

THE ATTITUDE OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS TO NORTH AMERICA
BETWEEN 1790 AND 1850

A thesis
Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Ph.D degree in English
at Edinburgh University

by
Peter Mitcham

Edinburgh University, Scotland.
July, 1958.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I should like to thank the members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the British Empire whose generous overseas scholarship enabled me to carry out this work at the University of Edinburgh. Next, I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor, Professor W.L. Renwick, Professor of English Literature, for his interest and guidance during the preparation of this work, and to Mr. George Shepperson of the Department of History for reading my typescripts and offering much invaluable advice concerning the historical and political matter contained in this work. Finally, my thanks are also due to the staffs of the University of Edinburgh Library, the Scottish National Library, and the Reading Room of the British Museum.

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,
March 1, 1958.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
INTRODUCTION	I
I GENERAL BACKGROUND	7
II THE BRITISH TRAVELLER AND THE HAZARDS OF EMIG- RATION AND SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA	44
III JOHN GALT: THE FORMATION OF HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NORTH AMERICA	70
IV MARRYAT: A NAVAL GENTLEMAN LOOKS AT NORTH AMERICA	105
V CHARLES DICKENS: THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT AND AN AMERICAN CARICATURE	150
VI FRANCES KEMBLE: A TRAGIC AMERICAN EXPERIENCE	188
VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	227
NOTES TO CHAPTER I	238
NOTES TO CHAPTER II	244
NOTES TO CHAPTER III	250
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV	255
NOTES TO CHAPTER V	261
NOTES TO CHAPTER VI	269
BIBLIOGRAPHY	278

INTRODUCTION

The years between 1790 and 1850 constitute a phase in American development in which expanding opportunity and legislative experiment wrought many changes in the American system. Europeans within the period watched the effects of these changes with critical interest, but nowhere was the criticism of America more severe, or the prophecies for her future more gloomy, than in the mass of informative material concerning America published by British observers.

The majority of these observers were emigrants, who for economic, political or religious reasons had gone to America to find employment, or to go to jobs that had previously been arranged. Some of them, possessing a little money, had expected to buy farmland or to speculate in one of many commercial ventures. Of the remainder, several were agricultural investigators who had been hired by groups of British farmers to appraise the agricultural prospects of particular rural localities. Others were professional people engaged on private, government, or military business. A few were dedicated to various humanitarian schemes, such as the development of ideal social communities, and a few were merely tourists.

Many of the emigrants, who had experienced some success in their American ventures, wrote with the ordinary or poorer

class of British emigrant in mind. They discussed the climate, the topography, and the fertility of North America, but, recalling the hazards which they had encountered, they were careful to warn the unsuspecting emigrant of the many dangers and evils that awaited him. Emigration facilities, therefore, in which the emigrant was led to believe that he might leave home without worry, inconvenience, or expense, were flatly denounced. Some states and settlement projects were recommended in preference to others. The emigration prospects in the United States were compared with those of the British North American colonies, and, in many cases, the colonies were contrasted and evaluated separately.

A second type of published material was more recognizable as "travel" information. Written generally for a more leisured class of reader than the ordinary emigrant, these books took the form of a descriptive but critical tour of North America. For instance, many of the writers, starting first in the New England States, travelled down through the Southern States and back, and afterwards across to Upper and Lower Canada. As they went along they commented on emigration, but, remembering the discriminating tastes of their readers, they spent most of their time discussing American institutions, public behavior, manners, degree of refinement, and conduct of every kind. In many ways, therefore, this work seemed most calculated to dispel all illusions that the readers might cher-

ish regarding the American achievement.

The third type of American publication touched on most of the material reviewed in the other two, but displayed greater technical agility and a keener insight. This work was published by prominent British novelists, who believed that their North American experience was of sufficient public interest to embody it in several fictional works besides the conventional "travel" narrative. In contrast to the other material, this work defines the British emigrant's or traveller's position most clearly, and is, therefore, extremely valuable as a criterion from which to analyse the British attitude.

In previous works dealing with this critical material - notably Henry Tuckerman's America and her Commentators (1864), Jane Mesick's The English Traveller in America 1785-1835 (1922), Allan Nevins's American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers (1823), and Max Berger's The British Traveller in America (1943) - more attention was given to its value as political propaganda and to the harm it did to America's reputation abroad than to the fundamental reasons behind the observer's attack.

In a short chapter dealing with the "travel" work, Tuckerman, in particular, went to considerable trouble to impugn the assertions made against the character of his country. Drawing his authority from a bitter Anglo-American dispute involving

several writers and reviewers, he was able to suggest that the aspersions had arisen from the travellers' partiality for their own political institutions rather than from anything they had witnessed in America. This argument holds good certainly for the travellers who allowed their political zeal to colour their accounts, but it in no way proves that the travellers' aversion for many manifestations of the American system was formed without reason. Furthermore, most of the travellers, whom Tuckerman suggested were under political sway, were minor writers whose one literary excursion is the only monument left to their memory. Without more knowledge of their lives, their characters and their moral standards, it is impossible to establish satisfactorily anything regarding their literary motives. Tuckerman dismisses the American writing of prominent novelists such as Marryat and Dickens as having done them no credit. An investigation of their attitude, however, which was similar to the other travellers', might have brought to light some more interesting material.

Jane Mesick, investigating this material in the period 1785 to 1835, was concerned, primarily, with an historical reconstruction of the American domestic scene. Dealing mainly with the emigration writers, she provides an interesting catalogue of the writers' observations with little attempt made to understand their criticisms. Whenever she halts to comment on a particular traveller, however, she reserves, as her compatriot

had done, heavy strictures for the unfair comment or the obvious exaggerations. In doing this she neglects serious moral implications.

Allan Nevins's work, composed of extracts from various British travellers, is an attempt to cover a wider period of American social history than Jane Mesick's. His work, however, is less thorough, and less analytical than hers. Max Berger's work is by far the most comprehensive and reliable of all these works, but like the others he also was inclined to neglect serious moral implications while dealing with this subject.

It is submitted, therefore, that through an examination of several prominent literary travellers, it is possible to show that the British attitude towards North America was generally formed from moral principles rather than from political or commercial expediency. This discussion, however, is not conducted merely to show that certain moral aspects of the problem have been previously neglected. Through the work of the prominent literary figures some attempt will be made to explain why America, despite its recurrence in British didactic literature, did not occupy an important place in the nineteenth century novel. The selection of prominent figures, furthermore, is somewhat arbitrary, but it is submitted that the ones given less attention do not, for the most part, exhibit the representative quality being sought.

The form of this thesis is now briefly outlined. The first chapter provides a general background to Anglo-American relations, in which critical generalizations made by the minor writers are discussed in relation to political and commercial upheavals within the period, to the opinions of the reviewers and other writers, and to emigration to the British North American colonies.

The second chapter deals with the travellers' complaints concerning American agriculture and labour, emigrant settlements, and emigration facilities in general.

In the third chapter the subject of emigration is continued in conjunction with the American experience and published work of John Galt.

The fourth and fifth chapters provide, through an examination of the American travels of Marryat and Dickens, a clear picture of an American tour, the division and behavior of American society, the American press, and the American copyright.

The sixth chapter deals with the theatrical, literary, and private life of Frances Kemble in relation to her long American residence, and her efforts to explain the Americans to her countrymen.

The seventh chapter forms the conclusion.

CHAPTER I
GENERAL BACKGROUND

In the first decade of the period 1790 to 1850 a combination of domestic problems and foreign wars offered little occasion for Anglo-American cooperation. Domestic problems, in the shape of the Federal-Republican conflict, occupied the Americans. Until 1815 foreign wars against the revolutionaries in Europe occupied the British. The value of the American Revolutionary achievement to British politicians meanwhile, rose and fell with the political tides.

During its early stages, the French Revolution had seemed no more than a French equivalent to the liberal reform movement in Britain. In 1789, therefore, the British reformers had watched the experiment with interest, while, among the Radicals, correspondence societies had sprung up, through which liberal ideas were exchanged across the channel. Radical kinship in the French cause became so strong, in fact, that America, as a symbol of democratic enlightenment, slipped from favour and was replaced with the spirited French slogan of "liberty, equality, and fraternity". Then, in 1790, the news of the French mobs' atrocities caused many British reformers to have a change of heart. Burke, who had staunchly upheld the rights of the American colonists, now denounced the French Revolutionaries and

warned his countrymen that, unless democratic ideas were checked, law, order, and every other achievement of civilized society would be battered down by the mob. Subsequent events, such as the guillotining of the French king along with thousands of his nobles, the burning and plundering of their property, and the inauguration of a French Republic, seemed to confirm Burke's predictions. Many of the Whigs, therefore, fearing all reform activity as a threat to their privilege and property, forgot their reform effusions and followed Burke over to the Tory camp. The Tories, meanwhile, replaced their reform program with a drastic policy of repression aimed at reformers and Radicals alike; while from 1793 they waged twenty-two years of war against the French revolutionaries.

The British reform spirit was not crushed, however. This was due partly to the efforts of a few left wing Whigs such as Fox and Erskine, and partly to the Radicals, who, taking advantage of every economic setback and industrial disturbance, appeared periodically throughout the next fifty years demanding suffrage and frequent elections. With the French experiment discredited, furthermore, both left wing Whigs and Radicals remembered America's untarnished record and saw its new value as a reform influence. Thus America during the early part of this period again played a part in British affairs; a part which, although small, was to

command a great deal of noisy attention from the press on both sides of the Atlantic. Many prominent writers and statesmen looked back to the American success. William Blake, for instance, in America a Prophecy (1793) employed America as a symbol of freedom in his revolt against Tory authority, while Shelley and other die-hard radicals and reformers employed similar allusions in their political speeches. In a debate Lord Erskine seconded Lord Grey's motion in 1797 to extend the right of election, and warned the Tories that "monuments of tyranny and injustice (could soon) be overthrown".² In the same debate, Sir Francis Burdett said that the war with France was like the American war: "It is another bold and daring, but unsuccessful attempt to stifle the flame of liberty".³ A year later at a Radical meeting, the Duke of Norfolk, who vigorously opposed such Tory measures as the "Treasonable Practices Act" and the "Seditious Meetings Act", compared the Whig leader, Fox, to George Washington.

"Not twenty years ago the illustrious George Washington had not more than two thousand to rally round him when his country was attacked. America is now free. This day full two thousand men are assembled in this place; I leave you to make the application." ⁴

For this treasonable utterance Norfolk was removed from his colonelcy in the militia and his lord lieutenantcy of the West Riding, and, if Pitt had had his way, Norfolk would also have gone to the Tower. While the Tories were

thus relatively successful in counteracting these and similar Radical utterances, America, at the same time, was highly praised in propaganda from an entirely different source.

The rapid strides made in British agricultural and industrial methods, coupled later with the wartime blockades, not only increased social unrest, but also gave impetus to emigration and to the publication of books describing America's advantages. Radical works, such as Paine's Rights of Man, which advocated a democracy on the American model as a solution to these social problems, were quickly suppressed, but others, which described the prospects of emigration, had an unhampered circulation. Particularly irritating to many Tory sympathizers nevertheless, were the books by former colonists, or Americans, who, while describing their country's natural prospects, took the opportunity to exhibit America as a proud spectacle of popular freedom.

Among these writers were Hector St. Jean DeCrèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer(1782),⁵ a former colonist, and Samuel Stearns, American Oracle (1791), a colonial employee, who both presented highly favourable accounts of America's future. The American writers Jedediah Morse, American Geography(1792), and Captain Imlay, A Topographical Description of the Western Territory...(1792), magnified the political and practical advantages of their country. A

quotation from Imlay's work illustrates the general tone and direction of these accounts.

"Everything here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all bountiful Creator has bestowed upon us. Far from being disgusted with man for his turpitude or depravity, we feel that dignity which nature bestowed upon us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the base alloy of meanness, the concomitant of European education, and what is more lamentable is, that it is the consequence of your very laws and governments." 6

The pictures of America presented with such emotional optimism by Imlay and other admirers of America did not lack critics. One by one emigrants and travellers returned to Britain with a different story to publish. Looking at America in the light of their own experiences, they announced that future visitors would avoid almost certain disappointment if they learned, in addition, something of the seamy side of American life. Several of these writers, however, instead of presenting a balanced picture of American life, laid heavy stress on its worst features, and held them up as an example of the effects of the new French influence in American politics.

In America, as well as in Britain, the influence of the French revolution had also been felt, causing the American leaders to divide over the idea that property and financial interests engendered the right to govern. The two parties formed by this division were the Federalists and the Republicans. The Federalists under Washington and Adams represented

the greater property owning and more highly educated classes, and were afraid of the French theories. The Republicans, led by Jefferson who represented the western farmers and artisans, on the other hand, were distinctly pro-French. Jefferson, in fact, believing an agrarian democracy to be best suited to his country's needs, had already embodied the possibilities for this idea in the framing of the American constitution.

In the ensuing contest for power, the political campaigns of both the Federalist and the Republican parties were extremely bitter, but in relation to Britain it was the Republicans who were most belligerent. They saw at once the value of anti-British propaganda on the provincial American masses who knew nothing of European affairs. Therefore, alluding to the pro-British sentiments of the Federalists, they reminded the people of past British tyranny and of their own military successes against it. Under a ceaseless bombardment from pamphlets and a particularly vicious press, many ordinary Americans tended to swell with their own importance, and to speak scathingly of all matters relating to Europe. Frontier life, furthermore, had already instilled an easy familiarity and careless attitude in these people, which made them seem all the more repugnant to many of the travellers.

One of the most critical of the British travellers, Isaac Weld, Travels through North America and Upper and Lower

Canada (1799), wrote that his travels had been impelled by the feeling that Europe, through its interminable wars, was heading for destruction. Wishing to avoid this catastrophe, therefore, he had decided to tour North America in hopes of finding "an agreeable place of abode".⁷ After almost two years, however, he was convinced that he had seen little to give him "the slightest wish to revisit it".⁸

Weld attached much of the blame for his bitter experience to the pro-American writers, whose one-sided accounts, he felt, were needlessly injurious to the credulous public. In a line by line analysis of Thomas Cooper's Some Information Respecting America (1794), he questioned most of Cooper's information, and expressed the following opinion:

"Any person that has travelled generally through the United States must acknowledge that Mr. Cooper has here spoken with great partiality; for as to the morality and good order that prevails amongst the people, he has applied to all of them what only hold true with respect to those who live in the most improved parts of the country." ⁹

Expecting to find everywhere the industrious and temperate people described by Cooper, Weld was appalled at the barbarous behavior and the primitive conditions which he discovered in various areas. At Richmond, Virginia, he noted the drunkenness of the inhabitants and their addiction to gambling.¹⁰ He warned future travellers of their vicious brawling in which the opponents bit, kicked, scratched, and gouged one another's eyes. As a result of gouging, he reported that in some southern states one man in four appeared

minus one eye, while he had heard it said that in the Carolinas and Georgia brawling opponents tried to "tear out each others' testicles".¹¹

As Weld's tour progressed so his contempt for American behavior grew. After an argument in a bar, in which several Republican supporters demonstrated their anti-British sentiments, Weld made the following estimation of American political enlightenment.

"...their opinions are for the most part crude and dogmatical and principally borrowed from the newspapers, which are wretchedly compiled from the pamphlets of the day, having read a few of which, they think themselves arrived at the summit of intellectual excellence, and qualified for making the deepest political researches." 12

William Janson, The Stranger in America (1807), was another traveller whose "delusive hopes had terminated in disappointment".¹³ In a long introduction he related how he had gone to America to make a fortune in a building venture, but how, like many other middle class emigrants, he had been systematically swindled by sharp American speculators. Remembering his bitter experience, he noted, like Weld, that he had "never formed an American friendship",¹⁴ and that, if it were not for flattering accounts like Austen's Letters from London (1802), emigrants generally would be better prepared. While discussing Austen and similar propagandists, he expressed his opinion of the American mob, and of the behavior that was most likely to rankle a British gentleman.

"Though the Americans declaim so loudly in favour of liberty and equality, yet nowhere are those terms more unworthily prostituted. That equality, the establishment of which was a favorite object of the revolutionary republicans in France, is still the idol of the mob in the United States. The meanest plebian would be quite ungovernable, did he barely suspect you of harbouring the idea that he was inadmissible to equal rank with the best informed of his fellow citizens. Hence you are accosted by people of the lowest description with familiarity, and answered with carelessness. This, it is obvious, cannot be a very enviable state of society for a person educated in European notions of the decorum necessary to be observed in civilized life." 15

Although the political life of America was not the main concern of Janson or Weld, it is surprising how vividly their casual references to it show the close relationship between European and American political events. Like many of his countrymen, Janson had a deep respect for the lofty character of Washington, and for his calm, judicial statesmanship. In order to show the level to which the Americans had sunk, he gave several examples of the crudity of prevailing anti-Washington and anti-Federalist feeling. The Republicans, he said, not only vilified their opponents as a political party, but even accused Washington of having selected the site for the Capitol near his Mount Vernon estate in order to increase the value of his own property. Quoting from the pro-Republican Aurora for March 6, 1797, Janson showed the ungrateful reaction to the news of Washington's retirement.

"If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment; ... Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity, and to legalize corruption." 16

Many other minor writers who appeared early in this period, continued to find similar anecdotes and gossip, which they applied in detriment to America: among them were Richard Parkinson, Tour in America (1805), who had a great deal to say about agriculture and corruption in American commerce; Thomas Ashe, Travels in America (1808), who presented a particularly uninviting picture of the American frontier in contrast with several European areas; and an anonymous "British subject" whose book title was self-explanatory, A True Picture of the United States of America in which "oil without vinegar" is analysed and proved to be rancid. (1807). They were not all content, however, to relate their American experience in usual prose narrative. Ann Ritson, A Poetical Picture of America (1809), dealt with her experience in verse, in which she exposed American follies in a series of ridiculous episodes.

The reception of this work by the British literary 'reviews' depended, to some extent, on political party affiliation of the 'review' in question. During the early years of this period, Tory and High Church papers such as the Critical Review were generally opposed to the American influence, but it was not until the foundation of the Quarterly Review in 1809 that the travel books were used

methodically as a political weapon. Following this date, and until about 1835, almost any number of the Quarterly Review, and later Fraser's Magazine,¹⁷ showed to what extent the talents of the reviewers were employed to debunk American democracy.

During a discussion of Abiel Holmes' "American Annals" (1806), the Quarterly Review for November, 1809, took the opportunity to express its views on the subject of the American political experiment. The reviewers agreed that the American Revolution had produced many able and enlightened leaders, but they saw in the subsequent democratic experiment the same seeds of demoralization and destruction that had grown to strangle the high principles of the liberal movement in France. To support their theory that the Americans were, in fact, already demoralized they referred to the travellers' American experiences and were of the opinion that: "There is scarcely any medium in America between over-Godliness and a brutal irreligion". Following references to Weld's remarks on 'gouging' and 'bundling'¹⁸ furthermore, they concluded, in particular reference to American hotels, that:-

"Living in a semi-savage state, the greater part of the Americans are so accustomed to dispense with the comforts of life which they cannot obtain, that they have learnt to neglect even those decencies which are within their reach... The traveller (finds at an inn) his chamber is filled with beds, in which men and women, if women happen to be travelling, lie promiscuously; and when he has fallen asleep in foul sheets, he may think himself fortunate if some dirty American does not awaken him in turning in by his side." 19

On the other hand, the reviewers for the Edinburgh Review, a periodical with close Whig connections, were not so quick to condemn America. They sympathized with the disappointed travellers and agreed that there were strong grounds for moral criticism. They preferred, however, to ascribe many of the American failings, which are discussed in the ensuing chapters, to life on the frontier rather than to the American political system. In reviewing the most critical travel books, furthermore, they showed themselves to be more objective than the Quarterly Review by reprimanding the authors for their hasty judgements and prejudiced outlook. Similarly the Monthly Review, which was less partisan than either the Edinburgh Review or the Quarterly Review, was not convinced that American imperfections were so bad or as permanent as the travellers described. Therefore, not wishing to make a political issue out of what they believed to be a private war between the travellers and America, they also censured particular travellers for bad form. In discussing William Janson's work, therefore, the Monthly Review, May, 1807, censured the author:

"An English gentleman's habits are, we are ready to allow, ill-suited to the roughness and inurbanity of republican manners; and it is not improbable that the behavior of the author might have appeared proud and haughty among the democratic settlers and merchants. Certain it is that a mutual disgust was excited; and if Americans were deficient in civilities to him, he amply repaid them in their own coin." 20

The travel book controversy which was thus beginning to take shape in the British 'reviews' by 1809 was soon to draw blistering fire from several American sources. Before this controversy is discussed, however, it is first necessary to mention Thomas Moore and William Cobbett, whose anti-American commentaries furnished the Tory side with considerable authoritative propaganda.

Moore's brief encounter with American society occurred in 1803 when, during his appointment with the Admiralty in Bermuda, he took the opportunity to tour the eastern states. On his way to New York he carried with him the romantic concept of America admitted to by most of the British travellers.

"I went to America...indulged in many of these illusive ideas, with respect to the purity of the government and the primitive happiness of the people, which I had early imbibed in my native country, where, unfortunately, discontent at home enhances every distant temptation, and the Western world has long been looked to as a retreat from real or imaginary oppression; as the Elysian Atlantis." 21

After a few weeks among "rabble senators and merchant kings",²² however, Moore had experienced a complete reversal of his romantic ideals. Through his high Whig connections in Britain he was able to move freely in the best circles of American Federalist society. In Washington, as guest of the British minister, he mixed with the Federal and Republican leaders and their ladies, and was soon embroiled in the midst

of a social civil war. The Republicans were rude to the Federalists and their British friends. Jefferson snubbed Moore's host and hostess, and Moore himself had very scant respect shown to him.²³ Later, as a guest of honour at Federal drawing rooms in Philadelphia, he imbibed more anti-Jeffersonian sentiment and heard more political bickering. It was through the gossip of these drawing rooms, in fact, that Moore heard the slanderous story that Jefferson kept a Negro mistress. This libel he unfortunately perpetuated in his "Poem to Thomas Hume".

"T'is evening now; beneath the Western star
 Soft sighs the lover through his sweet seegar
 And fills the ears of some consenting she
 With puffs and vows, with smoke and constancy.
 The patriot, fresh from Freedom's councils come,
 Now pleased retires to lash his slaves at home;
 Or woo, perhaps, some black Aspasia's charms
 And dream of freedom in his bondsmaid's arms." 24

Back in Britain, Moore was later in 1816 to regret the "hasty prejudices"²⁵ expressed in his "Poems relating to America", but they remained nevertheless, as a testimony to a dreamer's disappointment.

William Cobbett's American experience, in contrast to Moore's social tour, had the form of an enforced residence. On two occasions, within a decade, he was forced to settle in America in order to avoid action for libel. The second occasion, 1817 to 1819, while he was of radical persuasion, provided him with the opportunity to publish his observations

on American agriculture and emigration. This work, which is discussed later, showed a shrewd insight into agricultural methods.

The first residence 1792-1800, while he was Tory in politics, brought forth his anti-Democrat pamphlets, written under the pseudonym of "Peter Porcupine". These works, which were collected and published in 1801, provided the Tories²⁶ with considerable propaganda, some of which was in the form of scandalous anecdotes relating to the private lives of the Republicans. In one pamphlet, Cobbett's Advice, published September 29, 1800, in London, Cobbett reproached the British radicals and left wing Whigs and made a clear statement of his attitude towards the democratic influence.

"Having, in America, witnessed the fatal effects of Revolution; having seen piety give place to a contempt of religion, plain dealing exchanged for shuffling and fraud, universal suspicion and distrust; having seen a country, once the seat of peace and good neighborhood, torn to pieces by faction, plunged, by intriguing demagogues, into never-ceasing hatred and strife; having seen a people, once too fond of what they called liberty to bear the gentle sway of a British king, humbly bend their necks to the yoke, nay, to the very foot of a set of grovelling despots; having in short, seen the crime of rebellion against monarchy punished by the tormenting, the degrading curse of Republicanism, it is with the utmost Astonishment and Indignation that I find many of those who have the press at their command, endeavouring to bring down on my native country the very same species of calamity and disgrace." 27

Resenting the intrusion of British opinions in their political sphere, many American writers judged all travellers guilty of Tory prejudice who presumed to criticise American

affairs. Over the next few years, furthermore, as the question of naval impressment, the British blockade, and the other factors leading to the indecisive war of 1812 roused British and American tempers, so the travel book controversy became more impassioned.

In 1810 Inchiquin's: The Jesuit's Letters were published. These letters, so it was said in the preface, were found on a bookstall in Antwerp and were the spontaneous work of contented settlers. They were, in fact, a spurious publication of an over-zealous American named C. Jared Ingersoll; a discovery which was noted with satisfaction in several British reviews.²⁸ Ingersoll's intention, of course, was to deny the charges made against his country by the irritable British travellers and to present a more desirable picture of the American achievement. The French Revolution, he said, had cast a gloom over republicanism making it repulsive and discreditable to Europeans, but democracy was "the fruit of the American soil" and unique in republican experiments.²⁹ The Jefferson administration had had many obstacles to overcome,³⁰ but already it was making great strides in education, industry, and literature.³¹

The Quarterly Review for January 1814 dealt summarily with the Jesuit's Letters, and crushed Ingersoll's nebulous explanations. Democracy was a fanciful experiment predestined to failure. "Washington, and Hamilton and Adams", said the

reviewers, "saw and foretold the feuds and animosities that would spring up.... They were aware too of the evil arising out of the anomaly of each state having its separate government and legislature..."³²

Jefferson, of course, was the principal target in the reviewers' attack. He was against any form of established church, and it was his party that had abolished primogeniture and thereby taken the future power from the propertied class and placed it in the hands of the mob. What hope was there in a country, therefore, where a man could marry a black woman, rob her and leave her, marry again, and then become a senator? Although the Quarterly Review did not identify the bigamist-senator except by reference to "Peter Porcupine",³³ they did identify Jefferson as a coward and mercenary opportunist.

"In the rebellion of the colonies against the mother country, he was among the earliest to blow the blast of discord, though he did not think it expedient to buckle on his armour. He never appeared on the stage but prompted the actors behind the scenes." 34

Quoting later from Moore's Epistles they again identified Jefferson and his motives:

"The most persevering enemy to the interests of this country, has been a Virginia merchant, who finding it easier to settle his conscience than his debts, was one of the first to raise the standard of rebellion against Great Britain, and has ever since endeavored to revenge upon the whole country, the obligations which he is under to a few of its merchants." 35

Denouncing the democratic elective system, the character of

the candidates, the viciousness of their political campaigns, and the calibre of their constituents, the Quarterly Review, in reference to Inchiquin's "man of the people", made this parting sally -

"In America the "man of the people" is one who frequents the grog shops, smokes his segar and harangues the populace with violent and inflammatory abuse of the hostile faction;... Next to the 'lawyers', some conductor of a democratic newspaper, or some needy adventurer who can stoop to the level of the mob and pander to their passions, is the 'man of the people!'" 36

The North American Review meanwhile, had also risen to the defence of the American character. In reply to the Quarterly Review's recent remarks, it attacked the British travellers, and catalogued the British periodicals and newspapers that gave credence to the travellers' remarks and used them to support their own political propaganda. Referring to Cobbett, who was now writing against the Tories, the Review stated:

"The writings of a man like Cobbett afford us no satisfaction; because, if he espouses our cause now, it is not to make compensation for former abuse; (as Peter Porcupine) but, the mere restless ebullition of factious opposition to his own government; nor have we any security that he will not return tomorrow to his primitive doctrines, and again stimulate the mob with every species of calumny, to wish our utter destruction." 39

The American writer, P.K. Paulding, The United States and England (1815) provided the North American Review with the evidence necessary to show the unreliability of the travellers. Paulding discovered, for instance, that Janson

was a vindictive and unscrupulous speculator who was forced to run away from America in order to escape his creditors. Unscrupulous in his distortion of the truth, Janson had also plagiarized his Philadelphia engravings for his travel book from an American engraver named Birch.⁴¹

Paulding, however, was not always so accurate in his accusations. In the preface of his book, he named the poet laureate, Southey, as the author of the Quarterly Review's scurrilous article on the Jesuit's Letters. Southey, through the London Courier, hotly denied this wild accusation, and at the same time reprimanded the American for the "style and temper of his pamphlet".⁴² This clash between Paulding and Southey added more bitterness to the controversy.

The purpose of his work, Paulding said, was "to lay a solid foundation for national pride, by contrasting the advantages we possess, and the disadvantages under which we labour, with those of England". To do this, Paulding imitated the travellers' methods of argument. He attempted to show the moral inferiority of Britain with allusions to the crime and depravity of particular areas, such as the London slums and the depressed factory towns. To add authority to his work, furthermore, he quoted liberally from the statistical works on crime and depravity compiled by the London magistrate, Patrick Colquhoun.⁴⁴

Following Paulding in 1815, Timothy Dwight, Remarks on

the review of Inbiquin's Letters . . ., continued the attack against the Quarterly Review. In 1818 Robert Walsh, An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America, added more fuel to the controversy in his efforts "to repel actively and if possible arrest, the war which is waged without stint or intermission, upon our national reputation."⁴⁵ Two satiric works, A Sketch of Old-England by a New-England Man in 1822, and John Bull in America in 1824 marked the renewal of Paulding's onslaught against the travellers. These were followed in 1828 by two works of a similar nature, Fenimore Cooper's Notions of America picked up by a Travelling Bachelor,⁴⁶ and Judge James Hall's Letters from the West . . .

Meanwhile, Britain in 1815 began to feel the pinch of a serious economic depression. Twenty-two years of war had taken a heavy toll from commerce, trade was in confusion, taxes high, and a colossal war debt hung over the national treasury. The government, of course, had stimulated economic life during the Napoleonic war in feeding and equipping thousands of soldiers and in subsidizing its allies, but now the government bought nothing, and devastated Europe proved to be an equally poor customer. Britain was consequently overstocked with goods which, as prices rapidly fell, caused many firms and factories to fail. The resulting unemployment among agricultural laborers and artisans, aggravated by

thousands of jobless servicemen, increased emigration to North America.

In addition to these economic troubles, the British also found, at first, increasing hostility on the frontier between the United States and the Canadian colonies. The treaty of Ghent had ended the indecisive war of 1812, but had not mentioned the questions of commercial rights and impressment of seamen, which had started the war. The two nations had commenced on an expensive race for naval supremacy on the Great Lakes, and had continued to fortify strategic positions along the frontier.

In earlier times when economic unrest had stimulated emigration, it had usually been the Tories who, in order to protect the interests of the landed aristocracy, had sponsored settlement in the North American colonies rather than give way to economic reform. The actual emigration schemes, however, had been left in the hands of philanthropic individuals, notably Lord Selkirk in 1802. Now, with tension in North America, and the grave unemployment problem at home, many Tories were more anxious to make emigration a government policy. Some idea of the urgency of this matter can be seen in the following statements: Henry Goulbourne to Peel, the Home Secretary - "if we intend to preserve these provinces it (emigration) is the only method by which we can hope to do so." Bathurst to Peel - "As emigration will take place to America

it is much better for us to give them a proper direction towards our own colonies instead of adding to the strength of the United States."⁴⁷

The urgency of both the post war economic and political situations was reflected in the emigration literature of the time. With the object of alleviating Britain's economic distress, new travel book writers took the initiative and addressed themselves to the British farmers and artisans. Unlike their embittered predecessors, whose works tended to discourage emigration, the new writers were generally fair and reliable. They discussed pay, employment, industry and farming in the Canadian colonies and in the United States, while they gave less attention to differences in politics and behavior. In these works, genuine criticisms, which were likely to affect the emigrant, were not ignored, but were considered dispassionately and in proportion to the many advantages. Among these writers were Edward Augustus Kendall, Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States... (1816), Thomas Hulme, Hints to Emigrants (1817), Francis Hall, Travels in Canada and the United States...(1818), William Amphlett, Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of North America(1819), Charles F. Grece, Facts and Observations respecting Canada and the United States of America(1819), C. Stuart, The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada, (1820), W. Dalton, Travels in the United States of America and Part of

Upper Canada (1821), and John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada (1821).

Although the majority of the new books were impartial in their recommendations, several writers brought discredit on the emigration books through recommending, either for personal or political reasons, some settlement areas in preference to others. One of these writers, Morris Birkbeck, began a personal controversy which was to involve most of the travellers and reviews for several years.

In 1817, Birkbeck, a Quaker farmer from Surrey, bought 26,400 acres for a settlement on the Illinois prairie. His reasons for leaving Britain were that the government allowed him no vote, continued to tax him, and obliged him to pay tithes to a church with which he had no affiliation. After a short tour in the United States, he published Notes on a Journey in America from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois, (1817), a year later Letters from Illinois (1818), and in 1822 An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain. In these works, he described the many advantages of his land, hoping to attract other settlers. Unfortunately, Birkbeck's praises for the Illinois territory drew suspicion and criticism from the other travellers. His most vigorous opponents were those who favored settlement in the eastern regions. H. B. Fearon in Sketches of America (1818), one of the most reliable of the British travellers, conducted a line by line analysis

49

of Birkbeck's statements, and accused him of recommending the territory merely to enhance the value of his own land. William Faux, Memorable Days in America (1823), another embittered traveller, drew attention to an Irishman, Joseph Hawks, who said that Birkbeck had lured him to Illinois and then had sold him a stretch of swampland. Adlard Welby, A Visit to North America (1821), and Adam Hodgson, Letters from North America (1824), both accused Birkbeck of being a land jobber and wild speculator.

50

The most caustic criticisms of Birkbeck's enterprise, however, came from William Cobbett who was, from 1817 to 1819, self-exiled in the United States to escape prosecution for his radical activities. Cobbett endorsed emigration to the eastern states, but viewed all western undertakings with suspicion. In A Year's Residence in America (1818),⁵¹ he provided the potential British emigrant with a great deal of sound advice, and, at the same time, attacked Birkbeck for distorting his information. Cobbett, having never been to the western settlements, was forced to draw his information from a second-hand source which was, in this case, the travel work of Thomas Hulme.⁵² Hulme's account, however, had been fairly well disposed towards the Illinois territory; a factor which made Cobbett a target for criticism. Richard Flower, for instance, Letters from Lexington and the Illinois (1819), made his work a means to refute the misleading statements made by Cobbett.

The Illinois topic acted like a chain reaction in one travel book after another, and, like similar controversies concerning settlements in Indiana and Louisiana,⁵³ went on without a solution. The ultimate end, in fact, came only in the successful settlement of these areas.

While Birkbeck started a controversy concerned solely with the practical aspects of emigration, other writers were accused of deprecating the United States in order to encourage emigration to their communities in the Canadian colonies. John Lambert, Travels through Canada and North America (1814), wrote scornfully of the opportunities to be had in the United States and Lower Canada, while C.F. Crece⁵⁴ refuted Lambert's claims and tried to paint a true picture of Canadian settlement. J. MacGregor, in his Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America (1828), was definite in his recommendation.

"...if the condition of the young men who cannot find employment in their native country be sufficient reason to justify emigration it will, I firmly believe, answer the views of such people better to remove to British America rather than to the United States." 55

Thomas Baillie, An Account of the Province of New Brunswick (1832), and William Moorsom's Letters from Nova Scotia (1836), were both elaborate recommendations for settlement in their provinces. Henry Tudor, in his Narrative of a Tour in North America (1834), set out to show how Canada, through its similarity to Britain, was to be preferred to the

United States. Adam Ferguson, Practical Notes of a Tour of Canada and the United States (1833), was reproached by Patrick Shirreff, A Tour through North America (1835), for over-rating his subject. Of all these pro-Canadian writers, W.F. Goodmane, Seven Years in America (1845), expresses most clearly, perhaps, the patriotic inducement to settle in the colonies:

"... a land, over which still waves the ensign of English glory, and where exists the honesty of unperverted principle ... If all the vast wilds of British America were peopled with Britons, what a new and formidable Britain would present itself to the world." 56

In spite of the spirited patriotism displayed by these writers, several factors interfered with a government decision on matters relating to Canadian colonization. In 1815, when the situation seemed most urgent, several Tory members, as we have seen, agitated for government intervention in colonial emigration schemes. They were delayed, however, by other members who objected that the Canadian colonies would always be a financial burden to Britain and therefore a waste of time. This disinterest in the colonies coupled with several internal problems, which are discussed in a later chapter,⁵⁷ not only kept a government plan in the balance until 1828, but also continued to interfere with its successful operation. Another and more important factor involved a new trend in Britain's policy towards the United States, which, besides making a show of British force in the colonies unnecessary, also consid-

erably weakened the Tory party at home.

Beginning in 1815 some of the more liberal Tory leaders, Canning, Huskisson, and Peel, whose diplomatic pressure subsequently pushed Britain towards free trade, began to be heard. In relation to North America, Castlereagh, the foreign minister, considerably helped this new movement when, in 1817, he concluded the Rush-Bagot agreement with the United States. Under this agreement both Britain and the United States agreed to abandon the arms race. To all but a few Tories of the extreme right wing, the threat of United States aggression now appeared to be at an end. In 1822, Canning, who had succeeded Castlereagh as foreign minister, made another gesture of British goodwill. He acknowledged the growing importance of the United States and of democracy when he joined Monroe in guaranteeing the freedom of the South American republics. Following this Huskisson, who was now president of the Board of Trade, realizing that the cure for Britain's economic ills lay in unrestricted trade, cooperated with Canning to reform the mercantile system. The old Navigation Acts which required that all goods from America be brought in British ships were relaxed. American ships were now allowed to carry goods to Britain, although Britain kept in her hands the shipping between Britain and her colonies. The colonial ports were also thrown open to American trade, and several trade negotiations were opened between the Canadian colonies and the United States.

It has been shown, so far, that the travellers since 1815 answered Britain's economic distress signal by publishing practical, and generally reliable accounts of the advantages of North America to the British emigrants. The Birkbeck and the Canadian colony disputes showed also that many of these writers made a sincere effort to correct the misrepresentations that had been made by other writers with patriotic or commercial motives. In contrast to several of the earlier travellers, in fact, these new writers seemed to confirm that the dire prophecies of the fall of American democracy were false. ⁵⁸ A closer look at the Edinburgh Review and the travel books after 1815 reveals, furthermore, that the better Anglo-American understanding being sought by the British government was aided considerably by the statements of a great many of these commentators.

After 1815 many of the members of the Whig party, which had melted away during the time of the British reaction to the French Revolution, ⁵⁹ took heart from the growing importance of the United States and became more outspoken on the subject of parliamentary reform. The Whig affiliated Edinburgh Review, ⁶⁰ which, as was mentioned earlier, generally respected the American political experiment, also committed itself to reform, and in Sydney Smith's article on America in 1824 openly praised several American political methods. ⁶¹ With reference to the attitude of the travellers towards America, Lord Jeffrey

contributed the most significant article to the Edinburgh Review, when in May, 1820, he reviewed the patriotic work of an American writer, Robert Walsh.⁶²

Walsh, in order to refute the many charges made by the British travellers, hotly defended the American character and accused the British reviews in general of encouraging their public to believe the calumnious statements made about America. Lord Jeffrey, who had been favorably impressed with America during his recent visit, answered Walsh and pointed out that although the Edinburgh Review had criticised America and its literature, it had been from a moral and literary and not a political standpoint. He agreed with Walsh, furthermore, that many of the travellers and the Tory Quarterly Review⁶³ had been unfair to America, but reminded Walsh also that these people by no means spoke the attitude of the whole nation.

"We must begin by admitting that America has cause for complaint;- and that nothing can be more despicable and disgusting, than the scurrility with which she has been assailed, by a portion of the press in this country - and that, disgraceful as these publications are, they speak the sense of a powerful and active party in the nation.... we wish most anxiously to impress upon Mr. W. and his adherants to beware how they believe that this party speaks the sense of the British Nation - or that their sentiments on this, or any other occasions, are in any degree in accordance with those of the body of the people." ⁶⁴

Many of the travellers echoed Lord Jeffrey's sentiments.

J.M. Duncan, Travels through part of the United States of America (1823), criticised the Quarterly Review for being

65
 ungenerous and illiberal in its treatment of the Americans,
 and quoted from several numbers of the North American
Review to show, on the other hand, how honourable the
 Americans had been in their attitude towards Britain. 66
 Calling for friendship and cooperation between Britain and the
 United States, Duncan wrote: - "let us regard each other as
 brethren, cordially unite for council, cooperation and
 sympathy; and give to the world a brighter and more benefic-
 ial demonstration than it has hitherto seen...." 67

Adam Hodgson, Letters from North America (1824), wish-
 ed to "dissipate those prejudices" which seemed "to prevail
 in Great Britain", 68 by giving an unvarnished account of the
 commercial advantages of North America. Previous travellers, 69
 he felt, had been disillusioned by the worst features of
 America and had never seen the better features. The American
 farmers, he pointed out, were extremely industrious but they
 spent twice as much time on making clothes as on growing
 corn. The British, on the other hand, paid dearly for corn
 while they could produce cotton goods cheaply. Were these
 not adequate grounds for friendly commercial cooperation? 70

William Newman Blane, An excursion through the United
States and Canada (1824), commenting on the books of other
 North American travellers, stated: -

"Prejudice and former habits give a great bias to the
 accounts even of the most enlightened; and we rarely
 find that the reports of any two men who have seen the
 same country agree in every point.... many of our
 travellers have, I am sorry to say, been guilty of
 intentional mistatements. Finding themselves disappoint-

ed, either in their pecuniary speculation, or in their ideas of the advantages of emigration, they have wilfully calumniated the people of the country. Moreover there are still in England a few miscreants who detest free institutions, and who maintain with all their might "the right divine to govern wrong". To these men the rising power and importance of the United States is gall and wormwood." 71

Blane, furthermore, was not moved by the emotional outbursts of American writers, such as Paulding and Walsh.⁷² These writers, he stated, should be placed on the same shelf as Ashe's and Welby's exhibitions of national hatred which "afford such a fine treat to the "Quarterly"."⁷³ He was pleased to note, however, that his countrymen were beginning "to view the United States in a fairer light, and in common with the Americans themselves, seem at last disposed to treat all such calumnious publications with merited contempt."⁷⁴

With this increasing opposition to illiberal criticism of America, the Quarterly Review had difficulty in finding the means with which to deprecate democracy. In reviewing the travellers who defended America, the Quarterly Review accepted their criticisms of America while it dismissed their fair remarks as unsound, or formed from hasty observation. Henry Bradshaw Fearon's favourable observations were dismissed as too hasty.⁷⁵ William Tell Harris's Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America (1821), and Frances Wright's Views of Society and Manners in America (1821), and Richard Flower's Letters from Lexington and the

Illinois (1819), all favourable to America, were held up to ridicule.⁷⁶ Francis Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States,⁷⁷ was called radical trash. It found Adlard Welby's A visit to North America (1821), generally acceptable, but sternly reproached the author when he spoke of high taxes and Tory repression in Britain.⁷⁸ William Faux's Memorable Days in America (1823) they found to be honest and impartial, although the other reviews found that Faux had distorted his American experience.⁷⁹

Between about 1824 and 1830 the travel book controversy smouldered fitfully in the reviews. In 1830, however, the Whigs came into office under Lord Grey, whose composite cabinet contained many Radicals, including Lord Durham and Henry Brougham,⁸⁰ the staunch advocates of parliamentary reform. Over the next two years, therefore, the heated 'reform' dispute which took place in the party publications grew intense. Amongst the anti-reform propaganda used by the Quarterly Review, were two of the most timely and critical of the British travel books. These books were Basil Hall's Travels in North America (1830) and Frances Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832).

