, 1863.

British American Magazine. Toronto. May, 1863 - April, 1864.

Canadian Quarterly Review and Family Magazine: devoted to national politics and interesting family literature. Hamilton. January, 1864 - April, 1866.

Canadian Patriot. Montreal. 1864 or 1866.

Saturday Reader. Montreal. (Weekly), September, 1865 - August, 1867.

Stewart's Quarterly. St. John. 1867-1872.

New Dominion Monthly. Montreal. October, 1867-1879.

Monthly Rose: a literary and religious magazine for Christian families. Bridgewater, Nova Scotia. June - September, 1868.

Canadian Illustrated News. Montreal. (Weekly), October, 1869 - December, 1883.

1870-1880

Canada Bookseller: a quarterly record of British, American and Native literature for the use of the trade and book-buyers. Toronto. March, 1870 - April, 1871? Canada Bookseller Miscellany and Advertiser, 1872.

Canadian Literary Journal: devoted to select original literature, and the interest of Canadian literary societies. Toronto. July, 1870 - May, 1871.

Broad-Axe. Charlottetown. (Weekly), 1871.

King's College University Magazine. Halifax. 1871.

Canadian Magazine. Toronto. July, 1871 - January, 1872.

Canadian Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art. Toronto. December, 1871 - February, 1872.

Canadian Monthly and National Review. Toronto. January, 1872 - June, 1878.
Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly. July, 1878 - June, 1882.

Maritime Monthly: a magazine of literature, science and art. Halifax and St. John. 1873-1875.

Nation. Toronto. (Weekly), April, 1874 - September, 1876.

Harp: a magazine of general literature. Montreal. May, 1874 - October, 1882.

Literary Echo: amusing and instructive. Charlottetown. (Weekly), 1874-1875.

Canadian Methodist Magazine. Toronto. 1875-1906.

Belfords Monthly Magazine: a magazine of literature and art. Toronto. December, 1876 - May, 1878.

Torch: devoted to light literature. St. John. (Weekly), December, 1877 - August, 1878.

The Canadian Spectator. Montreal. (Weekly), January, 1878-1879.

Canada Educational Monthly. Toronto. 1879-1905.

The Bystander: a monthly review of current events, Canadian and general. 1880-1881; 1885; 1889-1890.

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Bystander. 1880-1, 1883, 1889-1890. Microfilm copy.

Canada Bookseller. 1870-1871. Microfilm copy.

Canadian Magazine. 1893-1920.

Canadian Monthly and National Review. 1872-1878.

Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review. 1878-1882.

Literary Garland. 1838-1851. Microfilm copy.

New Dominion Monthly. 1867-1879.

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