Both Hall and Frances Trollope considered America to be demoralized. Hall, who had travelled through New England, Georgia, Mississippi, and the Canadas, found every experience disagreeable, and reiterated the many bitter

observations made earlier by writers like Weld, Janson, and Faux. Frances Trollope, who had stayed in Cincinnati long enough to lose all her money, peered sharply at the Americans, and produced what is probably the most vicious account of American manners ever published. Frances Trollope, furthermore, said candidly that the purpose of her work was "to encourage her countrymen to hold fast by the Constitution that insures all the blessings which flow from established habits and solid principles."⁸¹

The Quarterly Review, of course, praised these works,⁸² and accepted Frances Trollope's remarks without suspicion. The Edinburgh Review, in an article dealing with a number of critical travellers, said of Frances Trollope that:

"Her preface of March, 1832, is an express advertisement against the Reform Bill. Four and thirty chapters of American scandal are dished up with the immediate purpose of contrasting the graceful virtues of a borough monger with the profligate vulgarity of a ten pound franchise."⁸³

The Monthly Review, meanwhile, whose intention was to steer a middle course in party politics, tried "to get rid of these false notices"⁸⁴ from both sides. In a contrast between S.A. Ferral's A Ramble of six thousand miles through the United States (1832), and the work of Hall and Frances Trollope, the Monthly Review found that,

"he has not, like Captain Basil Hall, expected to find her (America's) political institutions free from blemish, nor has he, like Mrs. Trollope, looked for the refinements of London in the precincts of Cincinnati."⁸⁵

The North American Review and several other American writers attacked Hall's work and pointed out the illogical nature of the comparisons that he had made between the American and British political systems. ⁸⁶ Later in 1832, the North American Review also criticised and refuted many of the statements made by Francis Trollope.

The Reform Bill, of course, became law in July, 1832, but it is impossible to estimate the political value of the travel book publicity to either Whig or Tory party. If the following British travellers are to be believed, however, both Hall and Francis Trollope succeeded in stirring up a great deal of anti-British feeling among the sensitive Americans. James Stuart, Three Years in America (1833) and Henry Tudor, Narrative of a Tour in North America (1834) spoke of the crudity of Mrs. Trollope's remarks on American morality and testified to the ill feeling she had created. ⁸⁷ E.T. Coke, A Subaltern's Furlough (1833), and C.A. Murray, Travels in North America... (1839), spoke of the reaction of the American newspapers to Hall's work and of the general hatred of British travellers. ⁸⁸ James Boardman, America and the Americans (1833) reported that it was a popular idea in the United States that Hall had been financed by the ⁸⁹ Tory government.

In the British parliament after 1832, with the middle class firmly entrenched alongside the old aristocracy, the

traditional Tory and Whig party lines broke down into Whigs, conservative Liberals, liberal Conservatives, die-hard Tories, and reform-conscious Radicals. Between 1830 and 1867 Whig-Liberal combinations dominated the government, making a steady march in economic, social, and political reform. Anglo-American relations continued to improve. In commerce the new reforms in the old Navigation Acts, and finally the abolition of the Corn Laws (1846) brought a profitable exchange of British manufactures and American food. In cultural relations, new American writers, who will be discussed later, became popular in Britain, and close friendships sprang up between British and American literary circles. The British travel books, meanwhile, became, politically, a dead issue. The Quarterly Review, in fact, paid its last respects to the travel book controversy in 1835 in its review of C.T. Latrobe's The Rambler in North America (1835). Latrobe had pointed out⁹⁰ how easy it was for a British traveller to be deceived into making sweeping statements which were only partially true or characteristic of a certain class of Americans. The Quarterly Review replied -

"We much wish we had kept it steadily before us when reviewing the recent work of Mrs. Trollope, and we may even add Captain Basil Hall. We have no suspicion that either of these able writers designed to give a false impression of the state of society in America;... Let us hear no more then - at least, let us hear nothing in harsh contemptuous, or arrogant language - about the petty circumstances which may happen to strike an English eye, accustomed to the highly cultivated features

of society in the upper walks of life in England, as characteristic of the people of America,..." 91

Following this observation by the Quarterly Review the odious political comparisons and the "harsh, contemptuous, or arrogant language" appeared gradually to slip from the pages of subsequent travel books. The criticism of America, however, by the authors of these books continued as before.

Looking back over the period from 1790, it is seen that the travel books acquired their greatest political significance in the concluding years of the War of 1812 and during the Reform Bill agitation. On both occasions, only the worst of the anti-American books were publicized for political purposes by the Quarterly Review, while the least derogatory of the books were either ridiculed, ignored, or, as in the time of the Reform Bill, employed as counter propaganda by the pro-reform periodicals. On both occasions, furthermore, the Americans came passionately to their own defence, and in consequence, the political aspects of the travel books in general were greatly over emphasized.

Throughout the period, the underlying stimulus for almost all the British travel publications was the social-economic upheaval which made emigration an essential safety valve. Even the most scurrilous of the British travellers were, in a sense, disillusioned emigrants who wrote to correct the notions which people of their class might cherish

regarding America. So far, only the political implications of their work have been discussed. No mention was made regarding their other criticisms, or of the many instances when these criticisms were fundamentally the same as the observations made by the less vituperative travellers. In the following chapter the important topic of American agriculture and land settlement is discussed. On this topic most of the travellers reached some level of agreement.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH TRAVELLER AND THE HAZARDS OF EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA

Following the Revolutionary war, the Americans wished to be free of all ties with Great Britain, and, since commerce had been the main link between the two countries, this was to be most readily accomplished through the rapid development of America's natural resources, and through trade with other countries. Under the Articles of Confederation, however, two obstacles appeared which prevented this economic development from being uniform. First of all, the maintenance of a national market was not made a function of the Federal government, and secondly, there was no central judiciary to enforce a decision in inter-state disputes. The power of trade legislation, therefore, rested almost entirely in the hands of the separate states, who regarding each other as commercial rivals, were reluctant to exert their power on private enterprise, lest they should endanger their own states' competitive advantages. The clauses of the Constitution, 1787 - 1789, were motions to remedy the weaknesses of the central legislature. The problems of interpretation in these clauses, however, gave way to practical and legal obstacles

in centralized power behind which corrupt private enterprise managed to elude effective state regulations.

Land, of course, was the unlimited asset on which the commercial system of the United States came to be built, but in these early years, it would have been a slow process had it not been for the gigantic influx of investors and settlers from Europe. Each state realized at once the need for such an influx and gave private enterprise a free hand to encourage it. In the hands of private enterprise, corruption in land investment and emigration became particularly rampant. These forms of corruption brought heavy censure from the British travellers.

One American practice, criticised by the travellers, was the indentured servant system or "white slavery" as they often called it. It originated with the labour shortage in the early colonial days, ¹ when poor emigrants, in order to secure a free passage to America, allowed themselves to be sold as bond slaves to the American landowners. The British traveller, with the implications of the Declaration of Independence firmly in his mind, felt that this evil should have ceased, yet he saw that despite the obvious moral objections, the traffic had continued. Weld reported, for instance, that in Philadelphia during an outbreak of yellow fever, a ship arrived full of "white slaves". The captain of the ship, quick to realize the profitable advant-

ages in the city's predicament, sold the whole of his human cargo as experienced nurses.² Other travellers criticised this trade, particularly in reference to the German and Dutch slaves who were often referred to as "Redemptioners". Fearon, for example, mentioned one boatload of Redemptioners who were crammed into a dirty hold with no privacy or sanitation. He also mentioned an American captain who carried a group of five hundred in worse conditions. Eighty of them, reported Fearon, died during the voyage, and of the remainder the men were sold for eighty dollars each, the women for about seventy, and the boys for sixty. Fearon, in order to show how the Americans had accepted this evil as natural, published an advertisement which called for the sale of a cargo of "white slaves".

"The passengers on board the brig Bubona, from Amsterdam, and who are willing to engage themselves for a limited time, to defray the expenses of their passage, consist of persons of the following occupations, besides women and children, viz. 13 Farmers, 2 Bakers, 2 Butchers, 8 Weavers, 3 Taylors, 1 Gardiner, 3 Masons, 1 Millsawyer, 1 Whitesmith, 2 Shoemakers, 3 Cabinetmakers, 1 Coal burner, 1 Barber, 1 Carpenter, 1 Stocking Weaver, 1 Cooper, 1 Wheelwright, 1 Brewer, and 1 Locksmith. - Apply on board the Bubona, opposite Callowhill Street in the River Delaware, or to W. Odlin and Co., No. 38, South Wharves." 3

The travellers showed, furthermore, that the emigrant could count himself lucky if, after selling himself in bond, he arrived anywhere near his destination. Some American captains, having secured their fee from the emigration agents, abandoned their human cargoes at any convenient place along

the coast and sailed back to get another load. Other captains took the passage money from the less impoverished emigrants and then dropped them on the lonely Quebec and Maritime coasts. John Howison reported the appalling and shameful poverty of emigrants who were stranded in Montreal after spending all their resources in getting from the coast.⁴ Charles Stuart spoke of similar occurrences and warned the emigrant to be on his guard when he took his passage.

"Be pointedly careful how you take your passage in the first place from England. Let it absolutely be, to be landed at all events, under Providence, at Quebec or Montreal, in Lower Canada. Occasions have occurred when people have taken passage for Canada, and then been put ashore at intermediate places, whence it was far more difficult to obtain a passage onward, than from England. It should be recollected, that North America is an immense country, exceedingly larger than all Europe; and that it is more necessary to be particular in the place at which you wish to be landed." 5

The poorer class emigrants were the ones most likely to be hoodwinked by the unscrupulous employment agents and sea captains, but, as the travellers pointed out, there were other forms of chicanery awaiting the emigrants with money. In the division and disposal of unsettled land, for instance, the state governments allowed ruthless individuals to take control of the land sales with the result that the moneyed emigrants were often swindled.

On the surface the land division system appeared to be satisfactory.⁶ The state government surveyors generally

divided the land into townships six miles square, and then again into sections of 640 acres each. One section was to be retained by each township for the support of local education, while the remainder was to be sold outright at a fixed price of two dollars an acre. Since money was in short supply, furthermore, credit was extended to the buyer; the credit being arranged through any one of the numerous private banks.⁷

The extension of credit was the main flaw in the system, and its repercussions on American commerce were numerous. Banking practices of the worst kind were recorded in which loans were advanced to the stockholders before any capital had been raised. It was estimated, furthermore, that by 1837 at least 348 banks, many of them insolvent, were in operation throughout the country.

Often working in league with the bankers were the 'land jobbers' and the bogus land development companies that were able to raise enough credit to take complete control of great stretches of land before the ordinary settler had a chance to make a bid. Although much of the land bought in this way was valuable, parts of it were often located in rough, isolated areas and included mountains, deserts, swamps, and other types of terrain useless for settlement. Regardless of its value, many land jobbers advertised this poor land in Britain or in the American sea-

ports as excellent farmland and sold it at exorbitant prices. The fraudulent development companies advertised in much the same way and lured many credulous investors to their ruin.

William Janson's travel book abounds with particulars of bogus investment projects and land sales. In one township the plans proposed for the building of Franklinville had been formidable. "It is proposed to build public edifices in the angles within the lines forming circuses and crescents, and other public buildings with suitable cupolas..." announced one advertisement. Yet despite a mad publicity campaign and the investment of thousands, the city of Franklinville, wrote Janson, was still unbuilt twelve years later, and the whole area still in the hands of nature.⁸

One of the worst land frauds reported by Janson, was the "bonfire frolic"⁹ in Georgia, in which hundreds of investors had been ruined. In 1795, Governor George Matthews sold the Georgia Mississippi Company vast tracts of land in the unsettled parts of the state. The company agents, using the governor's writ of sale as a means to give authority to their scheme, persuaded many people, including Janson, to invest their money. A short time later a state election was called, and, due to the furore over the French influence in American politics,¹⁰ the governorship changed hands.

The new governor, General James Jackson, first of all declared the land grants to the company illegal, burned the records in a bonfire, and then transferred the funds raised through the scheme to the state treasury. Despite the hardship suffered by many of the ruined investors, it was many years before they received any form of redress, and when they did it was from the Federal government in the form of a cash compensation, since the Georgia government had, by that time, again sold the disputed lands.

The form taken by the spurious land deeds was also described by Janson. Worthless, or sometimes non-existent, lands, he said, were made to appear attractive on the land deed by casual references to marked sycamore or oak trees, from which the buyer was supposed to infer that he was about to acquire a richly wooded section of land. When the credulous buyer came to begin work on his valuable section, however, he sometimes found that he had bought an arid wilderness, marked with the named trees, purposely planted by the land agents in order to complete the deception. Janson, in fact, referred to the experience of Colonel Michael Paine, in order to illustrate this practice.

Paine, it appears, was called out to attend a land sale in the wild interior of North Carolina. On the way, Paine was just noting that this was the most barren and desolate territory that he had ever seen when he observed

a group of workmen with a wagon-load of young trees. They were, said Janson, planting the trees under the directions of a surveyor. When Paine asked why they were doing this, the surveyor told him that the land was being divided into sections so that it could be sold in London, and that he and his men were just "cooking it up a little".¹¹

The trickery used to misrepresent land, like other forms of American "smartness", was heavily criticised by most of the British travellers.¹² The most pitiable victims were usually the poorer emigrants, who, having spent all their savings on a useless piece of land, had no other alternative but to try to cultivate it. If their land happened to be in the western territories or in the South, furthermore, they not only contended with poor soil, but they also faced intense heat and a variety of virulent fevers. One of the many British writers who were appalled by the conditions of these poor white settlers was, as will be seen in another chapter,¹³ Charles Dickens.

The practices discussed so far were the worst, though by no means the only repercussions criticised by the British in the American credit system. When this system liberated the mobile forces of private enterprise to accelerate the country's development, it also had a profound effect on the character of the whole nation. With the opportunity to own their own land and to be independent, thousands of Americans



uprooted themselves to join the emigrants in a headlong flight westwards. Many of these people did not succeed. Some, as we have seen, became victims of frauds, while others succumbed to the rigours of the frontier. The strong, practical, and shrewd, however, managed to survive, and, isolated from the rest of the world, they tended their farms, ate well, and made their own clothes.

Many of the British travellers commented on these people and on their individualistic character. Thomas Cooper and James Stuart spoke of their freedom from anxiety;¹⁴ J.M. Duncan, John Lambert, and many others, of the quantity and good quality of their food.¹⁵ Patrick Shirreff and Francis Hall commented on their industry; William Cobbett on their resourcefulness and versatility.¹⁶ Although the travellers found much to commend in these hardy pioneers, however, they found more to criticise.

In rushing to the frontier, the pioneer had usually lost contact with the cultural refinements and technical advances of civilization. In the course of time, therefore, his manners and behavior altered; a characteristic, discussed later,¹⁷ which was particularly annoying to the foreigner. He became self-reliant, making do with the material he had at hand, but without new equipment his methods were wasteful and shoddy. The British farmer, accustomed to scientific methods and economy, was appalled at these methods and

found it virtually impossible to compete with the American. One traveller, for instance, Henry Bradshaw Fearon, who had been hired by a group of British farmers, felt that he had stepped back a hundred years when he saw the Ohio farms, and estimated them to be:-

"...full a century behind that of England, there being here a want of improved machinery for the promotion or economy in time and labour, and no regular attention to the condition of livestock, while the mode of culture in general appears slovenly and unsystematic. Cows are milked sometimes twice, sometimes once a day: at others four times a week." 18

Patrick Shirreff, a keen farmer from a good agricultural district in East Lothian, recommended several New England areas to the ordinary, hard-working emigrant, but warned the gentleman farmer to be on his guard as:

"Agriculture being little known as a science in any part of America and but imperfectly understood as an art, the same diversity of opinion, and mode of management, prevail as in Britain, with greater difficulty of becoming acquainted with them.... Grass crops are mown for hay five or six years in succession without being top dressed or manured in any way - the aftermath, which is seldom abundant, being depastured." 19

Some agricultural areas were criticised more than others. For instance, the travellers were particularly shocked at agricultural conditions in the tobacco-growing states. Weld, discussing the American land buying mania, reported mile after mile of withered tobacco stems and exhausted soil in Virginia, which had been abandoned by the owners when they pushed on to plant again elsewhere. 20 21

In painting this gloomy picture, however, Weld pointed out that the British farmer would have to imitate the American tobacco growing methods if he wished to compete. Tobacco, he said, was not only a particularly soil-exhausting crop, but it also brought a very poor price on the market. The good prices originally paid for tobacco had attracted too many planters, and, as the yearly harvest increased, prices had fallen at an alarming rate. The planter, in order to avoid being undersold by his neighbours, had to cultivate and to sell as quickly and as cheaply as possible. He knew nothing of fertilization, Weld said, and if he did, he saw that it was cheaper in the long run to buy more land. Another deterrent to the British farmer, furthermore, was the fraudulent tobacco buyers whose weighing methods often ruined the newcomers.²² Pennsylvania was also reckoned to be inferior to Britain as regards farming methods and yearly harvest. William Amphlett reported that the average farmer in Pennsylvania owned more land than his strength in labourers could possibly justify, and that he was forced, therefore, to allow his land to remain idle for a period that would make most British farmers ashamed. As an illustration, Amphlett spoke of several farmers who left half their land in wood, and, because they never fertilized the other half, could only count on producing a quarter of the equivalent British yield.²³

What disillusioned the British travellers most, however, was the dismal and impoverished appearance of the countryside on the way to the Western Territories. Here, rabid speculation had taken its worst toll in good sections of land, which, because they had changed hands many times, had never been cleared or cultivated properly.²⁴ The travellers saw the poor fencing, the makeshift tools, the rickety farm buildings,²⁵ and the scrawny cattle wild-eyed from the assaults of myriads of flies.²⁶ They experienced the bad roads and noted the inadequacy of marketing facilities.²⁷ They were disgusted at the waste of good timber which lay rotting in the yards.²⁸ They lost count of the stumps and rocks that protruded from the fields, and of the trees which, having been girdled, were left to rot and eventually blow over, making the woods an impassable barrier of derelict trunks. These American forests were indeed a shock to anyone accustomed to a verdant and orderly landscape.

"Wood! Wood! Above, around, and underneath, the traveller pushes on, hoping when he shall reach the mountain, to emerge from this peopled wilderness. Alas! he only arrives at more impervious forests and impenetrable thickets; he looks in vain for landscape... a few small spots appear clothed in grass, or covered with corn; a few more of girdled trees, spreading their naked, brawny arms, as though scathed with the fire of heaven, sublime in their ruins, sterility, and decay." 29

The prospects in the Western Territories, as was seen earlier in the Birkbeck dispute,³⁰ were doubtful. Even

travellers who recommended the fertility of the Illinois lands were careful to make certain reservations; "... if the Illinois," wrote William Blane, "were as healthy as England, it would soon equal, or even surpass, all that Mr. Birkbeck has written in its favour."³¹ The unhealthiness of the climate and the shortage of water were the most general criticisms of this area, but, like most of the United States, its agriculture suffered from a shortage of labour.³² Most of the travellers warned the British farmer about the American labour situation; an important consideration to the farmer, because it was impossible to operate the large-type American farm economically without some form of help.

Farm labourers in America were not easy to retain.³³ There were two reasons for this: one was that all other occupations were better paid than farming; the other that without much inconvenience the labourer could buy land of his own. Several of the travellers stated that the farm labourer could be persuaded to remain on the farm if the wages were high enough, but that British farmers generally could not afford to pay these wages. William Cobbett, for instance, made it known that when he asked for help with his mowing, farm labourers were so scarce, that he had to contract with another farmer who demanded, in payment, an equal share of the crop.³⁴

British farmers who tried to solve the labour problem by bringing their own labourers and servants with them ran into another difficulty. Their employees, they reported, seeing the advantages under the American system, soon became taciturn and unreliable and finally left to try their fortune independently. Richard Parkinson, whose British servants were eventually lured away with the offer of better wages, recorded the following experience:

"None but those who have been in America would suppose but there are people to be had, for either love or money, to do the dirty work; but I have been obliged to clean my own boots and shoes when I have had four servants in the house; and myself, wife, and family have risen in a morning to milk the cows, when our servants were in bed." 35

The independent spirit which was reflected, although exaggerated, in the above anecdote was described in nearly every travel book. Travellers of Parkinson's disposition found it unbearable and a strong reason for discouraging emigration altogether. Other travellers, like Fearon,³⁶ said that it was a more amusing than irritating characteristic, and that it could be tolerated if the reasons for emigrating were urgent enough. Most of the poorer class of emigrants, they agreed, had urgent reasons, and that, in emigrating to the United States, they would find every likelihood of enjoying a rapid advancement. One traveller, in fact, went so far as to say that the ordinary labourer might land in the United States in rags, and by the end of the week, have

a fairly comfortable living.³⁷ As for the class of people who could not reconcile the deficiencies of the American system with their own moral values, but who still wished to emigrate, it was generally agreed that they would probably find the way of life more congenial in one of the Canadian colonies.

In contrasting the emigration prospects of the United States and the Canadian colonies, the British travellers generally contended for the superiority of the latter. "If it is not a land abounding in all the luxuries and elegancies of life," said one traveller, "it is undeniably a land of peace and plenty."³⁸ The climate, for instance, offered many advantages not found in most of the states.³⁹ The travellers noticed that the settler in the southern states was inclined to be indolent and grew only the necessities of life; there being no great climatical change to stir him into providing for the winter. In the long, raw winters of the northern states, the settlers, they noticed, were often worn out and exhausted at quite an early age. In the Canadian colonies, on the other hand, the brief, cold winter was bracing and invigorating. It did not prevent most types of live-stock from being kept, and it also provided an excellent and natural means of transportation on the hard, frozen roads, lakes, and rivers. The hot summer period, furthermore, was not long enough to

transform industry into indolence, and neither did it prevent the cultivation of a wide range of crops. Most of the British grains flourished, together with fruit and a variety of native plants such as Indian corn and tobacco. An added climatic advantage was that yellow fever and several other diseases, a bane to the emigrants in many of the states, were virtually unknown in the colonies.

The agricultural methods in the colonies were generally more advanced than in the United States.⁴⁰ The travellers noticed that the colonists made some attempt to follow scientific innovations. Hedging and ditching for drainage, crop rotation, and manuring were in evidence, as well as orderly farm buildings and well-kept livestock. American settlers, furthermore, who crossed the border to enjoy the liberal advantages of British settlement projects, also adopted the British methods.

There was less deliberate misrepresentation of land in the colonies; a factor which probably accounted for the successful agricultural methods. The travellers themselves, in fact, invariably described the good with the bad features in their books on the colonies.⁴¹ In forest clearance, for instance, they pointed out that the less shaded areas offered an insipid variety of grass that could be utilized as cattle feed until the emigrant was properly settled. They

warned the emigrant about several varieties of swamp grass that were generally unhealthy. The lands bearing softwood, they said, were the best lands to clear. The oak and chestnut bearing lands were easy to clear because the trees were well spaced, but this land was not usually productive. Similar problems were encountered with the pine clad areas, where the roots were almost indestructible.

As in the United States, some areas were rated more highly than others. The gloomy stories, said Charles Stuart, spread by early visitors to the eastern shores of British North America, about a cold, damp climate were false. Upper Canada, he maintained, besides being superior to all the other colonies, was in most respects superior to the United States. Upper Canada was blessed with a "soil and climate scarcely surpassed by any upon earth". With the proper kind of emigrants, furthermore, "the flame of patriotism may glow, unclouded by foreign manners and by foreign domination".⁴²

The travellers did not allow patriotism or the natural advantages to blind them to the human imperfections which were unavoidable in any system. John Mills Jackson,⁴³ who had settled in Upper Canada, and who had no specific quarrel with his neighbours, his land, or the climate, felt that to buy land was insecure because of various harsh colonial government measures. He listed his complaints as follows:

Partiality and exorbitant fees in the granting of land; expenditure of public revenue by the executive government without consulting the House of Assembly; neglect relative to the clergy and school-masters despite the provision made by the House of Assembly for land and money; a departure from English laws of justice and rules of evidence; and the executive's attempts to influence elections by infringements on the liberties of the press.

The all-embracing criticisms made by Jackson were not generally echoed by travellers who had had the chance to compare this colony with settlements in the United States. They felt that, where the Americans had sacrificed orderly development for speed, the Upper Canada government had made a continual effort to keep settlement under control.

The results of the first settlement schemes in Upper Canada had been similar to those in the United States. The emigrants had been given food supplies for one year and sufficient utensils to begin cultivation at once. Many emigrants, however, had quickly dissipated this allowance through sickness or some other misfortune. Others had lived in idleness on the year's free provisions, had sold their utensils, and then, to avoid recrimination, had vanished into the United States. ⁴⁴ The government, therefore, in order to prevent this uncontrolled exploitation of government aid and land, revised their settlement policy. Many

of the travellers mentioned the plan which the government eventually put into effect.⁴⁵

Charles Stuart said that the government no longer gave the settler final rights to the free land until certain settlement duties had been executed. These duties were that within two years of the settler's occupancy, five acres of land in every hundred should be cleared, and a log cabin, eighteen by sixteen feet constructed. The settler's failure to comply with these regulations made the land subject to forfeiture. These duties, said Stuart, were not meant to cause hardship, but to encourage the growth of permanent settlements composed of better-class emigrants. Whenever a settler failed in his duties, therefore, but still remained on his land, making some effort at cultivation, the forfeiture was rarely demanded.

The regulations for settlement in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada were similar to the ones described above. The travellers, therefore, said much the same thing about this area as they did about Upper Canada. They found the soil to be generally good, and richer than in some of the more thickly-settled areas of the United States.⁴⁶ They said, in fact, that the English-speaking settler here was, like his counterpart in Upper Canada, an industrious farmer and a law-abiding citizen.

On the other hand, the travellers disliked the close,

unprogressive nature of the French settler, or the "habitant"⁴⁷, as he was often called. Like the early German settlers in the United States, he farmed the narrow strip along some river bank for generation after generation. The travellers were impatient with his religion, whose formalities and rituals made it convenient and often necessary for him to stay rooted in one spot. They abhorred his slovenliness which caused him to employ primitive farming methods and to develop careless habits, such as leaving his horses standing uncovered for many hours in sub-zero weather.⁴⁸

Several of the travellers tried to account for the difference between the French and English settlers. John Lambert held a belief that was often rumoured among the English settlers.⁴⁹ The French settlers, he said, had originally been adventurers who had wished to make money quickly in the fur trade. Their hunting treks into the interior had added much to the development and wealth of the British colonies. Over the years, however, they had intermarried with the Indians and produced a race that differed greatly from that of their Norman ancestors. Forced to settle somewhere with their families, the new race exhibited the Indians' abhorrence of agriculture and apathy in domestic matters. This explanation had a considerable effect in undermining Anglo-French Canadian relations, for although it did apply to the "métis couriers de bois",⁵⁰ it was not true of the

"habitant" who had always farmed the land.

Hugh Grey, with a number of the other travellers, came closer to the truth when he realized that the French situation in Lower Canada was both political and economic. The British government, he said, had been premature in giving the French a provincial government for "...an infant colony is something like an infant child, and should be treated in the same manner."⁵¹ The truth of this statement, however, bears directly on the French political disturbances which receive a more timely consideration in the later chapter dealing with Marryat.⁵²

Two areas of British North America have yet to be mentioned - the Maritime colonies and the Western Territories. Two of the Maritime colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, may be discussed briefly. The few travellers who visited them,⁵³ reported that the prospects for the industrious emigrant were favourable, but that these colonies were underdeveloped when compared to the more heavily settled Upper and Lower Canada. The main purpose of these reports, however, was not so much to discuss settlement, as to air old grievances about the British government's neglect of the overseas trade potential.⁵⁴ The third Maritime colony, Prince Edward Island, was closely associated with the work of Lord Selkirk, who was also responsible for the agricultural settlements in the Western Territories. Visitors to either Prince Edward

Island or the Western Territories were few, but many of the travellers, however, alluded to the philanthropic Lord Selkirk, whose selfless efforts contributed greatly to the eventual prosperity of Canada. In discussing his work, therefore, it is possible to see something of these areas, and in addition see something of the unforeseen natural hazards and man made obstacles that were likely to hinder settlement projects of the most practical kind.

Lord Selkirk was interested in emigration for two reasons: first, he wished to alleviate the suffering of the people in the Scottish Highlands whose economic problems had grown steadily worse as the rich landowners ousted the small tenant farmer in favour of sheep farming; secondly, he wished to break their habit of emigrating to the United States, because he saw that it would be better for the Highlander and sounder economics for Britain to "direct the current wholly to the British colonies, by holding inducements to the emigrant sufficiently powerful to determine him to take this course."⁵⁵

From a study of previous emigration he saw how easy it was for the emigrant to be exploited, and that no matter how well the emigrant might be privately equipped, he invariably managed to waste his first year seeking immediate provisions, collecting agricultural implements, and learning the routines necessary in his new environment.

"The settler has to go to the forest, and select for himself, from its damp and gloomy shades, the immediate scene of his exertions. With toil, and subject to privation; that is, with but poor shelter, and poor diet, and destitute of almost every convenience, he must open for himself a place of shelter, and under mercy, of future comfort and independence. He must first clear away the underwood; he must cut down the thick and lofty trees;... Truly a man must go to it with a soul prepared to suffer and to persevere." 56

In 1803 Lord Selkirk removed from the Highlands, mainly from the Island of Skye, a large body of emigrants for settlement on Prince Edward Island. His intention was to arrive there before them so that he could have the land selected and equally divided before their arrival. They landed before him, and although this meant some inconvenience, he managed to start the project without any further incident.

In his publication, Observations of the present state of the Highlands of Scotland with a view of the causes and probable consequences of emigration (1805), Selkirk outlined the difficulties facing the new settler and his own attempts to help them. First of all, the settlers were allowed to purchase fifty to one hundred acres of land at half the island's current value. This acreage had to be paid for at the end of four years. Food was brought in from Nova Scotia, so that they could work uninterrupted on the land. This was shared out equally.

In an attempt to lessen the terror which the new settler would naturally feel in the lonely woods, Selkirk did

not disperse them over a wide area, as was the common practice in the United States. Instead, he directed them to settle for mutual comfort within a small area. Moreover, he placed related families near one another to prevent rivalry and to encourage friendly cooperation. In this way concentrated areas were cleared in preference to isolated spots.

The sandy loam soil was pronounced of medium quality by British standards, and from it the settlers were able to raise particularly fine crops of potatoes and wheat. The settlers were industrious and the settlement was generally successful. In tribute to them, Lord Selkirk pointed out that their industry -

"...would not have been sufficient, if their habits had been less hardy, or their ideas of the necessities of life less moderate... I have had several gentlemen of the highest abilities and experience in the United States, pronounce an unqualified opinion, that a new settlement could not be formed without a basis of native Americans."⁵⁷

Lord Selkirk met with more difficulty in his plans for his western settlements in the Red River Territory. In 1811 he obtained the necessary land from the Hudson's Bay Company, which held title to all the fertile prairies.⁵⁸ For a short time all went well, but then the fur traders of the Northwest Company, who had trapping rights in the area, began to make trouble. Fearing that the settlers would encroach on their profitable business, the traders attempted to turn the local Santoux Indians against the settlement. The manager of the settlement, however, convinced the

Indians that the settlers were not interested in the Indians' hunting grounds.⁵⁹ For a time, the North West Company continued to be hostile, and proved almost as much hindrance to the orderly development of Canada as land exploitation did in the United States.

The Company next imported bands of Cree Indians into the area, whose presence, coupled with reports of their ferocity, was enough to scare many of the settlers from the area. In addition, the company also induced large numbers of the settlers to sell their farming implements and join bogus settlement schemes in Upper Canada. Many of the settlers hung on, however, and, in a last ruthless effort to evict them, the Company armed its clerks and made several surprise attacks. It is not known for certain if the traders carried out their threat to use the Cree Indians, but the traders' ruthlessness is illustrated, nevertheless, by the fact that they stole all the weapons from the settlement before making the threat.⁶⁰ Although, on this occasion, buildings were burned, livestock slain, and many settlers massacred, the remaining settlers did not give up their title to the land.⁶¹ Over the years, more emigrants joined them, and at the same time, successive British governments gradually weakened the power of the traders by repurchasing more of the territory from the companies.

Unlike the ruthless enterprises which the British

travellers saw operating on a nationwide scale in the United States, the unscrupulous commercial forces in the Canadas operated mainly in the West. Before the British imposed the law effectively in this territory, however, other problems arose forcing them to reshape their colonial policy altogether. The beginnings of these problems, furthermore, were apparent during the visits of the Scottish novelist, John Galt, whose publications present a lucid explanation of the British travellers' attitude towards settlement in both Canada and the United States.

CHAPTER III

JOHN GALT: THE FORMATION OF HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NORTH AMERICA

The discussion of the traveller in North America has, so far, been restricted to the experience and observations of minor travellers. Their judgements, furthermore, were accepted unconditionally, although the political scene and the remarks of various critics suggested that if an author's declared intention in writing a travel book was not his real motive, then there was a possibility that he might have been tempted to distort his facts. If the biographies of the minor travellers were extant, it would be a simple matter to test the validity of their judgements, but, for the most part, they have been forgotten long ago. The biographies still exist, however, of several prominent authors whose lives and literary work show a concern with the making of similar judgements. From an understanding of these writers, their character, their interests and beliefs, and their reactions to previous circumstances, it is felt that they were qualified to speak with authority on the subject. Their judgements therefore reflect the British attitude towards North America, and, at the same time, provide a means to test the observations of the minor travellers.

Whatever the ultimate evaluation of his literary work

may be, John Galt stands out as one of the most conspicuous literary figures within this period. He was not only a popular novelist and a writer on all manner of topics, but also a traveller to North America and a prominent participant in Canadian affairs. The problems that confronted him in his life, and the measures he adopted to solve them enabled him to understand and explain the needs of the emigrant. In his American novels he emphasized the serious nature of emigration, and more than any other travel book author clearly defined and distinguished between the opportunities to be had in the United States on the one hand, with those to be had in British North America on the other.

In his Autobiography (1833), Galt recalled a number of circumstances which were to have an enduring effect on the course of his later career. He was not a robust child, and, although he grew to be a fine physical specimen, this early infirmity prevented him from following many normal boyhood activities. Instead, he turned to books and read widely, but aimlessly, in a variety of subjects including history, astronomy, and the romantic novels. This desultory reading did not advance him in school, nor did it please his parents, particularly his mother, who found his physical inactivity a constant source of irritation. Galt often alluded to this lack of encouragement as a possible reason for his having allowed commerce to occupy the time that might have

been more profitably employed in perfecting his literary talents.²

Having few friends of his own age, Galt spent a considerable time in the company of adults.³ He enjoyed listening to their conversations, and took a peculiar delight in observing them.⁴ Later on, when he went to live in Greenock, this habit became a more productive pastime.

In Greenock and the surrounding countryside he became interested in the natural beauty of the Scottish scene, and during his rambles through the hills he met interesting farmers and labourers and listened closely to their stories and complaints.⁵ He had a natural sympathy for the people, and from this sympathy the understanding and insight developed that enabled him to create his memorable characters, and to explain the problems that beset them.

Galt's interest in practical affairs also appeared at an early date. He noticed above Greenock, during one of his countryside excursions, a fresh water stream that might be harnessed easily to replenish the reservoirs that were often exhausted during the dry weather. His plan to tunnel through the mountain in order to tap the stream he kept to himself, but years later he learned that a plan similar to his own had been successfully applied. He also saw possibilities in a scheme for reclaiming land in the river Frith, and later

a project for cutting a canal from Loch Lomond to Loch Long whereby the heart of Scotland might be opened to trade. ⁶ This ability to anticipate practical commercial projects was to characterize Galt's later business dealings, causing him much disappointment and chagrin whenever his plans were thwarted or neglected.

When the French Revolution began, Galt was only eleven years of age, but its threat to the British political system was to have a considerable effect in fortifying his moral principles. He became the youngest member of the volunteer corps, formed by the loyal citizens of Greenock to counteract any French incident, and in 1803, following the end of the Peace of Amiens, he raised two rifle companies to meet the threat of a French invasion. ⁷ One incident, however, during these early war years, was to prove particularly influential. On this occasion the committee of the Greenock public library purged its shelves of several radical writers including Holcroft and Godwin. Galt was "inflamed prodigiously" and joined the voices of the opposition that protested against this action. His interference, however, did not originate from any sympathy with the Radical cause, but from the unethical nature of the censorship proceedings. Some months later, when liberal indignation caused the offending books to be restored to the library, Galt was extremely curious to know their contents. He was astonished at Godwin's Political Justice after he had read it, and described it to

his friend, James Park, as a book of the "most diabolical kind".⁸ Although he was too young then to refute Godwin's arguments, he felt, nevertheless, that they were wrong and that "there was some instinctive principle of morality which was earlier exercised than reason".⁹ During his first journey to the Mediterranean, he was to consider this problem again and embody his observations in a violent contradiction of Godwin's theory in a poem called "The Education of Medea".¹⁰ He later also congratulated himself on living to see Mr. Godwin's work consigned,-

"...with other radical trash, to the midden hole of philosophy. No sensible man imagines now that the world may be better regulated by the deduction of human reason than by the instincts conferred by heaven." II

The instinctive principles which caused Galt to distrust Godwin's rational arguments helped to shape a great number of his later decisions, particularly on the subject of politics. His instincts had been confirmed when the theorists had proved themselves incapable of foreseeing the drastic turn of the French experiment, and from then on he had preferred to judge political results rather than accept formal political policies. Later, when he found it absolutely necessary to acknowledge formally some political preference, he leaned towards the moderate policy of the Tories which, he said, he liked to have "expressed by the recently assumed term, Conservative".¹² This reliance on his own intuitive judgement was later to prove another cause of

bitter disappointment, particularly in Canada, where his lack of political acumen was partly instrumental in his removal from the Canada Company.

In 1796 Galt joined his friend Park and for three years worked in the Greenock Customs House. He continued to make friends in the country, while in the town he began to understand the motives and personalities of the practical people engaged in the mercantile profession. He did not approve their dedication to the acquisition of wealth, but he did not allow this general characteristic to prejudice his assessment of the individual. As with politics, he tried to judge his fellows by their merits and not by their collective policy. In Greenock, therefore, he realized that he had never met with better men.¹³ This humanitarian instinct is evident throughout his life and work, but it is perhaps nowhere more clearly expressed than in Galt's own preface to the Autobiography, which, written in the third person, states:

"His principles incline him to consider the vices as morbid secretions of the moral constitution - the workings of original sin, - and surely the victims of disease ought rather to be viewed with compassion than as objects of hate and detestation.... He would rather remember wrongs with commiseration, than ruminate on vindictive thoughts, both naturally and from principle; and yet perhaps he has not lived so long, without having received some cause to justify more sullenness towards mankind." 14

The European conflicts arising from the French Revolution produced a series of booms and depressions in the business world, causing an instability that took a heavy

toll among the merchant houses. Galt's business was to fail, but it is evident in his case that his own ingenuousness in the ways of the business world was to contribute considerably to his failure. The Autobiography furnishes two early instances of this characteristic in his business associations, first with the James Miller mercantile company at Greenock, and later with another Scot, named M'Lachlan, in London.

During his short business association with James Miller, the Company received an abusive letter from one of the clients, the subject of which Galt does not mention. The letter came, apparently, from one of a number of "purse proud men"¹⁵ whose rapid rise in fortune during the French crises had left them no time for education or the cultivation of gentlemanly behavior. Galt, highly incensed over this lapse in ethical procedure, and determined to seek some form of redress, traced the culprit to a tavern in Edinburgh, and there extracted a written apology. Whether or not this action precipitated Galt's almost immediate removal to London is not clear, but it does exemplify the importance with which he regarded integrity and form, and an impetuosity that was certain to jeopardize his business aspirations.

The second instance occurred in 1808 when Galt's confidence in his own business ability was shaken by the first of a series of commercial misfortunes that determined

his subsequent removal to the New World. In 1804 he had opened a business house with M'Lachlan in London. This had flourished at first, but in advancing money and representing other merchants they soon found themselves in difficulties. In 1808 one of their clients failed, and, while Galt was in Greenock attempting to put this matter right, another firm, to which M'Lachlan unwisely advanced a large sum of money, also ran into difficulties. Without payment from either client, Galt was unable to meet his creditors and therefore had to dissolve the partnership and declare his house bankrupt.¹⁶ In the first part of Bogle Corbet, Galt retold the history of this failure and, as we shall see later, skilfully delineated the trustful and impetuous nature of Bogle, which predetermined that he should be the victim of his partner's action.

The year 1809 brought another disappointment when Galt's plan to establish a business in Honduras with his brother proved unprofitable. Galt next entered upon a course of law at Lincoln's Inn.¹⁷ Law, however, seemed as hazardous a pursuit as commerce, for having no legal influence, he could not hope to find the necessary patronage within the profession. Depressed over the past and anxious for his future, he became very ill and decided to tour the Mediterranean for two years. In 1809, therefore, he left England with a vague hope that something unusual¹⁸ might occur to prevent him from ever having to return.

Voyages and Travels (1812) traced the course of Galt's journey in minute and detailed descriptions, but often with inaccurate observations.¹⁹ Twenty years later, in the Auto-biography, Galt again recalled the tour and several facts concerning later commercial disappointments.

In Greece he had seen a chance to secure the Elgin Marbles, the freight bill for which had not been honoured. Galt therefore ordered his correspondents in Malta to pay the bill when the 'Marbles' arrived. Elgin's representatives, however, arrived to pay the bill in Malta before the plan could be carried out.

The disorderly state of Turkish society gave Galt his next commercial idea. He saw that Britain's European trade, curtailed by Bonaparte's Berlin and Milan Decrees, might still be carried on by smuggling the goods through Turkey. With this idea in his mind he continued his journey trying to establish some kind of business contact. In Malta, however, he learned that the Kirkman Finlay Company of Glasgow was already negotiating to bring a similar scheme into operation. Galt got in touch with the Company and eventually received instructions to superintend the delivery of about one hundred bales of goods, which were to reach Hungary by way of Orsova.²⁰ The project proved to be adventurous, but disappointing. He was arrested as a Russian spy,²¹ and let down by the foreign merchant who was supposed to assist him

with the consignment. On his way back to London, Galt heard of the British government's interest in this plan, and he also met Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, who led him to believe that he would use his influence in securing Galt a position in the government project. When Galt arrived back in London in 1811, he learned that Canning's diplomatic hint was not a promise when the Foreign Office announced that they had heard nothing from Canning respecting a Turkish project.

The year 1812 saw Galt in the employ of the Kirkman Finlay Company pioneering for a new trade route through Gibraltar into Spain, but he was no longer so enthusiastic about commercial enterprise.²² He knew now that his plans for a Turkish scheme had been investigated and established as a lucrative trade along the same routes that he had discovered. He received none of the profit, and believing his business career to be blighted, he returned to London determined to concentrate on his literary talents.

Until now, Galt had not been altogether idle in his interest in literature. He had continued to read and publish on a variety of topics, discuss literary and philosophical subjects with his friends, and at one point edited the Political Review. Most of this early work is discussed in his Literary Life (1834), where he also traces his own literary development in relation to his other activities. These

early works were, for the most part, first published in various periodicals such as the Scots Magazine, which printed his poem The Battle of Largs (1804),²³ and later The London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine²⁴ which printed "An Essay on Commercial Policy" (1805). In 1812 he brought out, in blank verse, The Tragedies of Maddalin, Agamemnon, Lady Macbeth, Antonia, and Clytemnestra, and in the same year The Life and Administration of Cardinal Wolsey, followed by Voyages and Travels. The spurt of creative activity in 1812, however, was not received favourably by the critics, who advised him that he was too impetuous with his compositions and that more thought might add polish to his obvious talent.²⁵ R.K. Gordon commenting on the tragedies wrote, -

"Of all Galt's literary disasters this was the most complete. Even Scott, usually overgenerous, said the tragedies were 'the worst ever seen.'" 26

Galt's impetuous nature would allow him no rest. He continued his literary activities, interspersed with minor business ventures, showing occasional signs of his true ability, but still being roughly used by the critics. The impossible characters, improbable coincidences, complicated plots, and the unreality of the Italianate backdrops in the novels The Maiolo (1816) and The Earthquake (1820) for instance, illustrated Galt's incapacity in dealing with events and characters that were not drawn directly from his

own experience. By 1820, however, the most rewarding period of Galt's literary life was about to begin.

Between 1820 and 1823 Blackwood's Magazine printed, in serial form, several of Galt's novels including The Ayrshire Legatees, Annals of the Parish, The Provost, and Sir Andrew Wylie; followed in 1826 by The Last of the Lairds. In these novels Galt revealed how profitably his time had been spent in studying the simple ways and manners of the people. The Ayrshire Legatees, composed in the epistolary form, showed for example the rather 'Pickwickian' existence in London of a Scottish family whose simplicity and stern religious convictions make them the gentle butt of many comic episodes. Galt, however, found room in the letters between the Pringles and their countrymen to mention the farmers' complaints about the changes in agriculture and the unemployment problem.²⁷ The greater part of Sir Andrew Wylie was again set in London, but with the hero, unlike the Pringles, taking the initiative in his dealings with its citizens. More will be said later regarding Wylie's shrewdness when Galt's emigrant heroes are discussed. Annals of the Parish, followed closely by The Provost, drew a comprehensive picture of Scottish rural and municipal life from about 1760 until about 1810. Here Galt included, besides the everyday affairs of the inhabitants, the difficulties arising from the many agricultural and industrial changes,

and the political disturbances and discontent stirred up by the American and French Revolutions. In The Last of the Lairds Galt again contrasted the old with the new life where resistance to change merely prolonged the battle in which defeat was inevitable. Although this was a serious and historical theme, Galt still dealt humourously with the decline of feudal grandeur among the Scottish Lairds.

While Galt was thus establishing his popularity as a master of the Scottish character, he also became interested in emigration. He had already had a rather tenuous connection with North America through various acquaintances who had felt compelled to emigrate. In the Autobiography, for instance, he mentioned his boyhood friendship with Henry Eckford, the designer of the American navy, who had ultimately made his fortune in America.²⁸ Later as a member of the "Society for the Encouragement of Arts" he induced the Committee to offer a prize for the cultivation of hemp in Upper Canada,²⁹ and in 1807 published A Statistical Account of Upper Canada, one of the possible sources of encouragement being the Selkirk settlement schemes.³⁰ The war of 1812, however, was probably the most important single event to draw his attention to the British North American colonies.

In 1812 Canada had begun to occupy a prominent place in British news, particularly when the colonists banded together to resist the American invasion and made many

sacrifices in property to help maintain a large British force. When, in 1815, the British government recalled this force, the financial support and the business opportunities which were entailed with a billeted army were also withdrawn. Almost at once, the colonists began to claim compensation for properties and businesses lost, damaged, or confiscated in the course of the war.

A British government commission was authorized to investigate the validity of the colonial claims and to estimate the amount of compensation to be paid, if the claims proved to be valid. The government, however, disputed the commission's subsequent estimate of £229,000 to be paid to 2,828 persons respecting five hundred and sixty-four claims, and called for a re-investigation by a new commission whose decision was to be final.³¹ In 1820, about six years after the second commission was formed, Galt was approached by a group of Canadian claimants with a request that he should be their London representative.

Not foreseeing the successful turn of his literary career, Galt, who was now forty-one, had just recently declared that he was "sick of a life of adventure".³² Earlier reflections, in his Autobiography and Literary Life, had often shown him to be in a similar state of disillusionment in the past, particularly when he realized that his resourcefulness and sensitivity, qualities usually associated with

success, were often his greatest handicap.³³ In the midst of his commercial and literary misfortunes, therefore, the Canadian offer seemed to give him "new life".³⁴ He accepted willingly, and, for the next few years, petitioned the government tenaciously for the recognition of his clients' claims.³⁵

As was discussed earlier, Galt had no particular interest in party politics. He was mindful that the government system then in existence was the one most acceptable, but, in rejecting radicalism,³⁶ he had not explained why he thought the old system was best. During a later discussion of government affairs, in the Autobiography,³⁷ he again offered no clear explanation. In the ensuing controversy over the rights of his Canadian claimants, Galt was compelled to make a stand on what he believed to be the extent of human rights. In order to appreciate Galt's stand, therefore, it is now more important to see how he defined the duties of good government. One definition is found as a neatly turned platform argument in Bogle Corbet. Here Mr. Beans attempts to answer the democratic effusions of the hardheaded radicals by explaining the origin of society and the end of all government.

"Natural rights! he exclaimed, "where are they? when society was formed, were not they cancelled, and social privileges substituted? From the earliest concentration of society, man has been continually laying aside his inheritance from Nature, and investing himself with the dispositions induced by the wants created by living in community... The weak has the same right to food as the strong, but the strong has the power to wrest his share

from him; hence the origin of that institute in which all the other members of society concur and which says to the strong, if you oppress the weak we shall punish you. Thus it is, that the sole object of the social state is mutual protection; and to protect individuals in the exercise of their respective endowments is the end of all government."³⁸

The government had at first agreed to compensate all losses sustained through direct contact between the Canadian claimants and the British military authorities, but now, under the influence of the second commission, it declared that all outstanding claims had been paid. Galt would probably have accepted this verdict had he not discovered, in the meantime, the commission's tenth rule, which said "that the claims of persons suspected in their political principles should be rejected".³⁹ This revelation that "was so repugnant to (his) notions of British Justice",⁴⁰ was highly significant. In the first place it drew Galt deeper into the political squabbles of the colony, where he compromised himself in the eyes of several people who later might have intervened on his behalf during his difficulties with the Canada Company. Secondly, it precipitated his connection with the Canada Company and the investigations from which he was to form his attitude towards North America.

In his investigation of the claims issue, Galt made several other disclosures regarding Colonial government. He found that conditions in Canada were not as favourable as the emigrant generally anticipated. In spite of the land duties in 1812, discussed in conjunction with Stewart

and other travellers, public lands were still being made over to privileged groups that never settled or improved them. These lands, furthermore, were often located in such a manner as to hinder natural development. The Crown and the Clergy, it appeared, were the principal offenders, for under the Constitutional Act of 1791 the Clergy had been given a seventh of the land in each township, while the crown already reserved a similar grant to secure a revenue separate from taxation. Meanwhile the claims' issue dragged on through a series of schemes, rejected by the clergy, for the sale of the disputed lands. Galt remained just as adamant.

"I consider it a duty which I owe to my constituents to leave no suggestion untried until I have procured them justice." 41

At last Galt proposed a scheme for the formation of a company in which private capital could be invested. From the sale of the disputed lands, the company could then not only compensate the claimants from a fund, laid aside from the sales, but also encourage emigration, and possibly a better class of emigrant to further Canadian development. The plan was under revision for several months, and in July, 1824 the Canada Company was formed, with Galt acting as its secretary. Galt felt slighted when he learned of his inferior appointment, but a greater disappointment was to come. His intention to obtain compensation for the claimants

through a Company fund was not agreed to by the Colonial Office. In August he was informed that the Company was to be considered as an independent organization and therefore would not be in a position to relieve the claimants. Galt's protests were of no further use. He acknowledged the government decision, and in January, 1825 he sailed for Canada to join several other commissioners whose duty it was to estimate the amount and the value of the Crown and Clergy lands to be sold.

Galt landed in New York, and during his overland journey was able to meet several important Americans⁴² and form a few first-hand impressions of the American scene. When he arrived in Upper Canada, however, he found that his colleagues had almost completed the land estimate and were on the verge of a new controversy with the Clergy. The Clergy, besides objecting to the tentative estimate, now requested that they should be represented on the commission.⁴³

Before sailing to New York, Galt had been warned by letter to avoid colonial politics and to work in harmony with the lieutenant governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland. This warning had come too late, however, because Galt had already irritated colonial officialdom with his previous correspondence relating to the rights of his claimants.⁴⁴ To make matters worse, he now subscribed to an anti-government paper, the Colonial Advocate, and wrote to the editor, William Lyon

Mackenzie, commending him on the organization of the paper merely because it was the most comprehensive respecting land advertisements.⁴⁵ The repercussions of this indiscretion did not occur until Galt's second visit to Upper Canada, for at the moment he had to return to England with the commission to await a decision on the Clergy objections, and the subsequent granting of a Company charter.

The Canada Company and its operations became an important topic in the British press when the royal charter was granted in August, 1826. Commercial houses and interested members of the public watched the news for reports on the progress of the speculative investment. Galt's recently established literary reputation coincided with the public interest, and his name, from now on, appeared frequently before the public as something of an authority on Canadian matters. His vision of the function of the Company had broadened, however, since the rejection of his claimant petitions. He now, more than ever, believed in the humanitarian possibilities of the venture.

"Profit to the Company, which I saw would come of course, was less my object than to build in the wilderness an asylum for the exiles of society - a refuge for the fleers from the calamities of the old world and its systems fore-doomed." 46

Galt found it necessary in both the Autobiography⁴⁷ and the Literary Life to discuss the "exiles of society" in terms of the classes in which they had originated. The

48

pauper, or lower class British emigrants were to be encouraged to regard Canada as a haven where they might improve their condition and form the backbone of a contented colony. The middle class emigrants, endowed with resourcefulness and a little money, on the other hand, were to be encouraged to think of Canada as a sound investment and thereby further its development and raise the living standard of the whole community. Galt, as was seen earlier, favoured an educated and orderly nature of society. In concentrating on middle class emigration, therefore, he also hoped that he might form a strong nucleus in colonial society that would act as an edifying example, and thus discourage any outbreaks of disorder among the remainder.

"I was, indeed, averse to think that the goodly frame of the old continent should be broken up while the wild regions of the new could receive all the super abundance of population. I shrank from the contemplation of converting the magnificence of aristocracy into common household purposes, while, in the lonely domains of America, there was room enough, without revolutionary turbulence or crime, for all the industrious, who could no longer exercise their vocations in the land of their fathers;..." 49

If Canada, moreover, was to become an attractive refuge, the emigrants would need more help and guidance than they had hitherto received. For two years, following his return to Canada in October, 1826, therefore, Galt made it his duty to safeguard the welfare of the emigrants. He studied the operations of several reputable land schemes in the United States, such as the "Pulteney and Johnstone" and the Holland

Company estates, and avoiding their obvious defects, began the formation of his own plan.⁵⁰ He next toured the Canada Company lands, and later the Huron tract which had been substituted for the Clergy reserves, assessing the soil and the climate with a view to the cultivation of particular crops.⁵¹ Sites for villages and townships were then located in relation to the natural means of transportation and the suitability of the terrain for the construction of roads and bridges. The land was then valued and divided into lots, to be disposed of in a contract that would cause the least hardship or inconvenience to the emigrant. When the operation got under way, Galt remained on hand to deal with any problems that might arise, and to help in questions of practical construction.

The enterprise eventually proved a success, and, although the Canada Company never acknowledged Galt's contribution, several other people recognized and commended his industry. Samuel Strictland, for instance, the author of Twenty-Seven Years in Canada's West (1853), testified to Galt's honesty and integrity in all Company negotiations.⁵² Strictland also described the Huron tract, as Galt had done briefly in The Hurons, A Canadian Tale (1830),⁵³ and contrasted his first acquaintance with the area, when he walked across a million acres of virgin forest without seeing a living soul, with its appearance twenty-four years later when

he returned to find rich grain fields, roads, mills, and townships. Dr. Dunlap, Sketches of Canada (1832)⁵⁴ spoke of the success of the township of Goderich, the site of which he had selected with Galt's approval. Both Strickland and Dunlap had been instrumental in the foundation of Guelph, Galt's particular project, and Dunlap had also been present when Galt, with much ceremony, had marked the site by making the first cut with an axe.⁵⁵ Another traveller, John MacTaggart, Three Years in Canada (1829), mentioned the prosperity of Guelph and also furnished many details regarding the Canada Company project that Galt omitted in the Autobiography. Commending Galt's colonizing ability, MacTaggart wrote:

"Mr. Galt deserves great credit for the invention and management of the company. In this he had shown a genius that is rarely excelled. He organized the whole management of the business.... The Canada Company, much to their credit be it ever spoken, has smoothed the way of the weary pilgrims." 56

The eventual success of the Canada Company, however, did not, in the eyes of its directors, exonerate Galt from the charge that his rash behavior had been responsible for many of the Company's difficulties. The foundation for this serious charge began to take shape when Galt arrived in North America for the second time. Mackenzie, the editor of the Colonial Advocate, had produced Galt's previous correspondence as a means to substantiate part of his evidence during his trial for radical activities. Galt, who had

been particularly requested to avoid political entanglements, fell immediately under the suspicion of Sir Peregrine Maitland. From then on, Galt found it increasingly difficult to obtain any help or cooperation from the government.⁵⁷

Galt's next indiscretion brought him into direct contact with the victims of one of the many nefarious settlement schemes. Galt's prompt action in attending to the needs of these people was a further illustration of his humanitarian principles.

"I had not been long settled in this domicile, when one Sunday morning a deputation came to me,.... They were part of the settlers whom the Columbian Company had enticed to transport themselves to that region, where being disappointed and reduced to great necessity, they were for a time obliged to subsist on charity,...in consequence I directed Mr. Prior to get houses built for them, and to assign them farms of fifty acres each, at the usual price in the township, but in consequence of their poverty to waive the first payment, and to give them all on credit, they paying interest at six percent for the boon." 58

The boon, however, amounted to one thousand pounds which Galt foolishly borrowed from the Company funds without authorization; an act which resulted in a severe reprimand from the directors who were already disturbed by the uncertainty of his relationship with the Lieutenant Governor.

Galt's position did not improve. In 1828 the directors, suspicious over Galt's heavy expenditure of Company funds, particularly in the operations at Guelph, sent over a secretary named Thomas Smith⁵⁹ to investigate the matter.

Galt complained of this supervision, but before anything came of his protests the whole incident was eclipsed by the news that the Company stocks had fallen. The directors at once ordered the Upper Canada bank to cease payment on Galt's drafts. Indignant over the doubts cast on his business capabilities and personal integrity, Galt submitted his resignation, and in May, 1829 returned to Britain.

Galt's association with the Company was now ended, but his interest in North American affairs did not diminish. For a time he entertained the idea of returning to Canada to continue his practical work, but ill health compelled him to accept instead an advisory role in the projects of other land companies. This sedentary activity did not please Galt, nor did it bring him much profit. A scheme for a New Brunswick land company proved impractical, while the successful operation of the British-American Land Company in Lower Canada only commenced paying high dividends after his death. In his renewed literary activities, however, he now found time to give careful consideration to his attitude towards North America.

Galt's most comprehensive treatment of North America, besides the works already discussed and several articles that appeared in Frazer's Magazine and Blackwood's Magazine,⁶⁰ were his novels Lawrie Todd (1830) and Bogle Corbet (1831). The amusing incident and the autobiographical detail were

a common occurrence in these novels, but, as Galt showed in his discussion of Lawrie Todd,⁶¹ there was also an important and independent value. This value was the didactic purpose, which, by giving serious consideration to the problems of emigration, aimed directly at a wide and interested audience.

Lawrie Todd dealt entirely with the successful life of an emigrant in the United States; a fact that might appear strange when it is recalled that one purpose of Galt's work with the Canada Company had been to foster Canadian emigration, and thus save the emigrant from having to relinquish his nationality. Galt, however, did not allow this question to hang in the balance for long, for in the unfolding of Todd's character it is soon evident as to what Todd owes his success. Similarly, the United States setting did not detract from the didactic purpose, because there was little difference in the natural obstacles to be overcome by the emigrant in either country. Galt illustrated this last point when he mentioned the settling of Judiville: -

"A description which may be considered authentic, of the rise and progress of a successful American settlement, cannot but be useful to the emigrant who is driven to seek a home in the unknown wilderness of the woods." 62

Galt's direct acquaintance with the United States was slight compared with his long residence in Canada. The information he had amassed on American settlement told him what to avoid in Canada, but did not explain why a certain

type of American settler was highly successful. In order to write faithfully on American settlement life, therefore, Galt needed an experienced model, someone who had succeeded in America, on whom he could pattern his own hero. For this purpose then he chose the life of Grant Thorburn, a nail maker, and later a successful seed merchant in New York who had also published his own American observations in Forty Years Residence in America, (1834). Galt made a wise choice, for in Thorburn there were many of the qualities found in Galt's earlier heroes. The Monthly Review, commenting on Thorburn's biography, said: -

"...an example better calculated than that found in this book, of the bare worldly advantages of genuine integrity, attended by its consequences, morality and correctness of conduct, has never been placed before the public."⁶³

Although the admirable traits of Thorburn's character are evident throughout Lawrie Todd, Galt only borrowed Thorburn's early experiences in America. When Todd moves away from New York to Genessee county the material comes from Galt's own collected information. Todd tells his own story. He is a diminutive hero with a striking resemblance to Andrew Wylie, about four and a half feet tall and not particularly handsome. He is a single man without any pretence to a gentlemanly background. Like Andrew Wylie, he is shrewd and self-reliant, although his rise to fame seems more credible when we see his practical solutions to problems in contrast with

Andrew Wylie's rise to fame. They are both men of integrity and strong principles, but in politics their similarity ceases; for while Andrew Wylie remains a Tory, Todd is compelled to flee to America to avoid recriminations on his radicalism.

In America Todd makes a prosperous living in the nail making workshop of another Scot, Mr. Tongs. He marries Rebecca Marsden and opens his own workshop, but from here on a series of tragedies occur. Rebecca dies from childbirth and yellow fever. After a second marriage to the niece of Zerobabel L. Hoskins, his business begins to fail. He next turns to the grocery business, but without success. His seed store burns down, and his farming experiment in Jersey proves unprofitable. At this point Galt moves closer to his own North American settlement experience.

Todd and Hoskins now move inland from New York to Genessee county where they set about the construction of a new township called Babelmandel. The settlers are hindered by many natural disasters, such as forest fires, continued sickness, and terrible storms that often resulted in bad flooding. Todd's resourcefulness, his ability to handle men, and his capacity for hard work lead them through their difficulties, and he becomes the town manager, and with Hoskins opens a profitable general store.

Todd's next project is the building of another town,

but before the operation gets underway his second wife, Judith, dies of yellow fever. Extremely overwrought, Todd decides to name the new town Judiville, in her memory, and the foundation ceremony turns out to be almost a complete repetition of Galt's founding of Guelph, described in the ⁶⁴Autobiography.

Todd, like most of Galt's heroes, never forgets his homeland, and after twenty years in the United States, he goes home to Bonnytown a prosperous man. It is only for a short stay, however, for after eight months he sails again for America with a new wife, Martha Greenknowe.

The importance of Lawrie Todd to this discussion was Galt's sound advice to the person who was thinking of emigration to the United States. Galt, however, did not allow the didacticism to interfere with the narrative. He conveyed his message by simply emphasizing several American characteristics which could disrupt the plans of the most careful emigrant. He endowed Todd with a quick tongue and an admirable combination of Scottish shrewdness and Yankee slickness which enables him to overcome what many British emigrants found to be almost impassable barriers. On his arrival in New York, for example, Todd at once shows himself to be an able opportunist when employers arrive at the ship's side in search of labourers. Todd's problem is solved when he hears one ask for a nail maker, for his reply was bound to win

Yankee favour.

"You, can you make nails?"
 "I'll wager a sixpence," (all I had) was my answer, "that
 I'll make more nails in one day than any man in America."⁶⁵

Another instance throws a stronger light on Todd's resourcefulness. This occurs when he is discovered by a fellow Scot concocting a false window display as a lure to the customers. Todd is comforted when the man says, "Ye're an auld-farrant chap : na doobt, but ye'll do very well in this country."⁶⁶

The last part of Lawrie Todd relates how Todd sees his relations comfortably settled in the flourishing town of Judiville, and then how, before he takes his final farewell to live in Britain, he is honoured by an offer to represent the community in the State legislature. His refusal typifies Galt's attitude towards the United States. Although Todd had done well in America, he did not wish to break his national connections.

"It may seem to some of you that the land which contains a man's business, property, and family is his country... but I have been educated in other opinions.... I feel myself bound to my native land by recollections grown into feelings of the same kind as those remembrances of parental love which constitute the indissoluble cement of filial attachment."⁶⁷

Lawrie Todd illustrates the marked individuality necessary for the ordinary man's success in the United States. Galt's second novel, in contrast, demonstrates the achievement of a middle class emigrant who found that he was not required

to abandon any of his beliefs or habits in order to live comfortably in Canada.

The novel, Bogle Corbet,⁶⁸ was intended for people of "genteel habits" who, "impatient under the circumstances of the old world," seek the "asylum for so many of us across the Atlantic."⁶⁹ Galt's use of the first person in the preceding quotation is a significant indication of the autobiographical material that is to follow, for it is soon obvious that Bogle Corbet is more a vehicle for Galt's own experience than Lawrie Todd, and therefore more didactic.

Bogle grows up, as Galt had, in an atmosphere of political turbulence. In the industrial areas the spirit of the French Revolution has tainted the weavers, and secret meetings are held at night where they conspire and discuss the rights of man.⁷⁰ Eric Pullicate, a radical weaver, and ultimately a successful businessman, tries to show Bogle the difference between the policies of the capitalist, Thrums,⁷¹ and the "real equitable man", Treadles, and afterwards takes Bogle to a radical meeting. Bogle, however, does not forget his gentlemanly upbringing, and, although he finds that he sympathizes with the workers, the stage of "perfectibility" in France causes him to cling to his Tory preferences. This contrast between Pullicate's rational detachment and Bogle's sympathy for mankind develops through the first part of the novel. Later, in the business world, without true friends,

Pullicate demonstrates his self-sufficiency and is highly successful, while Bogle, trusting blindly in the capacity of others, fails.

Bogle in London for the first time with a pocket full of introductory letters is similar to Wylie's and Galt's own arrival in the big city. Bogle, lacking Wylie's self assurance, lurches off along Galt's unsuccessful path in the London business world. Bogle's partnership with the unreliable Possey ⁷² recounts in detail the failures of Galt and M'Lachlan. The instability of European affairs puts an end to their business venture, and they are compelled to declare themselves bankrupt. Bogle next reflects on the past and thinks seriously of a new life in one of the colonies.

Without a definite plan in mind, Bogle next sets out to survey the business prospects in his birthplace, Jamaica. Nothing comes of this trip, however, and he returns to Britain. The return voyage is uneventful except perhaps for the brush with a Royal Navy impressment vessel of which more will be said in the next chapter.

Back in Britain, Bogle again takes stock of himself. He is now fifty years of age; an age which Galt thought to be the only factor likely to handicap the industrious emigrant in Canada. What might have halted a more cautious man, however, does not hinder Bogle. Dismissing all thoughts of

his age, he accepts an offer to head a party of emigrants bound for Canada.

Bogle's experience with the privations of pioneer life in Canada, and the natural obstacles that had to be conquered, is much the same as Lawrie Todd's in the United States. He founds the township of Stockwell on the river Slant,⁷³ superintends the settlement operation, and becomes directly involved, as a mediator, in the domestic problems of his neighbours. All this time, however, he is thinking of turning to professional writing. When, at last, he fully realizes that his emigration has really occurred too late to be successful, he returns to London to write his autobiography.

Throughout Bogle Corbet Galt continually referred to the factors that led to emigration. He discussed the superabundance of labour and the expediency of emigration to counteract any suggestion of social revolution.⁷⁴ He related the state of British agriculture⁷⁵ to the rise of industry, and through Captain Campbell, the effect of sheep farming on Scottish employment.⁷⁶ As Galt explained later, -

"In this work I was desirous to exhibit the causes which now, in this country, induce a genteeler class of persons to emigrate than those who may be said to have exclusively embarked before. I intended to show the natural effects in some degree, of introducing the cotton manufacturer into Scotland, and the result of that kind of commerce which the late war, both in its republican and imperial stages fostered." ⁷⁷

There were, however, several flaws in the government's system of emigration to the Canadian colonies. The government's knowledge of these colonies, Galt said, was slight, and their recommendations for emigration to them, far too eulogistic.⁷⁸ Consequently, in spite of the many genuine cases, some of the emigrants were not motivated by distress or an interest in colonial development, but simply in making a quick fortune from wild speculation.⁷⁹ In Canada, this type of emigrant became restless and discontented, and allowed himself to be enticed over the border for higher wages. Bogle, for instance, lost several members of his party when the American "jobbers" offered them more land in the United States and a better representation in the federal government. These men later returned to Bogle, however, disillusioned, and admitted that the promise of settlement and agriculture in Canada was far better.⁸⁰

Judged on the basis of its construction and characterization, Bogle Corbet is inferior to Lawrie Todd as a novel, but as an exposition of Galt's attitude towards North America it is much clearer than any of his other American publications. The reader may be disturbed by its plot contrivances, its halting transitions, and its rhetorical passages, but for the purposes of this discussion these structural defects are an asset. The autobiographical nature of the work makes it easier to identify the central figure as the author. It is easier, there-

fore, remembering all that has been previously said relative to Galt's virtues and failings, to understand Bogle's history, and the sincerity with which he puts forward the emigrant's case. One awkwardly contrived incident was particularly effectual for Galt's didactic purpose. In it Galt allowed Bogle to distinguish between the United States and Canada and thus to consolidate Galt's attitude in a single enunciation. This incident was Bogle's meeting and subsequent conversation with Lawrie Todd;⁸¹ another reminder of Galt's contact with Grant Thorburn in New York. Todd's remarks clarified later by Bogle's experience showed him that there were two classes of emigrants.

"The lower classes are governed by motives sufficiently manifest; agricultural changes, and the introduction of new machinery, is constantly throwing off swarms of operatives who had no other resource; as their vocation is labour, a shifting scene is comparatively of little consequence to them. But it is only amidst the better class of emigrants that the mingled and combined feelings of necessity, interest, and sorrow are found." 82

Galt realized that the lower class of emigrants, described in the above quotation, because they were unfamiliar with social refinements, usually enjoyed the material advantages of the United States. The class of emigrant with finer sensibilities, Galt suggested, would probably enjoy a greater degree of protection under the British system in the Canadas. Galt had one reservation to make, however. If the British government, he said, continued to dispatch

unskilled and unadaptable emigrants to the colonies the character of the settlements might deteriorate as they had done in the United States.

"I saw an obvious tendency in the state of things in Canada to favor a relapse into barbarity. And nothing is less disputable than that the backwoodsmen of the United States have declined from the civilization of their progenitors." 83

Unlike many of the travellers discussed in the first chapter, Galt did not take his denunciation of the United States any further. His contact with Americans had been brief, and he was not sufficiently interested in them to repeat all the criticisms which had appeared again and again in the travel books. Lawrie Todd, in respect to the practical and humanitarian aspects of emigration, had served as an adequate contrast to Bogle Corbet. In order to see the extent and the effect of America's "relapse" on the better class of British visitor, it is necessary to review the North American experiences of Frederick Marryat.

CHAPTER IV

MARRYAT: A NAVAL GENTLEMAN LOOKS AT NORTH AMERICA

Captain Frederick Marryat, the sailor-novelist, was, like Galt, a popular and conspicuous nineteenth century literary figure. He came from an English family that was proud of its middle class origin, which could be traced back for at least two centuries.¹ At home and in school at Ponder's End, London, Marryat on more than one occasion demonstrated a restless and adventurous spirit, particularly in his desire to go to sea. He had witnessed the state funeral of Nelson, and, like most boys, his patriotic zeal had been stirred by the successes at Trafalgar. In 1806, following a number of unsuccessful attempts to run away to sea, he at last, at the age of fourteen, convinced his father that his careless school work would never recommend him for a business career, and he was allowed to sign on in the Royal navy.

Marryat's first ship was the frigate "Impérieuse" under the command of Captain Lord Cochrane, whose naval exploits against the French revolutionary forces were almost as well-known as Nelson's. For three years under Cochrane, Marryat underwent all the rigors of life at sea and in action, many of which were to recur in the high adventure of his

sea novels such as Frank Mildmay(1829), Peter Simple(1834), and Mr. Midshipman Easy(1836). The Orders in Council continental blockade was in progress and the "Impérieuse" was one of the frigates and many small craft that patrolled the Mediterranean, occasionally coming to grips with the French. Marryat fought in these actions, and boarded and searched many American and other merchantmen that were attempting to run the blockade. At the same time he was introduced to the rigid disciplinary system that was necessary for an efficient fighting ship. He saw rough, disorderly recruits moulded into a well-trained and orderly crew. He witnessed the respect that the hardened seaman showed to a good and just officer, and he felt sorry when he saw these seamen unjustly flogged or "started" by the bo'sun's rattan.² Despite his sympathy, however, he learned, as every officer must, that at no time should the order and well being of a ship be jeopardized for the benefit of the individual.

In one of several actions with the French, Marryat was wounded, but, as D. Hannay explained in his Life of Frederick Marryat (1869),³ had he been assigned to any larger warship than a frigate he would never have stayed in the navy, because the larger ships were too slow for the blockade and therefore saw very little action. Marryat enjoyed the excitement and adventure of life at sea, and on one

occasion dived overboard to save the life of a seaman; an action which drew notice and commendation from the captain. He admired the captain, and it was, in fact, Captain Cockrane who became the model for all Marryat's fictional frigate heroes.

Between 1809 and 1815 Marryat was on the West Indies and North American stations and served, in turn, on board the "Aeolus", the "Spartan", "L'Espiegle", and the "Newcastle". It was in 1812 that his midshipman period came to an end, but shortly after being assigned to the sloop "L'Espiegle" as a lieutenant, he broke a blood vessel and was invalided home. By 1814, however, he was back on the American station to serve on the "Newcastle", and during the following year, at the age of twenty-three, he was promoted to commander.

On both the "L'Espiegle" and the "Aeolus" he risked his life to rescue sailors washed overboard, and on the "Aeolus" he also volunteered to cut away a dangerous main-yard during a violent New England gale. The war of 1812, however, was not so exciting for Marryat as his war service on the "Impérieuse". As lieutenant on board the "Newcastle" the daily routine was particularly uneventful. They patrolled the American coast and gave chase to several small cruisers, but without drawing any spectacular action. His service on board this ship was significant for two reasons, however; it brought him in contact with several American

navy prisoners, and it drew his attention to the effects of the notorious system of seaman impressment.

The first instance concerned the attitude of the captain of the "Newcastle". The captain was not very well disposed towards the American prisoners taken on board his ship, and, while he did not treat them brutally, he made their stay as embarrassing and as uncomfortable as possible. Marryat silently disapproved of his captain's ungentlemanly conduct and discreetly showed the prisoners some civility, particularly an American officer named Pierce who was often the target for the captain's abusive language. Marryat was to meet Pierce again in Cincinnati during his North American tour, when Pierce was to repay his kindness by helping Marryat over a similar embarrassment.

The second instance involved the question of naval impressment. In the years before the war of 1812, this had caused the Americans to suffer, in addition to a foreign trade blockade, the indignity of being boarded by British press gangs, who carried off crew members to make up the complement of the British vessels. The British insisted that the men were deserters, while the Americans maintained that they were United States citizens. Marryat, in his Diary in America (1839)⁴, showed by statistics that a high percentage of the seamen in the American navy were British;

but in the meantime the problem might have been solved had the Americans not used it successfully to stir public opinion against Britain during the months preceding the outbreak of the war. On board the "Newcastle" Marryat noted the mutinous attitude of the impressed men, and how they took every advantage, even in wartime, to desert for the higher pay of the American service. As is discussed later, Marryat's solution to this problem was to have some influence in his political aspirations.

At the close of the American war, Marryat returned to Britain and married, but he considered it his duty to continue with his naval career. His next ship, and first command, was the "Beaver" which was assigned to continuous patrol duty off St. Helena to discourage any further hopes that Napoleon might have of being rescued. During this service, Napoleon died and Marryat was able to see him on his death bed before he carried the despatches and report of the death back to the Admiralty.

Marryat's next commission on the "Rosario" was to intercept and engage the many smugglers that plied across the English Channel. He enjoyed the excitement of this commission at first, but as the smugglers became more wary the routine soon became monotonous. In 1822 he left the "Rosario", and a year later joined the "Larne" on service in the East Indies. The years 1824 to 1825 saw the invasion

of Burma and Marryat again in the midst of the action, but following this war he found naval life particularly dull. In 1828 he commanded the "Adrienne", having been cited for his earlier bravery and made Companion of the Bath, and in 1830 he resigned from the service.

The reasons for his resignation are vague. Marryat merely assigned it to domestic reasons. There was some suggestion that his published condemnation of naval impressment, occurring at the time of reform agitation, had offended the king.⁵ But it is generally supposed⁶ that he was tired of the inactivity since the end of the war. At the same time his naval service hindered his literary activity, which by 1830 had already begun.

Between 1830 and 1845 Marryat established his reputation as an extremely popular story teller. Like Galt's, however, his interests, both literary and otherwise, were varied. The sea novels were the mainstay of his literary fame, but his other novels, particularly Japhet in Search of a Father (1836), which is considered as one of his best novels, were widely read on both sides of the Atlantic. On the way across to the United States, in fact, an American ship asked, by signal, if Japhet had found his father yet.⁷ There is little to be gained in this discussion by a plot and character analysis of any one of these novels. Marryat owed his popularity to his ability to tell an exciting story in good

narrative prose. In his storms and battles at sea he maintains the suspense. The authenticity of the work day aboard his ships makes these books a fascinating record of the naval life of his day. The characters have no deep problems beyond the motives of ordinary life. They are ordinary men who live through a series of adventures and arrive at the inevitable happy ending. In one respect only does the behavior of his characters reveal anything of Marryat's own attitude towards society. The sailors were often ignorant, usually brutal, certainly vulgar and unrefined, and could only be kept in order by disciplined, zealous, hardworking and ingenious officers drawn from the upper and middle class. Marryat belonged to the officer class, and had some claim to all its merits. The idea that his class was necessary in the guidance of the mob was well illustrated in his reply to the criticism of Joseph Rushbrook; or The Poacher (1841). The first installment of this novel appeared in the "Era" newspaper, and almost immediately Marryat was censured not only for his choice of a common poacher as a hero, but also for allowing him to appear in the columns of a vulgar newspaper.⁸ Marryat saw that previously the "Era" had printed nothing but crime and immorality and was thus "demoralizing the public". He believed therefore that he was fighting a "moral point".⁹

"You assert it is beneath me to write for a weekly newspaper taken in chiefly by the taverns frequented by the lower classes, and perused mainly by mechanics and labourers of the country; in short, that it is "infra dig" in me to write for the "poor man". I feel quite the contrary, and I would rather write for the instruction, or even amusement, of the poor man than for the amusement of the rich; and I had sooner raise a smile or create an interest in the honest mechanic or agricultural labourer who requires relaxation, than I would contribute to dispel the ennui of those who loll on their couches and wonder in their idleness what they shall do next." 10

Marryat's interest in naval affairs continued. He was often called to the Admiralty for consultation, presumably in connection with the question of impressment and flogging, and on one occasion he made an unsuccessful attempt to begin his own nautical magazine. His articles appeared in several of the current periodicals, particularly the Metropolitan Magazine, which he eventually edited from 1832 until 1836. It was in this magazine that several of his novels were published in serial form, and also the account of his continental tour, which appeared under the title of a Diary of a Blasé in 1835.¹¹ At the same time he gave some attention to several commercial enterprises.

The reason for his failure in these is not known.¹² It is probable that they were, like his attempts at agricultural improvement on his thousand acre estate in Norfolk, hit hard by the action of the Corn Laws and other parliamentary legislation that affected the economic stability of the period. His interest in American land specul-

ation is discussed later in conjunction with the North American tour.

In politics Marryat's affiliation hovered between Conservative and Liberal principles. Following the Reform Bill of 1832, in a letter to Lady Blessington, he gave vent to his bitter disgust for what he saw as an example of disorderly mob legislation.

"I...see the English papers...and I am very much disgusted. Nothing but duels and blackguardism. Surely we are extremely altered by this Reform. Our House of Lords was the beau ideal of all that was aristocratical and elegant. Now we have language that would disgrace the hustings. In the House of Commons it is the same, or even worse. The gentleman's repartee, the quiet sarcasm, the playful hit, where are they? all gone; and, in exchange for them, we have - you lie, and you lie. This is very bad, and it appears to me, strongly smacking of revolution; for if the language of the lower classes is to take precedence, will not they also do the same? I am becoming more Conservative every day; I cannot help it; I feel it a duty as a lover of my country." 13

By 1833 the political scene was such that Marryat took an opportunity to run for parliament as a reformer in the constituency of Tower Hamlets. The abolition of slavery and the question of naval flogging were now important political issues. Marryat, however, could not bring himself to support anti-slavery sentiments as a spirited party member should. Subsequently, he annoyed his fellow liberals when he insisted that, while the condition of the slaves was appalling, the seventeen hour working day and the other manifestations of industrial slavery at home were matters

which demanded their first consideration. He next showed his colleagues his real political motive, and failed to get a seat when he revealed that his political zeal, in spite of his sentiments on industrial reform, was centered entirely on naval organization. It is necessary to recall here the result of his observations on the system of impressment, made particularly during the North American commission.

In 1822 Marryat had published Suggestions for the Abolition of the present system of impressment in the
¹⁴naval service in which his motives were shown to be practical rather than humanitarian. He saw that impressment was an expensive means to secure naval recruits; the press gang pay averaging around twenty pounds for each man that was kidnapped. More serious to Marryat, however, was the attitude of the impressed men themselves, who either deserted or remained with the ship, bitter and dissatisfied with their condition. The navy was vital to Britain, but the people who insisted that the navy should be kept strong were unwilling to spend money on making it more attractive to the volunteer. In order to ensure an efficient fighting fleet, Marryat proposed a new scheme which, although fairer, was none the less immoral, whereby, instead of a general impressment, all apprentices were liable to seven years naval service with no trade exemptions. With several modifications

Marryat tried for a number of years to get his scheme adopted, but was never successful. By 1833, naval reform as a political platform was no longer just a matter of economic expedience, but a question of morality. Marryat, however, seemed unaware of this change. When one of the Tower Hamlets electors asked him if he and his sons would be liable to flogging for any disciplinary infringement, Marryat, exasperated with the unseemly nature of the gathering, committed political suicide by answering -

"Sir, you say the answer I gave you is not direct; I will answer you again. If ever you, or one of your sons should come under my command and deserve punishment, if there be no other effectual mode of conferring it, I shall flog you." 15

Political failure and the difficulties encountered in operating the Norfolk estate had drawn heavily on Marryat's finances. By his own admission he had run through two fortunes,¹⁶ and there was some hint of his debts in his correspondence particularly with Osmond de Beavior Priaulx.¹⁷ In 1835, therefore, he left Britain for the continent where the cost of living was not as great. While on the continent most of his best work was produced, giving a total of nine books published before the North American tour. Of this work the one most pertinent to this discussion was his Diary on the Continent (1836),¹⁸ or as it was called in the Metropolitan Magazine, the Diary of a Blasé.

The Diary of a Blasé first appeared in 1835 and cont-

inued in monthly installments until June, 1836.¹⁹ It presented Marryat travelling from one country to another making, in a journalistic style, observations on the deficiencies of their peoples and institutions. These observations were sometimes witty, but seldom profound, and consisted mainly of a contrast of the political, economic, or religious appearance and behavior of a particular society with the behavior and appearance called for by that society's avowed principles. He found, of course, that every society was pretentious as to its morality, the degree of pretension depending, throughout the order of the society, on the material advantages to be gained by living up to its principles. In a discussion of legalized gambling at Spa, for instance, Marryat stated that gambling was an inevitable vice, and that it had been expedient for the administration to prevent it from demoralizing all society by acknowledging its existence in the form of a legalized control. To maintain, therefore, that the citizens of Spa did not gamble was wrong. They had done what the British had done with the Stock Exchange by turning a vice into a possible national advantage.

"We must legislate for society as it is, not as it ought to be; and, as on other points, we have found it necessary to submit to the lesser evil of the two, it is a question whether in this also we might not do better by keeping within due bounds that which it is impossible to prevent." 20

In a later installment of the Diary of a Blasé, Marryat appeared to make a complete reversal of his gambling tenets, but it only appears so, for in reality he was now criticising the legislators for "society as it is" and accusing them of hypocrisy in claiming moral recognition.

"Although the higher classes have religion in their mouths, talk of the established church, danger of popery, etc., as I cannot pretend to say what they have in their hearts, I will only observe, that as legislators, they have done much harm both to the cause of religion and of morality. It is generally supposed, that a man will be moral first, and religious afterwards. Now our government has attempted to force religion, or rather, the outward observance of it, upon the lower classes, without in any way legislating for morality. The discrepancy of this conduct has been more than absurd. They refused to the poorer classes innocent amusements and at the same time wink at, and almost sanction, the most degrading vice." 21

In the June, 1836, installment, he made another general observation of the British character, and stated that money controlled "every motive of action in the English community;" an observation which, when he later extended it to include the American character, was partly instrumental in making him one of the most detested travellers on the American continent. Of the British he wrote, -

"I have said that we are a sombre nation. There is more than one cause for it. Our climate has some effect; but what has more is the national feeling with which we are inoculated from our cradles as a money getting community - to obtain the greatest possible results by the least possible means - a law of mechanics which actuates every motive of action in the English community and to which they sacrifice everything." 22

Marryat's remarks on the Reform Bill and what he saw as its alarming effects on long established parliamentary procedure has already been noted in his letter to Lady Blessington. Future reform legislations continued to excite his suspicion. The new Poor Law Bill, for instance, might improve the situation of the lower classes, but would the established order of British society be safe in the hands of the recently enfranchized electors? In the September, 1835 installment, he wrote -

"How the new Poor Law Bill will work remains to be proved; but if we may judge from the masterpiece of the Whigs, the Reform Bill, from which so much was expected, and so little has been obtained, I do not anticipate any good result from any measure brought forward by such incapable bunglers." 23

After twenty-four years of naval service, part of which was actively and successfully employed against the forces of radicalism, Marryat placed a high value on strong and rigid discipline. He accepted the British class system in which the upper and middle classes had been installed as wardens of the fate of the lower class. Like many middle class gentlemen, however, he realized that the lower class would eventually prove responsible enough to legislate in its own destiny. This step, when it came, would be accomplished as a constitutional and peaceful legislative advance and not as a violent revolutionary movement. It would be a steady empiric reform of government in which the property, interests, and security of all classes would be protected.

To encourage the continuance of restraint and discipline in future parliamentary legislation, Marryat, therefore, in these writings, exercised his right as a British gentleman to publicly criticise, without fear of irrational demonstrations on the part of the opposition, those acts of government which he felt to be weak or unreasonable. In an extremely unflattering metaphorical statement regarding Belgium, Marryat attempted to illustrate the discipline that had been necessary in the past to keep Britain the strongest political, social, religious, and industrial state in nineteenth century Europe. The attitude and high example of the British governing class might be more clearly seen, furthermore, if when the term "dog" is employed, the term "lower class" is substituted. In the September, 1835 installment Marryat wrote -

"It is singular that it is only in England that you can find dogs, properly so called; abroad they are nothing but curs. I do not know anything more puzzling than the geneology of the animals you meet with under the denomination of dogs in most of the capitals of Europe. It would appear as if the vice of promiscuous and unrestricted intercourse had been copied from their masters; and I am most tempted to assert, that you may judge of the morality of a capital from the degeneracy of the dogs." 24

Towards the end of his continental tour, Marryat had seen enough of foreign church and state institutions to show him that no nation in Europe had yet made any extraordinary advance toward enlightened perfection, and, furthermore, that few nations enjoyed the high degree of order that

existed in Britain. Even the Swiss whom he had admired through his earlier knowledge of William Tell had proved, for him, to be a dull and avaricious society. The Swiss, therefore, being the only democracy other than the United States, he determined to visit North America in order to discover by contrast whether the Swiss avarice originated from their character or from their form of government. This statement has caused Marryat's biographers some consternation.

Both David Hannay and Oliver Warner²⁵ emphasize that Marryat toured North America because he needed money and travel books were in great demand. They also maintained, correctly, that he was concerned in the American copyright controversy, and, as a letter to his mother showed plainly, that he was interested in American land speculation. In this letter of October, 1837, he wrote, -

"Since I have been here I have been looking out for a good piece of land, for it more than doubles its value in five or six years, and I have been fortunate in purchasing some very fair land from the government opposite to Detroit on the Canada side - about six hundred acres." 26

Marryat's financial motive then cannot be denied, nor can his awareness of the popularity of the travel books. In his American publication he named many of the preceding travellers, and, having been in America only a short time, he saw that many of them had been either superficial or

incorrect in their judgements. This observation gave him added incentive to record his own American impressions.

In the letter to his mother he explained this intention -

"I shall at least do them justice, without praising them more than they deserve. No traveller has yet examined them with the eye of a philosopher, but with all the prejudice of little minds." 27

Marryat, in fact, on more than one occasion in the Diary in America (1839) questioned the judgements of writers such as Mrs. Trollope, Harriet Martineau, and Frances Wright, and demonstrated his familiarity with the works of other writers when he concurred in several opinions of J.F. Grund, Grant Thorburn, Alexis de Tocqueville, Captain Hamilton, Basil Hall, and John Galt. His research, furthermore, for the analytic second part of the Diary in America, showed that he regarded the work as no light matter, for it contains evidence of an extensive knowledge of the various Indian wars, the Florida war, the conquest of Texas, the legislative practice and organization of the United States' government, the Papineau Rebellion, and the Durham Report. Concluding this research, he declared:

"I have written and read till my eyes have been no bigger than a mole's and my sight about as perfect. I have remained sedentary till I have had "un accès de bile", and have been under the hands of the doctor, and for some days obliged to keep my bed, all owing to want of air and exercise." 28

The truth was that while Marryat had satisfied his financial object in publishing his tour, he had, at the same

time, placed a further and more important value on his American impressions. His previous interest in the Swiss had now given precedence to the British. The Swiss, in fact, received only brief attention throughout the six volumes of the diary. The introduction to the Diary in America makes the new value of the American tour quite plain. Here, Marryat showed that, since the Reform Bill, the British nation had shown a tendency to accept a false impression of the virtue and merits of American democracy. The source of the false impression had been, since the earliest colonial days, in the propaganda of writers, politicians, and speculators on both sides of the Atlantic, and in some cases the British travellers themselves. The false impression was a grave threat to British social order since, with every political or economic fluctuation a movement was stimulated, in certain circles, to undermine the order of British class rights and privileges. Marryat wished to show, therefore, that while the American brand of democracy might be beneficial to the majority of the American people, any attempt to assimilate it in Britain would be disastrous to the British nation as a whole. Marryat was definite, furthermore, as to the nation for which the Diary in America was intended. It was written solely for British consumption with no intended suggestion that the class system should be re-established in the United States.

"I have not written this book for the Americans;...the results of my observations I have now laid before the English public, for whom only they have been written down. Within these last few years, that is, since the passing of the Reform Bill, we have made rapid strides towards democracy, and the cry of the multitude is still for more power, which our present rulers appear but too willing to give them. I consider that the people of England have already as much power as is consistent with their happiness and with true liberty, and that any increase of privilege would be detrimental to both. My object in writing these pages is, to point out the effects of democracy upon the morals, the happiness, and the due apportionment of liberty to all classes; to show that if, in the balance of rights and privileges, the scale should turn on one side or the other, as it invariably must in this world, how much safer it is, how much more equitable I may add, it is that it should preponderate in favour of the intelligent and enlightened portion of the nation....if I have any way assisted the cause of Conservatism - I am content, and shall consider that my time and labour have not been thrown away." 29

Marryat's North American tour began on April 1, 1837, and, because of the instability of Anglo-American relations over Canada, lasted almost two years. He retraced the course of dozens of other British travellers from state to state and across into Upper and Lower Canada. He saw the business life of the North and the agricultural life of the west and deep South. He inspected centres of education, museums, churches, prisons, army and navy establishments, modes of travel, and inquired into every aspect of North American life. His reception in the United States, depending on his behavior, alternated between varying degrees of adulation and hatred. At some places he was fêted at dinners and receptions, praised, and congratulated, and at

others condemned, lampooned in the newspapers, hissed, booed, and once burned in effigy in the streets. The discomfort and indignities which he endured, because the Americans generally still regarded British citizenship as the stigma of a despotic nation, considerably outweighed the friendly acts of gentlemanly consideration. Marryat, in fact, experienced quite early in his stay the kind of behavior Galt had implied, but not elaborated upon in Bogle Corbet, which was likely to deter the middle class emigrant in the United States.

In Toronto on St. George's Day, for instance, Marryat behaved in an unseemly manner, according to the Americans, when he toasted "Captain Drew and his brave comrades", who, during the war of 1812, crossed the great lakes and cut out the gunboat "Caroline" from under the guns of an American fort, and later sent her over Niagara Falls.³⁰ Marryat's toast immediately stirred some thin skinned Americans into an hysterical mob that abused him in the newspapers, and at Lewistown burned his books and his figure in effigy. Condemnation over this so called indiscretion continued for several weeks until, in 1838, at a dinner given in his honour by several enlightened individuals, Marryat's popularity was restored.

At the dinner the American naval officer, Pierce, who had been one of the prisoners aboard the "Newcastle", spoke

highly of Marryat's kindness and his gentlemanly and liberal conduct, for which Marryat received many toasts and a great ovation. In his speech, at the same dinner, Marryat felt it necessary to explain to the Americans that to be condemned for having toasted a British here on British territory was a considerable injustice, particularly when the one condemned had, at an Independence Day dinner,³¹ been compelled to suffer through numerous American speeches exulting over British defeats, without offering so much as a murmur of complaint.³²

In October, 1838, Marryat addressed an open letter to the Louisville Journal referring to the many anonymous letters he had received warning him to leave the country and not to write of American institutions. His open letter was not bitter, but straightforward and often humorous. He pointed out that since the letters numbered over five hundred and that they bore no stamps they had involved him in a considerable expense amounting as they did to around fifty cents each. He also argued soundly that -

"...the Americans are unjust to themselves as well as me. Any attempt to conceal becomes an acknowledgement that there is something wrong; and if the Americans do surmise that my remarks upon them will be annoying to their extreme sensitiveness, surely it is neither wise nor generous to give me just cause of complaint during my sojourn in their country, or wreak upon me the vindictive feelings created by the illiberality of my predecessors."³³

The letters might have been the work of a few eccent-

rics, but the inclination to this form of behavior among a large section of the American public compelled Marryat to believe otherwise. He was able, furthermore, to distinguish this section of the public by dividing American society into two classes: the enlightened minority whose behavior and restraint bore some resemblance to the society envisaged by the inaugurators of the republic; and the majority whose voice dictated American affairs, and in whose collective mind was the firmly rooted idea that it was the only free and enlightened people on earth.

Marryat, like most British travellers, came in contact with the enlightened minority in almost every American town, activity, or profession, but nowhere as frequently as in the cultural centres of the east. Here, in towns such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York he mingled in pleasant societies which were interested in literature, art, political theory, and the activities of the outside world. In the naval³⁴ and law professions particularly he met cultured gentlemen who had travelled outside America and who could, therefore, discuss world affairs without taking offence.

"The lawyers are the real aristocracy of America; they comprehend nearly the whole of the gentility, talent, and liberal information of the Union. Anyone who has had the pleasure of being at one of their meetings... would be satisfied that there is no want of gentlemen with enlightened, liberal ideas in the United States; but it is to the law, the navy, and the army, that you must chiefly look for this class of people." 35

The political power of the enlightened minority in central government had, however, been slowly whittled away. Marryat here, of course, touched on the Federalist-Republican dispute and the fiery political passions that distinguished the early years of American democracy. It is natural that Marryat and the British upper and middle classes who took any interest in American affairs should lend their sympathy to the Federalist cause. In political philosophy it was the Federalists such as John Adams who argued for the privilege of entail and primogeniture of the wellborn and wealthy to maintain the stability of society. Jefferson and the Republicans, on the other hand, had swept these privileges away with the argument that the masses would never be raised to moral respectability while laws of privilege kept them forever in the dark.³⁶ Marryat then could find a host of competent authorities to back his arguments against the ascendancy of the American majority, and he did not hesitate to use them. The names of many American politicians and writers, therefore, appear in his work, but none as frequently as that of Fenimore Cooper. In quoting Cooper against himself, Marryat felt that he had settled a score against an American who had, in his "Sketches of Switzerland",³⁷ made many abusive statements concerning the British, while lauding the democratic accomplishments of his own country and its people as a moral and enlightened

society. Unfortunately, as Marryat showed, Cooper had soon afterwards dared to criticise the Americans in a similar manner, in such works as Gleanings in Europe (1837), The American Democrat(1838), and Home as found(1838), and had, in consequence, seriously jeopardized his reputation in America by bringing the public opinion, which he had earlier applauded, down upon his own head. To support his own American attitude Marryat here quoted from part of Cooper's "England and America"; Cooper had written -

"I deem the government of this country the very quint-essence of hocus pocus, having scarcely a single practice that does not violate its theory. I believe that there is more honesty of public sentiment in England than in America. The defect at home, I ascribe, in common with the majority of our national failings, to the greater activity, and greater unrestricted force of ignorance and cupidity, there, than here. High qualities are nowhere collected in a sufficient phalanx to present a front to the enemy, in America. The besetting, the degrading vice of America, is the moral cowardice by which men are led to truckle to what is called public opinion; though, in all cases that enlist the feelings of factions, there are two and sometimes twenty, each differing from all the others, and though, nine times in ten, these opinions are mere engines set in motion by the most corrupt and the least respectable portion of the community, for unworthy purposes." 38

For Marryat and indeed for most British writers³⁹ the misapplication of legislative power in the hands of the majority originated in the American failure to enforce the theoretic ideals of Washington's republic, andⁱⁿ the concessions made to public opinion by each of the ensuing governments since Independence. The republic began to deteriorate,

(Marryat here quoted from Washington's premonition "Our system is better in theory than in practice"⁴⁰) when the federal government found itself unable to exercise its power to counteract the selfish motives of various member states. The nation had, in fact, expanded too rapidly for the central government. The people had fanned out from the small communities of the east to seek the quick fortunes that could be made in the west. Thousands of emigrants, many of them of the lowest moral calibre,⁴¹ had poured into the country to add to this confusion. New states were inaugurated, and the Republican government, which might have flourished over a small community, became 'democratic,' embracing an increasing number of states, each with its own constitution as powerful and as jealously guarded as the original. Society had been levelled, and, as Marryat showed, the aristocracy removed, with the result that there were few national honours to be gained in serving the government. An individual with ability, in order to gain some kind of distinction or prestige over his neighbour was forced to turn his talents solely to making money. Money had become the great American criterion of success.

"To the evil of bad example from the government is superadded the natural tendency of a democratic form of government, to excite ambition without having the power to gratify it morally or virtuously; and the debasing influence of the pursuit of gain is everywhere

apparent. It shows itself in the fact that money is in America everything, and everything else nothing..."⁴²

The year 1837, it must be recalled, was not only the year of Marryat's arrival in America, but also a particularly momentous year in American history. It was the year of the great depression, the Jackson administration having just killed the National Bank and forbade the payment of specie. Marryat therefore had an excellent opportunity to witness many of the bad effects of the American credit system, such as the corruption in speculation which was discussed in an earlier chapter relating to agriculture and land jobbing.⁴³ Marryat, however, was able to find numerous other examples of the federal government's weakness in which the principles of the constitution were bent to suit the direction called for by the popular will. In relation to the government's violation of its treaties with the various Indian nations, for instance, he noted the exploitation of the Cherokee lands. The Cherokee had an agreement in which it was stated that the "United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokee nation all their lands not hitherto ceded."⁴⁴ The state of Georgia, however, as its population increased insisted upon the removal of the Indians so forcibly that the Federal government was compelled to submit to state dictation and thus defile their treaty and their honour. There was also the matter of individual state

legislation for slavery,⁴⁵ and the annexation of Texas, which Marryat showed to be an act in open defiance to the Federal government's proclamation, forbidding the people to invade and dismember Mexico.⁴⁶

In the Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas (1843), Marryat was to again familiarize his readers with the various acts of United States aggression in a sympathetic portrayal of the noble character of the exploited Indian inhabitants. Romantic works of this nature had, by this time, however, lost most of their popular appeal to the realistic pioneer novels in which the Indians appeared as savages devoid of all feelings of humanity. "Monsieur Violet", therefore, was not a success, but it did at least illustrate Marryat's attitude towards the American methods of territorial expansion. The novel was constructed from much of his own research in conjunction with authentic details supplied by a friend.⁴⁷ In it Marryat depicted the 'noble savage' and sympathized with the Indians' resistance to the civilizing influences of the white race.

Monsieur Violet, the central figure and tenuous link in the various episodes, is brought up as an Indian, and following several close contacts with the white man decides that he infinitely prefers the morality and integrity of his adopted red brothers. The second part is concerned with

the Americans and their efforts, in Texas, to suppress the Cherokees, Chocktaws, and Couks. Marryat sympathized with the "underdog" Indian tribesmen, and called his readers' attention, in particular, to the extreme ignobility of the white man's conduct in the various combats and massacres. The pattern of honour, heroism, and fair play of the Indians, in fact, bore a remarkable resemblance to a similar code of ethics displayed in some of his sea novels. Concerning the selfish principles of the white man, the temper of Marryat's attitude is easily discerned in this novel and requires no analysis. Monsieur Violet, for example, speaking on the corruption of American officialdom and the lawlessness of the frontier, said -

"Upon inquiry, we discovered that these frontier men were all, more or less, eminent members of the Texian Republic; one being a general, another a colonel; some speakers of the House of Representatives; and many of them members of Congress, judges, and magistrates. Notwithstanding their high official appointments, we did not think it prudent to stop among them, but push on briskly, with our rifles across the pummels of our saddles; indeed, from the covetous eyes which these magistrates and big men occasionally cast upon our horses and saddle bags, we expected at every moment that we should be attacked." 48

If the Federal government was as weak as Marryat, in both "Monsieur Violet" and the "Diary", had shown it to be, it would appear that, by its poor example, the law enforcement of the country was inadequate. To illustrate this argument, in the "Diary," Marryat again pointed to specific examples of the lawless and reckless behavior which Galt had

alluded to near the end of Bogle Corbet. Duelling in various states,⁴⁹ the invention and the use of the Bowie knife, and the gouging tactics, already mentioned in an earlier chapter, formed a considerable part of the evidence.⁵⁰ The Hamilton-Burr duel and several others involving members of the government were, of course, given detailed attention. The shooting of speculators by squatters, who had recourse to no other means of protection, illustrated the weakness of the law.⁵¹ The Lynch Law occupied a whole chapter and contained various instances of mob demonstrations and the inability of the law officers to protect their prisoners from several other kinds of summary justice.⁵² In relation to murder, Marryat stated that -

"...Augusta, in Georgia, containing only a population of three thousand, in which, in one year, there were fifty-nine assassinations committed in open day, without any notice being taken of them by the authorities."⁵³

Finding the principles and laws of the legislature to be often ineffective, Marryat next turned his attention to other American institutions that were likely to interest his British readers. In the religious practices of the United States he found another interpretation of misapplied public opinion. Without the guidance and restraining force of a national, or established, church, dozens of religious sects had sprung up across America. Each man was free to interpret the Bible for himself, and to adhere to principles of any sect which came closest to his own spiritual requirements.

Within each sect, however, there was always the fear among the leaders that the congregation might some day break down and divide again. To avoid this occurrence, Marryat showed that a weak minister would often listen more closely to the voice of his congregation than he did to the words of the Bible. The result was that unrestricted religious freedom had given birth to scores of itinerant preachers, many of them sincere, but many others who, having no clearly defined parish, wandered from place to place holding camp meetings which often were little better than demonstrations of irrational behavior and religious hysteria.⁵⁴

In relation to press publication and authorship in the United States,⁵⁵ Marryat found more evidence to complete his case against the mischief of public opinion. He again looked for authority in writings of ^{de} Tocqueville and Cooper. Marryat pointed out that in Britain there were three hundred and seventy newspapers for twenty-six million people, while in the United States there were between nine and ten thousand for only thirteen millions. Among the better class of American publications which he listed were the New York Courier and the Enquirer, the Louisville Gazette, the New Orleans Picayune, the American Quarterly Review, the Knickerbocker, and the Monthly Magazine. He praised these publications, but at the same time mentioned many smaller papers, and even large ones such as the New York Morning Herald, that

were given to political conniving, falsehood, obscenity, libel, and defamation of character. Having been called an "unmitigated blackguard (with a) low, depraved, licentious soul"⁵⁵ in the Baltimore Chronicle, there is some justification for Marryat's attack. For support he quoted from Governor Clinton's address to the legislature concerning political war slogans -

"Party spirit has entered the recesses of retirement, violated the sanctity of female character, invaded the tranquility of private life, and visited with severe inflictions the peace of families. Neither elevation nor humility has been spared, nor the charities of life, nor distinguished public services, nor the fire side, nor the altar, been left free from attack; but a licentious and destroying spirit has gone forth, regardless of everything, but the gratification of malignant feelings and unworthy aspirations." 57

Marryat found much to criticise in the American educational system and the upbringing of children. The reciprocal action between public opinion and the newspapers had, in fact, an unfortunate effect on the young generation. The children were made to learn by heart parts of the Declaration of Independence, which implied that they were not only a moral and free people, but also superior in every respect to the people of Europe. They were taught anti-British songs that showed the British as despots who held the masses in gloomy ignorance,⁵⁸ and on every July fourth they were encouraged to exult over their defeated adversary, and to consider it unpatriotic not to do so. The children, in fact, seemed to be given no chance to behave as enlightened citizens.

Marryat again quoted from Cooper -

"The defects in American deportment are, notwithstanding, numerous and palpable. Among the first may be ranked, insubordination in children, and a great want of respect for age. The former vice may be ascribed to the business habits of the country, which leave so little time for parental instruction, and, perhaps, in some degree to the acts of political agents, who, with their own advantage in view, among the other expedients of their cunning, have resorted to the artifice of separating children from their natural advisors by calling meetings of the young to decide on the fortunes and policy of the country." 59

Since A Diary in America was intended for the edification of the British reader, each facet of the American way of life, such as its educational or religious system, was included to hold the interest of readers from all walks of life. The individual interest aroused by the discussion of any one facet, however, was important, but secondary to Marryat's overall purpose. In each discussion he emphasized the part played by the voice of the majority only to develop his main thesis that, within the United States, there was a collective desire to force everybody and everything to conform to the popular will. Had this desire been directed solely to solving problems that existed within the borders of the United States, it is probable that Marryat would have been less interested in writing about them. He was, however, a patriot and a military man, and, with British colonies in the near vicinity, he naturally viewed the aggressiveness of the Americans with alarm. The willingness

of certain sections of the American public to perpetrate acts of violence upon a weaker people showed him, as in the case of Mexico, that the Americans were, when they wished to be, above the laws and principles of their own government. For Marryat, who was used to the rigid efficiency of a fighting ship, it did not matter whether the laws and principles were good or not when the behavior of the people proved them to be ineffective. He had a new experience to convince him of this belief, when in 1837, during his short acquaintance with the Canadas, the Americans, without the full support of their Federal government, aided and abetted in violent Canadian rebellion.

Marryat's opinion of the Canadas, from the point of view of their natural advantages, conformed to the observations set out by John Galt and many of the minor travellers. In the "Diary" he produced valuable statistics and other evidence to support this idea,⁶⁰ and in his children's book, Settlers in the Woods (1844), he embodied a number of adventures to illustrate the familiar hazards and privation of settlement life. His interest in Canadian emigration, however, was like his concern with naval impressment, practical rather than humanitarian. Britain's strength on the North American continent was his first consideration; and when he saw that this strength could be achieved through emigration and economic aid from Britain, he became concerned

in colonial affairs. Marryat's approach towards the North American question, therefore, may be considered as the reverse of Galt's inquiry. Where Galt possessed a sound practical knowledge of conditions in Canada and little personal contact with the United States, Marryat's experience of Canada, on the other hand, was taken mostly from books, and his interest stimulated, for the most part, by his apprehension over the growing influence of the United States in world affairs. The last volume of the "Diary", therefore, was a speculative argument on the future of the Canadas, in which Marryat drew most of his material on the Canadian racial controversy from the recently published Durham Report.

The development work, Marryat argued, of such enterprises as the Canada Company were successful, but far too localized when compared with the rapid and general development in the United States. These projects, furthermore, in spite of the efforts of men like Selkirk and Galt, had brought profit to the British shareholders without serving to enrich the colonists themselves. Like most of the travellers who commented on colonial economics, he found, furthermore, that while the North American colonies needed more capital and commercial encouragement, there was a tendency in Great Britain to regard these colonies as a waste of time and money. It was true that Britain had

encouraged the growth of the timber trade by paying the colonists a percentage of the heavy duty levied on timber importation, but this had caused a timber monopoly of British lumber companies, the profits from which flowed back to Britain. The lucrative timber trade, furthermore, had encouraged the farmers to neglect the culture of other crops to seek the immediate cash reward from their wood lots.⁶¹ The timber trade, then, as an added expense to the British taxpayer, plus the cost of maintaining colonial troops, seemed an inadequate reason to continue in North America. Marryat and the economists, however, saw that, if the timber duties were removed and the monopolies destroyed, the great trade potential of the Canadas would be opened up by forcing the farmers to concentrate on other produce. The development of a Canadian trade, Marryat pointed out, would not only increase the standard of living of both Britain and the Canadas, but also build up a strong deterrent power to counteract the growing trade aspirations of the United States.

The threat of the United States to Britain's status as a leading world power was unquestionably a reality to Marryat and many of the travellers, the reason for which may be seen in the following paraphrase from A Diary in America:⁶² The object of the Northern States was to manufacture all the Southern produce, and, to the exclusion of

British trade with the Southern states, convey these manufactures throughout the world in their own ships. Unfortunately for the North, the southern states already had an established trade with Britain, and any tariff imposed to keep out British manufactures would result in severe hardship for the South and possibly civil war. The imposition of a tariff, furthermore, would not prevent British smuggling across the Canadian border, particularly to the western states where there was a growing demand for British manufactures. If Canada were annexed, however, the North could then supply the needs of the western states without affecting the output of the South, since the West would soon be capable of absorbing all the present produce of the Southern States. Having taken Upper and then Lower Canada, the United States would next look to the Maritime colonies and eventually the Newfoundland fisheries. Each annexation would be a mortal blow to British trade and, of course, Britain's position as a world power. Marryat's evidence for this speculative belief developed primarily from suspicions formed during the war of 1812, and the subsequent course of events in 1837.

In 1837 the Americans had certainly, on more than one occasion, interfered in Canadian affairs. Marryat cited a number of frontier incidents to show this, and in his "diary" mentioned the sympathy which the Americans had for the

colonial rebels. At the "Meeting of the Freemen of St. Albans" in Vermont, for instance, the citizens, without the sanction of the Federal government, decided to take up arms against the loyal Upper Canadians; one of the extremely belligerent motions of the meeting being -

"That it is the duty of every independent American to aid in every possible manner, consistent with our laws, the exertions of the patriots in Lower Canada, against the tyranny, oppression, and misrule of a despotic government." 63

The use of the terms "tyranny" and "oppression" in the above quotation, by the misguided voices of American public opinion served to convince Marryat that he was again dealing with another distasteful manifestation of democracy. His attitude was perhaps natural. The Americans had demanded the annexation of the Indian and Mexican territories, and subsequently the burning of his books and then his own person in effigy. Now, in relation to Canada, the Americans, incapable of protecting the individual from the lower order of their own society, were encouraging a radical mob to upset the order of a people whom Marryat looked on as essentially British. Marryat's conviction, however, that the American interference in Upper Canada was the first of a series of premeditated moves to annex all North America, is a speculation far beyond the limits of this thesis. The fact that this idea developed at all is useful, particularly in conjunction with Marryat's analysis of Lord Durham's Report on

Canada. Marryat, in disagreeing with Durham, brought to light the other British attitude towards North America which was far more tolerant of democracy. Lord Durham, it should be remembered, was a Whig who had earned the nickname of "Radical Jack" for his extremely active support of the Reform Bill of 1832.⁶⁴

In A Diary in America Marryat used Durham's Report as the authority for his Canadian investigation. Quoting liberally from Durham, he traced the course of the bitter racial animosity which had culminated in the French uprising. Papineau, the leader of the French Canadians had solicited the support and aid of the Americans and of the English speaking radicals led by Mackenzie in the Upper Province.

Following the conquest of Canada, the British had formed two provinces, allowing the predominantly French Lower Province the same form of legislative representation as was given to the English speaking Upper Province. The legislature was to be answerable to a British governor who had the authority to override any of their decisions. Over the ensuing years, however, the English minority in the French province increased, and the French, alarmed lest their race and religion should be absorbed, took measures to ensure their ascendancy in the Lower Assembly. By a series of clever legislative moves, they frustrated all attempts on

the part of the English to improve and develop the province. In these moves, for instance, they used their power to withhold the salaries of the British government officials to secure the sanction of the British Privy Council. The Council, wishing to avoid any colonial trouble, gave way to the French. Durham showed, however, that because the governorship changed hands with every British ministry, it was impossible for the Council to understand the full significance of their actions. ⁶⁵ It was this deadlock, in fact, whereby the French resisted all change and development, which produced a backwardness and illiteracy in Lower Canada, and caused many of the travellers to prefer conditions in Upper Canada or the United States.

Durham found the troubled situation in the Upper Province equally the responsibility of the British administration. The governor's veto and his continual interference in colonial politics had, as we saw with Galt and Sir Peregrine Maitland, frustrated colonial initiative on several occasions.

In seeking a solution to the colonial problem, following the defeat of the rebels, Durham made the following assessment of the character of the colonists. The French, he found, although they were not keen to remain under the British, were not interested in becoming part of the United States. They feared anti-Catholicism in various states, and

the likelihood that they would lose their racial identity in the same manner as the French in Louisiana. Their rebellion, although they had enlisted American aid, was primarily a move to break with Britain and then to establish an independent French state. The English colonists, on the other hand, although most of them had remained loyal to the crown, now showed a tendency to covet the material advantages to be had under the United States' system. Under this system they would no longer be in jeopardy from the French, since the Americans would not tolerate the French outlook as the British had done. Durham showed, furthermore, that there was a great possibility that the English colonists would seek a union with the United States, if, on a future occasion, the French made another move to gain the ascendancy. ⁶⁶ Durham saw, therefore, that if the racial conflict was to be solved and any attempt to re-enact the American Revolution prevented, the legislative ambitions of both races and cultures would have to be satisfied.

In view of these facts, Durham's recommendation was that there should be a union of the two provinces with responsible government in the hands of capable and popular elected ministers. These ministers should form a lower legislature with the power to determine the future of the colonies in all matters except those of trade and foreign relations, which would remain in the hands of the imperial

parliament. After several amendments Durham's democratic solution was adopted, and in a few years responsible government drew all the British North American colonies into confederation.

Marryat joined the opposition to Durham's recommendation. He believed that the backward nature of the French, their illiteracy, and the recent proof of their tendency towards excessive violence called for stronger measures. In criticising Durham, he wrote -

"Whether his lordship is aware of it or not, I cannot say; but there appears to me to be a strong inclination to democracy in all his proposed plans, and an evident leaning towards the institutions of the United States. He wishes to make the Executive Government responsible to the people; he would make one Federal Union of all our provinces, and institute the Supreme Court of Appeal which they have in the United States. In short, change but the word governor for president, and we should have the American constitution, and a "free and enlightened people"; - that is to say the French Canadians, who can neither read nor write, governing themselves." 67

Marryat's attitude towards responsible government for the British colonies was much the same as his attitude towards the government system of the United States - the majority were not capable of adhering to its principles. His counter recommendation exemplified this attitude, for in it he proposed that the irresponsible French should be regulated to a third or "middle" province where they could be restrained by a preponderance of English power in the Senate that was to preside over the three provinces.

In making this suggestion, Marryat had not been able to see, as Durham had, that, although the English colonists had a language and certain filial attachments to the mother country, their ideas could no longer be regarded as essentially British. They had taken on characteristics, in fact, which distinguished them sharply from their British ancestors. The proximity of the United States, the many Americans who settled on colonial territory, and the natural material advantages of the territory had given them a progressive outlook, which, sooner or later, was bound to defy the restrictive colonial legislature which was, for the most part, the same as the one given to the Virginia colonists in 1619. The French, furthermore, never would be British, unless forceful methods were employed, and in the recent uprising it had been mainly the French who had given the trouble. The uprising, however, had not been a matter of exploitation on the part of the British government, but, as Durham showed, a matter of an outmoded legislature and a British ignorance of, and indifference to, North American colonial affairs.

Although Durham avowed no particular love for the French, he could not, as Marryat did, allow his British ethnocentricity to interfere with the well-being of the colonies. In making his recommendations, therefore, Durham acknowledged the existence of a Canadian people who were

eager to determine their own future and who should no longer be looked upon as transplanted Englishmen and Frenchmen in need of guidance and protection.

It was possible to distinguish in Durham's Report the seed of a new British attitude towards democracy, which became a strong force in British colonial politics towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

It seems paradoxical that Marryat could accept the Americans and not the Canadians as a mixture of races radically different from the British; yet it was true. In the introduction to A Diary in America, he made the following statement -

"If I were to draw a comparison between the English and the Americans, I should say that there is almost as much difference between the two nations at this present time, as there has long been between the English and the Dutch. The latter are considered by us as phlegmatic and slow; and we may be considered the same, compared with our energetic descendents." 69

With this statement in mind he had continued his tour accumulating evidence to show that the expedients employed in the American administration, although unprincipled and repugnant to the British, had brought a high degree of prosperity to the people of the United States. He concurred in Galt's opinion that the lower classes might do very well in the United States, since they were, for the most part, insensible to manners and the other refinements of society. Of the energy and progress of the American people he was well

aware, and he saw how improvements had already been made in various habits ⁷⁰ and institutions since the criticism of earlier travellers. In discussing Mrs. Trollope, for instance, he showed that Cincinnati was no longer a backwoods settlement, but an admirable city. ⁷¹ Contradicting those writers who had given the impression that America was to remain permanently in a rough condition, he emphasized his belief that the country would eventually outgrow its imperfections. Until these imperfections were dealt with, however, the British traveller would continue to find fault with them.

Marryat's inquiry into the character of the Canadian colonists, on the other hand, had not been through the same degree of personal contact as it had been with the Americans. As a gentleman and a famous writer, he had suffered no indignities on Canadian soil, as he had in the United States, nor did he detect the same degree of activity or transition among the inhabitants. He felt, intuitively, a British orderliness among the colonists, which had recently been disturbed by a racial problem stirred up by radical factions across the American border. The racial problem, he felt, could be settled without disturbing the framework of the legislature. His writings on North America, therefore, embodied the attitude of the old school with its suspicion of social and political changes. He visualized the colonies

as an overseas bastion of Britain's military and commercial strength, where emigrants might go and pensioned officers might retire, continuing the tradition of Britain's political and social order. Democracy might be all right for the Americans, because they were different, but in Britain and in the colonies political change, if it came, would be gradual, as with the Reform Bill, reluctantly, piece by piece, after a series of drawn out political debates.

CHAPTER V

CHARLES DICKENS: THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT AND AN AMERICAN CARICATURE

In the preceding chapter the question of an international copyright was mentioned as one of several factors which induced Marryat to visit the United States. Marryat had good reason to be concerned with this question. Like many popular British writers in the nineteenth century, he had experienced some financial loss because of American indifference towards publication rights. Marryat's arguments on the copyright question, however, although supported by considerable evidence, were greatly overshadowed by the copyright activity stirred up some five years later by Charles Dickens and several interested writers and publishers on both sides of the Atlantic. In view of Dickens' activity then, it was considered expedient to postpone a discussion of Marryat's view of the copyright question in order to consider it in conjunction with Dickens and his attitude towards America.

Dickens is too well known as a writer and moralist to make more than a general reminder of his character necessary at this point. His sensitivity to injustice, his abhorrence of dirt and squalor, his pity for the poor and his hatred of

brutality were characteristics discerned easily in the themes of all his novels. What is not so often discerned however, and what is of much greater importance to a discussion of Dickens and America, is that the things Dickens criticised at home were fundamentally the same things that he criticised in the United States - namely, manners and morals. This paradox becomes more glaring as Dickens' visit to the United States is examined in the light of his political sentiments.

Unlike Thomas Moore, Mrs. Trollope, Basil Hall and many others, whose political convictions left them open to the charge that they arraigned America solely to provide propaganda fuel for the Tory fires, Dickens, who said much the same things as they had said about America, was not open to this charge. Both before and after his American tour, Dickens was a champion of the left; indeed, in all his writings, it becomes abundantly clear that what he desired most for the British people was emancipation from the privileged social, political, and industrial powers responsible for causing human misery and suffering. Whether or not he advocated extreme radical measures to achieve this emancipation would seem to depend on his temper of the moment.² Certainly his attitude towards the mob in Barnaby Rudge suggested simple justice for the working class unaccompanied by any violence. However, there were times when his indignation over social conditions showed the degree of his radical

inclinations mounting higher. His "sentimental radicalism", as Humphrey House calls it,³ led Dickens to agree with the manhood suffrage, ballot vote program of the Chartists, and in 1841 to write: "How radical I am getting! I wax stronger and stronger in the true principles every day."⁴

With these radical sentiments in mind then, there is no great difficulty in accounting for Dickens' first enthusiasm over the idea of visiting the United States, especially when it is recalled that the principles of American government had^{long} been praised by the British Radicals as symbolizing justice and democracy. In September, 1841, Dickens wrote feverishly: "I am still haunted by visions of America, night and day..... God willing, I think it (the trip) must be managed somehow."⁵

The trip was managed. On January 22, 1842, Dickens landed in Boston and, for the first month or so, his impression of America bore out his earlier optimism, and was therefore highly favourable to the American people. This impression, moreover, recorded in his letters home and in the first part of his travel book American Notes (1842), is a striking contrast to his view of British society, particularly with respect to officialdom, literacy and institutions. Flattered, and almost overwhelmed by the host of well-wishers who met him at the Boston dock, his sharp eye did not fail to notice the port officials who discharged their duties

with efficiency and good humour; a practice, he felt, that British officialdom would do well to notice.⁶ Later, driving in town, he remarked on the brightness of the freshly painted houses, their spaciousness and elegance and the absence of overcrowding, poverty and squalor. As he saw more of Boston, in fact, its beauty came to symbolize the intellectual refinements of the inhabitants, quietly influenced by the nearby university ... "the professors of (which) ... would shed a grace upon, and do honour to, any society in the civilized world."⁷ The hospitality of the Americans, moreover, added to his optimistic conviction. At the many dinners and other social functions held in his honour he noted the grace and intellectual refinement of the leading citizens including Henry Dana, Longfellow, Prescott, and Charles Sumner. His close friendship with Longfellow and Washington Irving, in fact, exemplified⁸ the intellectual harmony, mentioned in the second chapter, which gradually drew Britain and the United States closer together by mid-century.

Dickens' consuming interest in public welfare, of course, did not allow him to bypass the charity houses and other public institutions around Boston. Much of the early part of the American Notes, therefore, is devoted to these institutions which he found to be "as nearly perfect, as the most considerate wisdom, benevolence and humanity, can make

them."⁹ The welfare, industry, and high morale of the inmates at the Perkins' Institution and Massachusetts Asylum brought nothing but enthusiastic praise from Dickens. In the American Notes he recalled the patience and care of the supervisor, Dr. Howe, and allotted several pages to an account of Howe's successful fight to communicate with the deaf, dumb, and blind Laura Bridgman. "Spiritual and affectionate friendships" blossomed here, wrote Dickens, and no child or adult was ever excluded; it was "part of the great scheme of Heaven's merciful consideration for the afflicted."¹⁰

Dickens had similar sentiments for the wise and gentle treatment of the patients at the State Hospital for the Insane.¹¹ At the House of Industry, furthermore, the words on a placard became imprinted on his mind - "Worthy of Notice. Self Government, Quietude, and Peace are Blessings."¹² Here, wrote Dickens, the aged and the weak were shown consideration. Gently sloping stairways had been built to accommodate feeble or tiny strides. Recalling these things, Dickens tried to imagine the reaction of the British Poor Law commissioners, particularly if they learned that even the seats for the inmates had backs and arms. What then could Dickens' own thoughts have been if he had remembered his own youth at the blacking factory, or the miseries of Oliver Twist under the tyrannical Bumble? By the same

token, Dickens' description of the moral tone of the Boston Reform School for Juvenile Offenders and the good management at the House of Correction,¹³ furnish a bright contrast to his descriptions of the drudgery at the "Fleet" in Pickwick Papers and at the "Newgate" in Barnaby Rudge.

One of the most appealing features of all the American institutions for Dickens was that they were either assisted or totally supported by the state. In contrasting Britain and America,¹⁴ he commends the Boston institutions for being free from the eccentricities and caprices of rich old ladies and gentlemen who made wills to charity every other day. Dickens' conviction about the evil power wielded by rich people through their bequests was so strong in fact, that it figures noticeably in the plot of his novel, Martin Chuzzlewit, published a year later, in 1843.

A conducted tour of the cotton and wool factories at Lowell, where the girls worked in bright ventilated rooms, was another pleasant Boston experience. In contrast to the factory hands in Britain, the girls were well paid and clothed, and encouraged to employ their leisure time usefully. Pianos in many of the residences, circulating libraries, their own publication, the Lowell Offering, and a Savings Bank were a few of the amenities that left a favorable memory of American enlightenment. The working day, moreover, had an average of twelve hours; and child labour was restricted by

state law to nine months a year. During the other three months, children had to attend school. There were churches to suit all persuasions, and, throughout Lowell, the emphasis was on all that was right and proper. Dickens refrained from making a detailed comparison between the Lowell conditions and the factory conditions in Britain. It seemed sufficient for him to say, only, that the "contrast would be a strong one, for it would be between good and evil" ¹⁵

During the early part of his American tour then, Dickens believed that he had found in America an enlightened people who would lead the world to a more hopeful future. With an idea for a new book in mind, he wrote excitedly to his friend Forster:

"The American poor, the American factories, the institutions of all kinds - I have a book, already. There is no man in this town, or in this state of New England, who has not a blazing fire and a meat dinner every day of his life. A flaming sword in the air would not attract so much attention as a beggar in the streets." 16

However, a book to fit this enraptured tone did not materialize; nor did Dickens' mood continue. Dickens was right about what he had seen, but he was too premature in his judgement and too wanting in evidence to write accurately on all America at that moment. The things which had impressed him in Boston he saw emulated again wherever an enlightened American society congregated; but, like Marryat and many of his predecessors, he gradually saw this enlight-

ened society as a minority overridden by a mass whose good qualities were "sadly sapped and blighted (by) ... influences at work which endangered them still more."¹⁷ The first of these influences, the copyright, raised questions which threw a gloomy shadow over the rest of his tour.

In Britain at that time, the rights of an author had been safeguarded from as early as 1709 in a copyright act which provided him, or his publisher, with the sole rights to his book for twenty-one years, following its publication. This act, moreover, made no discrimination as to the author's citizenship and contained no indefinite considerations regarding the general utility of the author's subject matter. In 1814, the author's rights were extended again to twenty-eight years, and for life if he was still living when this period came to an end. Then, in 1842, the author's rights were given further recognition to the extent of forty-two years following publication, or seven years after his death, whichever was¹⁸ the longer.

In the United States, on the other hand, American authors and publishers abided by a copyright regulation that was clumsy and inadequate. This regulation, enacted by the Federal Government in May, 1790, was limited by a constitutional provision which gave Congress the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their

respective writings and discoveries."¹⁹

The appearance of the terms "limited time" and "useful arts" in this provision interfered with any clear interpretation of the copyright, and thus allowed a number of unscrupulous parties to exploit the intellectual property of those who rightfully owned it. This act, furthermore, excluded any author who was not a citizen of the United States - a consideration that showed the American copyright to be a privilege rather than a right. Agitation over the ensuing years rewarded the authors by a series of acts. These acts clarified the Constitutional clause as to length of time and the variety and usefulness of his subject matter. It was not until 1907, however, that the time factor was increased beyond a maximum of twenty-eight years. The foreign author, meanwhile, in the act of 1891, had been extended the same publication rights as a citizen of the United States, provided he fulfilled several necessary conditions, and that his government accorded the same benefits to Americans.

Until 1891, then, any assessment of the performance of the American copyright shows clearly that the advantages went to the American publisher. The advantages, furthermore, were secured at the expense of the author and of the reading public. In the first place, the publisher could legally "pirate" foreign books without cost and without fear of overprinting, since the book's previous success abroad enabled him to

estimate its possibilities on the American market. Secondly, if the work happened to be British, he was saved the added expense of having it translated. American publishers, therefore, were not usually interested in buying from an American author because they could make a considerable profit from the cheaper editions of a foreign work. The only hope left to the American author was that he might be accepted abroad. If this happened, then he stood a chance of being published in the United States. In A Diary in America Marryat showed that most American writers did, in fact, make their names in Britain first. His conclusion therefore was that -

"an author by profession would gain but a sorry livelihood in the United States, unless he happened to be as deservedly successful as Washington Irving or Cooper. He not only has to compete against the best English authors, but as almost all the English works are published without any sum being paid for the copyright, it is evident that he must sell his work at a higher price if he is to obtain any profit. An English work of fiction, for instance, is sold at a dollar and a quarter, while an American one costs two dollars." 20

The publisher, furthermore, usually avoided any danger to his profits by not depending too heavily on the popularity of any one work. He did this, as Marryat showed, from a moderate publication of a number of works " each of them yielding a moderate profit, which, when collected together swell into a large sum total." ²¹ This utilitarian practice was second only in its evil consequences to the more profitable one of book mutilation. Many British visit-

ors were shocked when they saw how standard English works were abridged, garbled, and altered at the expense of content, in order to accommodate contradictory political theories or religious ideologies. Marryat reported several cases in which the arguments of great orthodox writers were trimmed to suit the dissemination of Socinian and Unitarian principles. One of these involved a friend of his in Nova Scotia who had ordered some school books from New York, one of them being Abbot's Young Christian.

"He did not examine them, having before read the works in England, and well knowing what ought to have been the contents of each. To his surprise, the parents came to him a few days afterwards to return the books, stating that they presumed that he could not be aware of the nature of their contents; and on examination he found that he had been circulating Unitarian principles among the children, instead of those which he had wished to inculcate." 22

The American copyright, therefore, wrought a further injustice on the American people. It allowed the publisher, as mentor of publishable material, to make personal profit his sole consideration in depriving the public of all or any part of a work.

The financial effect of the American copyright on British authors was obvious. The extent of Marryat's losses through its operation is suggested by the trouble he took to compile notes and statistics to substantiate his arguments. He placed a high estimate, for example, on the losses sustained by Sir Walter Scott.

"Could Sir Walter Scott have obtained a copyright in the United States it would have been worth to him, by this time, at least £100,000." 23

Marryat, of course, made appropriate reservations for publishers who were willing to pay for British works. He received \$2,250 from Carey and Hart for the publication rights of A Diary in America and Phantom Ship which appeared in the United States a month before they were published in London. It is doubtful, however, whether this would have occurred had not several enlightened Americans and the New York Mirror, under the heading of "Captain Marryat and the Book Manufacturers", spoken, ironically, for justice in the matter.

"Let us steal and sell the 'Peter Simples', the 'Japhets', the 'Jacob Faithfuls', and all other ideal persons of whom American law takes no cognisance; and let us resist every attempt to repeal this most profitable kind of 24 slave trade, as an aggression upon the rights of freemen!"

Until this time, both British and American efforts had failed to dislodge the publishers from their dominant position. In fact, the wording of the Constitutional clause gave legality to the publisher's position. There were many unprincipled, yet legal, arguments to prove that an international copyright would cause the publisher unnecessary suffering. One argument used was that the publisher would have the added expense of paying for a copyright which was only advantageous to an author whose work sold in sufficient numbers to cover the publishing expenses. Another example of this type of argument was shown in a motion concerning a copyright petition which got as far

as Congress. This motion, made by a select committee, was defeated by the Southerners, "on the grounds that they would not give a copyright to Miss Martineau, to propagate her abolition doctrines in that country ..."²⁵ This decision exemplified the deadlocked situation throughout the United States in matters pertaining to international copyright. The advantage to any man of letters who wished to attack the American copyright act was, of course, the moral foundation on which he could build his arguments. It was to this deadlocked situation that Dickens arrived in 1842.

Dickens' first brush with the copyright problem, as with Marryat's, was the realization that he had lost a fortune through the pirating of his books. Cheap editions of his works sold in the United States for as "low a price as six cents a copy (while the cost in England) was almost twenty-five cents."²⁶ On February 1, four days before his departure from Boston, he took an opportunity to at least raise the subject that was a general topic of conversation among his American friends. The opportunity was an expensive dinner and reception given in his honour. Many learned scholars and writers were present, some of whom Dickens had already met. As soon as the wine passed, the toasts and speeches began. The speakers made eloquent observations on Dickens' powers as an author, and platitudinous references to his well-known characters. In reply, Dickens spoke emotionally of what he

had seen so far in the United States, and concluded with a brief allusion to the injustice of the copyright. This he followed with a toast "America and England - and may they never have any division but the Atlantic between them."²⁷

The reaction of the newspapers in the morning was like an echo of the indignant howl that Marryat heard when he toasted Captain Drew in Toronto.²⁸ Most of the dinner guests and speakers had shown no emotion over Dickens' remarks, but in one mad moment the American press, which a few days before had lauded his presence, now turned upon him. He was accused of overstepping the bounds of hospitality by abusing and casting aspersions on his hosts. He was warned and insulted. Anonymous letters flooded in, demanding that he keep silent. But this he did not do. Smarting under the affrontery of the yellow press, he again introduced the topic at a banquet in Hartford.

In a long letter to Forster he described the effects of his remarks, and the attitude of American writers towards the topic: "... every man who writes in this country is devoted to the question and not one of them dares to raise his voice and complain of the atrocious state of the law."

In the same letter as the above, Dickens showed that he was beginning to see the great faults of the American system as well as its great virtues. Thus in the same vein as Marryat and dozens of other British travellers who had commented on

the blackmailing and bullying of the yellow press, Dickens continued: "...there is no country, on the face of the earth, where there is less freedom of opinion than in this I do fear that the heaviest blow ever dealt at liberty will be dealt by this country, in the failure of its example to the earth."²⁹

Seizing the opportunities of future social engagements, Dickens continued his copyright campaign, at last arousing many American sympathizers to concerted action. That Dickens was right in harping on what he saw to be a flagrant defect in American morals was shown in the response of several reputable American publications. Horace Greeley, notably, of the New York Tribune, wrote:

"He ought to speak out on the matter, for who shall protest against robbery, if those who are robbed may not? Here is a man who writes for a living, and writes nobly; and we of this country greedily devour his writings, are entertained and instructed by them, yet refuse to protect his rights as an author that he may realize a single dollar from all their vast American sale and popularity." 30

Greeley, besides defending Dickens, also printed the sympathetic copyright speech of Cornelius Matthews in full. Matthews, the editor of the Acturus, made this speech in reply to Dickens at a New York dinner. The text of Matthews' speech was that the British writers were being unmercifully robbed, not only at the expense of American literature, but also to the detriment of American honour. In conclusion, he dwelt on the evils of book mutilation, discussed earlier in conjunction with Marryat.

The outcome of this furore was that, when Dickens left New York for Washington, he had a copyright petition to give Henry Clay, with Washington Irving's name heading a list of distinguished American signatures.³¹

Less scrupulous Americans, on the other hand, who from various motives sought to protect their nation from outspoken foreigners, attacked Dickens through the more vicious elements of the press,³² drawing their authority from such sober American publications as the Boston Mercantile Journal which reported, following the "Convention of the Book Trade" in Boston, April 26:

"The Memorial ... undertakes to show by various arguments and reasons that the enactment of such a law (international copyright) would be impolitic; would be injurious to the interests of the country, is not required by justice, and ought not at this time to be carried into effect." 33

Meanwhile, Dickens had also written to Forster for a petition, endorsed by the leading British writers, which would give added weight to his cause.³⁴ He received this petition at the end of April, signed by twelve men of letters including Tennyson, Bulwer Lytton, and Leigh Hunt. Carlyle also signed and enclosed a separate note with a characteristic indictment of American morals: "Thou shalt not steal; that thou belongest to a different nation and can steal without being certainly hanged for it gives thee no permission to steal."³⁵

Later, in May, this petition along with Carlyle's indictment appeared, at Dickens' request, in several of the

American papers, among them the New York Evening Post and the Washington National Intelligence.³⁶

To the work of these letters and other copyright agitation, American authors were eventually to owe some gratitude. Over the next few years the American Copyright Act was clarified, but it was not until 1891 that the United States finally came to terms with the foreign authors. The fact that Dickens' efforts brought him no immediate victory, however, is not as important here as the evidence of an injustice that coincided with other forms of high-handed American behavior, which were already beginning to discolor Dickens' first vision of the United States. For, as with other celebrities who toured the United States both before and since his time,³⁷ the part of being a literary lion was beginning to pall. In a letter to Forster, he complained of the rudeness and unabashed inquisitiveness of the Americans and of how they gave him no peace.

"I can do nothing that I want to do, go nowhere where I want to go, and see nothing that I want to see. If I turn into the street, I am followed by a multitude. If I stay at home the house becomes, with callers, like a fair. If I visit a public institution, with only one friend, the directors come down incontinently, waylay me in the yard, and address me in a long speech. I go to a party every evening, and am so enclosed and hemmed about by people, stand where I will, that I am exhausted for want of air. I dine out, and have to talk about everything to everybody. I go to church for quiet, and there is a violent rush to the neighborhood of the pew I sit in, and the clergyman preaches at me. I take my seat in a railroad car, and the very conductor won't leave me alone. I get out at a station, and can't drink a glass of water, without having a hundred people looking down my throat when I open my mouth to swallow. Conceive what all this is! Then by every post, letters on

letters arrive, all about nothing, and all demanding an immediate answer. This man is offended because I won't live in his house; and that man is thoroughly disgusted because I won't go out more than four times in one evening. I have no rest or peace, and am in a perpetual worry." 38

Leaving Boston and the warm friendship of his many American friends, Dickens' eyes were now opened to innumerable manifestations and causes of mob behavior, all of which made the last part of American Notes a gloomy epilogue to the earlier days of his tour. Abundance, idleness, drinking, and the absence of adequate law enforcement³⁹ encouraged rioting, duelling, eye gouging, knife brawling and other forms of depravity and violence. Nor were these things restricted to the frontier or to the South where slavery seemed to breed brutality and murder.⁴⁰ In New York, for instance, Dickens⁴¹ found the prison conditions of the "tombs" to be vicious, while the criminal element, at large in the terrible slums of "Five Points", lived in conditions that were hardly any better. Dickens comments on the inhabitants, both human and animal of "Five Points" bore no more prejudice than could be expected from any decent man:

"This is the place; these narrow ways, diverging to the right and left, and reeking everywhere with dirt and filth. Such lives as are led here, bear the same fruit as elsewhere. The coarse and bloated faces at the doors, have counterparts at home, and all the wide world over. Debauchery has made the very houses prematurely old. See how the rotten beams are tumbling down, and how the patched and broken windows seem to scowl dimly, like eyes that have been hurt in drunken frays. Many of those pigs

live here. (Dickens had just spoken of the pigs which roamed the streets, unattended) Do they ever wonder why their masters walk upright in lieu of going on all-fours? and why they talk instead of grunting?" ⁴²

The American taste for exaggeration, the practice of tobacco chewing and spitting also came under fire in the American Notes. Similarly, violence and chicanery in American politics, libel and slander in the American press and their demoralizing effect on the character of the American majority also drew his consideration and comment. For Dickens, and indeed for most of the critical travellers, the effects of unrestrained individualism is concisely summed up by Nevins: "The facility with which unrestrained individualism ran into excess was all too plain in politics, where men were ready to appeal to a "higher law" than constitutions and statutes, or dispense with law altogether; ..." ⁴³

Again, dealing with the morals of the business world, Dickens found little to commend. There was, he said, "the love of 'smart' dealing, which gilds over many a swindle and gross breach of trust" and a "love of trade" before whose "stern utilitarian joys" all else "must fade". American voraciousness in matters of money and trade, in fact, led Dickens to make his only passing reference to the copyright in American Notes: "...the love of trade," he wrote, "is a reason why the literature of America is to remain for ever unprotected." ⁴⁴

Touching on the subject of camp meetings and other religious demonstrations, Dickens found no evidence to suppose that the characteristic violence of American behavior was in any way attributable to the absence of an established church. Exercising the same fairness that he had shown when discussing American slums, he compared American forms of religion with those in the old world:

"... even the Shakers emigrated from England; our country is not unknown to Mr. Joseph Smith, the apostle of Mormonism, or to his benighted disciples; I have beheld religious scenes myself in some of our populous towns which can hardly be surpassed by an American camp-meeting; and I am not aware that any instance of superstition on the one hand, and superstitious credulity on the other, has its origin in the United States." 45

Although Dickens omitted practically all reference to the copyright agitation in his compilation of American Notes, he was, ironically, soon to experience some more of the effects of the copyright injustice. In order to avoid an almost certain pirating of the book, he decided to publish it in the United States, before he published it in Britain. Longfellow, who was then in Britain, agreed to carry advance copies to the United States when he returned in October. Longfellow, however, arrived home too late. Someone at Dickens' publishers, Bradbury and Evans, had been bribed to send over earlier proofs. Thus, when Longfellow landed, cheap editions of American Notes were already flooding the American market. 46 47

The book was received with mixed feelings in America. The clamour which arose from that "monster of depravity" 48

the American press, served only to convince Dickens, now busy writing Martin Chuzzlewit, that he had been right about the Americans being afraid of criticism. One newspaper called him "a narrow-minded, conceited cockney"; another "a low bred scullion unexpectedly advanced from the kitchen to the parlor"; and another^{said} that he had spent his life "in the stews of London" and was therefore "fit to associate only with the dancing monkeys and mulatto girls of Five Points"⁴⁹. However, "among the gentry of America; among the well informed and moderate; in the learned professions"⁵⁰, it was received gracefully, but not without friendly criticism.

In Britain, on the other hand, the Monthly Review treated the book soberly, while the Edinburgh Review did not find it up to their expectations.⁵¹ Both Marryat and Mrs. Trollope were, naturally enough, pleased by the book, especially as it substantiated their feeling that the majority in America exercised a demoralizing tyranny over all worth-while ideas and conduct. Replying to Mrs. Trollope, Dickens made it clear that he was pleased to have her encouragement:

"As I never scrupled to say in America, so I can have no delicacy in saying to you, that, allowing for the change you worked in many social features of American society, and for the time that has passed since you wrote of the country, I am convinced that there is no writer who has so well and accurately described it ..."⁵²

As it happened, criticism of American Notes, particularly from America, was no rougher than Dickens had already

anticipated. "I have little reason to believe," he had earlier predicted, "from certain warnings I have had since I returned to England; that it (American Notes) will be tenderly or favorably received by the American people."⁵³ These warnings had come, of course, from his American and British friends,⁵⁴ who understood the sensitivity of the American public. To some extent Dickens took council from them; for it is plain from the tone of his private letters, cited hitherto, that American Notes was written with more restraint and gentleness than the travel works of many of his contemporaries. In abandoning a discussion of the copyright, American personalities, and statistical and political comparisons, however, he had not abandoned that "essence of comicality that I could distil"⁵⁵ from his American experience. In his next American writing, Martin Chuzzlewit, he made no attempt, in fact, to spare the raw sensibilities of his American readers.

To readers who tolerate literature only insofar as it indulges their own national, social, political, or religious prejudices, it is natural, perhaps, that some books should be taken, by them, as a personal affront. This was certainly the case in 1843, when a large and noisy element of the American reading public took exception to Martin Chuzzlewit. The thoughtful reader today, however, will see that, although

this book is far from favorable to the Americans, there is little in it to gratify the British readers' national vanity either. The British, in fact, fare far worse than the Americans; for, while the American characters are merely caricatures in a satire, the British characters are human beings caught up in the evil forebodings that are symptomatic of the human vice - selfishness.

Selfishness is the theme of Martin Chuzzlewit, and, in the British section of this work, it motivates the action and the plot with little relief. Old Martin Chuzzlewit, the grim and capricious grandfather, terrified by his own imaginings about the safety of his fortune, plays one grasping relative against another. The relatives join unwittingly in the play; each one believing, as he awaits the death of Old Martin, that he is the only buzzard in the family tree. The conniving Antony, brother of old Martin, deliberately teaches his son, Jonas, to become a cunning liar and a murderous cheat. Jonas repays this evil indulgence with poison in place of cough syrup, but not before he has taken care of his own future in a profitable swindle known as the Anglo-Bengalee Disinterested Loan and Life Assurance Company. Adding to his crimes, Jonas also takes a wife, partly to torture her for her pre-marital cruelty to him, and partly to cement his schemes with her father, the hypocritical Pecksniff.

Oozing like oil in the machinery of the plot, Pecksniff ingratiates himself with old Martin, exploits his own architecture students, sacrifices his friends and family; but always with a stark moral front before the world. Old Martin, however, is no more deceived by Pecksniff than he is by the rapacious natures of his other relatives. But before he exposes Pecksniff, he spurns young Martin, much to Pecksniff's secret satisfaction, and young Martin emigrates to America. Soon after, fear and greed gradually turn Jonas against Montegue Tigg, the blackmailer and scheming partner in the bogus Anglo-Bengalee. In a lonely field Jonas bludgeons Tigg to death and finally poisons himself. Meanwhile, young Martin has returned from America, a changed man. Pecksniff is unmasked and young Martin restored to his grandfather's favour.

The American interlude serves as the proving ground for young Martin and, at the same time, provided Dickens with the chance to rekindle his smoldering resentment which friendly opposition during the publication transactions of American Notes had temporarily smothered. Thus, when young Martin lands in America, as many thousands of impoverished emigrants had done before him, it was not to placate the captious reader, by reliving the pleasantries of the American Notes, but to amuse the British reader with a caricature of all that Dickens had found distasteful. There are, in fact, no formal introductions for young Martin; no warnings or friendly apologies;

only a gallery of American personifications are to be reckoned with, each inflated proportionately by Dickens to the capacity of the vulgarity or vice which each represented.

In the opening scenes of the American interlude, Dickens laid emphasis at once on the vulgarity of the American press. As Martin's ship docks in New York, the cool breeze of freedom is suddenly contaminated by the cries of the news boys:

"Here's this morning's New York Stabber ... the New York Family Spy! ... here's the New York Plunderer! ... the New York Keyhole Reporter! Here's the Sewer! ... and the Sewer's exclusive account of a flagrant act of dishonesty committed by the Secretary of State when he was eight years old; now communicated at great expense, by his own nurse Here's the Sewer's article upon the Judge that tried him day afore yesterday, for libel, and the Sewer's tribute to the Independent Jury that didn't convict him, and the Sewer's account of what they might have expected if they had!" 56

Martin knows nothing of American mob opinion, of course, or of the tremendous power exerted over it by the press. Therefore, when Martin is enlightened by Colonel Diver, it gave Dickens the opportunity to satirize both the blustering behavior of the American journalists and a common American attitude towards money and independence. Colonel Diver, the editor of the New York Rowdy Journal, explains the protocol of the American press by saying that it is the organ of the aristocracy which, in turn, is composed of "intelligence and virtue. And of their necessary consequence in this republic. Dollars Sir."⁵⁷ Then, he leads Martin away to the "News"

office where they meet Jefferson Brick, a pimply war correspondent, whose inspired gutter-rakings and chauvinistic balderdash first quail and then wither the tyrannical courts and parliaments of Europe. When Martin enquires into the personal nature of one of Brick's editorial outbursts, Brick replies triumphantly; "We are independent here, Sir, ... We do as we like."⁵⁸

Dickens, of course, had ample evidence to show that journalists of Jefferson Brick's calibre did, in fact, behave as they liked. However, he was not thinking so much, here, of the copyright agitation, or the reception of American Notes, as of the furore caused by the publication, in the New York newspapers, of a spurious letter in which he had been made to insult the whole American nation.⁵⁹ Thus, as the scene at the "News" office develops, Martin asks the Colonel whether the papers buy forged letters and receives the reply that they "Buys 'em by hundreds of thousands, ... We are a smart people here, and can appreciate smartness."⁶⁰

In Martin's next American acquaintance, Major Pawkins, Dickens introduced and emphasized many of the American habits that most British travellers found distasteful. Major Pawkins, erstwhile politician, swindler and jobber, now keeps a boarding house in which the spittoon is well in evidence. Colonel Diver, having the traditional American eye for easy profit, introduces Martin to the Major in order to take a cut in rent

money. Like most Americans who can, the Major lives indoors in the company of a red hot stove and a balmy whiff of fried food and stale tobacco odour.⁶¹ He chews more, smokes more, and drinks more than any of his friends and is therefore deservedly acclaimed "one of the most remarkable men in our country, Sir."⁶² This phrase, which occurs often in the American interlude, leads Martin to conclude that it is, like the preponderance of military titles, merely one more mark of American boastfulness and vanity. Moreover, it is interesting to note that Dickens did not invent this phrase for the occasion. According to Putnam, Dickens' American secretary during the tour, Dickens heard this phrase so often that he was once driven to reply: "Good God! ... they are all so! I have scarcely met a man since my arrival who wasn't one of the most remarkable men in the country."⁶³

Few visitors, even before Mrs. Trollope, had been able to resist a satiric comment at the expense of American table manners.⁶⁴ None, however, surpassed Dickens' masterful caricature of the phenomenal speed of lunch time at the Pawkins' establishment.

A bell announces lunch as Martin chats with Colonel Diver, Jefferson Brick, and the Major. At once, the Colonel and the Major dart off "like lunatics," leaving Martin faltering on the sidewalk. "The premises are on fire," he thinks, as Jefferson Brick vanishes also, hotly pursued by "three more

gentlemen, with horror and agitation depicted in their faces." Martin follows, only to be "run down, thrust aside and passed, by two more gentlemen, stark mad." It is lunch time; and as Martin reaches his seat Colonel Diver is nearly finished. Eighteen or twenty people are wedged around a table.

"Great heaps of indigestible matter melted away as if before the sun. It was a solemn and awful thing to see. Dyspeptic individuals bolted their food in wedges; feeding not themselves, but broods of nightmares, ... spare men, with lank and rigid cheeks, came out unsatisfied from the destruction of heavy dishes, and glared with watchful eyes upon the pastry (and when the meal is over the gentlemen get up) to refresh themselves at the brass spittoons. A few sedentary characters, however, remained at table full a quarter of an hour." 65

Dickens felt, as was mentioned earlier, that he had already paid sufficient homage to all that was admirable and cultured in America in the early part of American Notes. However, there is one American in Martin Chuzzlewit who emerges unscathed from Dickens' satiric assault on the American gentry. He is Mr. Bevan, a Massachusetts physician. Yet, even here, Dickens, in keeping with the satire, took as much pains to draw Bevan as a personification of "good" as he did to personify the other American characters as "evil". Bevan realizes the limitations of his compatriots, particularly those of the Norris family, whose main claim to refinement is made through a ludicrous display of an unlikely acquaintance with the British peerage and a snobbish intolerance of poverty and Negroes. 66 Similarly, Dickens continued his attack on the snobbery and hypocrisy that he had seen in America when he

introduced General Fladdock. General Fladdock, in full military regalia, is of the same cut as the Norrises, but blown up to even larger satiric proportions. He has just returned, on the same ship as Martin, from 'hobnobbing' with the earls and dukes of "benighted Europe". He cannot, he says, admire the "artificial barriers set up between man and man" in Europe; however, when he discovers that Martin has travelled steerage "a deathlike stillness" falls among the company.⁶⁷

Similarly the cant and pomposity of American cultural pastimes did not escape Dickens' notice. Among the American well-to-do females in Martin Chuzzlewit "The Philosophy of the Soul", "The Philosophy of Vegetables", "The Laws of Hydraulic Pressure", and other lectures play a daily part in their lives.⁶⁸ With the men, on the other hand, it is organizations like "The Watertoast Association of United Sympathizers" which receive tribute. 'The Watertoasters' cheer "noble efforts in the cause of freedom", while they hate "the accursed animal, with the gore stained whiskers ... the British Lion", and anyone else who dares to sympathize with "nigger emancipation".⁶⁹ It is through this organization, which Dickens had modelled after the Brandywine Association,⁷⁰ that Martin next undergoes a burlesqued performance of the American "Levee". His refusal would have been fatal; "our citizens an't long of riling up", warns Captain Kedgick, "and our Gazette could flay you like a wildcat."⁷¹

Martin's "levee" was one of two means by which Dickens contrived to illuminate the Americans' self-conscious need for social distinction. Of course, the first American "levees" were dignified affairs at which deserving citizens and visiting dignitaries shook hands and exchanged pleasantries with the people. However, what had been, at the outset, a dignified replacement for the rituals of royalty that had died with the revolution, was now, during Dickens' time, often no more than a raucous gathering of name-droppers, souvenir hunters, and other sensation seekers. Thus when Martin attends his "levee", he experiences all the indignities that Dickens had experienced during his tour and he leaves, tired of shaking hands, of answering impudent questions, of listening to hollow rhetoric, and of Americans in general.

The other method by which Dickens poked fun at the American yearning for personal distinction was drawn from the American practice of bearing military titles and baptizing children with high sounding Christian names. The military title, most travellers noted,⁷² seemed to be preserved by the members of the American militia, and by people who had not been members at all, as a means of keeping ahead of their opponents in the wild scramble of American social life. General Fladdock, General Choke, Colonel Diver, Captain Kedgick, Major Pawkins, and Major Hominy represent Dickens' contribution to the surfeit of military leaders; a surfeit

which causes Martin to wonder "where on earth the privates
came from".⁷³

Dickens made similar use of the American habit of giving Biblical or historical names when he created Jefferson Brick, Elijah Pogram, LaFayette Kettle, Zephaniah Scadder, and Hannibal Chollop.⁷⁴ But more important, here, than the comic incongruity of these names is the grave incongruity that lies between the names and the things which the characters symbolize. Thus the journalist, Jefferson Brick, in spite of the name of the man of freedom that he bears, rides roughshod over anyone that would speak freely; Elijah Pogram, the political windbag, belies his name by prophesying nothing; LaFayette Kettle, unlike his namesake who came to the aid of a foreign nation, bears all the glaring traits of a fanatical nationalist; Zephaniah Scadder, the rapacious land agent, swindles the emigrants out of their meagre savings, while Hannibal Chollop, belying the name of the noble hero, has become a self-styled 'hero', stabbing, gouging, and lynching in order to plant "the standard of civilization in the wilder gardens of My country".⁷⁵

The most gloomy episode in the American interlude begins when Martin and his servant, Mark Tapley, lose their savings to Zephaniah Scadder and try to settle in a fever-ridden settlement called Eden. In describing Eden and the swindle of the Eden Settlement Company, Dickens employed

everything that he knew of the worst aspects of American emigration. Eden was, of course, an imaginary place, drawn, for the most part, from what Dickens had seen from train and stagecoach windows only.⁷⁶ However, in spite of this, the descriptions are seen to have more than a grain of truth, particularly when the factual accounts, discussed in chapter two, are recalled. Furthermore, Dickens' descriptions bear a close resemblance to settlements described in the fiction of Mrs. Trollope, Galt, and Marryat.⁷⁷ For example, Captain Marryat's Monsieur Violet's first view of the Texan city of Boston, said to be narrated from fact, shows a remarkable similarity to Martin and Mark's first view of Eden. Monsieur Violet narrates:

"We searched in vain for any vestiges which could announce our being in the vicinity of even a village; at last, however, emerging from a swamp, through which we had been forcing our way for more than an hour, we descried between the trees a long building, made of rough logs of the pine, and as we advanced, we perceived that the space between the logs (about six inches) had not been filled up, probably to obtain a more free circulation of air. This building, a naked negro informed us, was Ambassadors' Hall, the great and only hotel of Texian Boston." 78

Like the Texan city of Boston, the promised city of Eden turns out to be a collection of delapidated log cabins in the midst of swamp and decayed undergrowth. Mark Tapley, as if ^{trying} to prove Galt's tenet that only resourceful men should attempt settlement in the United States,⁷⁹ sets out to make the best of their bad luck, while Martin, used to the

comforts of the British middle class, sits on a stump wallowing in self pity. As Mark's selfless efforts are described, however, it soon becomes apparent that Dickens was not so much concerned with giving advice to potential emigrants as with recalling the theme and bringing the American interlude to a successful conclusion. Thus, Mark exhausts himself while attending to the selfish needs of Martin and is stricken with swamp fever. Martin, compelled at last to fend for himself, nurses Mark and, while doing so, realizes his own selfishness. Finally, when Mark has recovered, they are able to make their way back to Britain.

Taken together then, the American interlude in Martin Chuzzlewit and the second half of American Notes, show clearly that Dickens did not like America. More important than his dislike, however, when one remembers his high optimism at the outset of his tour, was his deep disappointment in what he had witnessed. Corruption in politics and commerce, injustice of the press and copyright, lawlessness on the frontier, and slavery would have been disliked by Dickens no matter where they existed, but when he found them tolerated in America he could only conclude that the majority of Americans were ignorant of the high principles from which their country sprang. His bitter disappointment, furthermore, made him express this conviction often, but nowhere more abruptly than when he comments on Mrs. Hominy's ignorance.

"It is no great matter what Mrs. Hominy said, save that she had learnt it from the cant of her class, and a large class, of her fellow countrymen, who, in their every word, avow themselves to be as senseless to the high principles on which America sprang, a nation, into life, as any Orson in her legislative halls. Who are no more capable of feeling, or of caring if they did feel, that by reducing their own country to the ebb of honest men's contempt, they put in hazard the rights of nations yet unborn, and very progress of the human race, than are the swine who wallow in their streets." 80

As was indicated earlier, many American readers of American Notes read similar statements, to the one quoted above, as an indication of Dickens' prejudice rather than as a sign of his bitter disappointment. This kind of reader interpreted Martin Chuzzlewit in much the same way. ⁸¹ That these readers were wrong cannot be proved except by pointing out that there is no difference, from a moral standpoint, between the crimes of Hannibal Chollop and Jonas Chuzzlewit, or between those of Zephaniah Scadder in the swindles of the Eden Land Corporation and those of Montague Tigg in the crooked transactions of the "Anglo-Bengalee Company". Taken objectively, in fact, it is obvious that it was the British ⁸² characters who received the sterner treatment; understandably so, moreover, when it is remembered that Dickens was dedicated to moral correction and social reform at home, whereas his interest in American affairs was merely brief and transitory.

As for the clarity of Dickens' vision in drawing his Americans, it is necessary to remember that he was here dealing with the broader and most ludicrous side of the American

character; the side most likely to be noticed by a traveller and the side most likely to rankle in or amuse him. Many Americans, of course, were able to accept this; one, Kate Field, wrote:

"As for certain American portraits painted in Martin Chuzzlewit, I should as soon think of objecting to them as I should think of objecting to any other discovery in natural history. To deny the existence of Elijah Pogram, Jefferson Brick, Colonel Diver, Mrs. Hominy, and Miss Codger, is to deny facts somewhat exaggerated, that are patent to any keen observer who has ever travelled through the United States. The character of Elijah Pogram is so well-known as to constantly figure in the world of illustration; and we can well afford to laugh at foibles of natural growth when Dickens devotes the greater part of the same novel to the exposition of English vice and selfishness." 83

Although it is, perhaps, unnecessary to enlarge on this candid statement, it might be added that, besides the American writers who acknowledged the truth of Dickens' caricatures in American characters of their own, there have also been others who, in their judgements on nineteenth century American life, have done as much for the observations of the British travellers in general. Fenimore Cooper, as was seen earlier, provided Marryat with considerable authority for his criticism of American manners; Mark Twain, in Huckleberry Finn in particular, substantiated much that the travellers had said about frontier rowdiness, feuding, lynching, and the white man's regard for the slave; the vituperative writings of William Cowper Brann, ⁸⁴ the Texas iconoclast, are a self-testimony of the latent viciousness of the American press, while such contemporary

American novels as Sinclair Lewis' Babbitt and Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men show that the worship of the dollar and the power of the rabble-rousing politician are discernable evils, still, in America today.⁸⁵

Although the American Notes and Martin Chuzzlewit re-awakened hostility towards Britain in certain sections of America, this hostility was neither of international significance nor of long duration. During the last decade of this period, in fact, Anglo-American relations, except over the slavery question discussed in the next chapter, became gradually more stable.⁸⁶ The howls of the American expansionists, which had so enraged Marryat while in Canada, were slowly muffled by the British Free Traders, who, between 1846 and 1850, repealed the Corn Laws, signed the Reciprocity Treaty for free trade across the Canadian border, opened up the Great Lakes to American commerce and generally helped to smooth the way for better Anglo-American cooperation.⁸⁷

Culturally, Anglo-American relations were even better. British reviewers had been the first to appreciate the genius of various American writers. This, together with the close friendships formed between literary men of both nations, had established an ever increasing exchange in thought and cultural

ideas. Intelligent cooperation, moreover, brought Americans and British to a common moral ground in issues such as the fight for an international copyright, the curtailment of the malignant power of the press, and the abolition of slavery.⁸⁸ There was, furthermore, a discernable movement in British literary circles to maintain and improve these relations. The Monthly Review and the Edinburgh Review had, since around the time of Jeffrey's appeal,⁸⁹ made frequent calls for moderation in the tone used by British travellers and for a cessation of finicking comparisons. These calls were directed at all British travellers, regardless of their political attachments. Dickens, it will be remembered, met something of this changed attitude when his friends and critics persuaded him to be more moderate in parts of his American Notes.⁹⁰ Of course, the sale of American Notes was high, but it should be remembered that Dickens was an extremely popular writer who had not, until his American tour, published a major work for more than two years. With regard to Martin Chuzzlewit, which appeared shortly after American Notes, even the inclusion of an American interlude did not improve its very poor sale.⁹¹

Was the travel book on America losing its popularity? In the light of what has been said above, it is reasonable to infer that it was. Such an inference gains added weight, furthermore, from the knowledge that Dickens was the last British traveller of any great significance to publish a

travel book on America.

However, improved Anglo-American relations did not compromise the British attitude towards moral weaknesses within the American system. Improved relations developed solely from British efforts to understand the transitional state of American society and a new American willingness to admit faults and to do something about them. As moral changes took place in America, British travellers, as we have seen, readily acknowledged them; but there was yet no indication that travellers fully understood the American temperament. One reason for this, perhaps, was that the noisy boastfulness, immoderation, and over-sensitiveness of the Americans were the very things which made the British travellers recoil and keep their distance. ⁹² One after another many of these travellers had then returned home to parody the Americans in comic recollections and anecdotes. Even Dickens, in Martin Chuzzlewit never did more than this; for, while he explored the background and probed the minds of his British characters to effect a grim realism, in the American interlude he created a grim facade with no minds behind it to explore. Four months in a foreign country seems hardly sufficient time to penetrate raw and extremely sensitive outer layers of its people. Fanny Kemble, who is discussed in the next chapter, spent many years of her adult life in America before she began to understand her adopted country.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCES KEMBLE: A TRAGIC AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The choice which placed the work of the British actress, Frances Kemble, near the end of this discussion was not made arbitrarily. Like other professional people who toured the United States during this period, Fanny journeyed from one city to another jotting down her impressions; but, unlike the other travellers, Fanny, through an unfortunate marriage, was compelled to take up a more or less permanent residence in America. This residence, moreover, gave her a sustained impression of her adopted country which her travelling compatriots had not had time to acquire. Gradually, she became aware of the profundity and unparalleled nature of the movements that were taking place, and, at the same time, felt it increasingly necessary to convey something of the meaning of these movements to her readers in Britain. The notes which she had begun to make at the outset of her theatrical tour were therefore consolidated and embodied in her journals to become later one of the most sincere and objective interpretations of America hitherto published. The absence of bitterness in these journals did not mean that an American marriage, or residence, had in any way obliged her to condone what other travellers had found to be morally repugnant. As the Georgia plantation episode shows, Fanny's moral reaction to slavery in particular,

is made abundantly plain through the simple truth of the account. Although Fanny remained as disillusioned with America as any other British traveller, her purpose in writing was not to lecture the Americans on their shortcomings. Her purpose was rather to show the British that the limitations of republicanism would be, in time, remedied and assimilated to the American democratic ideal. Her work has been chosen then because, while it suggests an explanation for the absence of any British fiction of great artistic merit, devoted entirely to America during this period, it provides additional evidence and justification, particularly in relation to slavery, for the attitude of the British travellers towards America.

On August 1, 1832, Frances Kemble sailed for New York with her father, Charles Kemble, one of the most popular stage personalities of the age. The pressure^I of financial obligations that determined the comparative suddenness of this journey did not make the prospect of a two year American theatre tour a happy one.² For a number of years, Charles Kemble had attempted to run the Covent Garden Theatre, but by 1832 the approach of financial ruin compelled him to accept a two year American contract from the American manager, Stephen Price. Fanny's dislike of her father's decision bore no relation to the anti-American sentiment that had been aroused during the early stages of the Reform Bill. Her displeasure over the Covent Garden venture which had once provoked her to

state, in terms of finality, "not a demonstrable cent percent profit should induce me to run such a risk of cursing the day that I was born, as to become owner of a theatre"³ was only one of her attacks on the theatre business. As is discussed later in this chapter, Fanny had little affection for acting as a profession and therefore regarded the American tour, contemptuously, as a further extension, in a strange country,⁴ of her already unwanted career.

In Britain, however, Fanny had been able, until this time, to endure the noisy acclaim of the audience⁵ for the sake of her family and friends. She owed something to the theatre. Its varied connections had given her education and the refinements of a gentlewoman. She moved freely among the best of cultured and genteel society, becoming an attractive figure at the drawing rooms of the Duchess of St. Albans and other ladies of the nobility.⁶ She rode with Lady Grey and the Duchess of Kent and was presented to the Princess Victoria.⁷ Thackeray,⁸ Tennyson,⁹ and Lord John Russell were among the dozens of well known names that she counted as her friends, and in her journals there is ample evidence of the topics, artistic and moral, which she delighted in discussing with them. Besides developing her talent for acting and conversation, the theatre upbringing enabled her to indulge intelligently in every convention of fashion. She kept a journal, played and sang well, wrote and read from a wide range of

authors, among them Shakespeare, Corneille, Schiller, Godwin,
 Scott,¹⁰ Carlyle,¹¹ and Shelley.

Conscious of her genteel taste in art and rational debate, Fanny naturally formed strong convictions as to the correct moral conduct at all levels of society. During the political wrangling over the Reform Bill, for instance, she had been in sympathy with the Tory side¹² because she could in nowise excuse the rowdyism and coarse behavior of the Radical mob demonstrators.¹³ Her theatrical career had also contributed to this conviction. She had often experienced the terrifying effect of an unruly audience, and had probably heard her family speak of the rioting mobs at the New Covent Garden Theatre in 1809 and 1810.¹⁴ Although, as her journals show, Fanny could not tolerate the irrational behavior of the lower orders of society, she was not a snob. She was fully aware that her access to the atmosphere of polite circles was one of the rewards of her status as a popular actress,¹⁵ and was thus not blinded to the graces of other individuals whose background was equally inauspicious. This fact is perhaps nowhere more evident than in her remarks concerning the respective merits of George Stephenson and Lord Alvanley.

"I would rather pass a day with Stephenson than with Lord Alvanley, though the one is a coal digger by birth, who occasionally murders the king's English, and the other

is the keenest wit and one of the finest gentlemen about town. But Stephenson's attributes of genius, industry, and mental power, and perseverance are his individually, while Lord Alvanley's gifts and graces (his wit, indeed, excepted) are, in good measure, those of his social set." 16

In going to America then, Fanny was leaving a society that had provided a strong stimulus to her natural mental abilities, and, except for its obvious imperfections, she was content in the system and order of this society. She had, of course, heard some glowing accounts and some criticism of America, but even the most glowing accounts, coinciding with her vision of more long hours of work and travel in her unwanted profession, were not sufficient to disperse her gloom.

Fanny and her father arrived in New York at a time when American interest in British plays and British performers had touched the fringes of hysteria. With no time to recover from their cramped voyage, they were rushed off to begin their arduous circuit through the eastern states. This high pressured treatment, in fact, proved to be the first symptom of the American "star" system; a sensational practice which irritated both foreign and native theatrical companies. In her Journal (1835) Fanny recorded her displeasure with the system when she discussed its detrimental effect on the theatre as a whole. The imported "star" could not, because of infrequent rehearsals, work smoothly with a strange

company, and if the company happened to be mediocre, as it often was, the standard of the whole performance fell in the eyes of the audience.¹⁷ Unpleasant feuds often raged between the "stars" and the permanent members of the native companies, and professional jealousy often provoked embarrassing situations on the stage.¹⁸ Fanny underwent several grueling stage experiences because of the brief association between "star" and supporting performers. Concerning the American actor, Keppel, during his early New York run, she wrote: "Mr. Keppel is just as nervous and as imperfect as ever; what on earth will he, or shall I, do tonight?" After the first act her predicament had shown little change. "Mr. Keppel was frightened to death, and in every second speech was quite out: it was in vain that I prompted him: ... frightened by his fright, annoyed by his forgetting his crossings and positions, utterly unable to work myself into anything like excitement, I thought the whole thing must necessarily go to pieces."¹⁹

Had the feuds and bickerings remained backstage they might perhaps have not given the British "stars" so much ground for public complaint. They did not, however. The nervous tension behind the curtain was soon transmitted to the audiences so that the "fans" of respective performers quickly divided into hostile camps. During one New York engagement, Fanny's father received a note informing him

that the supporters of Miss Vincent and Miss Clifton were determined to hiss him and his daughter off the stage, or, at least, send in hooligans to disrupt all the best scenes.²⁰ Thus the "stars", like other prominent British figures, stimulated angry demonstrations, and, of course, drew down the usual rain of abuse from certain sections of the American press.

The origin of the American "star" system is not difficult to find. From William Dunlop's History of the American Theatre (1833) it is evident that its roots lay in the dearth of drama in America during the Revolutionary War. Before the war, American taste and fashion had developed in close reference to similar interests in Europe. As Dunlop shows, the demand for the plays of Shakespeare, Congreve, Dryden, Addison, and Farquar in Philadelphia and New York had grown from an accident which left William Hallam, of the Goodman Fields Theatre in London, bankrupt and with no other choice than to seek his fortune in the colonies. Arriving in America, Hallam and his company soon conquered the Philadelphia Quakers with the promise that they performed "nothing indecent or immoral; that they gave one night for the benefit of the poor of the city, and that the manager gave security for all the debts contracted by the company."²¹ In September 1752 he performed The Merchant of Venice at Williamsburg, and from there on toured all the important

colonial cities. By 1774, however, animosity towards Britain was such that the players, made up almost entirely of British subjects, soon felt the strength of colonial resentment when the provincial congress in Philadelphia discontinued all idle pastimes including cock-fighting, gambling, and play-acting. As a result the company moved to the West Indies.

At the end of the war American public opinion concerning the theatre was as controversial as ever. Dunlop lists some of the arguments against the theatre in a catalog of quotations. "Dr. Logan thought that the theatres were only fit for monarchies." "Mr. Smiley thought that the plays now in existence were in general unfit for our state of society." "Mr. Fenley opposed fiction, and brought examples of plays inculcating immorality."²²

It was found then that in order to restore the public's interest in the theatre it was practical, especially in the New England States, to present plays bearing a sharp patriotic flavour. Dunlop refers to many of the patriotic plays, such as Blanche of Brandywine, The Fall of British Tyranny, and Mr. Birk's Bunker Hill; the latter being extremely popular in Boston because of its scene depicting the total defeat of the British by the honest Yankees.

Despite these efforts to link the drama with American national triumphs the legitimate theatre soon made its

appearance again. With wild speculation rampant throughout the United States, shrewd business men discovered that there was money to be made in the theatre. The small companies, with adequate financial backing, once more recruited actors from Britain, and were soon doing their utmost to out-do each other. The Philadelphia theatres lost their lead to the more enterprising New York theatres when the latter introduced the "star" system. From the turn of the century, as many of the British travellers noted, American audiences enjoyed a long succession of British "stars", including the Kembles, the Keans, Charles Matthews, William Macready, and Tyrone Power.²³

There is no evidence to suggest that Fanny attempted to trace the source of the "star" system to its origin in business speculation, but she nevertheless felt enough of its influence, in conjunction with several other sensational practices, to know that such flagrant exploitation was injurious to good art. She knew, of course, through her professional dealings in Britain that money was vital to the theatre, but it was only in America that she sensed in the early days the greater tendency to know the cost of something at the expense of knowing its value.

The Kembles' reception among the American public was much the same as that accorded to Marryat and Dickens. Depending on their own conduct, and the mood of the sensation-

loving press, the Kembles' welcome ranged from frantic enthusiasm to out-and-out hostility. To begin with they were lauded, fêted, and attended in every wish. The doors of influential homes swung open to them and their pronouncements were repeated and published. Fanny received flowers and other tokens from her admirers, and even a stream of amusing, but anonymous, love letters. Being profitable copy for the press, the Kembles were urged, of course, to make appropriate comments on all manner of subjects.²⁴

Unfortunately, Fanny soon discovered another sorrow of "stardom", especially on one occasion when she was guileless enough to leave herself open to the accusation of having made unsolicited and malicious comments on American affairs. A ruthless element, known for its eagerness to promote its own political prestige at the expense of the unfortunate British traveller, reported that Fanny had refused to ride a certain gentleman's horse and, besides insulting him with an offer of two dollars to hire another, had gone on to speak derogatorily of Americans and their institutions.²⁵ As a reprisal, her father received a warning that they would be hissed from the stage unless she made a public apology. That night, Fanny having denied the charge, someone threw handbills into the pit and there was some hissing, but her father managed to pacify the audience. Later, when the incident had proved to be excellent publicity for the Kembles, another story

started that Fanny's "father had got the whole of this up himself". Even Fanny was inclined to believe, later on, that the handbills were, at any rate, the work of an over-zealous Englishman.

With money the major consideration in the operation of a theatre, the business ethics of some American theatre managers were sacrificed for the quick profits of a shady manoeuvre. On one occasion, Charles Kemble received a threatening letter to the effect that if he "valued his interest" he had better offer his services to act Charles²⁶ the Second at a certain manager's benefit performance. At another time, he stayed up half the night with an unusually persistent manager until "wearied out with his illiberal trafficking, and coarse vulgarity of manner...."²⁷ The financial outcome of this encounter was later recorded by Fanny.

"... our earnings (and they are not lightly come by), to the amount of nearly three thousand dollars, are at this moment in the hands of a trustee, and Heaven and a New England court of justice will decide whether they are ever to come into ours." 28

The disagreeable symptoms of the "star" system were not restricted to people involved directly with the theatre. Cutthroat business policies in general seemed to infect many of the ordinary theatre-goers, bringing forth a rash of similar practices on a smaller scale. Realizing the profitable advantages to be had in securing a ticket to see the

famous "stars", people clamoured to buy up all the tickets.²⁹ Fanny writes of the "fighting, and rushing, and tearing of coats at the box office",³⁰ and how one man had already made forty dollars in buying and reselling tickets. Nor was this rascal's initiative an isolated case, for in a letter to Mrs. Jameson from Boston, in 1833, Fanny described a similar scene in which a number of the participants exhibited even more enterprise.

"... it is a matter of some agreeable edification to me to see the crowds gathering round the doors for hours before they open, and then rushing in, to the immanent peril of life and limb, pushing and pummelling and belaboring one another like madmen. Some of the lower classes of purchasers, inspired by the thrifty desire for gain said to be a New England characteristic, sell these tickets they buy at the box-office, at an enormous advance, and smear their clothes with treacle and sugar and other abominations to secure, from the fear of their contact of all decently clad competitors, freer access to the box keeper." 31

In her analysis of the American audience Fanny's criticism was worded gently to avoid giving her American readers any offence. Particular plays, she felt, such as School for Scandal³² and The Provok'd Husband,³³ were, in their dramatic situations and period, out of touch with the manners and wit of the majority of the American people. In other respects, however, she felt that there was little distinction between an American and British audience, and where there was it varied from one place to another. She was at ease with the New York audiences because they seemed more European than American by their behavior,³⁴ although there were times when

they could be remarkably unappreciative. Her memory of one New York concert,³⁵ with a particularly unsophisticated audience, confirmed her belief that both British and Americans lacked musical perception when compared to Germans and Italians.³⁶ In these latter countries, she wrote, there was an enlightened and hospitable attitude towards all art that made the artists much sought after.³⁷

In Philadelphia, Fanny complained of the dull audiences that did not applaud anything except the end of Romeo and Juliet.³⁸ At a performance of Hunchback, furthermore, the audience, as if still under a puritanical influence, was afraid to show its feelings, although some of its women members talked rudely throughout the performance.³⁹

At Bristol, Fanny observed that the audience did not rise to her as they usually did in London. Thus their stillness and hanging back prevented her from being stirred into a better performance.

"Excitement is reciprocal between the performer and the audience: he creates it in them, and receives it back again from them; and in the last scene in Fazio, half the effect that I produce is derived from the applause which I receive, the very noise and tumult of which tends to heighten the nervous energy which the scene itself begets." 40

Fanny's observations during her tour were not wholly confined to the deficiencies of the American theatre. Taking the well-trodden paths of scores of her compatriots, she made her Journal yet another testimony of the disagreeable

aspects of American behavior. Her reaction to such breaches of etiquette as swearing, spitting,⁴¹ men wearing their hats in the theatre, and others placing their feet on the tables⁴² need not be explained. Lacking Marryat's bluntness and Dickens' gift for satire, Fanny phrased her comments on other American shortcomings with a quiet disdain which befitted her upbringing and social background.

As a gentlewoman, Fanny was accustomed to privacy and courtesy when travelling, and, as an actress, she was entitled to a certain amount of protection from the rough demonstrations of a friendly public.⁴³ She did not expect, having paid an exorbitant price for a room, to find herself in a dirty and disorderly hotel.⁴⁴ Nor did she, on another occasion, see fit to share her room with a complete stranger, or take a bath while another person occupied another tub in the same bathroom.⁴⁵ On the river boats she was overwhelmed by the confusion in the crowded women's cabins,⁴⁶ and irritated when awakened by an unknown passenger who wanted to borrow a book.⁴⁷ She had, as she says, a "national English abhorrence for strangers",⁴⁸ and for this reason was further dismayed by the unrefined and familiar manners of the pretty American girls whose unrestraint and lack of deportment seemed to give them the right to disturb everyone.⁴⁹

Travelling across country in cumbersome and overcrowded coaches,⁵⁰ Fanny observed, as earlier travellers had done,

the untidy modes of American agriculture and the decayed and unkept condition of some of the farms.⁵¹ A general insensitivity towards beauty was marked in the Americans, she felt, by their careless architecture and lack of landscaping;⁵² while their casual regard for orderliness was well exemplified in the haphazard formation of military displays.⁵³ The tradespeople, furthermore, were unpunctual and careless in their work,⁵⁴ and servants were difficult to find and to keep. By the end of her tour, Fanny had no difficulty in seeing that a prevalent worship of the dollar was the main cause of these inexcusable situations.⁵⁵

In England, Fanny had learned early to value the orderliness and moderate behavior of genteel society. A certain "fitness of things",⁵⁶ she said, prevented her from approving several American institutions. There were, for instance, several forms of religious worship, particularly those which entailed a "camp meeting", which seemed no better than an excuse for fanaticism and riotous behavior.⁵⁷ There was also the habit of dram drinking, almost an American institution, which not only gave rise to disgusting behavior,⁵⁸ but also appeared to give any drinker the right to intrude on the privacy of a stranger.⁵⁹ And there was also, of course, the chaotic scrambling at the fashionable American levees;⁶⁰ an unsatisfactory substitute for the pleasant gatherings in a lady's boudoir, or the gentleman's library.⁶¹ Gentlemen who

might have graced the levee, Fanny believed, preferred to stay away because it, being a democratic institution, admitted anyone, regardless of manners or bearing. It was small wonder then that Fanny, looking back on her tour, found America uncongenial in comparison with the normality and reservation of a British society.

"Whoever rules, whatever party may be at the head of her government, England is sound at heart: there is a broad foundation of moral good and intelligence in the nation, which will not be shaken or upturned, let factions erect or pull down what temporary trophies they please, to their own short-lived and selfish triumphs." 62

Despite her preferences for Britain, Fanny had, like most British travellers, a few pleasant memories of America. She had made a great many valuable friends there and referred to them often in her writings. The general honesty of the Americans compared to the British,⁶³ the superiority of the New England education system,⁶⁴ and the intellectual atmosphere of Boston,⁶⁵ all incurred her admiration. Her discovery of the natural beauty of America had given her many delightful hours of relaxation. In her journals she describes these wonders of nature; the brilliant autumnal foliage; the myriads of wild flowers seen on a trip across New Jersey to the Delaware;⁶⁶ the view from Laurel Hill near Philadelphia after a long ride under "a blue transparent sky";⁶⁷ the Boston countryside, which merged into a variety of breathtaking scenes,⁶⁸ and the awe-inspiring sight of Niagara which left

her speechless.⁶⁹

It might be argued at this point that Fanny's criticism of America, counterbalanced by a few seemingly gratuitous praises, merely reiterated the pattern set by scores of earlier British travellers, and that her concern with the nature of the American people, after only the briefest acquaintance with her subject, showed no more insight than did her understanding of the machinery of American existence. It should be noted in answer to this, however, that Fanny's observations quoted hitherto, were merely part of her journal, and that before she began publishing the journals she had spent two years unhappily married in America. This American marriage, furthermore, not only gave her time to review her early impressions, thereby suppressing at least thirty pages; it also gave her time to append almost as much again in the form of footnotes. It is from these footnotes, in fact, read in conjunction with several other of her American discourses, that it is possible to appreciate her discernment as she analysed the many problems that beset her.

It might also be argued that Fanny's criticism was spurred by bitterness over an unfortunate marriage which had cut her off from her theatre life for which she now yearned. This was not so, however. As was mentioned earlier, Fanny expressed a definite distaste for her acting profession and

therefore felt no compunction regarding a sacrificed career when she married the American, Pierce Butler. In her journal she sincerely regretted any pain that her marriage might cause her family,⁷⁰ of course, but it did not alter her views on acting. These views, appearing in Record of a Girlhood (1879), show both her powers of reasoning and a mind that was not likely to be changed by a bitter impulse.

Acting, she stated, was an unreality, the profitable returns from which were an inadequate compensation for the necessities of mind that went unfulfilled.⁷¹ It was a full time job that allowed her no leisure for exercising a creative ability, and one of her ambitions, she said, was to find a permanent niche in posterity by producing something comparable to and as enduring as other works of art. In a comparison between acting and the other arts⁷² she concluded that an actor, at best, could do no more than fill the outline created by someone else. An actor himself originated nothing. If, by chance, he had the power to delight the sense and elevate the spirit of an audience, he still left no more than a barren name "unwedded to a single lasting evidence of greatness". Even although she admired the work of her father and spent many hours analysing and observing him at work, she could not dispell the contempt she felt for her own performance.⁷³

What may have encouraged her in this attitude was the

popular belief that the theatre fostered immorality. She was obviously distressed over the idea that her public should confuse the immoral situations of a play with her behavior in private life. When, for instance, a New York audience was shocked at her portrayal of an evil woman in Farquar's Inconstant,⁷⁴ Fanny hotly defended herself by pointing out that the theatre justified its existence only if it was indulged in as a "highly intellectual, rational, and refined amusement".⁷⁵ The responsibility for this ultimate purpose lay, however, not with the actress, but with those who wrote the plays and others who set themselves up as censors. This conviction, of course, did not prevent her from accusing the Americans of hypocrisy when she learned later that they had censored Beatrice's part in Much Ado About Nothing, and that Othello was virtually a proscribed play in New York, while Beaumont and Fletcher, whom she considered far more licentious, were approved.

The deterioration of the drama was, perhaps, another reason for her dislike of the acting profession. The cry for absolute reality, she felt, had drowned out and almost superseded those who called for fine poetry and artistic subtlety in the drama.⁷⁶ The influential aristocracy, she said, had jettisoned the idea of illusion and now demanded "excitement in the most trashy sentimentalities of the modern école romantique". As a result they yawned through Shakespeare's

historical plays and "quizzed" those which dwelt on human nature and its awful passions. From the plebian pit only was there any hope of a poetic revival, especially since the decaying dramatic mind tried to destroy dramatic unity by preserving only what it considered to be the best parts for recitation.⁷⁷

The triviality of contemporary drama then; the petty wrangling of the critics;⁷⁸ the limited scope of the performer; the bad reputation which the performer might acquire, and the uncertainty of theatrical enterprises helped Fanny, together with her love for Pierce Butler, to forget her early disappointment with America and to make plans for her forthcoming marriage.

"No actor's fame, or rather celebrity, or rather notoriety, would satisfy me; that is the shadow of a cloud, the echo⁷⁹ of a sound, the memory of a dream, nothing come of nothing."

Little is known about the early history of Fanny's husband. From Fanny's letters to Miss Sedgewick and her references to Mr. B. in Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation, it can be stated that Pierce Butler was a fairly wealthy and cultured Southern gentleman who was interested in music, particularly flute playing.⁸⁰ He made Fanny extremely happy at first;⁸¹ but this is all she disclosed before she began to explain the causes of their final separation.

Fanny made a strong effort, but she could not accept the American ways. It was not long, therefore, before her

values and ideas concerning domesticity urged her to correct and enlighten her neighbours. She had, of course, set herself a monumental task in attempting to anglicize the Americans. They resented her interference and met it with a sullen rebuff. When she offered to teach their children, they turned her down and pointed out proudly that they had a good state school, already paid for.⁸² When she suggested to a local farmer that he might improve his dairy business by adopting British methods, she was told that she did not understand local conditions. Her feast, to cultivate the goodwill of her neighbours on Independence Day, failed miserably, and her plans to get the people interested in landscaping and gardening met a similar fate. The dreariness of her husband's rambling country home disappointed her. Gradually the vision of herself as a pleasing and efficient housewife blurred into an unfortunate memory.

"My long experience of life in America presents the ideas and expectations with which I first entered upon it in an aspect at once ludicrous and melancholy to me now. With all an Englishwoman's notions of country interests, duties, and occupations, the village, the school, the poor, one's relations with the people employed on one's place, and one's own especial hobbies of garden, dairy, etc., had all been contemplated by me from a point of view which, taken from rural life in my own country, had not the slightest resemblance to anything in an American existence." 83

In retrospect then, Fanny realized that her chances for a smooth marriage had been meagre from the outset, since her whole approach towards an American domicile had been a

mistake. Washington Irving, she recalled, had once warned her of the dangers of becoming what he termed a "creaking door". A friend of his, he had said, had married an English-woman whose life gradually was taken up with one long complaint about everything American.⁸⁴ However, in spite of Irving's warning, Fanny was not the kind of woman to remain silent when the things she saw were obviously wrong. These things, furthermore, could be rectified if only the people were willing to be enlightened. She therefore felt it her duty to complain. On August 25, 1843, she wrote:

"...of the discomfort and disorder of our mode of life I cannot easily give you a notion, for you know nothing of the sort, and until now, neither did I. The absence of decent regularity in our habits and the slovenliness of our whole existence is peculiarly trying to me, who has a morbid love of order, system, and regularity, and a positive delight in the decencies and elegances of civilized life." 85

In 1836, having made small headway against slovenliness and disorder, Fanny returned to Britain with her eldest child for a short holiday and a rest. It was a sad experience for her. After two years in Pennsylvania, she no longer seemed completely English. Her family and friends, of course, were overjoyed to see her, but her marriage had somehow alienated her. Instead of the vivacious young actress of four years ago, she appeared before them now as a mother beset with an unusual number of matrimonial problems. Fanny sensed the awkward effect produced by her changed circumstances and might have been encouraged at this point to reconsider the

merits of her American home, despite its lack of "order, system, and regularity," had not her husband, in the meantime, inherited a Georgia slave plantation. In 1838, after her return from Britain, Fanny and the whole Butler family moved to Georgia.

For Fanny a successful marriage had to possess depth and dignity. In a musical analogy,⁸⁶ she once described a well ordered marriage as being like a duet for four hands - the wife, the treble, taking the melody, while the husband sustained the harmony as the bass. Pierce Butler, being engrossed with the management of the plantation, could not unfortunately provide the harmony for her, nor did he appear to have much regard for depth and dignity. The sight of him as a slave master was too much for Fanny. In a Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation 1838-1839, (1863), she recounted her sickening experiences among the slaves, and denounced slavery as the most degrading and poisonous influence on American morality.

Fanny was not alone in making this denunciation. Few British travellers had been able to reflect on the United States without some critical reference to slavery. Nevertheless, the degree of emotion with which they expressed their opinions was measured to some extent by their faith in the democratic experiment.

The presence of slavery in the homeland of democratic ideals was a contradiction which, from about 1807 onwards,

provided a readymade propaganda bludgeon to anyone in Britain who was opposed to radical political reform. In that year Britain had abolished the slave trade, but, despite the fact that an act of Congress had also forbidden the further importation of slaves, British naval patrols off the American coast continued to clash with American slave ships. These clashes provided the Tory press with timely and tangible evidence of American hypocrisy, and over the ensuing years, an accumulation of observations and anecdotes on slavery, gleaned from the travel books, enabled them to circulate a grim account of democratic decadence.

The slave, agreed many of the travellers,⁸⁷ was seldom looked on as a human being by the Americans. Depending on the whims of the traders and masters, the slave could have all manner of odious tortures practised upon him. He could be branded with hot irons, "coffled"⁸⁸ by the neck, kicked, lashed and starved. If some slaves did not happen to bear the marks of violence it was because they were, like prize horses, to be sold at auctions. At these auctions they were paraded up and down a platform, often naked with other men and women, and closely scrutinized and fondled, much to the lewd enjoyment of the prospective customers.⁸⁹ The slave was advertized like an animal. "FOR SALE", read a Missouri advertizement, "one hundren prime Virginia-born slaves These slaves will be sold altogether or in families, to suit

purchasers."⁹⁰ The slave, being property of course, could own no property. He could be torn from his wife and family at a moment's notice. If he ran away he was hunted like an animal, and if he was caught he was punished for attempting to rob his master. For real crimes, the punishment of slaves was often without bounds. Two Negroes, it was reported,⁹¹ were burned alive for rape in Mobile. Two others were burned for murder after a trial in Charleston, December 4, 1800.⁹²

Irrefutable facts,⁹³ such as the above, gave credence to anti-democratic propaganda in Britain, particularly when the traveller also tried to show the American attitude towards the slave either by way of an anecdote or an imaginary dialogue. Typical of the stories intended to give the British public a sinister picture of the Americans was the following idea of an enlightened American and his notions of freedom. This imaginary dialogue was created by Mrs. Trollope.

"What's freedom for, (says the young hero, Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw) if we can't do what we like with our own born slaves? There's nothing so despicable in my mind as a man what's afraid to kick the life out of his nigger if he sees good. If twasn't for this, I don't see where our great superiority over the queer English folks lies, that every man in Congress tells us as soon as he gets on his legs." 94

While the above dialogue was obviously too exaggerated to be considered, by thoughtful readers, to reflect the American attitude, in general, towards the slave; it did,

nevertheless, reflect something of the extreme feelings of white individuals who, through their contact with slaves every day, were conditioned to look on the Negro as an inferior being. That this savage attitude did exist is, of course, borne out in the atrocities mentioned above. It is interesting to note also that the American writer Mark Twain acknowledged the existence of this attitude when he shows Huckleberry Finn's father expressing his theories with regard to the slave. Note the similarity of the tone of the following to the sentiments expressed in the above quotation from Mrs. Trollope's work.

"And to see the cool way of that nigger - why, he wouldn't 'a' give me the road if I hadn't shoved him out o' the way. I says to the people, why ain't this nigger put up at auction and sold? - that's what I want to know. And what do you reckon they said? Why, they said he couldn't be sold till he'd been in the state six months, and he hadn't been there that long yet. There, now - that's a specimen. They call that a govment that can't sell a free nigger till he's been in the state six months. Here's a govment that calls itself a govment, and lets on to be a govment, and thinks it is is govment, and yet's got to set stock-still for six whole months before it can take a-hold of a prowling, thieving, infernal, white-shirted free nigger, and - " 95

With the Tory publications, on the one hand, making full use of the stigma of American slavery as a propaganda tool, the British Radicals, on the other hand, were hard pressed to explain this stigma which posed itself so embarrassingly as a contradiction of their Radical principles. The democratic cause had to be shielded from the barbs of

the political enemy, yet few Radicals could bring themselves to condone slavery.⁹⁶

For several travellers with Radical principles, the moral puzzle allowed them only one satisfactory solution. War, they said, would be better than to see the continuation of this vicious institution.⁹⁷ By the same token, others, who were less violent, decided to camouflage the weak spots in the democratic armour with a tangle of apologetic arguments. To begin with they referred to the acts which had prohibited slavery in Massachusetts and New Hampshire as early as 1780 and 1784. There was no slavery in the Northern states, they said, but there was still slavery on the plantations of the British West Indies. When, in 1833, the new liberal Whig government put an end to slave labour in the British possessions, these apologists made gloomy prophecies on the colonies' economic future. Again when further territorial acquisitions, such as Missouri, led to the creation of more slave states in America, they weakly sought comfort from the argument that Britain had forced slavery upon the United States despite the moral outcries of the early colonists.⁹⁸

Between the violent Tory and Radical views on slavery, a wide range of British opinion was expressed in comparatively moderate terms. Its spokesmen, while being conscious of the immoral implications of slavery, tried to provide the British

public with a dispassionate survey of the subject, paying close attention to the factors forestalling its removal. These people agreed, for instance, that, while it was contradictory to the American Constitution, any attempt to remove it suddenly would almost certainly drive a wedge between the slave and non-slave states.⁹⁹ In the south, many observers reported, it was becoming increasingly dangerous to talk¹⁰⁰ about abolition. Within the same group there were those who foresaw economic catastrophe for both the United States and Britain if the abolitionists had their way, and still others who attempted to look at abolition in terms of the slaves' welfare and decided that the impact of freedom on the unprepared slave would be more of a hardship than a blessing.¹⁰¹

While the purpose of the above is merely to give some idea of divergent opinion in Britain regarding slavery, it should be noted perhaps that, throughout this period, many Britons stimulated anti-British feeling in America through their anti-slavery activities. Marryat, Dickens, and Harriet Martineau in particular, created a public storm when they made abolitionist pronouncements while, later on, many Britons reaped the same reward by helping to organize the "underground railroads" which enabled escaped slaves to be smuggled into Canada.¹⁰² By 1850, however, it is safe to say that the

abolitionist movement was now mainly in American hands. The Compromise of 1850, for instance, which was an attempt to settle whether or not the territories newly annexed from Mexico should be slave or free areas, was seriously undermined by Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. Four years later, Senator Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act ended the Compromise and at the same time sounded the prelude to the Civil War as armed abolitionists and pro-slavery men clashed on the Kansas battleground.

In Britain meanwhile, the public, softened by the ceaseless bombardment of anti-slavery propaganda, generally sympathized with the American slave. ¹⁰³ Later on, however, during the American Civil War, when the strength of democracy was tested, the slavery issue became confused in the mind of the British public. This, of course, brings in the extremely complicated subject of anti-slavery and free trade, which is outside the scope of this discussion.

Returning to Fanny Kemble and her plantation experience, it is seen that she was not swayed by the political or commercial implications of the slavery problem. Like many of the British travellers, Fanny's sympathy for the slaves was derived from her understanding of moral justice. However, she took no stock of the shocking tales about cruelty on the plantations that she had heard during the early days

¹⁰⁴
 of her tour. Moreover, she was not interested in the slave-
 apologists with their neat comparisons between the slave
 conditions in the South and the conditions of suffering
 Europeans, such as the poor Irish. Any arguments that implied
 that slavery could be condoned because the slaves enjoyed
 better food than "half the continental peasantry"¹⁰⁵ were, to
 her, invalid. Slavery was immoral: she would rely solely
 on her own experience to show her readers why.¹⁰⁶

There were the marks of the overseer's lash, she wrote,
 and the long hours of arduous work in the hot sun for which
 the slaves were not paid. There was the filth and misery
 of the slaves' cramped and unhealthy living quarters which
 gave rise to a number of contagious fevers and maladies for
 which no medical treatment was provided.¹⁰⁷ Here were human
 beings, she observed, with no freedom to exercise their will,
 behaving like irrational animals without the slightest
 influence near them to engender self-respect. When religion
 was extended to them, Fanny went on, it was not meant to
 enlighten them, but rather to enforce passivity and to exact
 more work.¹⁰⁸ The evils of the slave system were evident
 everywhere. The poor whites who "squatted" near the plantat-
 ions aped the manners and speech of the slaves, yet refused
 plantation work because of the privileged "whiteness" of
 their skins.¹⁰⁹ The slave owners, having much leisure, often

drank heavily, abused their slaves, and refused to acknowledge their half-caste children. Their legitimate sons furthermore, were quite often irresponsible, arrogant and showed little respect for life or property.

During the first months of her plantation experience, Fanny tried to help the slaves. She protested when the slave families were broken up for auction purposes. She attempted to reunite husbands and wives from neighbouring plantations and demanded that sick and pregnant women be spared heavy field work. But she soon realized that by her charity she was making the slaves' lot more difficult. The slaves became confused when her orders conflicted with those of the white foremen. The foremen resented her, and her husband was unwilling to disrupt the plantation's running on her behalf.

Soon the slave influence was to become a cause for personal alarm. Fanny observed her young daughter gradually affecting the Negro's manner of speech and begin to adopt tyrannic ways with the coloured children. ¹¹⁰ The rift between her and her husband grew, particularly after the day she saw Pierce driving a gang of pregnant women, despite their petitions and pleas, to their enforced tasks. Of this sight Fanny wrote:

"How honourable he would have appeared to me begrimed with the sweat and toil of the coarsest common labour, to what he seemed, setting forth to these wretched, ignorant women, as a duty, their unpaid exacted labour!

... I hope this sojourn among Mr. Butler's slaves may not lessen my respect for him, but I fear it; for the details of slave holding are so unmanly letting alone every other consideration, that I know not how anyone, with the spirit of a man, can condescend to them." 111

In April, 1839, unable to stand by watching the break-up of her marriage and the demoralization of her children, Fanny left the plantation. For her children's sake, she avoided a complete severance with her husband, but she was not reconciled to him again. To ease the loneliness, Fanny took an increased interest in her books and periodicals,¹¹² and, over the next few years, made several trips to Europe. In addition, she began to submit her manuscripts for publication; being gratified to learn that the royalties would give her some measure of financial independence.¹¹³ This incentive to write, however, was merely a new stimulus to resume a pastime already begun. As was seen earlier, she had moved freely in British cultural and literary circles. Probably encouraged through her many contacts with people in the publishing business, she had already several works of fiction behind her before she left Britain the first time.

Fanny's literary attempts, however, had been, to date, confined within the conventions of the nineteenth-century popular novel. To begin with, she had published several romances, notably Gonzalo de Baldwin or A Widow's Vow (1817), and Deeds of Olden Times (1826). Among her better novels

were Chronicles of an Illustrious House (1816), Woman's a Riddle (1824), and Uncle Peregrine's Heiress (1828). Of these Woman's a Riddle is the most readable and, moreover, illustrates most of the current literary fashions which Fanny unfortunately followed. In this novel, the Countess of Clifford keeps a dark secret from the Earl, her husband. Only Mrs. Brownlow, the old family retainer, knows the nature of the secret; but she is silenced with bribes and a continual supply of heady liquors, for which she has a secret yearning. A birth certificate had been forged, and the fair, angelic Adolphus had been placed in the cradle of his dark and handsome elder brother, Walsingham; thus destroying the hereditary line. Bloody duels, horrid diseases, and suicides bring horror to the tale, while unrequited loves, swooning and dying women, and mislaid inheritances fulfill the romantic requirements. The dialogues, often heavy with moral advice, are as familiar to the reader of this type of fiction as the melodramatic situations from which they arise.

"Be warned, Holstein; you have a young and lovely wife - you have a cherub boy; think of the crimes of Linburg - shun the gaming table, and escape perdition." 114

From the above, it should be no surprise to learn that Fanny, following the severance from the Butlers, preferred to sacrifice her imaginative talents to the publication of a literature of fact. Her one American novel, Far Away and

¹¹⁵
Long Ago, in spite of her understanding of the new world, provides no evidence of her sustained impression of the American character. Apart from a number of local names and a rather familiar situation arising from emigration, Far Away and Long Ago might very well have been set in Britain. The story deals with the problems of a British emigrant, James Morrison.

Morrison, a dissenter and political radical, leaves Britain with his wife and three year old daughter Susan to seek employment in the United States, or as he calls it "his Atlantis".¹¹⁶ At first he enjoys material prosperity, but he soon runs into a difficulty, often experienced by Britons in America,¹¹⁷ when he makes an enemy of a drunken Irishman. As mill manager, Morrison discharges the Irishman for causing his drinking habits to endanger the lives of the other men. The Irishman, however, is very popular, and, when the American mill owner and labourers take the Irishman's part, Morrison finds himself out of work. The remainder of the novel is a conventional melodrama. British pride and stubbornness bring about Morrison's death when he ignores his neighbours' warnings about the fatal swamp fevers. After this, the story concerns Morrison's daughters, and the machinations of a villainous minister named Killigrew.

Far Away and Long Ago has little to recommend it either as a romantic novel or as an interpretation of the

American character; and, although some tenuous connection might be traced between Fanny's dilemma and the experience of Morrison in America, this novel was not, strictly speaking, a vehicle for recording Fanny's experience. As was seen in the discussion of Woman's a Riddle, Fanny was strongly influenced by the conventions of popular fiction; and indeed there is little evidence from her efforts in this direction to suppose that she was capable of creating a form in which to represent the chaotic and fragmentary aspects of American life. Dickens, as was noted earlier, had found the imaginative form to suit his particular purpose and genius, but Fanny, lacking his creativeness, allowed her deeper and more sustained impressions to pass to posterity by way of her published diaries.

Fanny's great contribution to British literature dealing with America was then her "records" and "journals". Her efforts to explain the degrading influence of slavery have already been noted in the discussion of Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation. In her later publications - Records of a Girlhood (1879), Records of a Later Life (1882), and Further Records (1890) - Fanny continued in her efforts to analyse the American faults; the result being a bold and honest attempt to see some hope in America's future.

Fanny concluded, as most British travellers had done,

that the moral effort needed to control the undesirable traits latent in mankind was uncultivated in a large section of American society. ¹¹⁸ Unlike an Asiatic Indian of Fanny's acquaintance, who had renounced the barbaric ways of his own society in favour of those of Europe, ¹¹⁹ the Americans, without his determination and intellectual energy, had been unable to maintain European manners on their continent; the result being that violence and vulgarity had impeded their cultural development. The Indian, as it happened, had fought manfully for what Fanny termed "English respectability"; ¹²⁰ a term that was never popular among the Americans, particularly those who lived along the ever widening frontier. For Fanny, however, the term meant simply another manifestation of moral force.

Behind a great many of America's short comings lay, Fanny noted, the ease with which wealth could be accumulated. Other British travellers had always mentioned the kindness and hospitality of the Americans, while, at the same time, they grew nettled over their bad manners, surliness, and incivility. The two seemed incompatible, ¹²¹ but, as Fanny explained, civility and good manners were acquired by example. They were not born naturally with a good disposition. By the same token, rapidly acquired material wealth did not make gentlemen out of rough people who were not used to wealth and

¹²²
 power; nor did it elevate these people in the eyes of their neighbours and servants, for, with no example to follow, they still beheld them as they had been before their changes in fortune.

The lure of money, said Fanny, affected nearly everyone in America, including those who might only recently have stepped off the boat from Britain. Coupled with a powerful atmosphere of independence,¹²³ it readily accounted for the difficulty of retaining servants and labourers, who defected from employment with the knowledge that better pay could always be asked for elsewhere. Fanny's encounter with slavery moreover, showed her that this accent on money was, indeed, the main block in the way of abolition. White labourers refused the poor pay and slave stigma of the plantations, while the slaves, in the eyes of their masters, appeared unfit for anything else. In this vicious circle, however, Fanny foresaw a devastating conclusion.¹²⁴ Later she was proved right when, following abolition, many plantations, including that of her husband, began to fail through the absence of forced labour.¹²⁵

It seemed to Fanny that America should have been an example to the rest of the world. It possessed all the material and legislative advantages necessary to sweep aside poverty, privilege, and other disagreeable obstacles that hampered social improvement in the older countries.¹²⁶

America's political power, however, often fell into the hands of the wrong people. Unlike the people that could vote in Britain, the Americans generally did not elect "gentlemen" as their political representatives. They preferred intelligence of course, but they were afraid of the word gentlemen, in the sense that it denoted aristocracy.¹²⁷ Anyway, American "gentlemen", for the most part, preferred to stay out of politics because this would mean giving up their commercial pursuits in exchange for an inadequate government stipend.

The political situation was then, in many ways, analogous to that of the acting profession as Fanny saw it. Without leisure there was little time for culture and the appreciation of the arts.¹²⁸ In the north, the Americans were swallowed up in their concern over the mass movements of population and the never-ending struggle for material advantage. In the South, where perhaps life was more balanced, few gentlemen entered politics because they were usually frustrated in their aims through lack of support.¹²⁹ In both North and South, the voters felt generally that as long as politicians ensured local prosperity and did not interfere in private concerns their work was well done. If they did interfere, then the voters were stirred into a frenzy of political activity of the kind noted by almost every British traveller.¹³⁰

Although Fanny's interpretations were much the same as other travellers, her long residence enabled her to note, in Further Records, the change that gradually took place in American society.¹³¹ As she had grown closer to the people and watched them become more settled, she had detected an Anglo-Saxon will and determination in them not to endure "abuses beyond the remediable point".¹³² By abuses Fanny, of course, was here referring particularly to the political and economic upheavals which, after 1850, had led to the Civil War. For Fanny and indeed a great many Britons one of the most tangible results of this turmoil was Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves. With that stain removed from the country's character, American democracy began to appear respectable. Even Dickens, during his second visit to America in 1868, observed "changes moral, changes physical ... changes in the Press".¹³³ Respectable politics, said Fanny, were of greater value to a country than commercial advantages. The Civil War had been the great test:

"The whole attitude and temper of the people (not the politicians) from north to south and east and west of the Union, during these late troubled and difficult times, has been so admirable, temperate, patient, reasonable, and law abiding, that in this crucial test of a nation's moral capacity for self government they have certainly come out triumphantly." 134

CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

When, in the introductory chapter to this discussion it was contended that the stimulus given to the critical travel books was moral rather than political or commercial, the intention was not to exclude the likelihood of political or commercial bias altogether. It was seen, however, that any attempt to prove or disprove bias in the case of each traveller would become, in the absence of sufficient biographical material, both fruitless and pointless. Preparatory study of the reviews and periodicals embroiled in the travel book controversy revealed, in fact, the futility of such an investigation. Here, in the reviews and periodicals, charges and counter charges criss-crossed the Atlantic in which terms like "British bullheadedness", "American puffing", and "British prejudice" appeared, that would have to be considered as evidence of this or that traveller's partiality. Thus, even if it were decided, through the sheer weight of invective against him, that a traveller was biased, the question would still remain as to how much moral truth there was in his criticism of America.

In order to show that there was a great deal of moral

truth in the criticism of all the travellers it was necessary, then, to take one thing for granted - this was nationalism. For there was obviously, during this period, both the extreme American patriot, intoxicated with high ethical abstractions, and convinced that all Europeans were either tyrants or slaves of some medieval institution, and the extreme British patriot, confident of his superiority, and condescending in his regard for foreigners. When the two met the mutual suspicion and distrust created was inevitable. In the chapter dealing with the travel book controversies, therefore, outbursts of emotional nationalism from both sides were kept to a minimum while emphasis was given to the reviews which used the travel books as political propaganda. Then, in the ensuing chapter, several moral questions were discussed in conjunction with four prominent British travel writers, whose lives, characters, and general reputations showed that they were not the kind of people to compromise themselves by falsifying the facts of an American tour. The first of these moral questions emerged in the first chapter, which gave emphasis to the factors causing emigration and the moral dangers arising from them.

For it should be borne in mind that the majority of British people who went to North America in this period were not tourists. They were people who had decided that the most satisfactory solution to their problems of livelihood was emigration. Arriving in America, they were prejudiced

certainly, but not against America. In fact, it would seem highly improbable that any man could make the difficult decision to uproot himself from all that he had ever known and not feel some prejudice in favour of his destination. Once landed, however, it often became another story. Left to their own devices, thousands of these emigrants fanned out from the well-populated regions of the Eastern States into territories that were virtually unexplored. Many of them, quick to adapt themselves, soon shed some of their illusions about America as they encountered obstacles not mentioned by the inadequate settlement propaganda, but nevertheless carried on determined to make good. Some did not ask much, merely a roof over their heads and good food on the table, but whatever their hopes, it was through their own strength and shrewdness that they were successfully absorbed into the American way of life. Still, many were not successful, and of these there were hundreds who, through no fault of their own, suffered and often perished because of the absence of adequate supervision in emigration and settlement.

Having failed then, it is understandable that many emigrants should seek to warn their compatriots, and it is excusable perhaps that some of them should dip their pens in vitriol and write bitterly of their emigration experience. Yet, as was seen in the early chapters, it was not only the

disappointed who wrote against land jobbing, employment chicanery, and other forms of exploitation. By far the largest number showing moral concern were those who wrote of their successful settlement, believing it more expedient to warn the newcomers of the pitfalls and tell them how to get established rather than brusquely denounce emigration altogether. Recommendations for one territory in preference to another, however, particularly when one lay in British North America and the other in the United States, caused many of these writers to be charged with political and commercial collusion. To counter these charges, it was decided to devote the third chapter to one writer whose motives, while making similar observations on emigration as the others, could easily be shown to have stemmed from genuine concern for the welfare of his countrymen. The writer chosen in this case was the high-minded Scottish novelist, John Galt.

Galt not only studied and experienced the hazards of emigration, he was also perceptive in his understanding of human nature. His early records, and later his novels, show his sensitivity and practical nature, particularly in his observations on the discontent arising from political and commercial change. During his youth furthermore, he had seen hopeful people of all classes leaving Scotland, and then, years later, found himself involved as an agent for colonial

rights. When, eventually, his interest in emigrant welfare took him to North America, it was only to discover that emigrant dissatisfaction was greater than he had ever imagined. In his American publications, he discussed this dissatisfaction and showed that, besides a need for greater humanitarian interest in emigrant affairs, it was essential for the better class of emigrant to exercise the utmost care in his plans about settling in the United States. Confining himself to his practical experience in Canada, Galt did not dwell on conditions in America that were likely to arouse moral indignation, possibly because these conditions had so often been aired by British travellers before. In order to learn something of middle class reaction to the United States, the next three chapters were devoted to the commentaries of Marryat, Dickens, and Frances Kemble.

Although the American works of Marryat, Dickens, and Frances Kemble covered much of the ground of the emigration writers, it cannot be said of them that they wrote with the potential emigrant foremost in their minds. Their concern with morals and manners was obviously more fundamental, bearing a close relationship to their observations on mankind in general. Thus Marryat, apart from making a few vague references to buying land in America, planned his tour primarily to provide him with an American sequel to his lively

Continental commentary.

Looking at Europe "with the eye of a philosopher", and being constantly aware of the gap between man's ideals and his behavior, Marryat had derided the British as well as the Europeans for their hypocrisy, and concluded that the moral state of any nation depended more on the character of its men than on the form of its institutions. But Marryat's middle-class upbringing and years of naval discipline had conditioned him to a strict code of conduct, intended to safeguard public morals. Therefore, although he criticized his countrymen, he rejoiced at the same time in Britain's orderly social life and was thankful for the men of character whose healthy obedience to established authority kept it orderly.

Arriving in America, and then being roughly treated and slandered for daring to speak against American behavior, Marryat was indignantly surprised. Everywhere he went he met high-minded Americans who agreed with him, yet he could not count on them for their support. Citing names, such as Fenimore Cooper's, to show what happened to Americans who did speak out, Marryat weighed his evidence, concluding that Americans generally were afraid to criticize what they knew was wrong because of mob opinion. Mob opinion then became the crux of Marryat's criticism of America; an insidious voice that had undermined the republic, violating Indian treaties,

calling for territorial aggression, and refusing individuals their rights.

For similar reasons as Marryat's, Dickens' criticism of America was equally devastating. But whereas Marryat's political beliefs might leave him open to the charge that he criticized American democracy in order to pander to the tastes of his Tory readers, Dickens' did not. For besides being a moralist and a reformer, highly critical of the institutions in his own country, Dickens thought that he would see in America a working testimony of many of his own radical views. Touring the Eastern States, in fact, he saw much that gratified him and said so, but as he moved further afield, and as his stay lengthened, his feelings changed. Re-examining the roots and ramifications of democracy, he did not hesitate now to adopt the attitude of Marryat, Mrs. Trollope, and others, who had said that the American masses howled for the material rewards of social revolution, drowning out the voices of better men who tried to enlighten them. The yellow press, the organ of mob opinion was the particular object of Dickens' attack because it was all-powerful in America. In some sections it coddled slavery, in others it defamed national figures and visiting dignitaries; in fact, it said what it wished when it wished in order to promote circulation, or to advance some nefarious cause or some

political faction. Dickens left America, disappointed that it was not the country of his imagination.

Similarly, Fanny Kemble regretted her American visit. Like other travellers, she was alarmed at the wild scramble and vulgarity along her route, for which her middle-class upbringing had not prepared her. Yet even so, she might have stayed on among a better class of Americans had she not been expected to tolerate slavery as well. Determined to speak out against it, however, she alienated herself from her husband and from many of her newly adopted countrymen.

Of all the moral points raised by the travellers, the persistence of slavery in America was the one that provided the most obvious justification for the travellers' criticisms. Few travellers, it was true, could lay claim to an experience of slavery equalling Fanny Kemble's but, then, few travellers could avoid feeling the demoralizing effects of slavery. Working presumably on the theory that one need not see cancer in order to wish its removal, many travellers, beginning long before abolition became a major issue, found evidence for their indictments of slavery in the advertisements for runaway slaves, the manoeuvres of the government to appease slaveholders, and in the many Americans who angrily refused to discuss the question. Therefore, although it is impossible to give figures of the travel books' achievement as

anti-slavery propaganda, it would be true to say that by sheer force of number, and that, judging by the uproar they created in the press, they impinged considerably on the American moral conscience.

By the same token as the above, other moral points raised by the travellers also did much to change public opinion regarding other questions. Dealing with emigration and settlement in particular, close scrutiny of frontier conditions probably saved thousands of emigrants over this period from a multitude of troubles. In matters of business and commercial speculation, there were possibly many people saved from ruin; while with regard to the copyright and the American press, as previous chapters show, many British and American writers took heart from the travellers' arguments.

It will not do to conclude this discussion leaving any impression that, because the moral implications have previously been neglected, the travel books constitute more than a minor literature. From what was said above, it should be obvious that the significance of the travel books lay in their response to a popular demand and that, having long ago fulfilled their function, interest in them now is somewhat restricted. To the social-historian, of course, they teach much of a new country in its gawky adolescence. To the student interested in literary trends their harsh criticism

and practical nature stand out as a glaring contradiction of the romanticist's uncritical concept of the new world. But to those looking for creative art, or perhaps a neglected genius, the rewards from the British travel books are few. Colourful descriptions, humorous anecdotes, and moments of sensitive insight in some are eclipsed by bad style and the monotonous repetition of the same observations in the rest. As was indicated in the past two chapters, the absence of a great British work on America during this period was due partly to the writers' unsustained impressions of America. Their interest in American problems, in other words, was immediate, going no deeper than the effects of these problems on their own countrymen. Thus, even in the American novels of Galt and Dickens, it was apparent that their usual ability to look beneath and beyond their subject-matter was overshadowed by other motives. Galt, of course, intending his American novels to be didactic, made little attempt to penetrate the American character. Dickens, on the other hand, disillusioned by America's failings, grasped the side of the American character that had mainly been shown to him and went home, intending to expose it in a withering burlesque. When, later, he perceived moral changes in America he looked closer and altered his earlier judgements. It is apparent then, if judged by Dickens'

action, that the moral questions formed a considerable part of this literature. To what extent, however, Dickens or the hundreds of other travellers influenced the obvious economic, political, and moral changes that have occurred in America since the early nineteenth century, it cannot, of course, be determined. The most that can be said is that if, through their insistent criticism, the British travellers in any way encouraged the American minority to think of its moral and legal rights and stand up to the materialistic clamour of the majority then their work was well done.

NOTES

In the following notes, when a traveller's name appears without the title of his travel book, it is because this title is unwieldy. However, the title can be found by reference to the bibliography.

chapter one

- 1 A complete discussion of this motion is found in Hansard (1797), XXXIII, pp. 664-735.
- 2 Ibid., p. 662. See also G.M. Trevelyan, Lord Grey and the Reform Bill, London, 1920.
- 3 Ibid., p. 681.
- 4 E. Lasalles, The Life of Charles James Fox, Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 284.
- 5 This work was particularly stimulating to the Romantic poets, Coleridge, Byron, Southey, Hazlitt, and Lamb. See E. T. Trelawney, Records of Shelley, Byron, and the author, London, 1850. See also Warren Barton Blake's "Introduction" to Letters from an American Farmer, Everyman's Library, London, 1940, p. VII-XXI.
- 6 Captain Imlay, A Topographical description of the Western Territory, J. Debrett, London, 1792, p. 40.
- 7 Isaac Weld, Travels through North America and Upper and Lower Canada, Stockdale, 1799, Preface, p. iii.
- 8 Ibid., p. 464.
- 9 Ibid., p. 238. Cooper was quoted by many writers. In a contrast between America and Britain he said that in America there was "the total absence of anxiety respecting the future success of a family (and the absence of) vice, filth, and rags, and wretchedness, in the immediate vicinity of the most luxurious extravagance, and the most useless and luxurious parade". See Imlay, A Topographical description of the Western Territory (1792), p. 188, and H. Wansey, Journal of an excursion to the United States of North America (1796), p. XV.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

- 10 Weld, op. cit., p. 108.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 108-110.
- 12 Ibid., p. 71.
- 13 William Janson, The Stranger in America, Albion Press, London, 1807, p. XI.
- 14 Ibid., p. VII.
- 15 Ibid., p. IX.
- 16 Ibid., p. 199
- 17 See, for example, "Trollope and Paulding on America", Frazer's Magazine, No. XXVII, Vol. V, pp. 336-351.
- 18 A practice peculiar to certain rural areas, supposed to be of Dutch origin, in which unmarried couples slept together, fully clothed.
- 19 Quarterly Review, Nov., 1809, pp. 333-334.
- 20 Monthly Review, May, 1807, p. 54.
- 21 Thomas Moore, Epistles, Odes, and other Poems, J. Carpenter, London, 1806, p. viii.
- 22 Thomas Moore, The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Longman and Co., London, 1853, p. 121.
- 23 Howard Mumford Jones, The Harp that Once-, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1937, p. 77-79.
- 24 The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, op. cit., p. 122.
- 25 In a letter to John E. Hall in June, 1816 Moore wrote: "There are few of my errors I regret more sincerely than the rashness I was guilty of in publishing those crude and boyish tirades against the Americans. My sentiments both with respect to their national and individual character are much changed since then, and I should blush as a lover of liberty, if I allowed the hasty prejudices of my youth to blind me now to the bright promise which America affords of a better and happier order of things than the world has perhaps

NOTES: CHAPTER I

- ever witnessed. If you but continue to be as good Republicans as we of Europe seem to be determined to be good Royalists, the New and the Old World need soon have no other designation than the sphere of Freemen and the Hemisphere of Slaves." The Collector, Feb., 1896, Vol. IX, No. 5, p.66.
- 26 He returned to Britain in 1800 where he was subsidized by the Tories, until he became editor of the "Political Register". In 1804 he changed to the Radical cause.
- 27 A single sheet Broadside, a copy of which is in the British Museum.
- 28 C. Jared Ingersoll, Inchiquin: The Jesuit's Letters, I. Riley, N.Y., 1810, p. iii.
- 29 See particularly Quarterly Review, Jan, 1814, Vol. X, p. 496.
- 30 C. Jared Ingersoll, op.cit., p. III.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 63-67.
- 32 Quarterly Review, Jan, 1814, Vol.X, p. 496.
- 33 Ibid., p. 501, quoting from 'Porcupine Papers', Vol. IX, p. 354.
- 34 Ibid., p. 494.
- 35 Ibid., p. 498, quoting from Moore's 'Epistles', op.cit..
- 36 Ibid., p. 501.
- 37 North American Review, May, 1815, No. I., Vol. 1, p. 62 lists all the British newspapers and periodicals with an accurate estimate of their disposition as regards the American influence. G. D. Lillibridge, Beacon of Freedom, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, deals with most of these papers and their use of American propaganda for British reform. Lillibridge, however, tends to divide British periodicals rather sharply under two headings - Conservative and Radical.
- 38 Ibid., p. 62.
- 39 Ibid., p. 87.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

- 40 P.K. Paulding^s, The United States and England, A. H. Inskip, N.Y., 1815., was itself a reply to the Quarterly Review's article on the 'Jesuit's' letters.
- 41 Ibid, pp. 21-22.
- 42 North American Review, Vol.1, No. I, Sept., 1815,p.443, Quoting from the London Courier, Jan., 16, 1815.
- 43 P.K. Paulding, op.cit., p. 113.
- 44 Author of "A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis", ... (1794); "Observations and Facts Relative to Public Houses..." (1794) and "Considerations on the Means of affording profitable employment to the Redundant Population of Great Britain...", 1818.
- 45 Robert Walsh, An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain..., (1818), preface.
- 46 This work was published anonymously and received an extremely amusing review in the Monthly Review, No. XXXVI, August, 1828, p. 467.
- 47 Goulburne to Peel (Peel Papers, Vol. LVII, B.M. add. M.S. 40242), Jan. 21, 1815, and Bathurst to Peel (Peel Papers, Vol. LXI, B.M. add. M.S. 40241) Dec. 28, 1815.
- 48 See particularly, Morris Birkbeck, Notes on a Journey in America...(1817), p. 160.
- 49 H.B. Fearon, p. 391; Fearon had been commissioned by thirty-nine families to look into American settlement prospects. The Richard Flowers were one of the families.
- 50 Adlard Welby, p. 120. Adam Hodgson, Vol. II, p.66. Other travellers who commented on Birkbeck were C.F. Grece, William Amphlett, and John Woods, p. 179.
- 51 In A Year's Residence in America, N.Y., 1818, Cobbett said, in reference to the Western settlements: "... if English farmers must emigrate, why should they encounter unnecessary difficulties? Coming from a country like a garden, why should they not stop in another (i.e. New England) somewhat resembling that which they have lived in before." p. 372.
- 52 Thomas Hulme, Hints to Emigrants...with copious extracts from the journal of Thomas Hulme, Liverpool, 1817.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

- 53 See Faux, Memorable Days in America (1823), on the Harmony settlement in Indiana p. 286. Also Hodgson, op. cit., Vol II, p. 65. See anonymous work, Americans as they are (1828) on Louisiana settlement, also Monthly Review, No. XXXII, April, 1828, p. 453.
- 54 C.F. Grece, Facts and Observations respecting Canada and the United States of America (1819). See back to p. 28 of thesis.
- 55 J. MacGregor, p. 72.
- 56 W.F. Goodmane, p. 73.
- 57 See Chapter III, p. 86 f. of this thesis.
- 58 Travellers who remarked on the stability of the United States government - Latrobe, Vol. II, p. 57. Basil Hall, Vol. II, p. 262, Mrs. Trollope, p. 20.
- 59 See earlier in this chapter, p. 8.
- 60 See earlier in this chapter, p. 18.
- 61 See Edinburgh Review, July, 1824. The three founders of the review were Lord Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, and Sidney Smith.
- 62 See back to p. 26 of this chapter.
- 63 Jeffrey did not name the Quarterly Review, but as Walsh did, I made the inference.
- 64 Edinburgh Review, May, 1820, Vol. XXXIII, p. 339. North American Review, Vol. XIII, also defended Walsh.
- 65 J.M. Duncan, p. 273.
- 66 To support this claim Duncan referred to the North American Review, Vol. XXXIII, p. 359, and Vol. XXXVI, p. 54.
- 67 J.M. Duncan, p. 384.
- 68 Adam Hodgson, p. V, preface.
- 69 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 37, Vol. II, p. 267.
- 70 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 74.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

- 71 William Newman Blane, pp. 508-509.
- 72 See earlier in this chapter, p. 25f.
- 73 William Newman Blane, pp. 510.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Quarterly Review, Vol. XXI, 1820, p. 166.
- 76 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, 1822.
- 77 Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 338.
- 78 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, No. LIII, April, pp. 71-72, 1822.
- 79 Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 338, also Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XIV, p. 562, Monthly Review, 1823, Vol., 102, p. 443.
- 80 One of the co-founders of the Edinburgh Review.
- 81 Frances Trollope, The Domestic Manners of the Americans, preface.
- 82 Quarterly Review, XXVII, p. 71.
- 83 Edinburgh Review, Vol. LV, 1832, pp. 479-526.
- 84 Monthly Review, Vol. I, No. LV, April, 1832, p. 565.
- 85 Ibid., Vol. III, No. I, Sept., 1832, p. 57.
- 86 North American Review, Vol. XXIX, 1830.
- 87 James Stuart, Three Years in North America, (1833), Vol. II, p. 281; Henry Tudor, Narrative of a Tour in North America, (1834), Vol. II, p. 55 and p. 390.
- 88 Coke, p. 149, 174, and pp. 167-169. Murray, Vol. I, p. 147.
- 89 Boardman, p. 225. Other writers on Trollope, Hamilton II, p. 171, Fidler, p. 84.
- 90 C.J. Latrobe, pp. 305-306.
- 91 Quarterly Review, Vol. LIV, 1835, p. 408.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

chapter two

- 1 The Virginia Company used various forms of propa~~g~~anda, i.e. pamphlets, ballads, lotteries, to lure the much needed settlers to the colonies. Around the time of the Company's dissolution by Charles I in 1629, the indentured system appeared, in which the emigrants were sometimes forced to remain under bond up to ten years. This term was lowered to four years after 1660. Full accounts of this system are found in Hakluyt, The Principle Voyages of the English Nation, Everyman 1907. J.A. Williamson, Maritime Enterprises(1485-1558), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913.
- 2 Isaac Weld, op. cit, p. 68, letter IX. For a well documented account of emigration in all its forms, see Stanley C. Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912, George Routledge & Son, London, 1913.
- 3 Henry Bradshaw Fearon, op. cit, pp. 149-150. See also Richard Parkinson, Tour in America, Longman, 1805, pp. 503-573.
- 4 John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, Cadell, Edinburgh, 1821, pp. 61-66. Although most of the travellers insisted that it was the American captains who were responsible for this trade, other travellers said that it was practised by the British ship captains as well. See Frances Wright discussing Fearon's book in Views of Society and Manners in America, Longman, London, 1821, pp. 464-471.
- 5 Charles Stuart, The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada, Longman, London, 1820, p. 80.
- 6 For accounts of the land system see Thomas Cooper, op. cit, p. 218; Morris Birkbeck, Notes on a Journey..., op. cit, p. 70; William Gore Ouseley, Remarks on... the United States, Longman, London, 1832, p. 135; Isaac Holmes, op. cit, p. 148.
- 7 See C.C. Taylor, The Farmers' Movement, American Book Co., N.Y., 1953, pp. 23-41. "The sales of land during this period were in large measure to men who bought in order to sell again at advanced prices. Consequently, the market selling prices of land frequently rose far above the government selling price. Speculators borrow-

NOTES: CHAPTER II

- ed from local banks to finance newly purchased land; the government then redeposited the money from whence it came, and served it as a loan to another speculator. These local banks and the government surplus thus became involved in a common network of credits; banks were established to meet this temporary demand, so that the lender leaned upon the borrower." Quoted from Taylor, p. 16. See also Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p.86, on ruinous effects of the bank mania. See also L.N. Newcome, "An excess of Money", The Embattled Farmers, Kings Crown Press, N.Y., 1953, pp. 122-138.
- 8 William Janson, op. cit., p. 260. See Janson also on the rabid speculation in the building of the capitol, p. 207; Coke, op. cit., p. 98.
 - 9 Ibid., p. 266. It was quite common for the British emigrant from the middle class to sail to America with £500 to £5,000 for speculation in the United States. See Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 176.
 - 10 See also Fearon, op. cit., 7th Report, pp. 337-421.
 - 11 William Janson, op. cit., p. 262. See also William Ashe on jobbing and speculation, Vol. I, p. 62.
 - 12 See the following travellers: Janson, op. cit., p. 244; Weld, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 403; Parkinson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 504; Fearon, op. cit., p. 379; Francis Hall, op. cit., p. 266; Faux, op. cit., p. 189; Trollope, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 137; Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 253; J. Stuart, op. cit., p. 150; Abdy, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 305; Candler, op. cit., p. 454; and Bristed, op. cit., p. 456; Welby, op. cit., pp. 106-108.
 - 13 See Chapter V of this thesis, p. 180f.
 - 14 See Thomas Cooper, op. cit., p. 52, and J. Stuart, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 241.
 - 15 J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 319; John Lambert, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 40; Isaac Holmes, op. cit., p. 356; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 30; John Howison, op. cit., p. 299; Thomas Ashe, op. cit., p. 193; Isaac Weld, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 41; William Janson, op. cit., p. 80; and H.B. Fearon, op. cit., p. 247.
 - 16 Patrick Shirreff, op. cit., p. 340; Francis Hall, op. cit.,

NOTES: CHAPTER II

- p. 21; William Cobbett, op. cit., p. 180f.; William Tell Harris, op. cit.; p. 194; J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 22; Frances Wright, op. cit., pp. 226-227.
- 17 This characteristic, which will be frequently referred to henceforth as the "independent spirit", is best described, perhaps, by Fenimore Cooper when he attempts to distinguish between the effects of the British and American systems on the people of the two countries. It is easy to see here why many British gentlemen were irritated by the ordinary American man in the street. Cooper says: "The immediate tendency of the English system is to create an extreme deference in all the subordinate classes for their superiors; while that of the American is to run into the opposite feeling." "England and America", Major American Writers, Jones and Leisy, Harcourt, Brace and Co., N.Y., 1947, p. 322. See also I. Weld, op. cit., p. 18.
 - 18 Henry Bradshaw Fearon, op. cit., p. 223.
 - 19 Patrick Shirreff, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
 - 20 Isaac Weld, op. cit., p. 448. Weld sees almost every flaw in the American system arising from 'land jobbing'.
 - 21 Ibid., p. 83, letter XI.
 - 22 Reported by Janson, op. cit., p. 341. On the ruinous condition of the tobacco growing areas see also Adam Hodgson, loc. cit., p. 38.
 - 23 William Amphlett, op. cit., p. 100f. Isaac Weld, op. cit., p. 26.
 - 24 Adlard Welby, op. cit., p. 61.
 - 25 Isaac Weld, op. cit., p. 113; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 37; Adlard Welby, op. cit., p. 276; William Cobbett, op. cit., p. 189; Harriet Martineau, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 338; Isaac Holmes, op. cit., p. 174; H.B. Fearon, op. cit., p. 222; and John Flint, op. cit., p. 123.
 - 26 Almost every British traveller complained of the viciousness of the flies and mosquitoes.
 - 27 Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 65f. See also C.C. Taylor, The Farmers' Movement, op. cit., pp. 1-50.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

- 28 William Amphlett, op. cit., p. 82.
- 29 Ibid., p. 80; See also Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 179.
- 30 See Chapter I of this thesis p.29f; see also Faux, op. cit., pp. 270f.
- 31 William Blane, op. cit., p. 159.
- 32 Richard Flower, op. cit., p. 12f; and Morris Birkbeck, An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain, op. cit., p. 270f.
- 33 In 1820 the United States government, in order to clamp down on the land jobbers, imposed a cash payment regulation on future land deals. The price of land, at the same time, was lowered from \$2.00 to \$1.25 an acre. These actions, however, did not help the labour problem. With land so cheap, people either bought land outright or went on a shares basis with a neighbour. The shares system and the labour problem are discussed by several of the travellers. See J. Stuart, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 170; F. Wright, op. cit., p. 138; and H.B. Fearon, op. cit., Third Report.
- 34 Reported by Fearon, ibid., p. 69.
- 35 Richard Parkinson, op. cit., p. 30.
- 36 Fearon, op. cit., p. 133.
- 37 See John Melish, op. cit., p. 628. Also Patrick Shirreff who said, "...The emigrant who delights in lording over his fellow mortals, and measures his importance and wealth by the servility and wretchedness of others around him, ought to shun the United States. The emigrant who seeks a fair and favourable field for his industry and aspires to share, in common with his brethren, the just rank and privileges of man, ought to shun Upper Canada." Shirreff, op. cit., p. 415. Travellers who saw hardship in emigration to Canada - J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 207-209; Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 269.
- 38 Hugh Gray, Letters from Canada, Longman, London, 1809, p. 322; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 41-42; J. Macgregor, op. cit., p. iii.
- 39 William Newman Blane, op. cit., p. 202.
- 40 Except in some areas, i.e. Genessee County. See Weld,

NOTES: CHAPTER II

- op. cit., p. 439.
- 41 See C. Stuart, The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada, Longman, London, 1820.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 2-6.
- 43 John Mills Jackson, A View of the Political Situation in the Province of Upper Canada, London, 1812.
- 44 The emigrants, as will be seen in the next chapter p.92 were often lured to the United States with offers of higher wages.
- 45 Charles Stuart, op. cit., p. 80f. See also Samuel C. Johnson, op. cit., Chapter IX, pp. 197-226.
- 46 John Lambert, op. cit., p. 129-141.
- 47 Ibid., "The manners of the Habitants", Chapter X See also Francis Hall, op. cit., p. 276f.
- 48 Ibid..
- 49 Ibid., p. 148-178.
- 50 The "métis coureurs de bois" - literally they were the half breed runners of the forest, and the backbone of the fur trade. They were the men who did all the trapping and woods work for the Trading Companies.
- 51 Hugh Grey, op. cit., p. 326.
- 52 See Chapter IV of this thesis.
- 53 Thomas Baillie, An Account of the Province of New Brunswick, Rivington, London, 1832. E.I. Coke, A Subaltern's Furlough, Saunders and Otley, London, 1833, p. 330f; W.T. MacGregor, Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America, Longman, London, 1828; William Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, Longman, London, 1830; W.F. Goodmane, Seven Years in America, London, 1845, pp. 23-30.
- 54 John Grey, op. cit., p. 322f.
- 55 Monthly Review, on Selkirk, Vol. L, August 1806, p. 412. See also J. MacGregor, op. cit., p. iv, p. 100-177, on Selkirk and other successful settlements in Canada; Stanley

NOTES: CHAPTER II

- C. Johnson, *op.cit.*, Chapter I, pp. I-13.
- 56 Almost every traveller expressed this sentiment, few as briefly as Charles Stuart, *op.cit.*, p. 62-64.
- 57 Sord Selkirk, Observations on the Present State of the Highlands..., London, 1808, p. 221.
- 58 See John Halkett, Statements respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlements upon the Red River..., London, 1817.
- 59 Ibid., p. 35f.
- 60 Another example of the Company's treachery was when they robbed and beat Lagemonière, Selkirk's faithful retainer, who had carried dispatches two thousand miles, on foot, across Canada. Evidence to show that it was the Company's men was found in one of their offices. The evidence read as follows: "The intention of the express is to tell you that Lagemonière is ... on his way with letters to Red River He must absolutely be prevented proceeding or forwarding the letters." See J. Halkett, Ibid., p. 42.
- 61 After "The Massacre of Seven Oaks" Lord Selkirk appealed for legal aid in Britain against the North West Company, but he died before much was accomplished in this direction. For more information on the chicanery of Western Canadian traders see Ross Cox on the American owned "Pacific Fur Company" in Adventures on the Columbia River, including a Narrative of Six Year's Residence on the Western Side of the Rockies ..., Colburn, London, 1831.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

chapter three

- I John Galt, Autobiography, Cochrane and M'Crone, London, 1833, Vol. 1, p. 9.
- 2 Ibid., p. 17.
- 3 Ibid., p. 10.
- 4 Ibid., p. 5.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 1-59.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 19-22.
- 7 Ibid., p. 40.
- 8 Ibid., p. 42.
- 9 Ibid., p. 42.
- 10 An extract from this poem, which was never published in full, appears in the Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 42.
- 11 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., p. 43.
- 12 Ibid., p. 40.
- 13 Ibid., p. 34.
- 14 Ibid., Preface, pp. XI-XII.
- 15 Ibid., Vol I, P. 59.
- 16 Ibid., pp. 65-67.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 112-116.
- 18 Ibid., p. 115.
- 19 John Galt, Voyages and Travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, Cadell and Davies, London, 1812. The many demerits and inaccuracies of this work are fully discussed in Frank Hall Lyell's, Study of the Novels of John Galt, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 21-35.
- 20 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. I., p. 191.
- 21 Ibid., p. 203.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

- 22 Ibid., p. 242.
- 23 Scots Magazine, Vol. LXV, April, 1803, pp. 272-274, and Vol. LXVI, January, 1804, p. 57. It was later, in 1804, printed in full by S. Whittingham of London.
- 24 The London Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, Vol. XXIII, October, 1805, pp. 104-112.
- 25 Monthly Review, Vol. LXXV, September, 1814, pp. 167-168. British Critic, Vol. XLIII, I, Series II, January, 1814, pp. 78-80. Quarterly Review, Vol. XI, April, 1814, pp. 32-37. Critical Review, Vol. II, Series IV, December 1812, p. 631; and Vol. I, Series IV, May, 1812, pp. 512-514.
- 26 F.K. Gordon, John Galt, University of Toronto Library, Toronto, 1920, p. 21.
- 27 See particularly Letter two, John Galt, Ayrshire Legatees, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1846 or J.M. Dent and Sons, London, 1926.
- 28 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., pp. 12-14.
- 29 Ibid., p. 97.
- 30 Ibid., p. 98.
- 31 R.K. Gordon, loc. cit., presents a detailed study of the early difficulties of the Canadian claimants. The statistics quoted here appear on p. 48 and are quoted by Gordon from the Canadian Archives Q. 337-1.
- 32 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., p. 280.
- 33 Ibid., p. 243; and Literary Life, Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1834, Vol. I, p. 139.
- 34 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., p. 280.
- 35 Galt's long correspondence relating to the claimants' rights are published in the Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. I, pp. 296-308.
- 36 See earlier in this chapter. 73f.
- 37 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 196-201.
- 38 John Galt, Bogle Corbet, Colburn and Bentley, London, 1831, Vol. I, pp. 308-310.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

- 39 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 292.
- 40 Ibid..
- 41 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 298. A letter from John Galt to J.R.W. Horton of the commission.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 309-324.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 325-328.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 8-28, Vol. II, Galt's correspondence with Maitland.
- 45 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 321.
- 46 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 154.
- 47 John Galt, "Essay on Colonization", Literary Life, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.
- 48 John Galt, Autobiography, Vol. II, p. 58.
- 49 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 247.
- 50 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 52.
- 51 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 146-151.
- 52 Samuel Strictland, Twenty Seven Years in Canada West, Bentley and Co., London, 1853, Vol. I, p. 199.
- 53 Appearing in Frazer's Magazine, February, 1830, Vol. II, pp. 90-93. See also Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 70-86.
- 54 Published under the pseudonym of a "Backwoodsman".
- 55 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 58.
- 56 John MacTaggart, Three Years in Canada, London, 1829, Vol. II, pp. 92-96.
- 57 See Footnote 44 of this chapter.
- 58 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 93-96.
- 59 For some interesting impressions of Smith see Samuel

NOTES: CHAPTER III

- Strictland's work, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 233. See also Galt's Autobiography, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 120-127.
- 60 Fraser's Magazine, October 1830, Vol. II, pp. 321-329; August, 1831, Vol. IV, pp. 96-100; April, 1832, Vol. V, pp. 275-280, and September 1835, Vol. XII, pp. 291-299. Blackwood's Magazine, January 1835, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 91-105, and February pp. 291-299.
- 61 John Galt, Literary Life, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 197.
- 62 John Galt, Lawrie Todd, Calburn and Bentley, London, 1830, preface, p. iv.
- 63 Monthly Review, Vol. I, 1834, p. 59.
- 64 John Galt, Autobiography, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 56-64.
- 65 John Galt, Lawrie Todd, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 40.
- 66 Ibid., p. 52.
- 67 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 210.
- 68 John Galt, Bogle Corbet, loc. cit., Preface, p. iii.
- 69 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 8.
- 70 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 49.
- 71 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 46.
- 72 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 230.
- 73 Ibid., p. 38.
- 74 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 131-132.
- 75 Ibid., p. 93.
- 76 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 220 and p. 114.
- 77 John Galt, Literary Life, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 312.
- 78 John Galt, Bogle Corbet, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 116-125.
- 79 Ibid., p. 174.
- 80 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 210.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

- 81 John Galt, Eagle Corbet, Vol. II, p. 121.
- 82 Ibid., p. 234.
- 83 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 137.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

chapter four

- 1 David Hannay, Life of Frederick Marryat, Walter Scott and Co., London, 1889, p. 12.
- 2 A small whip with several leather thongs that had knots near the ends.
- 3 David Hannay, op. cit., p. 22.
- 4 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, Longman and Co., London, 1839.
- 5 King William IV, who also forbade him to wear his cross of the Legion of Honour presented by Louis Philippe for his service to world shipping with his signalling system.
- 6 By David Hannay, op. cit., and Oliver Warner, Captain Marryat, a Rediscovery, Constable, London, 1953.
- 7 Florence Marryat, Life and Letters of Captain Marryat, Richard Bentley and Sons, London, 1872, Vol. I, p. 214. See also, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 71.
- 8 Florence Marryat, Life and Letters of Captain Marryat, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 106.
- 9 Ibid., p. 106.
- 10 Ibid., p. 105.
- 11 Frederick Marryat, Diary of a Blasé, was first an uncompleted serial in the Metropolitan Magazine, Sept. 1835 - June 1836.
- 12 David Hannay, op. cit., p. 59.
- 13 Oliver Warner, op. cit., p. 105. Quoted from R.B. Madden, Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington, Vol. III, 1855. The letter was sent June 17, 1835.
- 14 Frederick Marryat, Suggestions for the Abolition of the present system of impressment in the naval service, J.M. Richardson, London, 1822.
- 15 Florence Marryat, Life and Letters of Captain Marryat, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 203.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

- 16 Ibid., One of which was from his share in his mother's West Indies estate, which suffered through the emancipation of slaves. See also Hannay on his financial problems, p. 114-116.
- 17 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 224.
- 18 Frederick Marryat, Diary on the Continent, Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1836.
- 19 See footnote no. 11.
- 20 Frederick Marryat, Diary of a Blasé, Metropolitan Magazine, December 1835, Vol. XIV, No. LVI, p. 390.
- 21 Ibid., Vol. XVI, No. LXII, June 1836, p. 144.
- 22 Ibid., Vol. XVI, No. LXII, June 1836, p. 142.
- 23 Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. LIII, Sept., 1835, p. 32.
- 24 Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. LIII, Sept., 1835, p. 30.
- 25 David Hannay, op. cit., p. 98, Oliver Warner, op. cit., p. 112.
- 26 Florence Marryat, op. cit., Vol II, p. 25.
- 27 Ibid., p. 27.
- 28 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 89.
- 29 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 102-112.
- 30 Florence Marryat, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 36-39.
- 31 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 102-112.
- 32 Florence Marryat, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 41-55.
- 33 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 63.
- 34 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 1-40.
- 35 Frederick Marryat, Ibid., p. 192.
- 36 The Adams-Jefferson political philosophies is illuminated

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

- in their interchange of correspondence. Correspondence between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, edited by Paul Wiltstach and Bobbs-Merrell, 1925. Many of the travellers looked on the abolition of property rights and primogeniture as a dangerous expedient; see Henry Duhring, op. cit., p. 10; J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 335; T. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 313; John Brothers, op. cit., p. 244; John Bristed, op. cit., p. 120; Godfrey T. Vigne, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 191; Basil Hall, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 309.
- 37 Marryat mentions this work in the 'Diary', Vol. V, p. 110. It was a chapter from Cooper's Gleanings in Europe 1837.
- 38 Marryat quotes freely and sometimes inaccurately from Cooper throughout Vol. V of his 'Diary'. This quotation is in full from Cooper's "England and America" Gleanings in Europe, Vol. III, letter XXVII. Marryat quotes part of this in A Diary in America, Vol. V, p. 69. Some idea of the fiery nature of these attacks on the American character and the sensitiveness of the Americans when criticised may be understood from William Cullen Bryant's article "Sensitiveness to Foreign Opinion". This article appeared in the New York Evening Post on January 11, 1839. Bryant defends Cooper's work "Home as Found" and calls on his thin skinned countrymen to start judging themselves and to stop worrying about what other nations might say about them. This article is printed in full in Major American Writers, ed. by Jones and Leisy, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1947, pp. 354-355.
- 39 Some travellers feared mob rule in the United States as an outcome of a weak central executive - see Basil Hall, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 262; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II p. 190, and Henry Duhring, op. cit., p. 9. They also saw the weaknesses of the American system arising from the strained relationships between the federal and state legislatures - see Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 190; Mrs Trollope, p. 20; James Flint, op. cit., p. 213; Isaac Candler, op. cit., p. 397; John Bristed, op. cit., p. 245; Godfrey T. Vigne, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 273.
- 40 Frederick Marryat, Diary in America, Vol. V, p. 234. Marryat quoted from Washington's letter to Chief Justice Jay, March 10, 1787. In this chapter, he also uses Dr. Channing as an authority.
- 41 Ibid., "Emigration and Migration", Vol. IV, pp. 135-162.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

- 42 Ibid., Vol. V., p. 144.
- 43 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 46-62. Marryat, here, saw New York at the height of the currency confusion and business failure. The original charter of the National Bank was granted for a twenty year period; to be renewed March 3, 1836. The Bill for its renewal passed both Houses in the American legislature, but it was vetoed by President Jackson. Jackson's reasons for the veto were that, of its twenty-five million dollar private stock, too much, 8.5 millions, was held by foreigners, mostly British. He saw, therefore, that the bank could become a disruptive force if its control fell into the hands of the wrong type of people; and that, should these people be foreign, American funds, in the event of a war, might be used to raise hostile armies and navies against America. Jackson, in order to counteract these possibilities, recommended a purely American Bank with no sale of stock to foreigners. For more on this measure, and the financial movements of this period see E.T. Coke, op. cit., p. 48. See also Chapter II of this thesis pp. 48-50.
- 44 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 195. This chapter gives instances of several similar occurrences. See also, on American Indians, J.M. Duncan, op. cit., pp. 61-100, Vol. II.
- 45 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 41-89.
- 46 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 209-213.
- 47 A young Frenchman named Landles - see Warner, loc. cit., p. 175.
- 48 Frederick Marryat, Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas, Longman and Co., London, 1843, Vol. III, p. 2.
- 49 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 17-20.
- 50 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 246-304. See Chapter I of this thesis, p. 13f.
- 51 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 75-76.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 226-252.
- 53 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 224.
- 54 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 91-166 and Vol. II, p. 186. See

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

- also J. Bristed, op. cit., p. 122.
- 55 Ibid., Vol. IV.
- 56 Ibid., p. 194.
- 57 Ibid., p. 183. On the American press see also William Janson, op. cit., pp. 417-419; J.M. Duncan, op. cit., pp. 264-268; Frances Wright, pp. 405-509.
- 58 "The National vanity of the United States, surpasses that of any other country, not even excepting France. It blazes out ... in their conversation, newspapers, pamphlets, speeches and books. They assume ... that the Americans surpass all other nations in virtue, wisdom, valour, liberty, government and every other excellence. All Europeans they profess to dispise as ignorant paupers and dastardly slaves. Even during President Washington's administration, Congress debated three days upon the important proposition that America was the most enlightened nation on earth and finally decided the affirmative by a small majority." Ibid., Vol. III, p. 298. On American national vanity see also Isaac Candler, op. cit., p. 120; J. Bristed, op. cit., p. 460; E.S. Abdy, op. cit., Vol. 277; H.B. Fearon, op. cit., p. 374; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 31; and also T. Moore's Epistle to Spencer.
- 59 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 290. With very few exceptions the British travellers spoke favorably of the American eastern universities. See J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 169-179, also 125-165-74-83; C.J. Kendall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 195; Henry Tudor, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 370; G.T. Vigne, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 230; James Boardman, op. cit., p. 68; J. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 348; E.S. Abdy, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 205; Henry Wansey, p. 50.
- 60 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 54-79.
- 61 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 20-30. On absence of enterprise in Canada see also J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 157f.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 1-8. On border hostility between Canada and the United States see Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 271; E.T. Coke, op. cit., pp. 382-384.
- 63 Ibid., p. 20. Pages 9-20 cite a great deal of evidence

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

to show American sympathy. The danger of war in 1837 seemed so immanent that everyone waited for the president's message. Marryat at this point volunteered his services to Sir Francis Head in Canada and cancelled his plan to tour the Southern States. Had a war taken place, Marryat would have proved a valuable asset to the British, because, during his tour, he had collected a great deal of information on the United States' military and naval strength. The American press, at this time, in fact, accused him of being a British spy. See Hannay, p. 111f.

- 64 He was a radical in Lord Grey's Whig ministry of 1830.
- 65 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 122.
- 66 Ibid., pp. 116-118.
- 67 Ibid., p. 178.
- 68 Ibid., p. 181.
- 69 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 19.
- 70 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 7, Van Buren had excluded the mob from the presidential levees.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 147-151.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

chapter five

- I See Chapter I of this thesis pp. 19-39.
- 2 Edgar Johnson, "Emergence of a Radical", Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph, Victor Gollanz, London, 1953.
- 3 Humphrey House, The Dickens World, Oxford University Press, London, 1941, Chapter VII, p. 170.
- 4 Letters of Charles Dickens, ed. by Walter Dexter, Nonesuch Press, Bloomsbury, 1938, Vol. I, p. 345. See also Vol. I, p. 282, p. 344, and Vol. II, p. 695 for other evidence of his radical sentiments.
- 5 Ibid., p. 352.
- 6 Charles Dickens, American Notes, Chapman and Hall, London, 1907, p. 23. On the same subject, see also William Tell Harris, op. cit., p. 13.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 23-26. For other travellers on the subject of American universities see footnote 59 in Chapter IV of this thesis.
- 8 Chapter II of this thesis pp. 40f.
- 9 American Notes, op. cit., p. 26. Dealing with the same institutions, see J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61-72.
- 10 American Notes, op. cit., p. 29.
- 11 Ibid., p. 44.
- 12 Ibid., p. 47.
- 13 Ibid., p. 49. Also dealing with the humanity of the United States penal code, see Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 58.
- 14 American Notes, op. cit., p. 27.
- 15 Ibid., p. 68.
- 16 Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 380.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- 17 American Notes, op. cit., p. 241.
- 18 Sir Frank MacKinnon, "Notes on the History of the English Copyright", and Richard C. DeWorf, "Note on American Copyright Law, (1838)", contained in Harvey's The Oxford Companion to English Literature, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950. Appendix II, III. See also "American Copyright", Blackwoods, Vol. LXII, 1847, p. 534.
- 19 United States Constitution, Article I, Section VIII.
- 20 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, Longman and Co., London, 1839, Vol. IV, p. 197.
- 21 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 229.
- 22 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 243.
- 23 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 230. It is interesting to note here that one of the travellers had his letters pirated in America. See Adam Hodgson, op. cit., p. VI (preface).
- 24 Florence Marryat, Life and Letters of Captain Marryat, Richard Bentley and Sons, London, 1872, Vol. II, p. 22.
- 25 Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, op. cit., Vol. IV p. 224.
- 26 William Glyde Wilkins, Charles Dickens in America, Scribner, New York, 1911, p. 224. Contained in a letter from Carlyle to Dickens, probably referring to newspaper serial prices rather than book prices.
- 27 Charles Dickens, The Speeches of Charles Dickens compiled by R.H. Shepherd, Michael Joseph Ltd., London, 1936, p. 68. Among the distinguished guests were George Bancroft, Washington Allston, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.
- 28 U. Pope-Hennessy, Charles Dickens, ^{Howell and Soskin} ^, 1946, p. 262 and G.K. Chesterton, Charles Dickens: A Critical Study, Dodd, Mead, London, 1913, p. 143.
- 29 Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 386-390.
- 30 William Glyde Wilkins, op. cit., p. 243.
- 31 See Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 390-391; William Glyde Wilkins, op. cit. p. 242. A copy of

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- the circular sent to the principal writers on July 7, 1842, is printed in The Speeches of Charles Dickens, op. cit., p. 31.
- 32 For a discussion of the better American publications, the slanted form of the news in the South, and the various forms of dissemination of culture in America at this time, see Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, Scribner, London, 1947, Vol. I.
- 33 William Glyde Wilkins, op. cit., p. 247.
- 34 Ibid., p. 232. See also Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 388.
- 35 William Glyde Wilkins, op. cit., p. 254.
- 36 Quoted from Dickens' letter to Felton and Seaton. Ibid., pp. 444-446.
- 37 One contemporary account of what it is like to be fêted in America shows that Dickens scarcely exaggerated in his plea to Forster. See J.B. Priestley, Journey Down a Rainbow, Heinemann-Cresset, London, 1955.
- 38 John Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens, Doubleday, London, 1928, pp. 221-222.
- 39 See Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 69f.
- 40 American Notes, op. cit., p. 225.
- 41 Ibid., p. 83.
- 42 Ibid., p. 87. Also writing on the slums of New York, see Frances Wright, op. cit., p. 18; and Allan Nevins, op. cit., pp. 127-128.
- 43 Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 46.
- 44 American Notes, op. cit., pp. 242-243. For further examples of American sharp dealing see Chapter II, footnote 12 of this thesis; Adlard Welby, op. cit., pp. 106-108; and Allan Nevins, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 64-65.
- 45 American Notes, op. cit., p. 247.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- 46 Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 483.
- 47 R.S. MacKenzie, The Life of Charles Dickens, 1870, p. 219.
- 48 American Notes, op. cit., p. 244.
- 49 Cited in Edgar Johnson's Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 442.
- 50 Letters of Charles Dickens, Vol. I, p. 482; "Cambridge Historical Society", Vol. 28, 1942, pp. 70-78.
- 51 See Macvey Napier, Selections from the Correspondence of Macvey Napier, edited by his son, MacMillan and Co., 1879, p. 398. For more British comment see also Monthly Review, 1842, Vol. III, p. 392; Edinburgh Review, January, 1843 which repeated the American accusation that Dickens had gone to America solely as a missionary for international copyright. Dickens subsequently denied this and demanded a retraction of the statement. See Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 504.
- 52 Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 494.
- 53 American Notes, op. cit., p. 249.
- 54 Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 482, p. 479. For a complete discussion of this point see Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 432-434.
- 55 John Forster, Charles Dickens, op. cit., p. 270.
- 56 Charles Dickens, Martin Chuzzlewit, Chapman and Hall, London, Chapter. XVI, p. 209. For opinions of other travellers on the American Press see Chapter IV of this thesis, footnote 57.
- 57 Ibid., p. 211.
- 58 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., p. 215.
- 59 For a complete discussion of this affair see Edgar Johnson Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 432.
- 60 See footnote 58 above.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- 61 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., p. 220.
- 62 Ibid., p. 218.
- 63 George William Putman, "Four Months with Charles Dickens: during his first visit to America", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XXVI, October, 1870, p. 591.
- 64 For the other travellers who commented on American eating habits see Chapter II of this thesis p. 52.
- 65 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., pp. 220-222.
- 66 Ibid., Chapter XVII, p. 234.
- 67 Ibid., p. 237.
- 68 Ibid., p. 239.
- 69 Ibid., Chapter XXI, p. 292.
- 70 Ibid., see p. VI of the Preface.
- 71 Ibid., Chapter XXII, p. 296.
- 72 Isaac Weld, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 127 and p. 236; Thomas Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 237; G.T. Vigne, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 170; and C.A. Murray, op. cit. (pg. ref. lost)
- 73 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., p. 222.
- 74 Other British writers made a similar use of flamboyant American names. John Galt in Lawrie Todd names one of his American characters Zerobabel L. Hoskins to distinguish him from the Scottish settlers. Mrs. Trollope, on the other hand, devised her American names in The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw (1836) as a means to give greater strength to her passionate attack on the United States. This novel depicts American morals at their lowest; enlarging on all the means used by the "whites" in order to retain their supremacy over the unfortunate slave. Unlike Dickens' work, there is no humour or whimsy in Mrs. Trollope's novel. Where Dickens travesties his Americans, Mrs. Trollope assaults American society 'en masse'. Colonel Dart, for example, is more evil than any of Dickens' freakish military figures. Dart personifies all slave

NOTES: CHAPTER V

owners as sadistic and brutal. He coolly trains the young hero, Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, in the arts of slave torture, and is delighted when Whitlaw turns out to be an apt pupil. Subsequently, Whitlaw debauches the plantation negresses - a habit slanderously attributed to his political namesake, Thomas Jefferson - and before the end of the novel causes riots, murders, a lynching, and several other atrocities. From his treatment of the slaves, it is reasonable to infer that by "Whitlaw" Mrs. Trollope meant "white supremacy".

- 75 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., Chapter XXIII, p. 421.
- 76 It is interesting to note that the description of the approaches to Eden show a marked similarity to Dickens' description of the countryside surrounding Boston and Baltimore. See the first few chapters of the American Notes.
- 77 For a discussion of Mrs. Trollope's view of Frances Wright's settlement at Nashoba, see Una Pope-Hennessy's Three Englishwomen in America, op. cit..
- 78 Captain Marryat, Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas, Longman, London, 1843, Vol. III, p. 6.
- 79 See Chapter III of this thesis.
- 80 Martin Chuzzlewit, op. cit., Chapter XXII, p. 301. Dickens makes another statement of his disappointment in America in a letter to Macready. See Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 412.
- 81 Una Pope-Hennessy discusses the American reception of this work and reports that during a mock performance of Macbeth in New York the book was dropped into the witches caldron together with other evil objects. Charles Dickens, Howell and Soskin, London, 1946, p. 192. See also Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 533.
- 82 Dickens discusses his intentions, with regard to characterization, in the preface to Martin Chuzzlewit.
- 83 Cited from R. H. Shepherd's The Speeches of Charles Dickens, Michael Joseph Ltd., London, 1936, p. 34. The truth in Martin Chuzzlewit is defended similarly by Edgar Johnson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 475.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- 84 See also Charles Carver, Brann and the Iconoclast, University of Texas, 1958.
- 85 Similarly, the way in which Americans recently received visiting literary figures J.B. Priestley and Dylan Thomas shows that, to some extent, the forms of hysterical lionization have changed little since the nineteenth century.
- 86 See Chapter IV of this thesis and Allan Nevins Ordeal of the Union, op. cit., which also deals with the demands of the American expansionists.
- 87 The restrictive mercantile policies of the Tories (the Navigation Acts and the Corn Law, 1815) not only angered the liberal-minded in Britain but also stimulated anti-British feeling in America and American military designs on the Canadian colonies. The "six acts" imposed in Britain to keep civil order in 1819 show how strongly the British people resented the government's agricultural, industrial, and political repression. However, as the Liberals became stronger so the Free Traders exerted their influence. With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the United States almost at once reduced the American tariff. With the Reciprocity Treaty of 1847 and the opening of the Great Lakes to American shipping in 1850, the cause of the American expansionists lost its point.
- 88 William Cullen Bryant, for example, one of Dickens' many American friends, showed a great deal of moral courage when, in the Evening Post, August 8, 1836, he defended the abolitionist movement. In his article entitled the "Abilition Riots" he attacked the noisy fanatics who had recently demonstrated against abolition in New York. This article is reprinted, in full, in Major American Writers, ed. by Jones and Leisy, Harcourt Brace and Co., New York, 1947, pp. 353-354.
- 89 Edinburgh Review, May, 1820. In the same year Canning made a democratic move when he guaranteed the "Monroe Doctrine". See also the last part of Chapter I of this thesis.
- 90 See Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., letters to Forster and to Chapman, Vol. 1, p. 479 and p. 482.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

- 91 See John Forster, Life of Charles Dickens, op. cit., p. 62. See also Letters of Charles Dickens, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 545-546. David Hannay, Life of Frederick Marryat, op. cit., also had something to say about the travel book popularity. Referring to Marryat's "Diary" he wrote: "The "Diary" sank at once into the position of a mere book about America. In truth, this kind of writing had been overdone. There was no longer a market for books of (this order)." Hannay, pp. 119-120.
- 92 Most travellers had something to say on American over sensitivity. See, for example, Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39; Mrs. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 218; Basil Hall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 14; Henry Tudor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 23; Harriet Martineau, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 15; and Charles Joseph Latrobe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

chapter six

- 1 Francēs Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1879, Vol. I, p. 175.
- 2 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 191.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 259-260.
- 4 Ibid., p. 176.
- 5 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 171.
- 6 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 3.
- 7 Ibid., p. 135.
- 8 Ibid., p. 207.
- 9 Ibid., p. 164.
- 10 Ibid., p. 88.
- 11 Ibid., p. 170.
- 12 Francēs Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 143.
- 13 Ibid., p. 15.
- 14 O.P. Riots (old prices) that made the Kembles extremely unpopular for a number of years. See Percy Fitzgerald The Kembles, Tinsley Bros., London, 1871, Vol. II, p. 119-138. See also Macreadie's Reminiscences, (ed. Sir Frederick Pollock), MacMillan, London, 1875, Vol. I, p. 32.
- 15 Francēs Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 76.
- 16 Ibid., p. 105.
- 17 Francēs Ann Kemble (Butler), Journal, John Murray and Co., London, 1835, Vol. I, p. 140.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 18 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 113.
- 19 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 116.
- 20 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 138.
- 21 William Dunlop, History of the American Theatre, R. Bentley and Co., London, 1833, p. 30.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 106-109.
- 23 Tyrone Power, Impressions of America during the years 1833-1835, R. Bentley and Co., London, 1836, Vol. I, p. 211; H. B. Fearon, op. cit., p. 365; Mrs. Trollope, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 182; Patrick Shirreff, op. cit., p. 10; James Boardman, op. cit., p. 204; John Bernard, op. cit., p. 262f; E.T. Coke, op. cit., p. 35; William Janson, op. cit., pp. 247-258. William Priest, op. cit. p. 158 writes of the high salaries of the performers in Boston. "Some of the performers are engaged at upwards of 20£ English / week; and Mrs. Whitlocke (sister of Mrs. Siddons, whom you may perhaps recollect at the Haymarket) is to have 180£ sterling for six nights."
- 24 Frances Ann Kemble (Butler), Journal, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 16.
- 25 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 139-148.
- 26 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 308.
- 27 Ibid., p. 198.
- 28 Ibid., p. 198.
- 29 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 180.
- 30 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 201.
- 31 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 294.
- 32 Frances Ann Kemble, Journal, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 122.
- 33 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 122.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 34 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 13. E.T. Coke, op. cit., p. 174 reported how at one of her performances at the Park Theatre the audience yelled Trollope! Trollope! and the unmannerly behavior of one man who turned his back to the pit to talk with a friend.
- 35 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 151.
- 36 Ibid., p. 153.
- 37 Ibid., p. 232.
- 38 Ibid., p. 197.
- 39 Ibid., p. 220.
- 40 Ibid., p. 190.
- 41 Ibid., p. 172.
- 42 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 122.
- 43 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 171.
- 44 Ibid., p. 157.
- 45 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 173.
- 46 Ibid., p. 245.
- 47 Ibid., p. 17.
- 48 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 256.
- 49 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 257. Also see Mrs. Trollope op. cit. on the behavior of young American women.
- 50 Ibid., p. 162.
- 51 Ibid., p. 166.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 256.
- 53 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 295.
- 54 Ibid., p. 259.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 55 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 107. See also on the same subject - W. Cobbett, op. cit., p. 205; J. Flint, op. cit., p. 170; J. Fowler, op. cit., p. 212; and I. Weld, op. cit., p. 181.
- 56 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 174.
- 57 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 224.
- 58 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 109.
- 59 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 58. See John Bristed, op. cit., p. 437-450 on American drinking and tobacco habits. See also William Newman Blane, op. cit., p. 500f.
- 60 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 127.
- 61 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 231.
- 62 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 263.
- 63 Ibid., p. 19-20.
- 64 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 288. See also E.A. Kendall, op. cit. on this topic.
- 65 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 206.
- 66 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 165.
- 67 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 51.
- 68 Ibid., p. 187.
- 69 Ibid., p. 207.
- 70 Frances Ann Kemble, Records of a Later Life, Richard Bentley and Son, London, 1882, Vol. 1, p. 1.
- 71 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 247.
- 72 Frances Ann Kemble (Butler), Journal, op. cit., Vol. 11, pp. 82-86.
- 73 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 177.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 74 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 145-149.
- 75 Ibid., p. 146.
- 76 Ibid., p. 180.
- 77 Ibid., Vol. 11, pp. 205-210.
- 78 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 166.
- 79 Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 155.
- 80 Quoted from Una Pope-Hennessy, Three Englishwomen in America, op. cit., pp. 181-185.
- 81 They were married in Philadelphia, June 7, 1834.
- 82 Frances Ann Kemble, Records of a Later Life, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 7.
- 83 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 6.
- 84 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 290.
- 85 Frances Ann Kemble, Records of a Later Life, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 38.
- 86 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 173.
- 87 For facts and anecdotes relating to slavery and its demoralizing influence see H.B. Fearon, op. cit., p. 58, pp. 167f; James Boardman, op. cit., pp. 309-312; E.A. Abdy, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 156-206 and Vol. 11, p. 43; Isaac Candler, op. cit., p. 298; Harriet Martineau, Society in America (1837), Vol. 1, p. 145; Thomas Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 90; Henry Tudor, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 71; J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 251f; William Tell Harris, op. cit., p. 42; William Newman Blane, op. cit., pp. 201-229; William Janson, op. cit., pp. 373-384.
- 88 Term used to describe the practice of chaining slaves together by their necks.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 89 See particularly Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 47; and Harriet Martineau, see footnote 87 above.
- 90 Adlard Welby, op. cit., p. 195.
- 91 Harriet Martineau, Society in America, Vol. 1, p. 372.
- 92 Adlard Welby, op. cit., p. 182.
- 93 These facts, together with many more, are borne out in many studies of the slavery question. See Charles Sackett Sydnor, Slavery in Mississippi, D. Appleton - Century Co., New York, 1933; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1933, and see also G.W. Cable, Strange True Stories of Louisiana, Scribner, N.Y., 1889, particularly pp. 200-219 in which Cable deals with an atrocity against seven slaves in New Orleans.
- 94 Frances Trollope, The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw, Richard Bentley, London, 1835, Vol. I, p. 123.
- 95 Mark Twain, Huckleberry Finn, Rinehart Co., Inc., 1956, Toronto, p. 27.
- 96 One anti-abolitionist and traveller was S.M. Maury, An Englishwoman in America, Richardson, London, 1848.
- 97 See particularly Harriet Martineau, Society in America, Vol. 1, p. 177f; Joseph Sturge, A Visit to the United States, 1842, p. 175f; J.S. Buckingham, The Slave States of America, (1842), p. 460f.
- 98 For a detailed discussion of this excuse see Frances Wright, op. cit., pp. 61-78.
- 99 See most of travellers mentioned in footnote 90.
- 100 J.S. Buckingham, Southern, or Slave States (1842), Vol. 1, p. 131. For a complete study of the dangers involved in espousing the abolitionist cause see Russel B. Nye's "Abolition and the Freedom of the Press" and "The Reign of Mob Law", Fettered Freedom, Michigan State College Press, 1949.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 101 Thomas Brothers, op. cit., p. 198.
- 102 The "rail roads" were a series of hiding places about one day's journey apart. Under a new fugitive slave law in 1850 the slaveholders or especially appointed men were at liberty to travel anywhere in the Northern United States to retrieve the runaway property. Some idea of the inhumanity of a slave hunt is seen in Mark Twain's treatment of the predicament of the runaway Jim in Huckleberry Finn.
- 103 The sale and popularity of Uncle Tom's Cabin, for instance, was tremendous. Despite its banning in the South, it sold 300,000 copies in its first year. The reception of the authoress in Britain equalled that of the literary travellers in America and was often just as stormy. The effect of her visit to Scotland in 1852 at the invitation of the Glasgow Ladies New Anti-Slavery Society is discussed at length in George Shepperson's "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland", The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 32, Edinburgh, 1953, pp. 40-46.
- 104 Frances Ann Kemble, Journal, op. cit., Vol. 11, p.36.
- 105 Frances Ann Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation (1838-1839), Longman & Co., London, 1863, p. 1.
- 106 Ibid., p. 15.
- 107 Ibid., p. 215.
- 108 Ibid., p. 86.
- 109 Ibid., p. 92.
- 110 Ibid., p. 68.
- 111 Ibid., p. 97.
- 112 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records (1848-1883), R. Bentley and Son, London, 1890, Vol. 1, p.4. She also to some extent, resumed her theatrical career.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 113 Frances Ann Kemble, Records of a Later Life, op cit., Vol. 1, p. 18.
- 114 Frances Ann Kemble, Woman's a Riddle, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1824, Vol. 1, p. 123.
- 115 Frances Ann Kemble, Far Away and Long Ago, R. Bentley and Son, London, 1889. Fanny also published Poems (1844).
- 116 Frances Ann Kemble, Far Away and Long Ago, R. Bentley and Son, London, 1889, p. 22.
- 117 A great many of the disgruntled travellers complained that they were discriminated against by American employers. There was, of course, a great deal of sympathy in America for the Irish. Mrs. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, also made the point that the most anti-British among the newly arrived emigrants were often those from England.
- 118 Frances Ann Kemble, Record of a Girlhood, loc. cit., Vol. 111, p. 200.
- 119 Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 201.
- 120 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 7.
- 121 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records, loc. cit., Vol.1, p. 13. On hospitality of the Americans see Isaac Weld, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 143; T. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 120; T. Power, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 347; Adam Hodgson, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 38; Peter Neilson, op. cit., p. 270; and John Fowler, p. 214.
- 122 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 12.
- 123 Frances Ann Kemble, Journal, loc. cit., Vol. 1, p.61. See Chapter 11 of this thesis, p. 52, and Note 17 of Chapter 11.
- 124 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records, loc. cit., Vol 1, p. 35.
- 125 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 42.

NOTES: CHAPTER SIX

- 126 Ibid., p. 17.
- 127 Ibid., p. 23-24.
- 128 Frances Ann Kemble, Journal, op. cit., Footnote, Vol. 1, pp. 271-272.
- 129 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records, loc. cit., Vol. 1, p. 30.
- 130 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 23. See also on corruption in American politics William Gore Ouseley op. cit., p.32. Isaac Candler, op. cit., p. 383; J.M. Duncan, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 335; and Godfrey Vigne, Vol. 1, p. 192.
- 131 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records, op. cit., Vol. 1, and p. 281.
- 132 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 74-75.
- 133 Dickens' Postscript, 1868 public dinner in New York, American Notes, Chapman Hall, London, 1907, p. 250.
- 134 Frances Ann Kemble, Further Records, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 35.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography is in two sections. The first section contains the published tours and impressions by emigrants and travellers who, for the purposes of this thesis, have been considered to be of minor literary significance. Furthermore, although Section I contains many minor writers whose names do not appear in the bibliographies of other works dealing with this travel literature, Section I should by no means be regarded as definitive. A conservative estimate would place the number of minor travel works at over three hundred. The reader seeking a complete list should, therefore, consult Section I in conjunction with the bibliographies of Mesick, Berger, and the other writers mentioned in the introductory chapter. By the same token, Section II should not be regarded as a complete bibliography of all the published works of Galt, Marryat, Dickens, and Kemble. Only those of their works bearing on the course of the discussion are listed here, along with other fictional biographical, sociological, historical, and political works which the author found it necessary to consult.

Section I

- Abdy, E.S.: Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, from April, 1833 to October, 1834, John Murray, London, 1835.
- Alexander, J.E.: Transatlantic Sketches, Bentley, London, 1833.
- Amphlett, William: Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of North America, Longman, London, 1819.
- Ashe, Thomas: Travels in America performed in 1806 ..., Richard Phillips, London, 1808.
- Arfwedson, C.D.: The United States and Canada in 1832-1834, R. Bentley, London, 1834.
- Baillie, Thomas: An Account of the Province of New Brunswick ..., Rivington, London, 1832.
- Ballantyne, Robert M.: Hudson's Bay or Everyday life in North America during six year's residence, Nelson, London, 1848.

- Birkbeck, Morris: Notes on a Journey in America, Caleb Richardson, Philadelphia, 1817.
- : Letters from Illinois, 3rd ed., Taylor & Hessey, London, 1818.
- : An address to the farmers of Great Britain, Ridgeway, 1822.
- Blane, William Newham: An excursion through the United States and Canada during 1822, 1823, London, 1824.
- Bolster, John; Traveller's Guide to America with accounts of Upper and Lower Canada, Cork, 1818.
- Boardman, James: America and the Americans, Longman, London, 1833.
- Bradbury, John: Travels in the Interior of America in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811 . . ., London, 1819.
- Bristed, John: America and her resources; or a view of the agricultural, commercial, financial, political, literary, moral, and religious capacity and character of the American people, London, 1818.
- Brothers, Thomas: The United States as they are; not as they are generally described, being a cure for Radicalism, Longman, London, 1840.
- Buckingham, J.S.: The Slave States of America, Jackson, London, 1842.
- Burland, Rebecca: A true Picture of Emigration, London, 1848.
- Candler, Isaac: A Summary View of America, T. Cadell, London, 1842.
- Cobbett, William: A Year's Residence in the United States of America, London, 1828. (3rd. ed.)
- : The Emigrant's Guide . . ., London, 1829.
- Coke, Lt. E.T.: A Subaltern's Furlough, Saunders & Otley, London, 1833.
- Coke, Thomas: A Journal of the Reverend Dr. Coke's Fourth Tour on the Continent of America, London, 1792.

- Colton, C.: Tour of the American Lakes, Westley & Davis, London, 1833.
- Combe, George: Notes on the United States ... 1838-1839, Edinburgh, 1841.
- Cooper, Thomas: Some information respecting America, Dublin, 1794.
- Cox, Ross: Adventures on the Colombia River ..., Cobburn and Bentley, London, 1831.
- Dalton, W.: Travels in the United States of America and Part of Upper Canada, R. Bateman, Appleby, 1821.
- Davies, E.: American Scenes and Christian Slavery ..., Freeman, London, 1849.
- Davis, John: Travels in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802, Ostell, London, 1803.
- Davis, Stephen: Notes of a Tour in America in 1832 and 1833, Whittaker, Edinburgh, 1833.
- DeHoos, Frederick Fitzgerald: Personal Narrative of Travels in the United States and Canada in 1826, William Harrison, Ainsworth, London, 1827.
- Doyle, Martin: Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada, Simkin & Marshall, London, 1835.
- Duhring, Henry: Remarks on the United States of America with regard to the actual state of Europe, Simkin, London, 1833.
- Duncan, J.M.: Travels through part of the United States of America in 1818 and 1819, Hurst, London, 1823.
- Dunlop, J.: The Temperance Immigrants ..., Houlson, London, 1840.
- Eddis, William: Letters from America ... concerning occurrences from 1769 to 1777 inclusive, London, 1792.
- Faux, William: Memorable days in America ..., Simkin Co., London, 1823.
- Fearon, Henry Bradshaw: Sketches of America ... in June, 1817, Longman, London, 1819.

- Featherstonehaugh, G.W.: Excursion through the slave states of America, Murray, London, 1844.
- Fergusson, Adam: Practical Notes made during a Tour in Canada...
T. Cadell, London, 1833.
- Ferral, S.A.: A Ramble of 6,000 miles through the United States
Wilson, London, 1832.
- Fidler, Rev. Isaac: Observations on Professions, Literature and Manners and Emigration in the United States and Canada made during a residence there in 1832, Whittaker, London, 1833.
- Finch, I.: Travels in the United States and Canada, Longman and Co., London, 1833.
- Flint, James: Letters from America ...; Tait and Co., Edinburgh, 1822.
- Flower, Richard: Letters from Lexington and Illinois ...,
London, 1819.
: Letters from the Illinois ..., London, 1822.
- Fowler, John: Journal of a Tour in the State of New York in the year 1830, Whittaker, London, 1831.
- Godley, J.R.: Letters from America, Murray, London, 1844.
- Goodman, W.F.: Seven Years in America or A Contrast of British America with the United States and Texas showing the superiority of the former over the latter for the British Emigrant, London, 1845.
- Gray, Hugh: Letters from Canada written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, Longman and Co., London, 1809.
- Graydon, Alexander: Memoirs of a life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania, Edinburgh, 1822.
- Grece, Charles F.: Facts and observations respecting Canada and the United States of America ...,
Harding, London, 1819.
- Grund, Francis J.: Americans in their moral, social, political relations, Longman, London, 1837.
- Hall, Basil: Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828, Cadell, 2nd. ed., Edinburgh, 1830.

- Hall, Francis: Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816 and 1817, Longman & Co., London, 1818.
- Hamilton, Thomas: Men and Manners in America, Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1833.
- Harris, William Tell: Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818, 1819, London, 1821.
- Hill, Benson Earle: Recollections of an Artillery Officer ... including scenes and adventures in ... America, Bentley, London, 1836.
- Hodgson, Adam: Letters from North America, Hurst, London, 1824.
- Holmes, Isaac: An Account of the United States of America, Caxton Press by H. Fisher, London, 1823.
- Howison, John: Sketches of Upper Canada, Whittaker, Edinburgh, 1821.
- Hulme, Thomas: Hints to Emigrants ... with copious extracts from the journal of T.H., Liverpool, 1817.
- Jackson, John Mills: View of the political situation of the Province of Upper Canada, pamphlet published London, 1812.
- Janson, Charles William: The Stranger in America, Albion Press, London, 1807.
- Kendall, Edward Augustus: Travels through the Northern Parts Of the United States in 1807 and 1808 Longman, London, 1816.
- Kennedy, William: Texas, Hastings, London, 1841.
- Lambert, John: Travels through Canada and the United States in the years 1806-1808, Craddock & Joy, London, 1814.
- Lang, John Dunmore: Religion and Education in America, Ward, London, 1840.
- Latrobe, Charles Joseph: The Rambler in North America (1832-1833), Seeley, New York, 1835.
- Logan, J.: Notes on a Journey through the United States and Canada, Smith and Elder, London, 1838.

- Lyell, Sir Charles: A Second Visit to the United States,
Riley, New York, 1849.
- MacGregor, W.J.: Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British
America, Longman Rees Co., London, 1828.
- MacTaggart, John: Three Years in Canada ... 1826-28, Henry
Colburn, London, 1829.
- Mande, John: A Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800, London,
1826.
- Martineau, Harriet: Society in America, Sanders & Otley,
London, 1837.
: Retrospect of Western Travel, Sanders &
Otley, London, 1838.
- Maury, S.M: An Englishwoman in America, Richardson, London,
1848.
- Maxwell, A.M.: A run through the United States during the
autumn of 1840, Colburn, London, 1841.
- Melish, John: Travels through the United States of America
... 1806-1811, Coure, London, 1818.
- Moore, Thomas: Epistles, Odes, and other Poems, J. Carpenter,
London, 1806.
: The Fudge Family in Washington, Baltimore, 1820.
- Moorsom, Captain William: Letters from Nova Scotia, Colburn,
London, 1830.
- Morgan, J.C.: The Emigrant's Notebook and Guide, Longman,
London, 1824.
- Mudie, Robert; The Emigrant's pocket companion, Wilson, London,
1832.
- Murray, C.A.: Travels in North America during the years 1834-
1836, Bentley, London, 1839.
- Neilson, Peter: Recollections of a Six Years' Residence in the
United States of America, David Robertson,
Glasgow, 1833.
- Ouseley, William Gore: Remarks on the statistics and political
institutions of the United States,
Rodwell, London, 1832.

- Palmer, John: Journal of Travels in the United States of North America and Lower Canada, performed in the year 1817 ..., Sherwood and Co., London, 1818.
- Parkinson, Richard: Tour in America ..., London, 1805.
- Phillips, George: Travels in North America, Dublin, 1824.
- Picken, Andrew: The Canadas ..., Effingham Wilson, London, 1832.
- Pickering, Joseph: Inquiries of an immigrant, being a narrative of an English farmer from 1824-30, London, 1832.
- Power, Tyrone: Impressions of America during the years 1833-1835, R. Bentley and Co., London, 1836.
- Priest, William: Travels in America (1793-1797), London, 1802.
- Reed, Andrew: Narrative of a visit to the American Churches, London, 1835.
- Rich, Obediah: Things as they are: or Notes of a traveller through some of the Middle and Northern States, London, 1834.
- Rickman, T.C.: Emigration to America candidly considered, London, 1798.
- Ritson, Ann: A Poetical Picture of America, by a lady, Vernor, London, 1809.
- Ruxton, George F.: Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, New York, 1848.
: Life in the Far West, Edinbrugh, 1849.
- Savage, William: Observations of Emigration to the United States of America ..., Sherwood and Co., London, 1819.
- Shirreff, Patrick: A tour through North America as adanted for Agricultural Emigration, Simkin, Edinburgh, 1835.
- Sibbald, T.: Stranger's Guide to the United States with Man, ed. by J. Betts, Edinburgh, 1838.

- Simms, William E.: Life in America, Aberdeen, 1848.
- Smith, B.: Twenty-four letters from labourers in America to their friends in England, London, 1829.
- Stuart, Charles: The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada . . ., Longman and Co., London, 1820.
- Stuart, James: Three Years in North America, James Cadell, Edinburgh, 1833.
- Sturge, J.: A visit to the United States in 1841, Hamilton, London, 1842.
- Sutcliffe, Robert: Travels in some parts of North America in the years of 1804-1806, 2nd ed., York, 1815.
- Talbot, Edward Allen: Five Years' Residence in the Canadas, including a tour through parts of the United States of America in the year 1823, Longman & Co., London, 1824.
- Thompson, William: A Tradesman's Travels in the United States and Canada, Simkin, Edinburgh, 1842.
- Thorburn, Grant: Forty Years' Residence in America . . ., Frazer, London, 1834.
- Todd, H.C.: Notes upon Canada and the United States from 1832 to 1840, London, 1840.
- Trollope, Frances: The Domestic Manners of the Americans, Whittaker, Treacher & Co., London, 1832.
- Tudor, Henry: Narrative of a Tour in North America . . ., James Duncan, London, 1834.
- Vigne, Godfrey T.: Six months in America, Whittaker, London, 1832.
- Wakefield, Priscilla Bell: Excursions in North America, London, Darton, 3rd. ed. improved, 1819.
- Wansey, Henry: Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794, London, 1796.
- Warburton, Eliot B.G.: Hochelaga or England in the New World, New York, 1846.

- Welby, Adlard: A Visit to North America . . ., Lombard St. Drury, London, 1821.
- Weld, Isaac: Travels through North America and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795-97, Stockdale, 1799.
- Weston, Richard: A visit to the United States and Canada in 1833: with a view to settling in America, Simkin, Glasgow, 1836.
- Wilkie, David: Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas, Edinburgh, 1837.
- Wilson, Charles Henry: The Wanderer in America, or Truth at Home, 4th ed. Thirsh, 1823.
- Winterbotham, William: An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, London, 1795.
- Woods, John: Two years' residence in the settlement on the English Prairie in the Illinois Country, Longman, London, 1822.
- Wright, Frances: Views of Society and Manners in America, Longman & Co., London, 1821.
- Wyse, Francis: America, its realities and resources, London, 1846.

Anonymous travel and emigration works, arranged in order of their dates of publication

Letters on Emigration: Kearsley, 1794. By a gentleman lately returned from America.

Look Before you Leap: N.P., London, 1796.

A True Picture of the United States of America in which oil without vinegar is analysed and proved to be rancid, N.P., London, 1807. By a British subject.

A few plain directions for persons intending to proceed as settlers to His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada, Baldwin and Co., London, 1820. By an English Farmer.

Sketches of Plans for Settling in Upper Canada, Harding, London, 1822. By a settler.

Excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822 and 1823, Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, London, 1824. By an English gentleman.

Americans as they Are, Hearst Chance Co., London, 1828. By the author of "Austria as it is".

Tour through the United States and Canada, Longman, London, 1828. By a British subject.

The Fashionable Tour, N.P., London, 1830. By a gentleman.

Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada for the use of emigrants, J. Murray, London, 1832. By a Backwoodsman.

Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in 1834, Cadell, Edinburgh, 1835. By a citizen of Edinburgh.

The Stranger's Guide through the United States and Canada, Cadell, Edinburgh, 1838.

A Few days in the United States and Canada, John Betts, London, 1846

Section II

- Aberdein, Jeanie W.: John Galt, Oxford University Press, London, 1936.
- Adams, W.: Celebrated Women Travellers of the 19th Century, Dulton, London, 1905.
- Armstrong, Margaret N.: A Passionate Victorian. Fanny Kemble, MacMillan, London, 1938.
- Beard, Charles A.: Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy, MacMillan and Co., N.Y., 1927.
- Berger, Max: The British Traveller in America, Columbia University Press, New York, 1943.
- Biddle, Richard: Captain Hall in America, Riley, New York, 1830.
- Bobbe, Dorothy, Fanny Kemble, Minton, London, 1931.
- Brinley, Rev. William: Travels in North America from Modern Writers, Harvey and Darton, London, 1821.
- Brinton, C.C.: English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Benn, London, 1933.
- Brooks, John Graham: As Others See Us, MacMillan and Co., New York, 1908.
- Brougham, H: Statesmen of the Time of George III, Knight, London, 1845.
- Brown, Alexander, The Genesis of the United States, William Heinerman, London, 1890.
- Chesterton, G.K.: Charles Dickens: A Critical Study, Dodd Mead, London, 1913.
- Cobbett, William: The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine, Compiled by D.G.H. Cole, Nonesuch Press, London, 1927.
- Cooper, Fenimore: Notions of the Americans picked up by a Travelling Bachelor, Colburn and Bentley, London, 1828.

- Cooper, L.: "Travellers and Observers", Cambridge History of American Literature, (1917) Vol. I.
- Coupland, Reginald, The British Anti-Slavery Movement, T. Butterworth, London, 1933.
- Craven, Avery Odelle, The Coming of the Civil War, Scribner, New York, 1942.
- Darvall, F.O.: Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England, Oxford University Press, London, 1934.
- DeCrèvecoeur, Hector St. Jean: Letters from an American Farmer, edited by W.B. Blake, Everyman Library, London, 1940.
- Dickens, Charles; Letters of Charles Dickens, edited by his sister-in-law, Chapman and Hall, London, 1880.
- Dickens, Charles; Martin Chuzzlewit, Chapman and Hall, London.
- Dickens, Charles; American Notes, Chapman and Hall, London, 1907.
- Dickens, Charles: The Speeches of Charles Dickens, Compiled by R.H. Shepherd, Michael Joseph Ltd., London, 1936.
- Dickens, Charles: Letters of Charles Dickens, edited by A. Waugh, H. Walpole, W. Dexter, The Nonesuch Press, Bloomsbury, 1938.
- Douglas, Sir George: The Blackwood Group, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1897.
- Dunning, William A.: The British Empire and the United States, H. Holt, New York, 1914.
- Dunlop, William; History of the American Theatre, R. Bentley & Co., London, 1833.
- Dwight, Timothy: Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters ... Boston, 1815.
- Eggleston, E.: The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century, Horschfeld Bros., London, 1901.

- Fay, C.R.: Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge University Press, London, 1933.
- Forster, John: Life of Charles Dickens, Doubleday, London, 1928.
- Frund, J.F.: Aristocracy in America, Bentley, London, 1839.
- Galt, John: Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, Cadell and Davies, London, 1812.
Lawrie Todd, Colburn and Bentley, London, 1830.
- : The Hurons. A Canadian Tale, Frazer's Magazine, February, 1830.
 - : Bogle Corbet, Colburn and Bentley, London, 1831.
 - : Autobiography, Cockrane & M'Crone, London, 1833.
 - : Literary Life, Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1834.
 - : Sir Andrew Wylie, Blackwood and Son, London, 1845.
 - : Ayrshire Legatees, Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1846.
- Gordon, R.K.: John Galt, University of Toronto Library, Toronto, 1920.
- Hakluyt: The Principle Voyages of the English Nation, Everyman, London, 1907.
- Halkett, John: Statements respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River . . ., London, 1817.
- Hall, Judge James: Letters from the West . . . of the United States, Henry Colburn, London, 1828.
- Hannay, David: Life of Frederick Marryat, Walter Scott and Co., London, 1889.
- Hart, Albert Bushness: Slavery and Abolition: Harper Bros., New York, 1906.
- Hicks, John D.: The Federal Union, Riverside Press, Cambridge Mass., 1948.
- Horne, Richard Henry: A New Spirit of the Age, Oxford University Press, London, 1907.

- Inlay, Captain: A Topographical Description of the Western Territories of North America . . ., J. Debrett, London, 1792.
- Ingersoll, Jared C.: Inchiquin: The Jesuit's Letters, Riley, New York, 1810.
- Jackson, Thomas A.: Charles Dickens: The Progress of a Radical, International, London, 1938.
- Jeaffreson, John Cordy; Novels and Novelists, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1858.
- Jefferson, Thomas: Correspondence Between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Compiled by P. Wilstach and B. Mirrell, New York, 1925,
- Johnson, Edgar: Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph, Victor Gollanz, London, 1953.
- Johnson, Stanley C.: A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America (1763-1912), Routledge and Sons, London, 1913.
- Jones, Howard Mumford, The Harn that Once, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1937.
- Jones and Leisy(editors): Major American Writers, Harcourt Brace and Co., New York, 1947.
- Kemble, Frances: Woman's a Riddle, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1824.
- : Journal, John Murray and Co., London, 1835.
- : Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation (1838-1839), Longman and Co., London, 1863.
- : Records of a Girlhood, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1879.
- : Records of a Later Life, Richard Bentley and Son, London, 1882.
- : Far Away and Long Ago, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1889.
- : Further Records, Richard Bentley and Co., London, 1890.

- Kent, C.B.R.: The English Radicals, Longman, London, 1899.
- Koht, Halvdan: The American Spirit in Europe, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1949.
- Lasalles, E.: The Life of Charles James Fox, Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Lillibridge, G.D.: The Beacon of Freedom, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1955.
- Lockwood, G.B.: The New Harmony Movement, Appleton, New York, 1905.
- Lucas, Sir Charles P.: Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, London, 1833.
- Lyell, Frank Hallam: Study of the Novels of John Galt, Princeton University Press, 1942.
- MacKenzie, Robert S.: The Life of Charles Dickens, Peterson, Philadelphia, 1870
- MacKenzie, William Lyon: Sketches of Canada and the United States, Harvey and Darton, London, 1833.
- Macreadie, William: Macreadie's Reminiscences, edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, MacMillan and Co., London, 1875.
- McCrane, R.C.: The Panic of 1837, Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924.
- Marryat, Florence: Life and Letters of Captain Marryat, Bentley and Sons, London, 1872.
- Marryat, Frederick: Suggestions for the Abolition of the present system of impressment in the naval service, Richardson, London, 1822.
- : The Diary of a Blasé, Metropolitan Magazine, Sept. 1835-June 1836. Also published as Diary on the Continent, Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1836.
- : A Diary in America, with Remarks on her Institutions, Longman and Co., London, 1839.

- : Joseph Rushbrook: or the Poacher, Longman and Co., London, 1841.
 - : Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas, Longman and Co., London, 1843.
 - : Settlers in Canada, J.M. Dent and Co., London, 1909.
- Mesick, Jane L.: The English Traveller in America (1785-1835), Columbia University Press, New York, 1922.
- Moore, Thomas: Epistles, Odes and Other Poems, J. Carpenter, London, 1806.
- : The Fudge Family in Washington, Baltimore, 1820.
 - : The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Longman and Co., London, 1853.
 - : Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore, Compiled by Lord John Russell, Longman and Co., London, 1860.
- Morse, Jedediah: American Geography, John Stockdale, London 1792.
- Napier, MacVey: Selections from the Correspondence of MacVey Napier, MacMillan and Co., London, 1879.
- Nevins, Allan: American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1923.
- : Ordeal of the Union, Scribner, New York, 1947.
- Newcome, L.N.: The Embattled Farmers, Kings Crown Press, New York, 1953.
- Nye, Russel Blaine: Fettered Freedom, Michigan State College Press, East Lansing, 1949.
- Parrington, V.L.: Main Currents in American Thought, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1927.
- Paulding, P.K.: The United States and England, A.H. Inskeep, New York, 1815.

- : A Sketch of Old England by a New England Man,
Inskip, New York, 1822.
- : John Bull in America, John Millar, London, 1825.
- Peffer, W.A.: The Farmer's Side, Appleton-Century-Crofts, INC.,
New York, 1891.
- Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell; American Negro Slavery, D. Appleton
and Co., New York, 1933.
- : Life and Labor in the Old South,
Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1946.
- Picken, Andrew: "The Canadas" compiled and condensed from the
original documents furnished by John Galt,
Effingham Wilson, London, 1832.
- Pope-Hennessy, Una: Three Englishwomen in America, Ernest Benn
Ltd., London, 1929.
- : Charles Dickens, Howell and Soskin, London,
1946.
- Routh, H.V.: Money, Morals and Manners as revealed in Modern
Literature, Nicholson and Watson, London, 1935.
- Sadleir, Michael: "Frederick Marryat", Excursions into
Victorian Bibliography, Chawdy and Cox,
London, 1922.
- Shepherd, R.H.: The Speeches of Charles Dickens, Michael Joseph
Ltd., London, 1936.
- Snyder, Charles Sackett; Slavery in Mississippi, Appleton-
Century Co., New York, 1933.
- Stearns, Dr. Samuel: American Oracle, J. Lackington, London,
1791.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher: Uncle Tom's Cabin, MacMillan Co., New
York, 1930.
- Strictland, Samuel: Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, Bentley
and Co., London, 1853.
- Taylor, C.C.: The Farmers' Movement, American Book Co., New
York, 1953.

- Thoreau, Henry D.: Anti Slavery and Reform Papers, edited by H.S. Salt, Allen and Unwin, London, 1890.
- deTocqueville, Alexis: De la Démocratie en Amérique, Paris, 1836. Translated by Henry Reeve, London.
- Trelawney, E.J.: Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author, Oxford, London, 1858.
- Trevelyan, G.M.: Lord Grey and the Reform Bill, Longman, London, 1920.
- : British History in the 19th Century, Longman, 1922.
- Trollope, Frances: The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw or Scenes on the Mississippi, R. Bentley, London, 1836.
- : The Barnabys in America or the Adventures of a Widow Wedded, H. Colburn & Co., London, 1843.
- : Frances Trollope, her Life and Literary Work, H. Colburn and Co., London, 1895.
- Tuckerman, Henry T.: America and Her Commentators, Scribner, New York, 1864.
- Twining, Thomas: Travels in America One Hundred Years Ago, Scribner, New York, 1894.
- Walsh, Robert: An Appeal from the judgements of Great Britain respecting the United States of America, Philadelphia, 1819.
- Warner, Oliver: Captain Marrayat a Rediscovery, Constable, London, 1953.
- Waterman, W.R.: Frances Wright, Columbia University Press, 1924.
- Wheeler, Paul M.: America Through British Eyes, Rock Hill, S.C., 1935.
- Wilkins, William Glyde: Charles Dickens in America, Scribner, New York, 1911.
- Williamson, J.A.: Maritime Enterprises (1485-1558), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913.

An American Lady: Change for the American Notes in Letters
(Henry Wood) from London to New York, Wiley and Peterson,
London, 1843.

Wright, Fanny: Letters of Edward Fitzgerald to Fanny Wright,
compiled by W.A. Wright, R. Bentley and Son,
London, 1895.

Other Publications Consulted

As the number of reviews, relating to travel and emigration, published by magazines and periodicals in the period 1790 - 1850 is prodigious, only the names of the magazines and periodicals consulted are given below. Volume numbers, dates, and page numbers of specific reviews referred to in the thesis are given in the notes for each chapter.

Atlantic Monthly, Blackwood's Magazine, British Critic, The Collector, Critical Review, Edinburgh Review, Frazer's Magazine, London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, Metropolitan Magazine, Monthly Review, North American Review, Quarterly Review, Scots Magazine, The Scottish Historical Review, Chamber's Journal.

Also consulted: Hansard XXXIII, 1797; Peel Papers, Vol LXI, British Museum, add MS40241, Dec. 28, 1815; and "Reviews and Magazines in the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century" (Vol XII, pp. 140-163), and "Literature of Travel, 1700-1900" (Vol. XIV, pp. 240-256) in The Cambridge History of English Literature, University Press, Cambridge, 1915; The Dictionary of National Biography, The Dictionary of American Biography, and The Oxford Companion to English Literature.